
The Academic Study of Ulster-Scots: Essays for and by Robert J. Gregg

edited by
Anne Smyth, Michael Montgomery and Philip Robinson

Ulster Folk & Transport Museum

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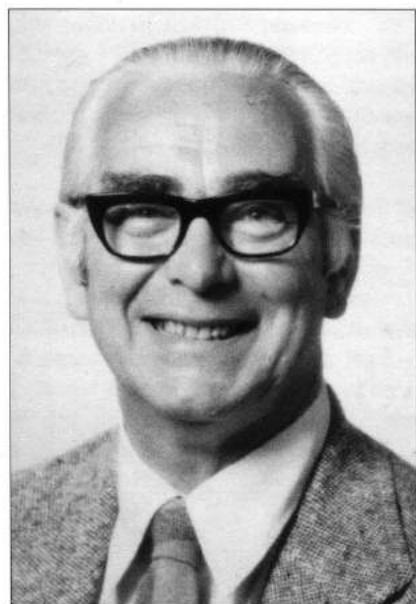
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Robert J. Gregg (1912 - 1998)

Acknowledgements

The editors wish to record their gratitude to a small but select band who have assisted in the publication of this Denkschrift in honour of Professor Robert Gregg. We trust that each of them in their various ways shares our satisfaction with the completion of this monument to a tireless, exemplary scholar.

Work on this volume could not even have begun without the help of members of the Gregg family, who have exhibited a generosity of spirit similar to that of Professor Gregg himself. We greatly appreciate their support, and in particular that of Professor Gregg's widow, the late Mrs. Millicent Gregg, who, in her unassuming way, donated her late husband's scholarly materials to the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. These have in course been heavily drawn upon for the present volume to display something of the genius of the man who was the pioneer of the academic study of Ulster-Scots.

We are also indebted to the late Brendan Adams (first Curator of Language at the museum), no less than to our contemporary authors whose patience and faith in waiting so long to see the fruits of their labours has been remarkable and deeply appreciated by the editors and, we trust, by all readers of this volume. When first organizing the collection of modern essays in 2000/01, we sought contributions from the most inclusive range of authors known to be working in the field. We regret that not all of them submitted essays for publication. In the preparation of the annotated bibliography included in this volume the editors are grateful to many individuals, too numerous to be named, for providing details on publications that ensured the compilation was as complete as possible.

Funding of such a specialist publication is always problematical, and we must thank *Tha Boord o Ulster-Scotch* (The Ulster-Scots Agency) for their sponsorship and for their recognition that financial support for scholarly work on the subject of the Ulster-Scots language is part of their remit. Likewise, we record our appreciation for additional assistance with the publication from the recently-formed Ulster-Scots Academy Implementation Group, which wished to be identified with a publication it saw as foundational for the study of the language, and as an acknowledgement of the late Professor R. J. Gregg's role in establishing the concept of an Ulster-Scots Academy. We would also thank the management of the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, now part of the National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland, for continuing to build upon the early enthusiasm of such scholars

as Gregg and Adams for the indigenous languages of the province by accommodating this volume within its publication programme and by bearing a share of the financial burden, mostly as a contribution 'in kind'. The concept of such a volume originated in 1999 with Dr. Philip Robinson while he was still Head of Collections Division at the museum.

We wish to thank Mr. Clifford Harkness, current Head of Archival Collections at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, for his assistance with the administrative aspect of this project. His suggestions and encouragement have been invaluable in bringing the volume to the print stage.

We have greatly appreciated the assistance of Mr. Peter Carson of the museum's Sound Archive, who with great good humour resolved many problems with the computer software.

Staff of the UFTM Library, too, have provided moral support, a quiet bolt-hole when needed, a spare modem for all the transatlantic emails and assistance with elusive references. For these, our thanks go to Mr. Roger Dixon, Librarian, and to his assistant, Mrs. Sally Skilling, now retired.

The production of any publication using phonetics is heavily dependent on specialist software, and Professor Gregg's phonetic notation was often not standard IPA. Thanks are due to the supplier, Linguist's Software, Inc., particularly for their prompt technical support in the early stages of navigation around the character sets.

We are also most grateful to our cartographer, Gill Alexander, for her skilful work on the maps, and her pleasant and accommodating manner. Eun Hee Lee, graduate student of Linguistics at the University of Carolina, provided valuable assistance in compiling the phonetics key.

Lastly, but only chronologically, we should like to thank David Redmond of Page Setup for his work on typesetting the volume, turning it into a visually attractive publication, and Bryan McCabe of W&G Baird Ltd., the printer, particularly for refusing to be beaten by the unusual symbols and persisting until he found a way to reproduce them with a high degree of accuracy.

No one involved with this publication, especially we the editors, foresaw or could have imagined the rivers ahead to be forded, the perseverance to be required or the countless email attachments to be exchanged. We have done our best, aware always of Robert Gregg's high standards. Finally like Dr. Johnson's Arcadians, we have resolved no longer to chase the sun in the quest for perfection, but to send this volume, the last of Gregg's scholarly children, out into the world.

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Editors' Note

This volume reprints published and unpublished works from the breadth of Robert J. Gregg's scholarly career of forty years. While their subject matter often overlaps, there is less duplication than at first appears. Because it is only by reproducing the full canon of Gregg's work that one can chart this seminal scholar's evolution in thinking, we have chosen to be inclusive.

Inasmuch as his original publications were prepared according to a variety of formats and were published in outlets that differed widely in their conventions of citation, punctuation, reference, and the like, the editors have standardized these matters across the reprinted versions. In a few cases we have spelled out abbreviations, but we have kept his phonetic symbols and all other content in its original form except for one case. For nearly his entire career and in all his published writing Gregg employed the term 'Scotch-Irish'. However, in correspondence late in life and in amended versions of earlier essays supplied to the editors, he stated his preference for 'Ulster-Scots'. In deference to his wishes, we have used the latter throughout the text.

Contributors

G. Brendan Adams took up the post of Curator of Language at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum in 1964, the first language specialist on its staff, following four years as its honorary dialect archivist. As founder of the Dialect Archive at the museum, he laid the basis for a collection that would some thirty years later provide the source material for the museum's *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (1996). For half a lifetime he had worked in the linen industry, but his prodigious linguistic talent and enthusiasm had led him into life-long membership of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, whose Folklore and Dialect Section he founded along with his uncle, the folklorist Richard Hayward. In that capacity he was active from the early 1950s in the collection of items of lexical interest, with the object of their eventual publication in dictionary form. During this time, the Royal Irish Academy published some of his work, and in later years he was to be elected to membership of that institution, one of a select few northerners so honoured. As a contemporary of Robert Gregg, as well as other 'greats' such as John Braidwood and Estyn Evans, he was in the vanguard of the systematic study of Ulster vernacular language, and edited the museum's first research volume, *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (1964). He taught Irish to adult learners, and his eclectic knowledge of other languages embraced such diverse areas of study as Hebrew, Chinese, Irish history and minority religious groupings. He died in 1981 while still in post at the museum, a year before he would have reached retirement age. Among the large quantity of his material stored at the museum were a number of unpublished papers, two of the most valuable of which are included in the present volume and are printed for the first time. Many of the prodigious number of his publications were published in *The English Dialects of Ulster: An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech* by G. B. Adams (ed. Michael Barry and Philip Tilling, 1986).

Dr. Bruce D. Boling is Associate Professor Emeritus at the University of New Mexico. He was a cataloguer at the Library of Congress and the libraries at the University of Wyoming, Brown University, and the University of New Mexico. He was trained in general and historical linguistics at Harvard, where he received his doctorate in 1966 with a concentration in Celtic languages, especially Old Irish. For the past thirty years he has collected, studied, and written about English dialect patterns in the letters of Irish emigrants to North America. In recent years he has spent sabbatical and

annual research leave using the collections at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. Along with Kerby A. Miller, Arnold Schrier, and David N. Doyle, he is the co-author of the award-winning volume *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

Mr. John G. W. Erskine works as a librarian in higher education in Belfast. A linguist by education, he served on the Board of the Ulster-Scots Agency during its first term. In addition to Ulster-Scots, his main area of study is in the field of the social and systematic bibliography of Irish Presbyterianism.

Mr. James Fenton is a retired school principal who grew up in the adjoining townlands of Ballinaloob and Drumdarragh in North Antrim. He attended Dalriada Grammar School, Stranmillis College, and Queen's University Belfast, and is the author of *The Hamely Tongue* and *Thonner and Thon* (both Ullans Press, 2000). His interests are poetry (especially 20th-century Irish poets), the novel, and conservation (he is a member of the Ulster Wildlife Trust and the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds).

Dr. Rona R. K. Kingsmore was a practising speech pathologist for more than twenty years before receiving her Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Ulster in 1983 for a sociophonetic study of the speech of Coleraine. Thereafter she directed the M.A. programme in Teaching English as a Foreign Language at Columbia International University in South Carolina for ten years before returning to Northern Ireland and teaching phonetics part-time at the University of Ulster. She is now retired and lives with her husband in Portstewart.

Dr. Linde Lunney comes from North Antrim, an area where Ulster-Scots was very strong until recently, and her interest in language history was fostered by a year in east Tennessee, and by studying language, literature and folk tradition in the University of Edinburgh. Her Queen's Ph.D. on language patterns of Ulster was completed in 1981, titled 'An Analysis of Some Linguistic Information Obtained from Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Poetry'. She now lives in Dublin, where she has worked on the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* since it started in 1983, and she is a member of the Board of Ulster Scots, appointed by the Irish government.

Dr. Caroline I. Macafee is a former (now honorary) reader at the University of Aberdeen. She has written extensively on the Scots language, including a book-length ‘History of Scots to 1700’ (incorporating material by late A. J. Aitken), as part of the Introduction to *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, vol.XII. She is the editor of *A Concise Ulster Dictionary* (1996).

Dr. Michael Montgomery is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of English and Linguistics at the University of South Carolina, where he taught for nearly two decades. He has published extensively on varieties of English in the American South (especially in Appalachia) and on the English and Scots of Ulster and Scotland and their trans-Atlantic connections. His most recent book is *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English* (University of Tennessee Press, 2004).

Dr. Philip Robinson comes from East Antrim, and is retired Head of Collections at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. There he had overall responsibility for the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* project. Working as a settlement and cultural historian, his Ph.D. was on the 17th century Ulster Plantation, and his book *The Plantation of Ulster* is the standard work on that subject. He has published several novels and children’s books in Ulster-Scots and is the author of *Ulster-Scots: a Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language*. As a founding member of the Ulster-Scots Language Society and the Ulster-Scots Academy, he continues an active engagement with the language community in the Ards Peninsula of East Down, where he now lives.

Anne Smyth, a Glaswegian by birth, was brought up in the household of her maternal grandmother, a native speaker of Lowland Scots. Moving to Northern Ireland in 1968 to study law at Queen’s University, she was fascinated by the speech of fellow students from Ulster-Scots speaking areas, which displayed interesting similarities to, and also differences from, the Lowland Scots to which she was accustomed. Always a great lover of books, she turned her attention to the poetry of W. F. Marshall, and ultimately found her way to a lecture given by Professor John Braidwood. This fired her enthusiasm for Ulster-Scots and Ulster vernacular speech generally, leading to her eventual application in 1990 for the post of Assistant to Dr. Caroline Macafee, editor of the *Concise Ulster Dictionary*. Since 1994, when Dr. Macafee left for a post at Aberdeen University, she has been the Ulster

Folk and Transport Museum’s language specialist. She wrote part of the front matter for the dictionary, and has contributed to the Museum’s in-house journal, *Ulster Folklife*. The current Chairman of the Ulster-Scots Language Society, she has written material for its journal, *Ullans*, and has assisted its principal editor in the preparation of most of the issues of that publication.

Dr. Jack W. Weaver is Professor Emeritus of English at Winthrop University, Rock Hill, S.C. His research and publications include Irish literature and folklore (George Moore, James Joyce and Music, AE, John Hewitt, Robert Greacen, and others) and Irish-American culture (the Scotch-Irish and their language and folklore). Work in progress includes ‘A Blue Ridge Mountain Glossary’ and a ‘Selected Edition of Poems of Robert Greacen’, as well as articles on Heaney and Montague.

Abbreviations

adj.	adjective	OED	James A. H. Murray et al. (eds.), <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1884-1929)
adv.	adverb	OF	Old French
AI	Anglo-Irish	ON	Old Norse
AN	Anglo-Norman	op.	<i>opus</i>
C	consonant	pers.	person
cit.	cited	p.p.	past participle
cons	consonantal	pres.	present
cont	continuant	pret.	preterit
cor	coronal	pron.	pronoun
CSD	Mairi Robinson et al. (eds.), <i>Concise Scots Dictionary</i> (Aberdeen, 1985)	PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
CUD	Caroline I. Macafee (ed.), <i>Concise Ulster Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1996)	p.t.	past tense
DOST	William A. Craigie et al. (eds.), <i>Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</i> (London, 1937 – Oxford, 2002)	RI	Rathlin Island
EDD	Joseph S. Wright (ed.), <i>English Dialect Dictionary</i> (London, 1898-1905)	RP, R.P.	Received Pronunciation
EDG	Joseph S. Wright (ed.), <i>English Dialect Grammar</i> (London, 1905)	R.S.	Received Speech
env.	envelope	sb.	substantive
ESc	Early Scots	SE	Standard English
F	French	sg.	singular
GA	Glens of Antrim	SND	William Grant and David Murison (eds.), <i>Scottish National Dictionary</i> (Edinburgh, 1931-1976)
HE	Hiberno-English	SSB	Standard Southern British
intrans.	intransitive	s.v.	<i>sub voce</i> ‘under the word’
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet	SVLR, S.V.L.R.	Scottish Vowel Length Rule
KJV	King James Version	trans.	transitive; translator(s)
LAS	Linguistic Atlas of Scotland	UAI	Ulster Anglo-Irish
lit.	literally	UHE	Ulster Hiberno-English
LSS	Linguistic Survey of Scotland	US	Ulster-Scots
ME, M.E.	Middle English	U-SR	Ulster-Scots Rural
MSc	Middle Scots	USS	Ulster-Scots Standard
n.	noun	USU	Ulster-Scots Urban
NSR	Northern Subject Rule	U-S UN	Ulster-Scots Urban Non-standard
obs.	obsolete	U-S US	Ulster-Scots Urban Standard
OE	Old English	V	vowel
		v.	verb
		voc	vocalic
		†	published posthumously

Phonetics Key

Vowels:

a	low front unrounded vowel
æ æ	low front unrounded vowel, higher than [a]
ɑ	low central unrounded vowel
ɒ	low back unrounded vowel
e	mid-close front unrounded vowel
ɛ	closer mid-front unrounded vowel
ɔ	more open mid-close front unrounded vowel
ɸ	more open mid-close front rounded vowel
ε	mid open front unrounded vowel
ξ	more open front unrounded vowel
i	close high front unrounded vowel
ɪ ɪ	open high front unrounded vowel
ʏ	more open high front unrounded vowel
ɪ ɿ	lower high central unrounded vowel
o	higher mid back rounded vowel
ø	more open upper mid back unrounded vowel
ɔ	lower mid back rounded vowel
ɤ	higher mid back unrounded vowel
u	high back rounded vowel
œ œ ʊ	semi high back rounded vowel
ə	high central rounded vowel
y	high front rounded vowel
ʏ	semi high front rounded vowel
ə ɿ	mid central unrounded vowel
ʌ	lower mid back unrounded vowel

Consonants:

p	voiceless bilabial stop
b	voiced bilabial stop
m	voiced bilabial nasal
ɸ	voiceless bilabial fricative
w	voiced labiovelar continuant
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative
v	voiced labio-dental fricative
t	voiceless interdental stop
d	voiced interdental stop
n	interdental nasal
θ	voiceless interdental fricative
ð	voiced interdental fricative
l	interdental lateral
t	voiceless alveolar stop
d	voiced alveolar stop
n	voiced alveolar nasal
ɳ	voiced syllabic alveolar nasal
ɲ	voiceless palatalised nasal
ɳ	voiced palatalised nasal
s	voiceless alveolar fricative
ʂ ʂ ʂ'	palatalised voiceless alveolar fricative
z	voiced alveolar fricative
ʐ ʐ ʐ'	palatalised voiced alveolar fricative
tʂ	palatalised voiceless alveolar affricate
dʐ	palatalised voiced alveolar affricate
r	voiced alveolar trill

		Diacritics
r	voiced alveolar flap	'
x	voiced alveolar frictionless continuant	,
l	voiced alveolar lateral	,
l̪	retroflex voiced alveolar lateral	:
l̪̄	palatalised voiced alveolar lateral	(:)
t̪	velarised voiced alveolar lateral	+
t̪̄	voiceless alveolar lateral fricative	-
l̄	voiced syllabic alveolar lateral	↔
t̄	voiceless alveolar affricate	→
š ſ	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative	~
ž ȝ	voiced alveo-palatal fricative	◦
tš tʃ tſ	voiceless alveo-palatal affricate	.
dž dʒ	voiced alveo-palatal affricate	..
c	voiceless palatal fricative	>
j	voiced palatal fricative	,
ʎ	voiced palatal lateral	,
k	voiceless velar stop	
g	voiced velar stop	‘
x	voiceless velar fricative	h
n̄	velar nasal	w
R	voiced uvular trill	ə
h	voiceless laryngeal fricative	”
f̄	voiced laryngeal fricative	”
?	glottal stop	‘
		primary stress on following syllable
		secondary stress on following syllable
		for vowels: pronounced with longer duration
		pronounced with variable longer duration
		for vowels: pronounced raised
		for vowels: pronounced lowered
		for vowels: pronounced retracted
		for vowels: pronounced fronted
		pronounced with low tone or pitch
		for vowels: pronounced without voicing
		for consonants: pronounced without voicing
		for vowels: pronounced as more centralised
		for vowels: pronounced as lower or more open
		for consonants: pronounced with palatalisation
		for consonants: pronounced with retroflex colouring
		for consonants: pronounced with aspiration
		pronounced with rounded offglide
		for vowels: pronounced with centering offglide
		pronounced with dentalisation
		pronounced with glottal release
		for vowels: pronounced with low tone or pitch
		for consonants: pronounced with palatalisation

The Life and Work of Professor Robert J. Gregg

Anne Smyth and Michael Montgomery

Robert John Gregg was the founder of Ulster-Scots studies. His scholarship, grounded as it was in the historical landscape of the province of Ulster and a lifetime of research, laid the foundation for all who have come afterward – linguists, geographers, historians, anthropologists, and many others. The very conception of Ulster-Scots as a linguistic and cultural phenomenon on the modern scene is inconceivable without his scholarship and rests firmly upon it. His research was as fundamental to Ulster-Scots as any linguist's to a language in western Europe, and it remains the touchstone in the field today. It is due mainly to Gregg that scholars elsewhere learned of the existence of Ulster-Scots and that research on it was put on a sound academic footing. However, time and the specialised venues in which his original writing was published have now rendered it largely inaccessible, so the present volume was conceived to make it available to a new generation of scholars.

Robert Gregg, the second child of Tom and Margaret Gregg, was born in Larne, County Antrim, on 2 July 1912. Brought up in the town and going on to attend Larne Grammar School, his ear was first attuned to the patterns of the urban modified English heard around him. However, from early childhood he and his brother habitually returned at holiday times to the rural setting in which his mother's family lived, the district around Glenoe, four miles up the Glenoe Valley from Larne. There and in nearby villages the young Gregg encountered and imbibed the dense Ulster-Scots language of his grandparents and other country kinfolk and residents. As he later stated in his M.A. dissertation, his 'linguistic curiosity was early aroused by the sharp contrasts' between the two language varieties, and 'these bilingual comparisons have always been discussed with interest in my own family, and with the help in particular of my mother and my brother'.

Building on those early observations, Gregg first began collecting linguistic material as a teenager during his years at Larne Grammar School, where his keen intelligence constantly remarked the speech of students (one of whom was a cousin) from the school's rural hinterland. By 1930 he was compiling a notebook and had embarked on research and scholarship that would span seven decades.

Gregg's endowments of natural curiosity and a gift for languages, aroused by the contrasting speech of the spheres in which he moved for the first two decades of his life, led to a highly successful career as a teacher of languages and later of linguistics. It has been said that language was a passion for

him, and he was fluent in several. He graduated from Queen's University, Belfast, with a B.A. (Honours) degree in French and German with Spanish subsidiary in 1933, but his interests and expertise were to range much more widely. For example, he passed Intermediate Latin examinations in the University of London in 1948, which foreshadowed his appointment in 1966 as Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Classics at the University of British Columbia, and he also passed Advanced Level Royal Society examinations in Russian (including the oral section). This latter subject formed part of the course he taught as Head of the Modern Languages Department and Senior Master at Belfast Mercantile College from 1939 to 1954. During these years he also studied Latin and took a B.A. in Spanish from the University of London. It was, however, as Senior Modern Languages Master at Regent House School, Newtownards, that he began his teaching career in 1934.

Gregg's M.A. dissertation at Queen's, on the historical phonology of the East Antrim Ulster-Scots he knew so well, was presented in May 1953. In it, we see the kernel of the themes and methodologies that were to inform his later work, particularly his immensely important doctoral thesis, '*The Boundaries of the Scotch-Irish Dialects in Ulster*'. It is to this doctoral research that we must look for the only proper mapping of the Ulster-Scots speech areas that has ever been done.

In 1951, meanwhile, the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club's Dialect Section had commenced a collection of Ulster vernacular speech using the questionnaires devised for the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. In assisting with this endeavour, Bob Gregg worked with a number of other distinguished linguists, but it was his collaboration with two of their number that was to have lasting effect. The first of these was Professor Angus McIntosh, of the University of Edinburgh, who was in charge of the Scots section of the survey, which had included the six counties of Northern Ireland in its coverage. McIntosh was to become the main supervisor for Gregg's Ph.D. thesis. The second was Brendan Adams, who went on to become the first Curator of Language at the Ulster Folk Museum (as it was then). For many years, especially in the 1960s, Gregg and Adams wrestled together with the knotty problem of the orthographic representation of Ulster-Scots.

In 1954, having determined to pursue an academic career abroad, Bob Gregg emigrated to Canada with his wife Millicent and young family, and after a short period teaching

in a secondary school in Vancouver was appointed Assistant Professor of French at the University of British Columbia in January 1955. He taught there for the next twenty-five years, becoming Professor in the Department of Linguistics in 1969, and Head of that Department from 1972 to 1980, when he retired after a distinguished career. The courses he taught not only reflected his continuing interest in phonetics, dialectology and French, but also included many other areas of study such as the teaching of English as a second language. He continued to 'trail-blaze' by setting up a language laboratory at UBC, the first in any Canadian university. While on staff there, he directed two major surveys, of Vancouver and British Columbia speech respectively, and edited the prestigious *Gage Dictionary of Canadian English*. He sat on the committees and boards of many professional organisations.

Throughout his years in Canada Gregg kept in close touch and collaborated with colleagues back in Ulster. He participated in the conference inaugurating the Ulster Dialect Archive at the Ulster Folk Museum in 1960. For a time he was co-editor with John Braidwood of the Ulster Dialect Dictionary project inherited from the BNFC. When the Department of Education in Northern Ireland commissioned the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* in 1989, he was pleased to be enlisted as a consultant and in succeeding years donated much of his own material to the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, where the volume was being edited. To several issues of *Ullans*, the new annual magazine of the Ulster-Scots Language Society, he also contributed transcriptions using his orthography for Ulster-Scots.

Among Gregg's achievements two were particularly noteworthy: 1) a comprehensive structural description of Ulster-Scots pronunciation, including many of its distinctive patterns, and how these differed from 'Ulster Anglo-Irish', a variety deriving primarily from the speech of 17th-century settlers from the English Northwest Midlands; and 2) a detailed documentation and mapping of where Ulster-Scots was spoken in parts of four counties (Down, Antrim, Londonderry and Donegal).

Making these achievements possible was his doctoral fieldwork, which was undertaken primarily during a year's leave of absence from UBC in 1960-61 and which culminated three decades of informal observation and collection. He travelled the Ulster countryside, tirelessly interviewing older, traditional speakers in order to ascertain the geographical boundaries of Ulster-Scots as precisely as possible. The result

was a study unprecedented and unsurpassed in detail and intensity of coverage by any other linguistic project in the British Isles and rivalled by few in continental Europe. Having long pondered the matter of speech areas and studied the Plantation settlement landscape of Ulster, and finding some in Edinburgh to be sceptical of the vitality of the Scots language in Ulster, he was determined to outline the Ulster-Scots territory meticulously and to provide extensive data on its speech. His summary map that resulted became a classic and continues to be cited and reproduced by scholars as the standard point of reference on the geography of Ulster-Scots.

Ethnologists and historians (beginning with Abraham Hume in the 1850s) had by the mid-twentieth century surmised a rough outline of the Scottish zone of Ulster in Counties Antrim, Down, and Londonderry. Long before he sought the professional training that would give him the analytical tools necessary to pinpoint this zone, Gregg had begun to plot out in his own mind where its boundaries might lie. But what he had to do was find the hard data to support his intuitions and the preliminary work done by others – to establish the empirical reality for the matter, in other words. For this he interviewed 125 mainly older speakers using a 683-item questionnaire that covered a constellation of fourteen broad features: one group of 30 morphological items and thirteen groups of phonological features (the consonant /x/, two diphthongs, and ten vowels). His aim was not to survey an even dispersal of speakers throughout the area, but to 'collect the data that will polarise the systematic differences between the dialects' and enable him to identify the boundaries of Ulster-Scots with all possible precision. In the process of mapping the core areas, he was the first to demonstrate that Ulster-Scots was spoken in east Donegal in the Republic of Ireland and was thus international.

In addition to providing such knowledge he made many other contributions. The editor of the *Concise Ulster Dictionary*, based at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, was most fortunate to have Bob Gregg's assistance on the dictionary's editorial board from 1989 to 1994. It has been remarked how generous he was in making available the fruits of his research to others in the field, and this was amply confirmed by his dealings with dictionary staff. Despite daunting health problems that would immediately have discouraged anyone less determined, Gregg continued to photocopy his material and forward it by 'snail-mail' to the Museum, to augment the resources from which the dictionary drew.

In his later years, he delighted in the revival of interest in the Ulster-Scots language and particularly to be named Honorary President of the Ulster-Scots Language Society. He took a keen interest in the academic debate surrounding modern Ulster-Scots, but did not suffer fools gladly. In a letter to the then Chairman of the Language Society, Dr. Ian Adamson, in 1994, he expressed himself in no uncertain terms regarding a view commonly held in some circles that Ulster-Scots is simply a dialect of English: ‘To put it bluntly, I find it incredible that any specialist in language and dialect (I am one myself and have hundreds of others among my colleagues and acquaintances) – that any such specialists could regard Ulster-Scots as a regional variant of English! Impossible! ... I feel these people are writing nonsense about Ulster-Scots not being a language but a dialect of *English!* Ridiculous!’

Professor Gregg remained an Ulsterman to the core. To this highly-developed sense of place, persistent despite his Canadian ‘exile’, was added a keen sense of family. He kept in contact with his brother, T. F. Gregg, who was still living in East Antrim. Also, the Greggs were blessed with three sons and a daughter, and Bob lived to see the third generation of his descendants. Underpinning all his prodigious activity professionally and academically was the loving support of his wife, Millicent, whose devotion and tender care never faltered

through the distressing days of illness in his latter years.

Above all else Gregg was a life-long student of Ulster-Scots. The ideas planted in his mind’s eye and ear as a young man in east Antrim would mature into his life’s work. None of the well-deserved preferments that were heaped upon him throughout his long and active life could distract him from pursuing the study of his first love. Northern Ireland’s academic establishment approached his early efforts with less enthusiasm, but it is a measure of the man that this only spurred him to greater scholarly achievements. Today, the debt owed by the Ulster-Scots speaking community to Professor Gregg for his pioneering work in establishing the study of Ulster-Scots as an academic discipline is incalculable.

Bob Gregg passed away peacefully in Vancouver on 15 November 1998, aged 86, and is much missed. He was a man of great generosity and great passion for his native soil, a proud man who made others proud to know him. It is the hope of those involved in the production of the present memorial volume that in reading the writings that form his legacy to the academic study of the language he loved, others will be encouraged to take up the challenge of devoting themselves to that same discipline and aspiring to the same high standards.

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SECTION I:
CURRENT PERSPECTIVES
ON ULSTER-SCOTS

The Mapping of Ulster-Scots

Philip Robinson

When Robert J. Gregg first published the results of his ground-breaking research project into linguistic boundaries in Ulster, its significance was recognised immediately by historical and cultural geographers¹. The ‘Gregg Map’ of the ‘Ulster-Scots Speaking Areas’ (as he later insisted on calling them) identified the precise spatial distribution of Ulster-Scots using linguistic criteria for the first time. His task was to distinguish this from Ulster-English (i.e. Northern Hiberno-English). The mapping of this cultural trait was regarded as only one marker or indicator of the areas primarily settled by Scottish plantation settlers in the 17th century. These Ulster-Scots areas stand in contrast to areas settled more by the English, or indeed those uncolonised ‘native Irish’ areas.

The extent of Irish-speaking areas in Ulster (particularly west Donegal, the Glens of northeast Antrim and the Sperrin Mountains in Tyrone) was already known from 19th-century and 20th-century census information, and Gregg also plotted these Gaeltachts to illustrate their respective territories. Of course, he realised the linguistic significance of the interfaces in counties Antrim and Donegal of these two traditional but declining languages. However, his primary mission was to distinguish Ulster-Scots from its closely related and dominant sister tongue, Ulster-English. In this, his linguistic expertise enabled him to develop criteria for distinguishing the survival of Ulster-Scots using local informants. He was aware that this task was complicated by the fact that Ulster-English contains a host of lexical and phonological items of Lowland Scottish origin.

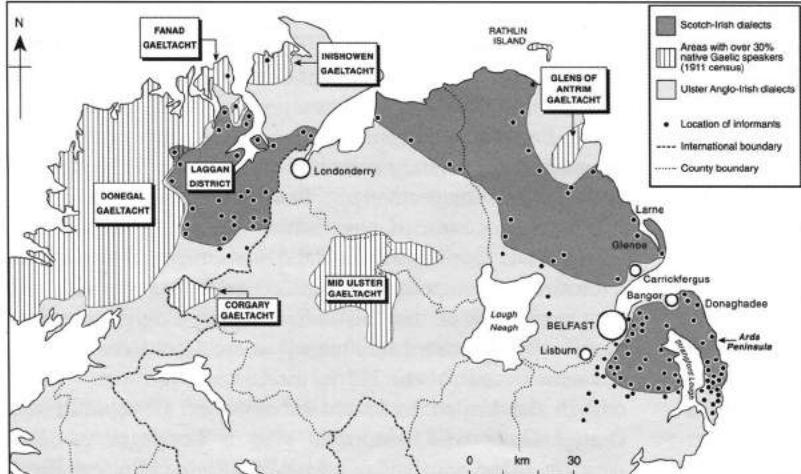


Figure 1: Scotch-Irish (Ulster-Scots) Dialect Boundaries in Ulster

In the context of the contemporary Ulster-Scots renaissance (of which Gregg was himself a champion), his mapping of Ulster-Scots speaking areas, and his definition of the ‘marker’ criteria for identifying Ulster-Scots speakers, together represent a substantial legacy. His survey of 1960-63 provides a base-line against which future numerical decline or geographic contraction can be measured.

Gregg’s published map (Figure 1) included the location of individual informants, all identified in his published thesis: 64 in county Down, 23 in county Antrim, 4 in county Londonderry, and 34 in county Donegal². Such an irregular distribution raises a number of questions about Gregg’s cartographic methodology. Although unconventional, as we shall see, the concentration of Gregg’s informants in particular areas was justified in terms of what was already known to him and what remained to be established by focused ‘boundary tracking’.

Linguistic Criteria as an Index of Settlement and Cultural History

In Ulster there are three basic linguistic groups that contribute to traditional speech patterns today: Irish Gaelic, Ulster-Scots, and Northern Hiberno-English (Ulster-English). Ulster-Scots and Ulster-English are not only closely related to each other linguistically, but also are both considered to have originated from the 17th-century dialects of south-west Scotland and the north-west midlands of England respectively³. The historical and settlement event which occasioned this phenomenon was the Ulster Plantation of the 17th century.

The assumption that a single index such as language or religious denomination can be taken to have ethnic, cultural and political implications may be grossly misleading. While religious denomination has always been a crucial factor in determining an individual’s political and cultural allegiances, its role as the major factor in the process of determining identity has lost ground recently to language and other aspects of cultural tradition.

The identification of the Irish language with Catholic and Irish Nationalist identity can be traced back over a hundred years to the beginnings of the Gaelic Revival⁴. The surviving Gaeltacht regions (as evidenced from the Irish language census data from 1911 and before) and the areas where the local

population are Roman Catholic (also evidenced from the detailed census data of 1911 and before) are the usual indices to be mapped when the present Ulster landscape is examined to discover the extent (by obverse relationship) of plantation and other British settlement survival.

The *Comisiún na Gaeltachta* produced a mapped survey of Irish language survival in 1927 based on their 1925 survey. Areas where more than 10% of the population were found to be native-Irish speaking in this survey provide an identification of the ‘traditional’ Gaeltachts. Unfortunately, within Northern Ireland, these native-speaking communities in Antrim and Tyrone did not survive into and beyond the 1960s. A striking feature of the mapped extent of these Gaeltachts is its coincidence with areas where more than 50% of local surnames are of Irish origin and more than 50% of the local population are (or were in 1911) Roman Catholic (Figure 2)⁵.

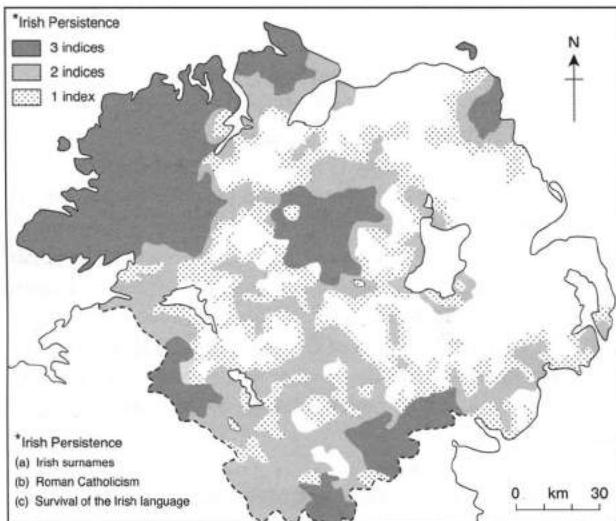


Figure 2: Irish/British Ethnic and Cultural Survival Areas in 20th-Century Ulster

Figure 2 illustrates the striking coincidence of these three indices of Irish ethnic and cultural survival in Ulster into the beginning of the 20th century – Irish language, Irish surnames and Catholicism. The areas at the core in this map (where all three indices are present) are in fact the areas of Irish language survival. Indeed, in these core areas the proportion of the local population that is Roman Catholic is invariably in excess of 75%.

Conversely, the areas shown in Figure 2 which contain none of the indices of 20th-century Irish cultural and ethnic survival represent the end-product of centuries of English and Scottish plantation, immigration, internal migration and acculturation. These areas are ‘Protestant/Unionist’ (in today’s terms) and contain a population that is essentially of English or Scottish ethnic origin.

If the criteria that Gregg used to distinguish the Ulster-Scots speaking areas from Ulster-English dialect areas are accepted, his map can be used to differentiate between the ‘English’ and ‘Scottish’ ethnic and cultural areas which have persisted since the 17th century. In terms of religious denomination, the Ulster-Scots communities have long been associated with Presbyterianism, in contrast to the Anglican Protestantism that dominates the areas of south and mid Ulster

that were settled by the English. The two main Protestant denominations in Ulster (Presbyterianism and Church of Ireland) have been broadly associated with Scottish and English settlement respectively. However, while Presbyterianism may have been a dominant philosophy among Scots settlers, it only became established as a separate and distinct denomination in the second half of the 17th century. It then spread rapidly throughout established areas of Scottish settlement. This spread was mapped by Alan Gailey in 1975⁶.

While language and religious adherence have both been subject to processes of assimilation, surnames provide a more stable and representative index of national origin. The problems associated with the use of surnames in this context are not those of transmission between English and Scottish settlers, but rather of identifying which surnames are of English, and which of Scottish origin. A consensus of the surname, language and religious criteria which are markers of Scottish settlement, especially when mapped (Figure 3)⁷, provides just as clear an indication of the centrality of language survival to the core areas of Scottish settlement as Irish does to the core areas of Irish settlement.

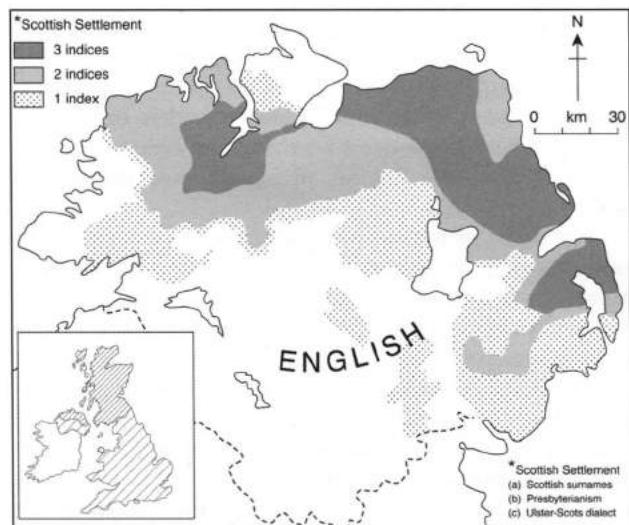


Figure 3: Scottish/English Settlement and Cultural Areas in 20th-Century Ulster

The core areas of Ulster-Scots settlement as shown in Figure 3 reveal a remarkable consistency, with more than 75% of the Ulster-Scots speaking population identified as Presbyterian within the Ulster-Scots speaking areas. Of course, the Ulster-Scots areas contrast with the areas of Ulster-English settlement in terms of their proximity to the coasts and the primary communication routes with Scotland and England respectively. This was a function of the historical processes of colonisation beginning in the early 1600s, when English and Lowland Scots migrated to Ulster in a territorially competitive fashion⁸.

One legacy of this Ulster-Scots/Ulster-English interface that is well illustrated by Figure 3 is the 1798 Rebellion. In the same decade of the 1790s, the Ulster-Scots areas ‘turned out’ in the United Irishmen Rebellion of 1798, while the Orange Order was founded in 1795 at Loughgall in north Armagh, in the heartland of Ulster-English (and Episcopalian) settlement. Some of the government militias involved in

suppressing the revolt were ‘Orange’ militias, and the principal engagements at Ballynahinch and Saintfield in county Down and at Antrim Town and Donegore Hill in county Antrim were all along the eastern frontier between these two cultural zones⁹.

In this historical, geographical and cultural context, the significance of Gregg’s map of Ulster-Scots speaking areas can be equated to that of the 1925 *Comisiún na Gaeltachta* in respect of the Irish language. The reality of Gregg’s mapped area as the core area of Ulster-Scots settlement with its own distinctive cultural traits has, since Gregg’s survey, been confirmed by ethnologists and cultural geographers.

In using cultural phenomena to ascertain the national origin of the population in a particular area, a principal obstacle is the fact that many cultural traits (which may be of English or Scottish origin) were disseminated rapidly throughout populations of mixed origin. Despite this, the pattern of a range of distinctively Scots folk-cultural traits (in addition to language, religion and surnames) has been shown to be consistent with the Ulster-Scots cultural zone shown in Figure 3. For example, the distribution of a (presumed) Scots New Year custom of distributing straw wisps was mapped by Alan Gailey in 1972 and shown to be confined to the Ulster-Scots zone in county Down¹⁰. A host of other Scots calendar customs has been similarly identified in Antrim and Down, and the distribution of 18th- and 19th-century Ulster-Scots poets is also co-extensive with the Ulster-Scots speaking area mapped by Gregg in the mid-20th century (Figure 4)¹¹.

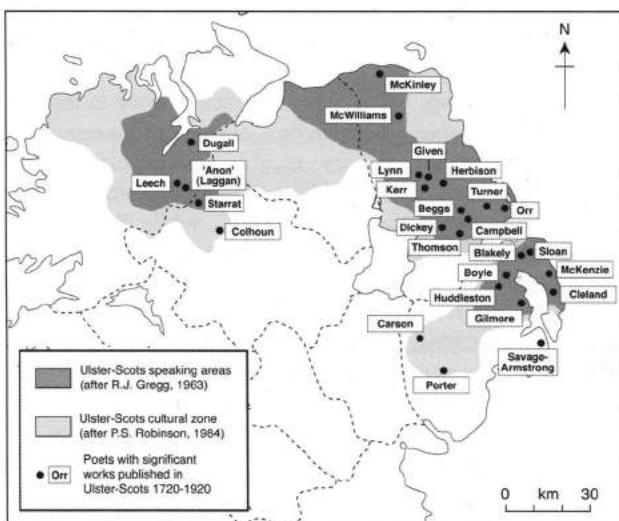


Figure 4: Ulster-Scots Areas in Ulster, showing the distribution of Ulster-Scots poets

Among these ‘folk-life’ criteria, those relating to vernacular building traditions are least prone to territorial spread by acculturation, presumably because the vernacular buildings themselves are immobile structures, fixed in the local landscape. In Alan Gailey’s seminal work, *Rural Houses of the North of Ireland*, the results of his 20-year survey into the relative distributions of the two principal vernacular house types were mapped in detail for the first time¹². This map, particularly with respect to the boundaries in counties Antrim and Down, almost exactly traces the Ulster-Scots/Ulster-English linguistic boundary as mapped by Gregg. Historically, the house-type features mapped by Gailey can be

shown to have originated in the different 17th-century vernacular house types that characterised Scots (and Irish) settlements on the one hand and English settlements on the other. Other specific folk-cultural criteria have been mapped in some detail in south Antrim, mid Ulster, and the Ards Peninsula in east Down¹³. Here again the Gregg map is validated as confirming the historicity, the holistic nature and the persistence of the core areas of Ulster-Scots.

Historical Development of Scots-Settled Areas in Ulster

Although the focus of attention for any study of the origins of Scottish settlement in Ireland is inevitably the plantation of English and lowland Scots in the 1600s, it must be remembered that the movement of peoples between north-east Ireland and south-west Scotland has been a constant factor throughout the history and pre-history of these islands.

The Ulster Plantation was a governmental scheme for the colonisation of the six Ulster counties of Armagh, Donegal, Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone and Londonderry during the reign of James I (1603-1625). However, in practice, the colonisation extended throughout the 17th century, and over a much greater area, significantly in the ‘unofficial’ plantation of Antrim and Down¹⁴.

By 1610, a plantation scheme had been approved by James I which involved granting one new county (Londonderry – formerly county Coleraine with some additions) to the twelve principal London Guild Companies. In county Londonderry each company got its own estate (such as the Drapers, Grocers, Goldsmiths, etc.), and, acting together, they were to be responsible for developing the two new city ports of Londonderry and Coleraine. Because of the proximity of these ports to Scotland, they actually became dominated by Scots merchants and artisans by 1630, despite their London-English ownership and control. Similarly, those London Companies with estates in the north of the county between Londonderry and Coleraine employed Scottish land agents to manage and ‘plant’ the lands, so here too the actual population was soon more Scots than English in origin.

The other five counties of the official scheme were divided into ‘baronies’, each barony being reserved for the use of one particular type of major land grantee. The different classes of grantees were to be groups of English Undertakers, Scottish Undertakers, English Servitors and Irish Natives. However, it was to be the Undertakers, in separate groups of English and Scots, who were to be responsible for the main implementation of the scheme for colonisation. In return for their estates, the grantees ‘undertook’ to plant 24 adult men, representing at least ten families of English or ‘inland’ (lowland) Scots on every 1000 acres.

The Undertakers were grouped in exclusively English or Scottish consorts for each barony under a principal Undertaker. Some of these consorts were of family groups, or of groups from adjacent areas in England or Scotland. The Scottish Undertakers were drawn from quite a restricted area within Scotland. The vast majority came from the central lowland belt. However, under the plantation allocations of land circa 1610, the lands allocated to Scottish Undertakers were (with the exception of north-east Donegal) well away from the ultimately Ulster-Scots zones in east and north Ulster.

A succession of governmental surveys in 1611, 1613, 1617, 1619 and 1622 were carried out to establish if these Undertakers had fulfilled their obligations to ‘plant’ settlers.

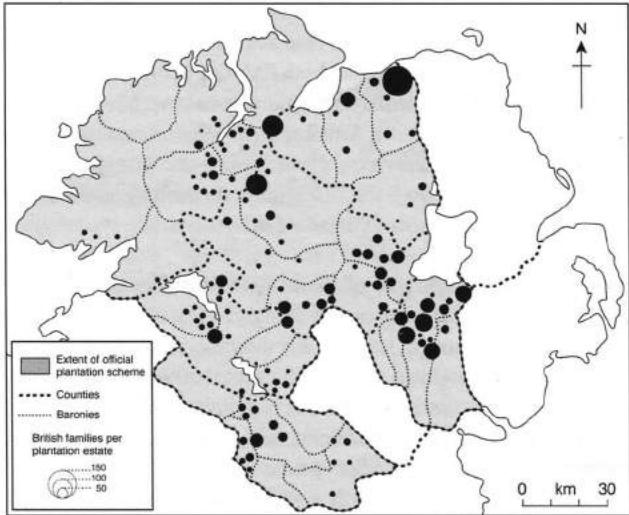


Figure 5: British plantation settlement in Ulster based on the plantation surveys of 1622.

Figure 5 shows the situation in 1622¹⁵, with obvious concentrations in fertile regions of north Armagh, east and south Tyrone, mid Cavan and Fermanagh, the Foyle basin south-west of Londonderry, and across the north coast to Coleraine.

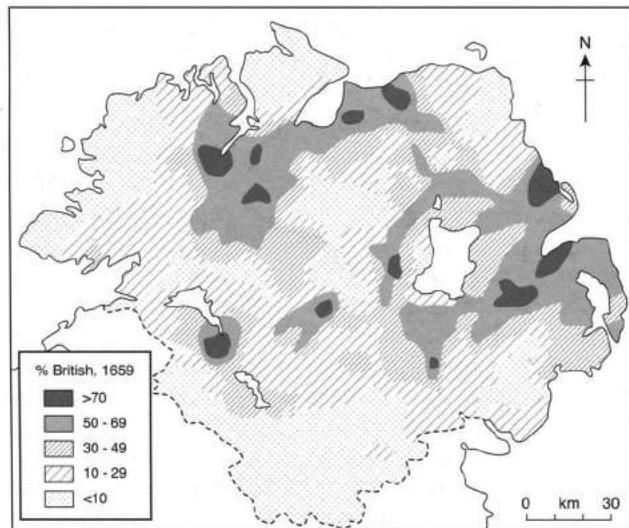


Figure 6: British settlement in Ulster, c.1659

These early surveys did not distinguish between English and Scots tenants, nor did they provide lists of surnames that might be used as an indication. Figure 6 provides a much broader picture of the settlement situation in 1659¹⁶. This ‘census’ was based on poll tax returns and specifically distinguished ‘Irish’ inhabitants from ‘English and Scotch’. Here we can see how the settlement on the official plantation estates sat in the context of the larger unofficial settlements in Antrim and Down. The distributional pattern of plantation settlement in the first half of the 17th century coincides substantially with the 20th-century situation (compare, for example, the detail of the British settlement distribution that is implied in Figure 2).

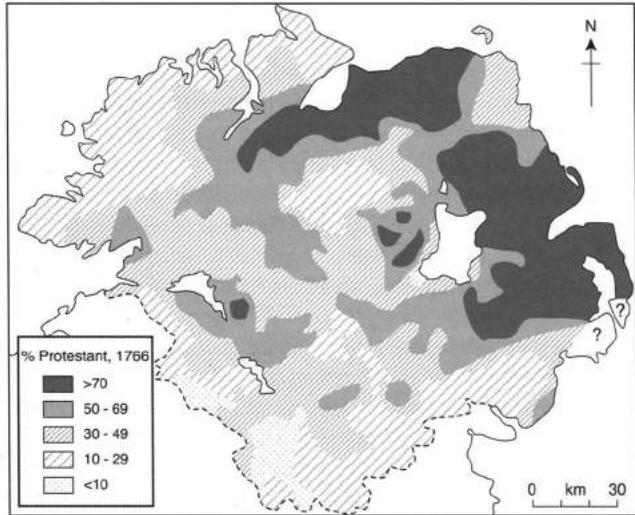


Figure 7: The Distribution of Protestants (Established Church and Dissenter) in Ulster, 1766

Most historians familiar with the settlement history of this period agree that the late 17th century witnessed a massive increase in British settlement in Ulster, and the levels reached in the 18th century (Figure 7)¹⁷ represent the culmination of what had been more than a century of successive waves of incoming settlers. Although we can be confident of the detail and historicity of the predominantly ‘British’ settled regions of the rural Ulster landscape, none of the historic surveys of the 17th and 18th centuries enumerates English and Scottish settlers separately.

At the top social level of Undertaker and landlord, the precise original locations of the English and Scottish ‘planter’ families are known, but it is a fundamental error to assume that their tenants came from the same locations¹⁸. Occasionally, contemporary records are specific. For example, in 1638 the Scottish Covenanters believed that there were 40,000 Scottish men in Ulster¹⁹, while Sir Thomas Wentworth estimated in 1639 that there were 100,000 of the Scottish nation in Ireland²⁰. Scots in particular entered Ulster during the 1630s in increasing numbers. One report from Scotland in 1635 stated that in the preceding two years, 10,000 had passed through the port of Irvine on their way to Ireland²¹.

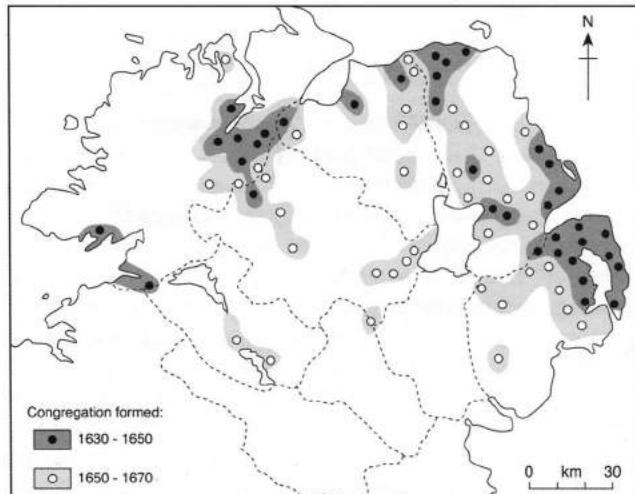


Figure 8: The Spread of Presbyterianism in 17th-Century Ulster

The colonisation of Ulster was undertaken by the English and by lowland Scots settlers in a competitive manner which often enabled the two groups to retain their national identities in different districts²². The spread of Presbyterianism in Ulster had by the late 17th century resulted in the formation of many Presbyterian congregations throughout the major areas of Scottish settlement (Figure 8)²³. The distribution of these earliest congregations conforms closely to the notion that there were four core areas where Scottish settlers were dominant (and even equate to the four distinct dialect areas of spoken Ulster-Scots today): north Down, east and mid Antrim, the ‘Route’ area of north Antrim and north-east Londonderry, and the ‘Laggan’ area of the Foyle basin in north-east Donegal and north-west Tyrone. These areas are precisely those of the first four presbyteries of Presbyterianism in Ireland: Antrim, Down, the Route, and the Laggan. From these four areas Presbyterianism continued to spread territorially during the late-17th century. By the time of the 1911 census, a clear territorial distinction was still evident between the two principal Protestant denominations, with a north-eastern crescent of Presbyterian ascendancy, contrasting with the Episcopalian areas of mid and south Ulster (Figure 9)²⁴.

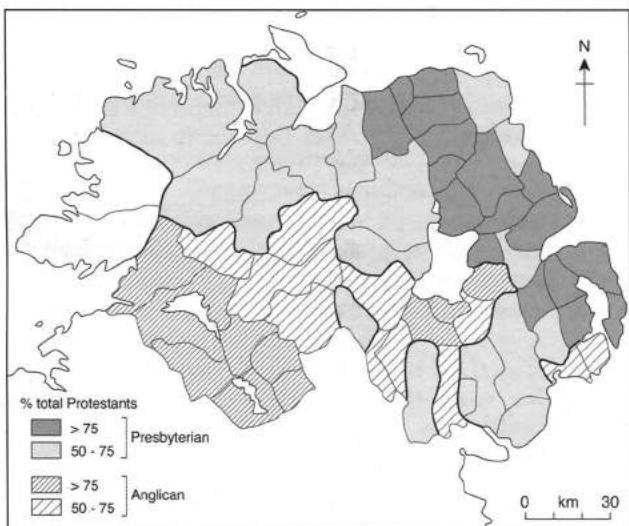


Figure 9: Presbyterian/Episcopalian Areas in 20th-Century Ulster

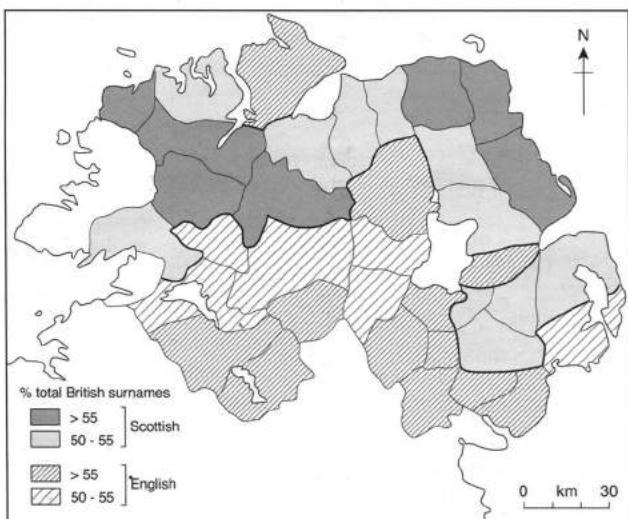


Figure 10: Scottish/English Surname Areas in 20th-Century Ulster

Surnames not only enable the confirmation of the areas of early Scottish settlement, but they also provide positive identification of English-settled areas. The 20th-century ‘surname landscape’ of rural Ulster, as revealed in electoral lists of the 1960s, also provides (Figure 10) further confirmation of the continuity of English and Scottish settlement differentiation²⁵. There are two periods in the 17th century (the 1630s and the 1660s) for which it is possible to examine the surnames of the British inhabitants throughout most of Ulster. The 1630 Muster Rolls list the names of all the adult ‘British’ males capable of bearing arms on each large land-owner’s estate, while the Hearth-Money Rolls of the 1660s provide the names of all hearth-owners in most of Ulster, townland by townland. Figure 11 shows which estates contained predominantly English or Scottish settlers in 1630²⁶. The areas of Scottish settlement indicated on this map coincide with the areas of Presbyterian dominance in the 17th century, although some areas in mid Ulster appear also to have had a majority of Scottish tenants. Areas of English settlement in county Londonderry, north Armagh, south-west Antrim and Fermanagh support the assumption that most non-Presbyterian (i.e. Episcopalian) British were of English stock. However, some of the plantation estates in mid Ulster were apparently ‘mixed’, with neither English nor Scots dominant.

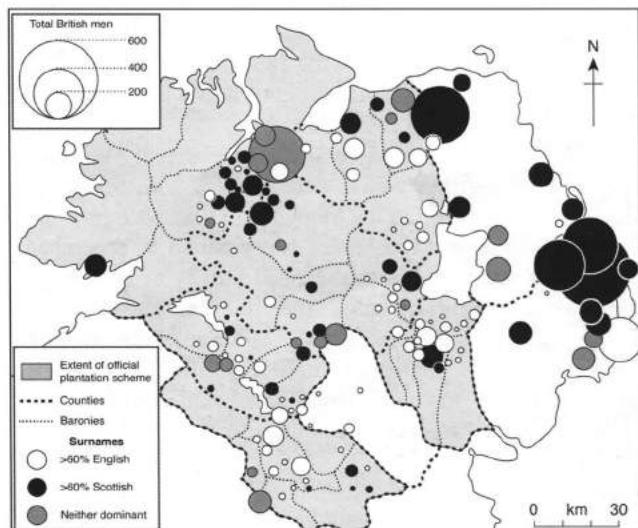


Figure 11: English and Scottish Settlement in Ulster (based on numbers and surnames recorded in the muster rolls), c.1630

Before 1630, we know from the contemporary records of the Hamilton and Montgomery ‘plantations’ in north Down that these lands (and similar areas in Antrim) were overwhelmingly ‘Scotch’ as early as 1605²⁷. This included the towns of Bangor, Holywood, Newtownards and Donaghadee, but only in 1630 (Figure 11) can we see this in context for the first time. According to the 1637 Customs Report, the English in Londonderry were ‘weak and few in number ... the Scots being many in numbers, and twenty to one for the English’²⁸. Older, pre-plantation towns with an established English ascendancy such as Carrickfergus, Downpatrick and Armagh had developed ‘English’, ‘Irish’ and ‘Scotch’ quarters or streets. In mid Ulster, the town of Dungannon had its inhabitants listed as ‘English, Scotch and Wealch’ in the certificate provided for the 1622 plantation commissioners²⁹. Indeed, for most estates in counties Armagh and Tyrone, the

1622 ‘Undertaker’s certificates’ survive, with the actual names of settlers listed. These confirm the presence of Scots on many of the English-owned estates, and the totality of Scots at the port and town of Strabane in north-west Tyrone³⁰.

By the 1660s, however, the Scots had consolidated in north and east Ulster and largely withdrawn from mid and south Ulster. The 1622 Survey of Cavan relates that many of the Scottish tenants of Sir Henry Piers ‘had left that land (as we are informed) and were gone to dwell in the Clandeboyes from whence they came’. The ‘Clandeboyes’ was the area of north Down first settled with Scots by Sir James Hamilton (later Viscount Clandeboy) in 1605.

The 1611 Plantation Survey provides evidence that some Undertakers brought ‘followers’ with them to four Scottish-owned estates in county Tyrone. Bodley’s Survey of 1613 records ‘English’ tenants on some English-owned estates near Dungannon, but states that another English-owned estate in Clogher Barony contained ‘inland Scots’³¹.

By the 1790s the consolidation of north and east Ulster into an almost continuous Ulster-Scots settlement zone, and mid and south Ulster into an Ulster-English zone, was both well-defined and well-known. The frontiers between these two territories provided the theatre for conflict between the two sides in the ’98 rising, and so the boundary between Scots and English cultural areas sharpened with increased political and religious significance in the local psyche. In the Ordnance Survey Memoirs of the 1830s, the Surveyors noted acute local awareness of this frontier down to the detail of particular townlands in south Antrim³².

In the core areas of Ulster-Scots settlement in Antrim and Down, those parishes which were peopled with Scots were identified very clearly in the Memoirs. These Memoirs often included written descriptions of every parish to accompany the first edition of the 6-inch mapped Survey of Ireland, and these descriptions included the ‘habits, customs, and amusements’ of local inhabitants. The Surveyors preparing the Memoirs were English or Anglo-Irish officials with much greater hostility towards Ulster-Scots than to Irish. For example, in the Parish of Carnmoney to the north of Belfast we find the following:

There is scarcely a tradition in this parish. This is not much to be wondered, when it is remembered that but two centuries have elapsed since their ancestors first settled in the country Their airs and ballads are strictly Scottish Their accent is peculiarly, and among the old people disagreeably strong and broad. Their idioms and saws are strictly Scottish. Four-fifths of the population are Presbyterians The covenanters worship at the meeting house in the hamlet of Carnmoney They are still by some styled the “Cameronians” or “mountainy people” and are believed to retain usages of the ancient original Scottish church³³.

In east Antrim, the home territory of Professor Gregg, the Memoirs record for the following parishes:

Parish of Templecorran:

Their accent, idioms and phraseology are strictly and disagreeably Scottish, partaking only of the broad and coarse accent and dialect of the Southern counties of Scotland³⁴.

Parish of Islandmagee:

All their sports are of a Scottish character The inhabitants, being all of Scotch descent, retain the manners and habits of their ancestors. The people are very hospitable, but very blunt in their manners and obstinate in their opinions³⁵.

Parish of Grange of Ballywalter:

All the names are purely Scottish. The family of Shaw is said to be the most ancient in the grange. Almost the entire population are Presbyterians, there being scarcely a member of the Churches of England or Rome³⁶.

Parish of Mallusk:

Their dialect, accent, idioms and customs are strictly Scottish They are rather rough and blunt³⁷.

Parish of Carncastle and Killyglen:

The people are too thoroughly Scotch to allow any patron’s days. The inhabitants still retain the Scottish habits and accents³⁸.

In north Antrim, perhaps the stereotypical Ulster-Scots area, the Memoirs tell much the same story as for east Antrim in the following parishes:

Parish of Drumtullagh:

... peopled by the descendants of the Scottish and English emigrants. The Scottish language is spoken in great purity³⁹.

Parish of Ballintoy:

They are all descendants of the Scottish settlers of the 16th century, as may be inferred from their very broad Scotch dialect and accent⁴⁰.

Parish of Armoy:

They seem to be almost exclusively of Scottish extraction The inhabitants towards the more mountainous parts are very uncouth and ignorant⁴¹.

Elsewhere in mid Antrim and Londonderry, the Surveyors of the 1830s again confirm the settlement continuity underlying the linguistic survival of Ulster-Scots.

Parish of Ahoghill (Antrim):

The inhabitants much resemble the Scots in their habits, customs and dialect. They are rather dogged, obstinate and blunt⁴².

Parish of Grange of Shilvodan (Antrim):

The inhabitants display disagreeable Scottish manners⁴³.

Parish of Racavan (Antrim):

The great mass of the population are Presbyterian⁴⁴.

Parish of Dundermot (Antrim):

.... inhabitants all descendants of the Scotch Presbyterians⁴⁵.

Parish of Aghanloo (north Londonderry):

The local customs are those most prevalent among all Scottish inhabitants of the country ... dancing is a favourite amusement ... they seem to be very fond of

fiddle playing. Singing schools are held in rotation among the Presbyterian farmers' houses and after music, both sacred and profane, a dance generally concludes⁴⁶.

These Ordnance Survey Memoirs provide a link with the plantation settlement patterns and establish beyond doubt that during the 1830s the same areas that are 'Ulster-Scots' today were even more strikingly 'Scotch' to the surveyors and cartographers of those days.

Gregg's Mapping of the Distribution and Boundaries of Ulster-Scots

Gregg began his fieldwork for a survey of Ulster-Scots in 1960 and completed it in 1963. His objective was 'the mapping of the distribution and boundaries of the Scotch-Irish [Ulster-Scots] dialects throughout the province', thereby 'tracing the external expansion of lowland Scots speech', which he observed in Ulster 'marches with Ulster Hiberno-English'⁴⁷. Gregg was aware that the term 'Scotch-Irish' which he used at the time of his first survey was understood in North America to cover 'things or persons of Ulster origin in general and, with reference to speech in particular, covering all types of Ulster dialect'⁴⁸.

The urban and rural dialects of Scotch-Irish examined by Gregg he defined specifically as the Lowland Scots dialects, which are 'still spoken in the areas that were most intensively peopled by lowland Scottish settlers during the 17th century'⁴⁹. To Gregg, the coincidence of Ulster-Scots settlement and language was a premise rather than a conclusion. He began with a good understanding of the settlement history of the province as a whole, but particularly in county Antrim where his local knowledge determined that fewer informants would be required (Figure 1).

With the benefit of the survey behind him, he could confirm that:

the Lowland Scots dialects ... have likewise been preserved in the areas of extensive Scottish settlement. That typically Scots lexical items (as distinct from the full-blown historical-phonological system) are found everywhere in Ulster reflects the fact that many small groups of lowlanders pushed far beyond the limits of the homogeneously Scots-settled areas and in time assimilated into the surrounding Ulster-Hiberno-English speech, but not before bequeathing many expressive items to the vocabulary of their neighbours⁵⁰.

Gregg began his survey in the Laggan area of north Donegal, for which he had compiled a lexical questionnaire involving over 500 words. It soon became apparent, however, that many of the Scots words on his list had 'spread far beyond the original settlement area as described by the historians of the Laggan plantation, and that their rather haphazard distribution would not give a satisfactory linguistic demarcation line'⁵¹.

An alternative questionnaire was then put into operation, 'based on some of the historical phonological differences that separate Scots from English dialects in general'⁵². It was quickly established that these typically Scots phonological patterns had remained entrenched in the areas of intensive Scottish settlement. 'The opposition between the Lowland Scots forms and those of English provenance provided almost everywhere a sharply-defined border'⁵³.

Gregg's Definitive 'Markers' of Ulster-Scots Speech

For the purposes of his survey, Gregg developed a phonological questionnaire based on over thirty years of previous research on the Lowland Scots speech of his home district of Glenoe in east Antrim. As his dedication at the beginning of his published survey acknowledges, this was literally his 'mother tongue'. Dialectal differences within Ulster-Scots were to be found in some cases between, say, county Down, Donegal, north Antrim, and south-east Antrim (the four principal areas of Ulster-Scots settlement). However, these differences proved only to occur within the accepted Scots typologies and indicated (perhaps for the first time in any academic study) that there may be different dialects of Ulster-Scots. Gregg was aware that these differences could provide problems, for example, with attempts at spelling standardisation, but he was convinced of the ascendancy of Antrim Ulster-Scots, which he used as the yardstick in recording regional variation. Despite the range of Scots dialects found across the Ulster-Scots speaking areas, he stated, 'Antrim, however, is the heartland'⁵⁴. Outside the Ulster-Scots areas were the '... regions occupied predominantly by English planters', which he understood to '... still exhibit many characteristics of the dialects of the N and W Midlands, the original home of most of these settlers'⁵⁵. Ulster Hiberno-English was assumed to be the dialect spoken in the areas outside of his boundary, and one possible criticism is that he did not allow for the possibility of any 'outliers', i.e. small isolated areas of Scots survival outside of the main area.

Having established that the lexical questionnaire he began with in Donegal was unsuitable for distinguishing Ulster-Scots from Ulster Hiberno-English (because of the widespread adoption of many of the words with Scots etymologies into vernacular speech across Ulster), he devised a phonological questionnaire. This alternative was based on '... some of the historical differences that separate Scots from English dialects in general', and was distilled by survey testing until a Final Phonological Questionnaire was determined. This final questionnaire involved 665 items arranged in 14 typological lists and was used throughout the survey area.

'These lists proved to be very successful, for it was quickly established that the typical Scottish phonological patterns had remained entrenched in the areas of intensive 17th century Scots settlement ... providing almost everywhere a sharply defined border'⁵⁶.

With 125 informants, and 665 items in the questionnaire used with each informant, a theoretical 80,000 responses were anticipated by Gregg for his data-base. Although the full questionnaire was not completed for each informant, 300 pages of tabulated phonetic responses are provided in the published survey. In general, he only recorded the key sound in each word form, usually the stressed vowel. Gregg used mostly IPA symbols for his tabulation, although he describes some additional symbols he felt were necessary to use⁵⁷.

It is important to stress the importance of this body of tabulated information over and above the maps the data were used to produce. At each location of an identified informant, we have a unique historical record of a wide range of Scots phonological and lexical items elicited. Not only does Gregg use this information to map the geographical extent of Ulster-Scots, but in these tables he also records regional differences, defines the distinguishing characteristics of the language – the 'markers' – and provides us with an historical base-line

against which present and future erosion can be measured.

The items in the phonological questionnaire were grouped into 14 lists, each list marking a group of words with similar features (usually the identity of the stressed vowel reflex as characterised in the present-day dialect).

It is useful to look at Gregg's first list as an illustration, for he considered the survival of the Germanic 'ch' sound in words like *fecht* (fight) as the 'most important consonant by far' for the purpose of discriminating between Ulster-Scots and Ulster Hiberno-English. This feature is /χ/, 'the reflex of the velar fricative in O[ld] E[nglish] and M[idle] E[nglish]'. It was (and is) well preserved in all the Ulster-Scots areas, not only in dialect words of a Scottish type such as *sheugh*, *pegh*, *spraghle*, etc., but in a large number of Standard English and Ulster Hiberno-English words where the feature is absent. List 1 contains 47 items where this feature was anticipated: bought, bright, brought, cough, daughter, dough, draught, eight, enough, fight, fought, height, high, laugh, light, might, neigh, night, ought (pronoun), right, rough, sigh, sight, sough, straight, thought, tight, tough, trough, weight, wright, wrought, ... and a further 16 items of dialect words such as *sheugh*, etc. Of these 47 items, Gregg selected six for mapping: *dauchter*, *echt*, *eneuch*, *fecht*, *nicht* and *teuch* (NB Gregg used only phonetics to represent these forms of 'daughter', 'eight', 'enough', 'fight', 'night' and 'tough'. In doing so he was able to record significant regional variation in Scots pronunciation).

The following list identifies which forms from each of the 14 lists Gregg selected for individual maps in his published survey. The Ulster-Scots forms are approximated here, rather than illustrate the phonetic variations recorded by Gregg.

Table 1. Items mapped individually by Gregg in his published survey. (Items marked* are those finally selected for confirmation of boundary in Figure 1, and these maps are presented below – Figures 12-63).

List 1 (Out of 47 items in data-base)	List 8 (Out of 45)
EIGHT* (echt)	FALL* (faa)
ENOUGH* (eneuch)	AWAY* (awa)
FIGHT* (fecht)	TWO* (twa)
NIGHT*(nicht)	WHERE* (whaur)
TOUGH* (teuch)	WHO* (wha)
TROUGH	CROW
GRISEACH	SNOW
LAGHTER	
SHEUGH	
List 2 (Out of 51)	List 9 (Out of 46)
ABOVE* (abin)	EYES* (een)
FOOT*(fit)	MARE* (meer)
GOOD* (guid)	BREAD* (breid)
DONE	
FLOOR	
DOOR	
SHOES	
HOOK	
List 3 (Out of 27)	List 10 (Out of 59)
FIND* (fin)	HOME* (hame)
BRIDGE* (brig)	ONE* (yin)
SON	STONE* (stane)
TUP	STRAW* (strae)
	WEANS
	HAIN
List 4 (Out of 58)	List 11 (Out of 18)
APPLE* (apple)	CORN* (coarn)
FAMILY* (femily)	DOG* (doag)
FATHER* (fether)	NOT* (no)
CART	GOPEN
FARM	LONIN
List 5 (Out of 81)	List 12 (Out of 41)
COW* (coo)	HAY* (haai)
FULL* (fu)	AY (always)
ABOUT* (aboot)	QUEY
OUR* (stressed) (oor)	
HOUSE* (hoose)	
COWS	
List 6 (Out of 46)	List 13 (Out of 37)
TWENTY* (twunty)	OVER* (owre)
TWISTER* (twuster)	THAW* (thowe)
FOUND* (fun)	COLD
WHIN	OLD
	KNOWE
	EWE
	FOUR
List 7 (Out of 56)	List 14 (Out of 52)
MUST* (maun)	DO* (dae)
LONG* (lang)	DON'T* (dinnae)
WET* (wat)	HAVE* (hae)
CROP (harvest)	HAVE TO* (haetae)
CROP (of a bird)	CAN'T*(cannae)
SLAP	GIVE* (gie)
	GAVE/GIVEN* (gien)
	TAKE* (tak)
	TOOK/TAKEN
	GO
	GOING

Gregg's Statistical and Cartographic Analysis

It had become apparent to Gregg at an early stage of his survey that some of the 665 features he had tabulated were 'not suitable for boundary drawing'⁵⁸. This was often because a particular feature was only preserved in part of the survey area (e.g. *mave* for 'move' was largely restricted to Down, and absent in Antrim), or the feature had become virtually obsolescent throughout the survey area, or had an equivalent form in Ulster Hiberno-English (usually a lexical item).

In his published survey, Gregg took 88 of these features and mapped them individually, selecting them on the basis of their apparent role as universal markers of the boundary. These maps, or rather the data-base used to compile them, was then subjected to a rigorous statistical analysis to further eliminate items which deviated from a 'perfect' correlation with the final mapped boundary. These deviations are explained in terms of the factors mentioned above, but with considerable detail given which is, of itself, of academic interest with potential for much further research.

The final boundary map as published in 1972 and 1985 (Figure 1), was compiled using a statistically-refined residual total of 52 of the 88 mapped features. The 'best fit' features (with virtually no deviation for all informants from a perfect correlation with the final boundary), were the three maps and data for the features COW (Figure 12), ABOUT (Figure 13) and FIND (Figure 14). The full set of these 52 maps is presented here (Figures 12 – 63) in order of increasing deviation, so that Figure 63 (where *een* is found for 'EYES') has the most deviation among informants in the final selection of features. The 52 features selected statistically by Gregg in his final sift are identified in the above Table (*Table 1*) by asterisks.

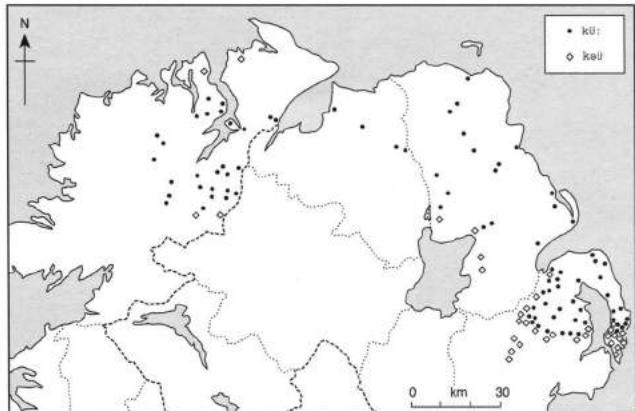


Figure 12: Gregg's Word Map for COW (coo)

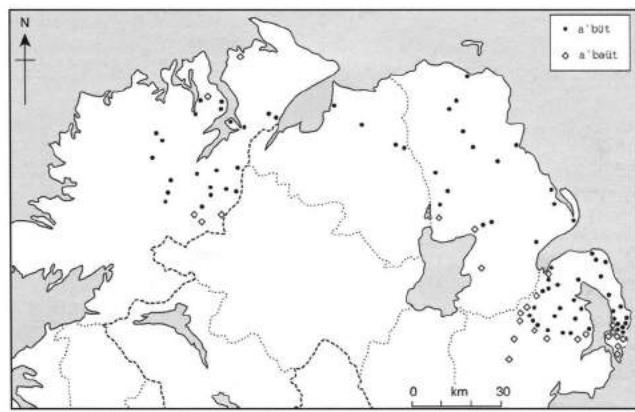


Figure 13: Gregg's Word Map for ABOUT (about)

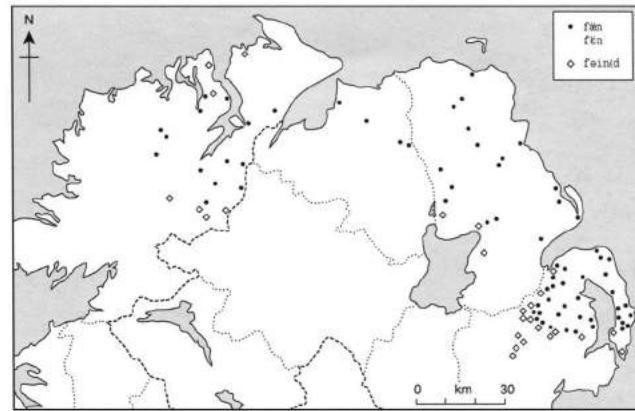


Figure 14: Gregg's Word Map for FIND (fin)

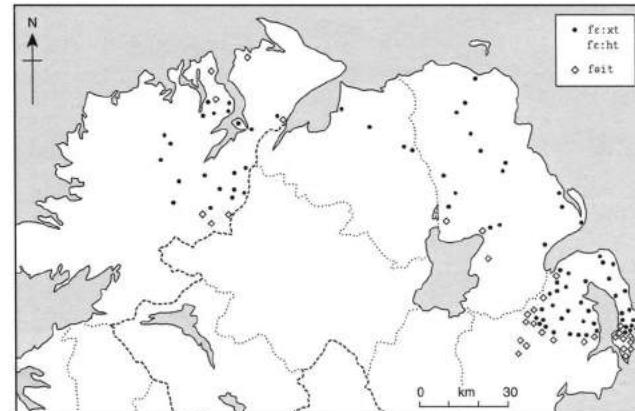


Figure 15: Gregg's Word Map for FIGHT (fecht)

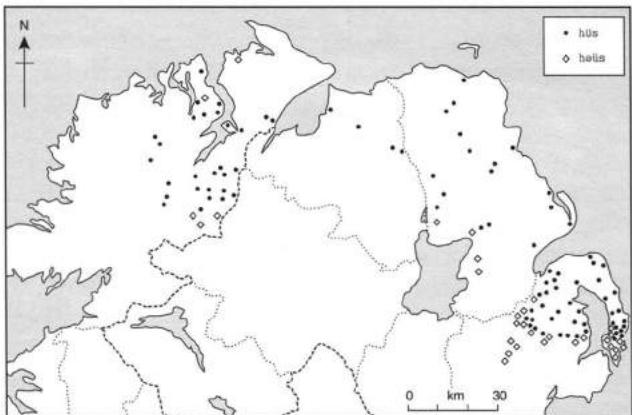


Figure 16: Gregg's Word Map for HOUSE (hoose)

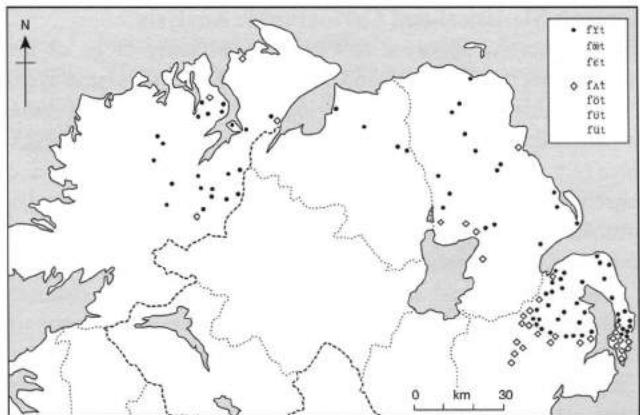


Figure 20: Gregg's Word Map for FOOT (fit)

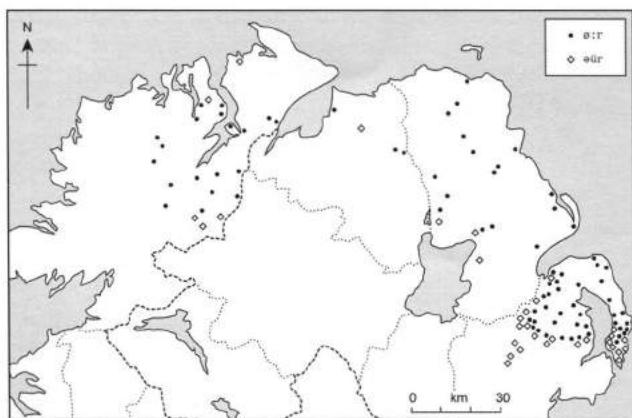


Figure 17: Gregg's Word Map for OUR (oor)

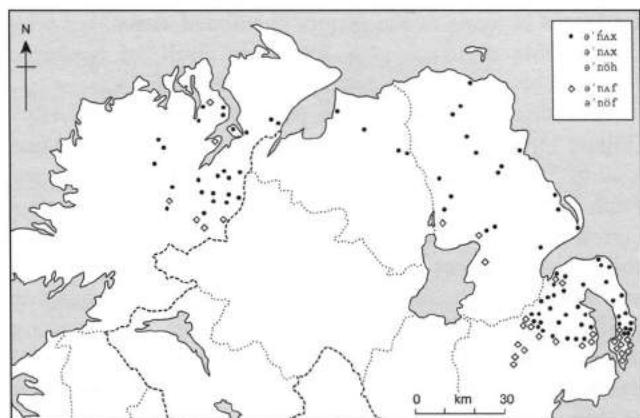


Figure 21: Gregg's Word Map for ENOUGH (eneuch)

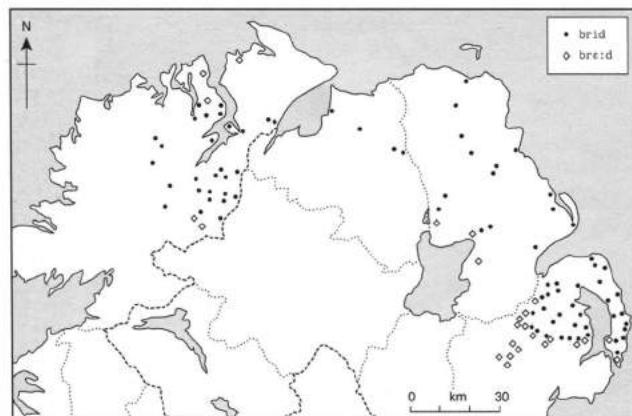


Figure 18: Gregg's Word Map for BREAD (breid)

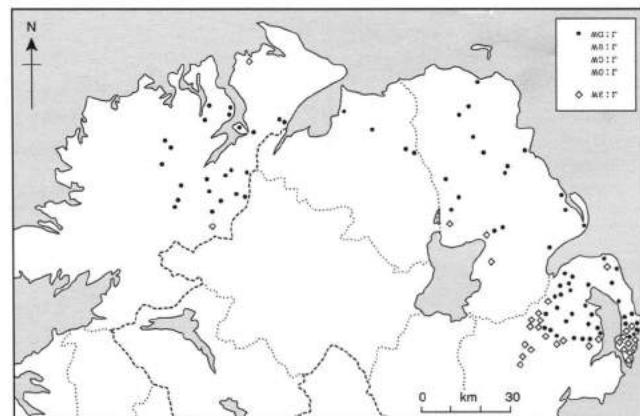


Figure 22: Gregg's Word Map for WHERE (whaur)

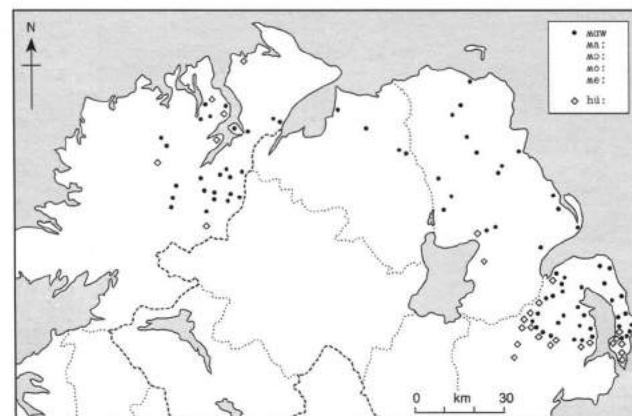


Figure 19: Gregg's Word Map for WHO (wha)

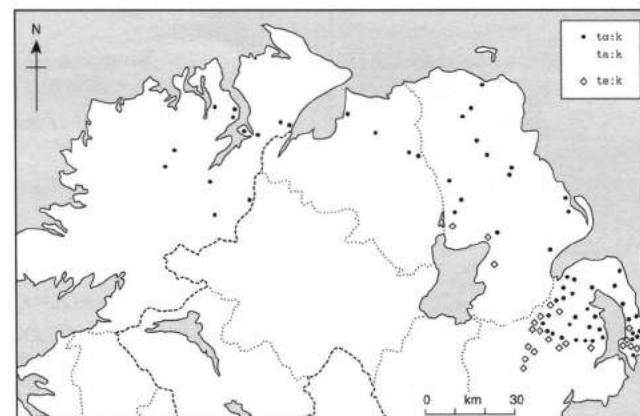


Figure 23: Gregg's Word Map for TAKE (tak)

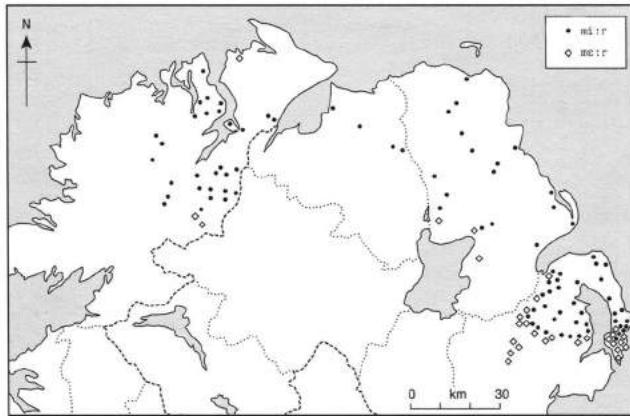


Figure 24: Gregg's Word Map for MARE (meer)

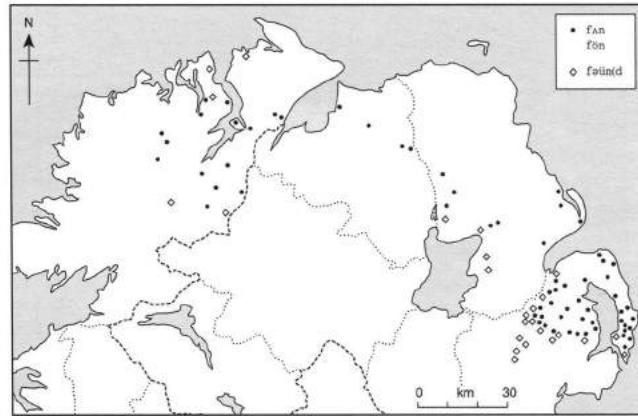


Figure 28: Gregg's Word Map for FOUND (fun)

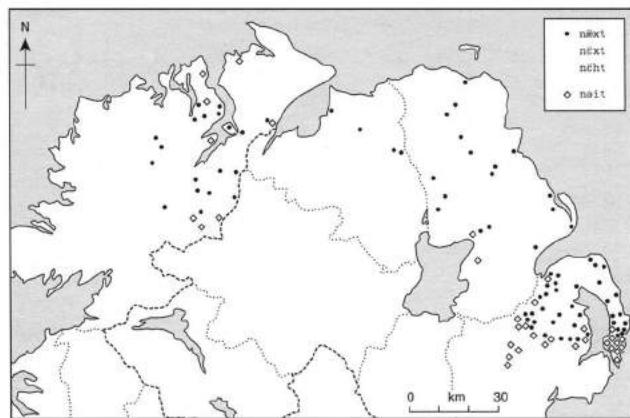


Figure 25: Gregg's Word Map for NIGHT (nicht)

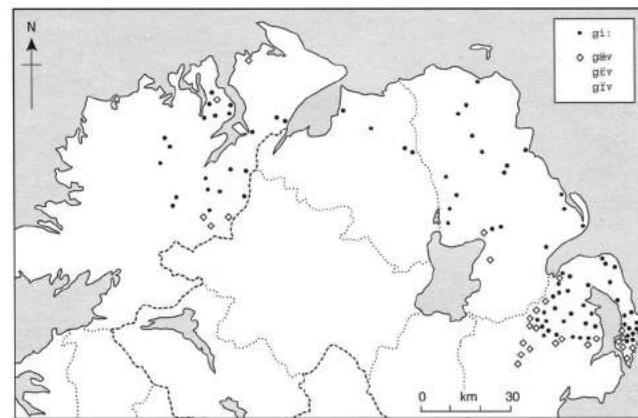


Figure 29: Gregg's Word Map for GIVE (gie)

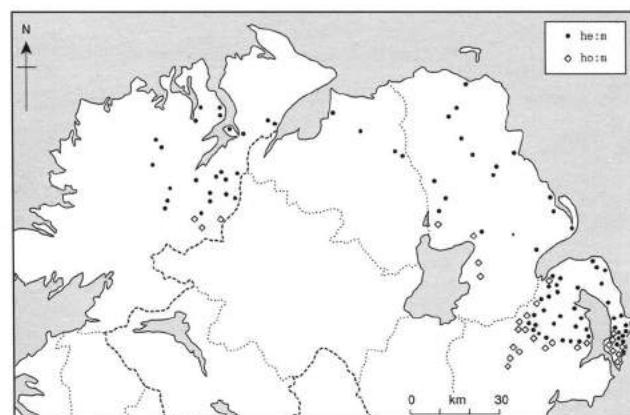


Figure 26: Gregg's Word Map for HOME (hame)

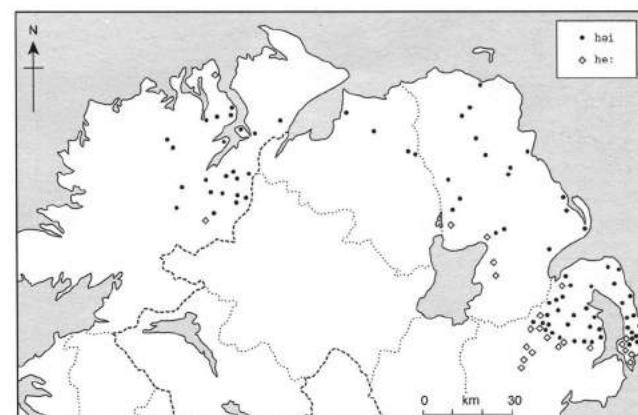


Figure 30: Gregg's Word Map for HAY (haai)

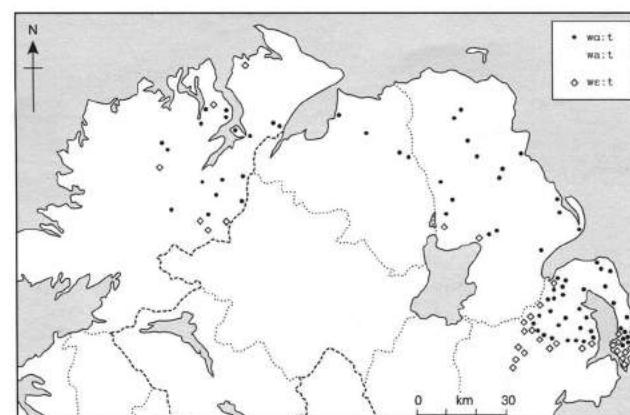


Figure 27: Gregg's Word Map for WET (wat)

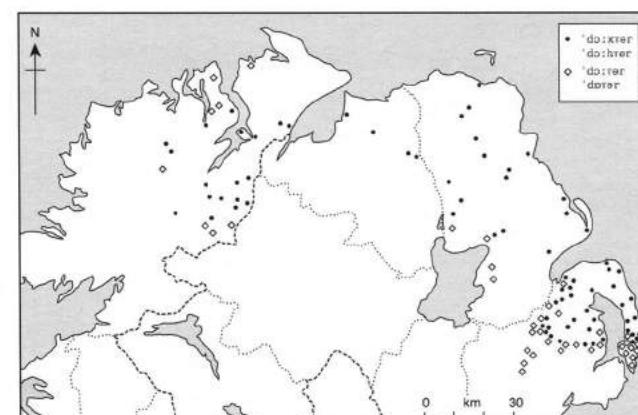


Figure 31: Gregg's Word Map for DAUGHTER (dauchter)

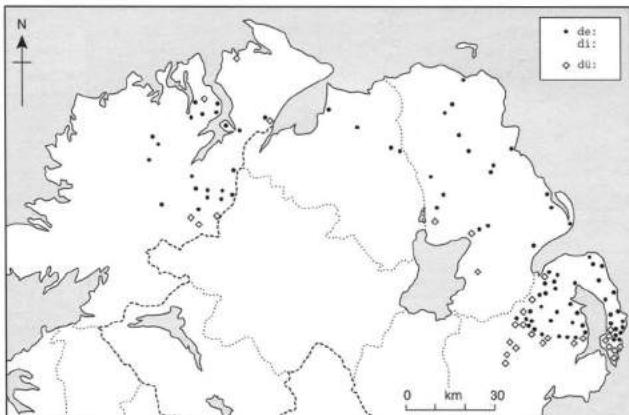


Figure 32: Gregg's Word Map for DO (dae)

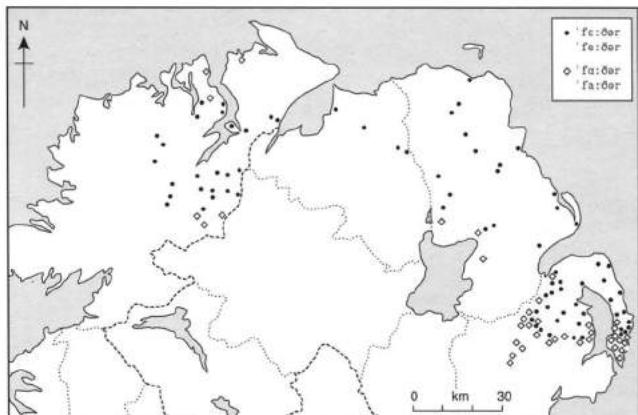


Figure 36: Gregg's Word Map for FATHER (fether)

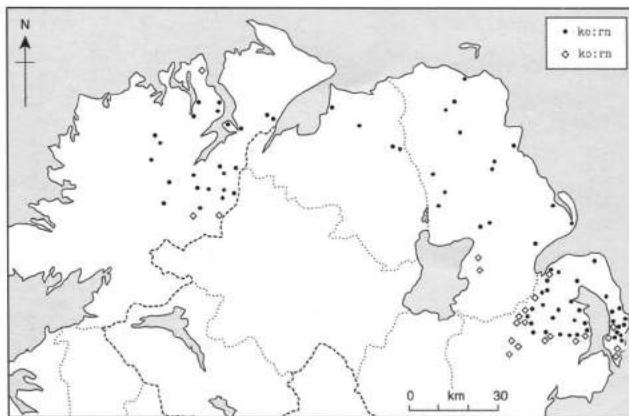


Figure 33: Gregg's Word Map for CORN (coarn)

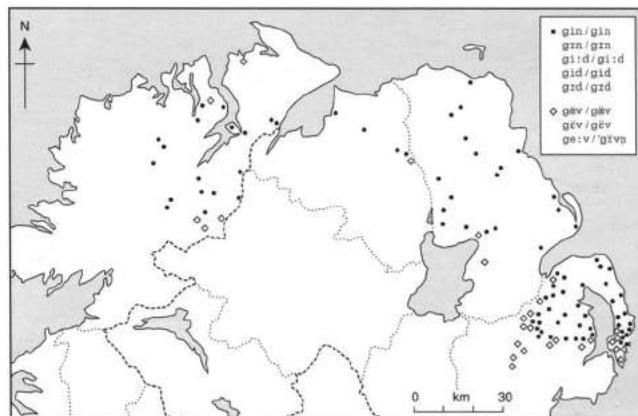


Figure 37: Gregg's Word Map for GAVE/GIVEN (gien)

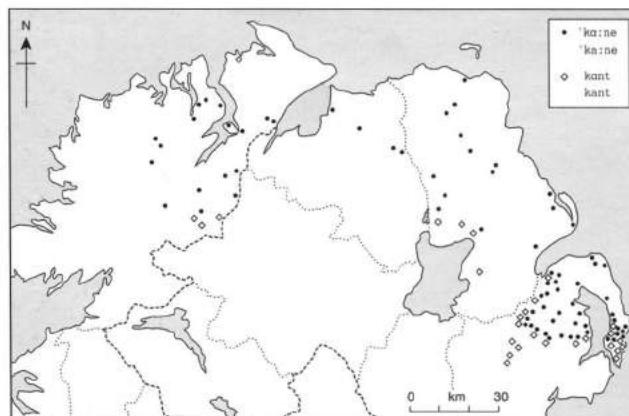


Figure 34: Gregg's Word Map for CAN'T (cannae)

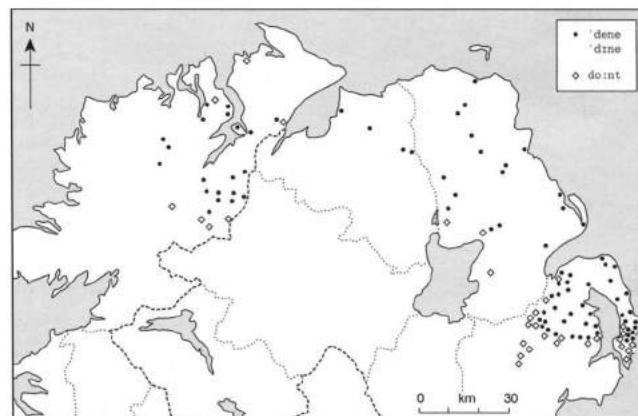


Figure 38: Gregg's Word Map for DON'T (dinnae)

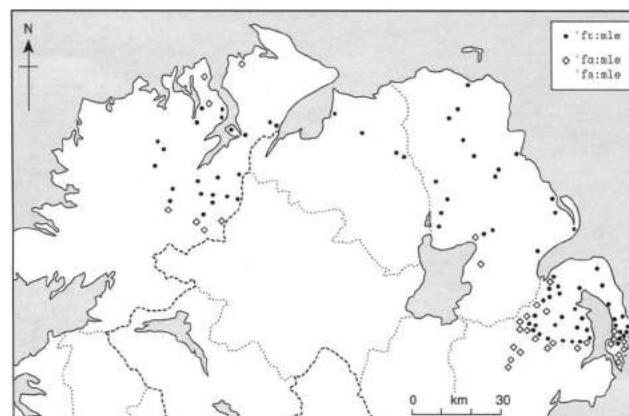


Figure 35: Gregg's Word Map for FAMILY (femily)

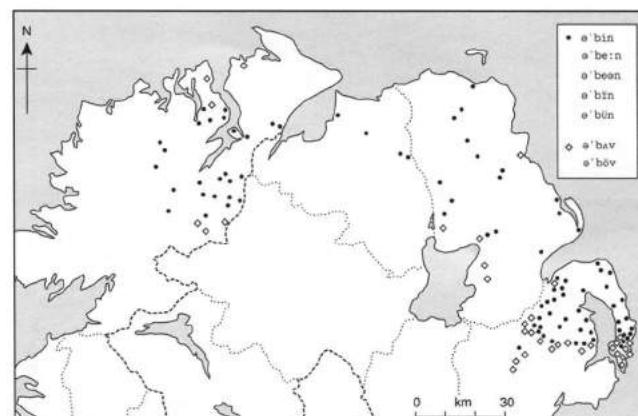


Figure 39: Gregg's Word Map for ABOVE (abin, etc.)

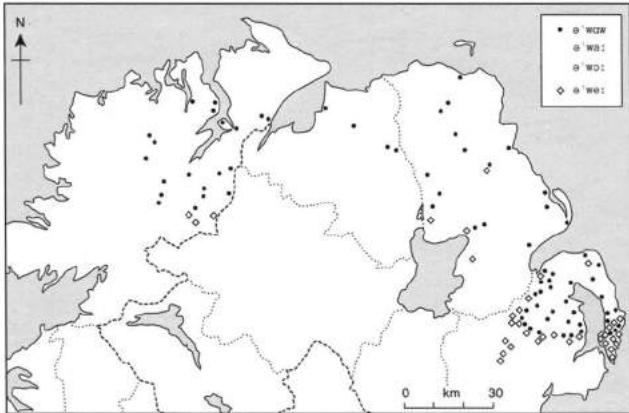


Figure 40: Gregg's Word Map for AWAY (awa)

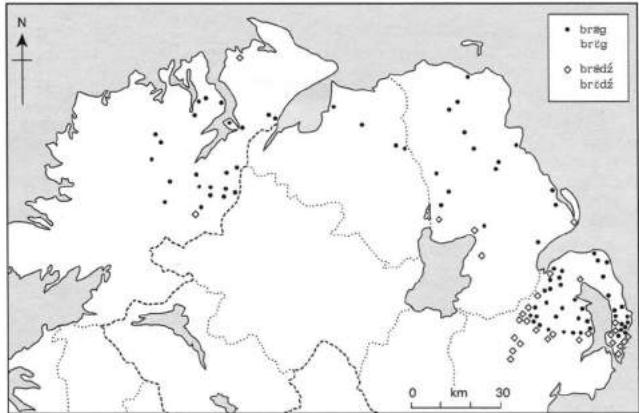


Figure 44: Gregg's Word Map for BRIDGE (brig)

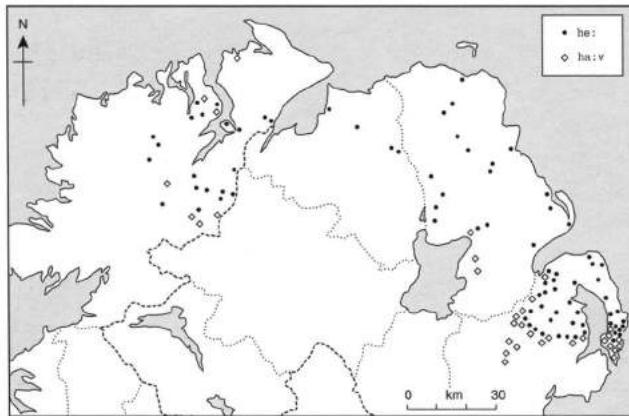


Figure 41: Gregg's Word Map for HAVE (hae)

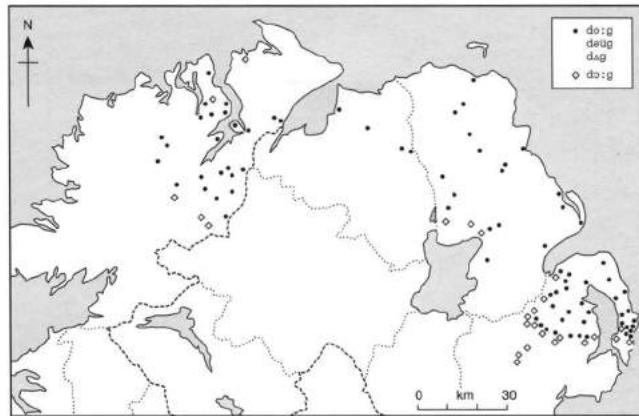


Figure 45: Gregg's Word Map for DOG (dug, doag, etc.)

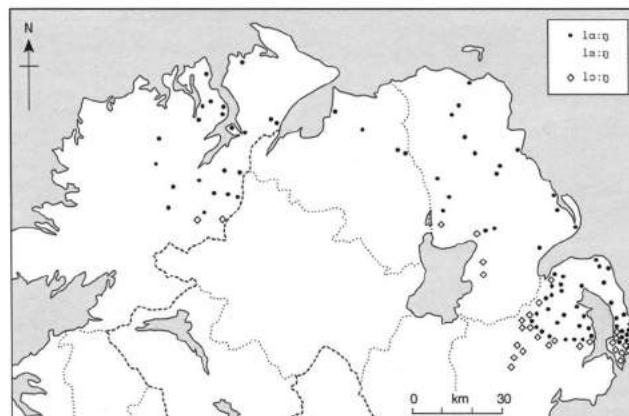


Figure 42: Gregg's Word Map for LONG (lang)

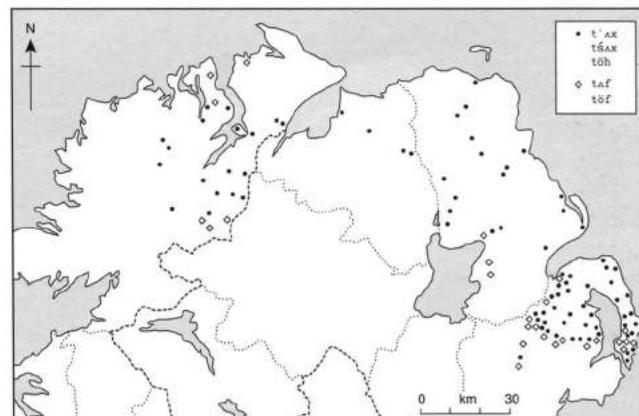


Figure 46: Gregg's Word Map for TOUGH (teuch)

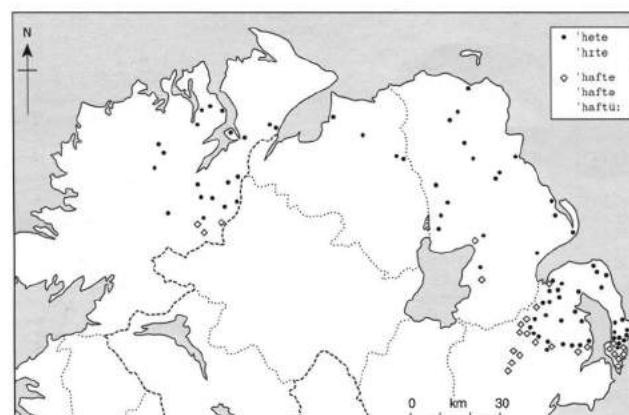


Figure 43: Gregg's Word Map for HAVE TO (hittae, etc.)

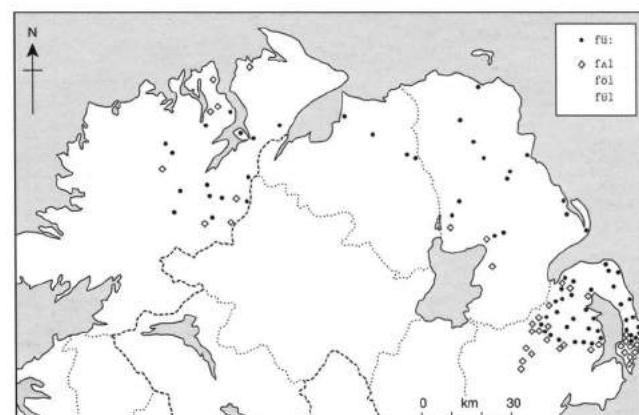


Figure 47: Gregg's Word Map for FULL (fu)

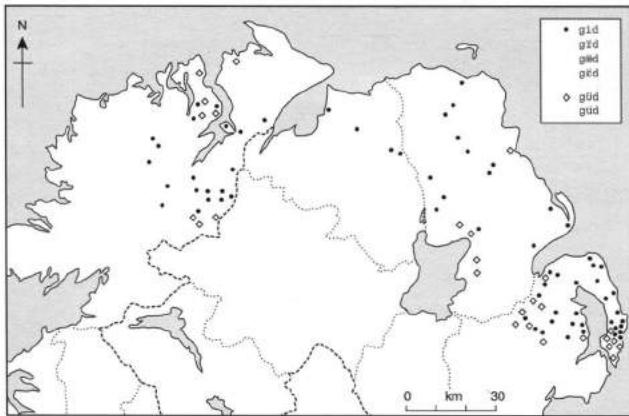


Figure 48: Gregg's Word Map for GOOD (guid, gid, etc.)

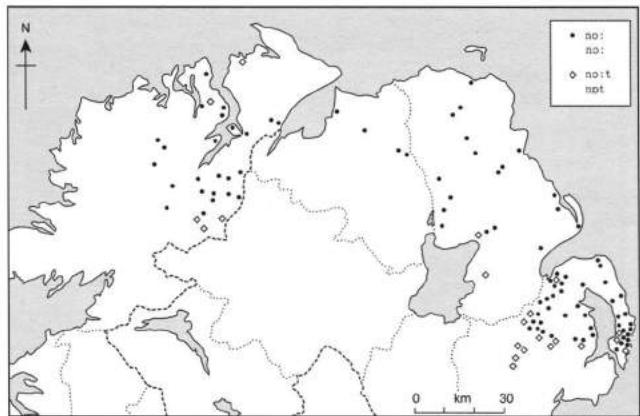


Figure 52: Gregg's Word Map for NOT (no:)

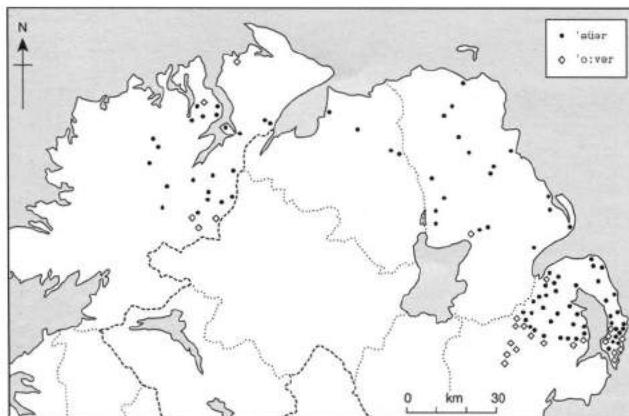


Figure 49: Gregg's Word Map for OVER (ower)

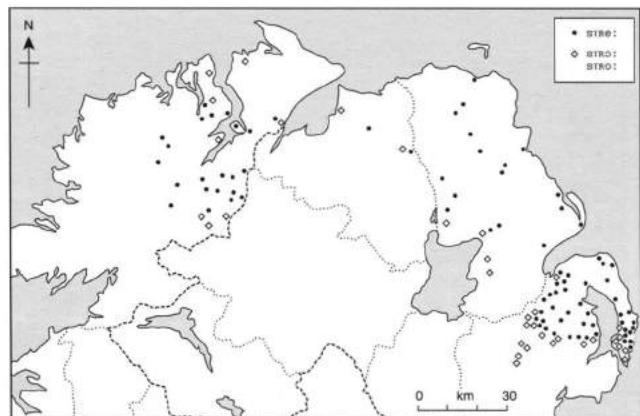


Figure 53: Gregg's Word Map for STRAW (strae)

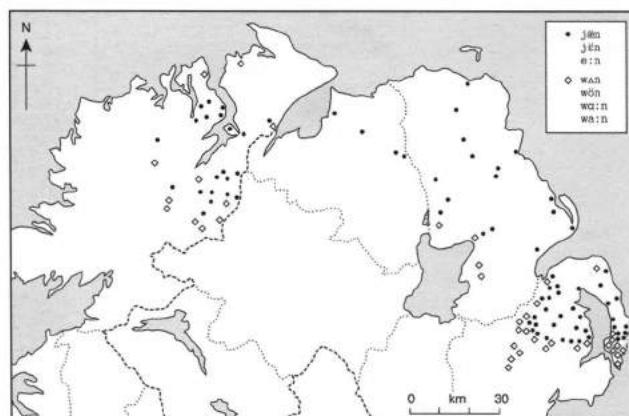


Figure 50: Gregg's Word Map for ONE (yin)

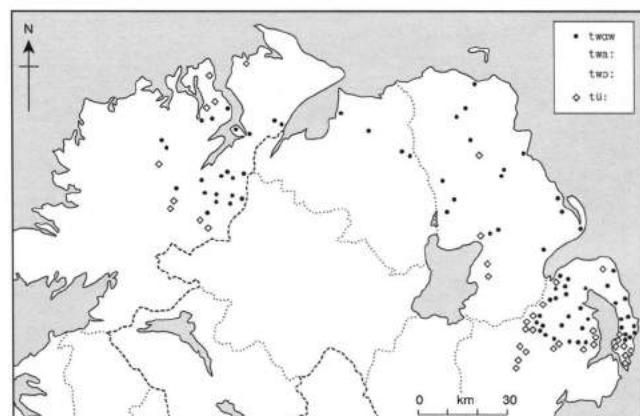


Figure 54: Gregg's Word Map for TWO (twa)

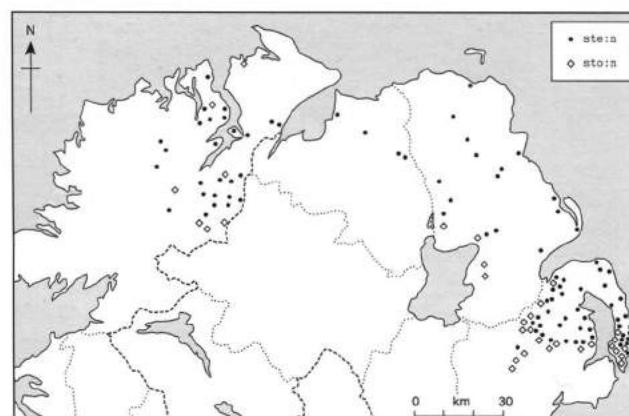


Figure 51: Gregg's Word Map for STONE (stane)

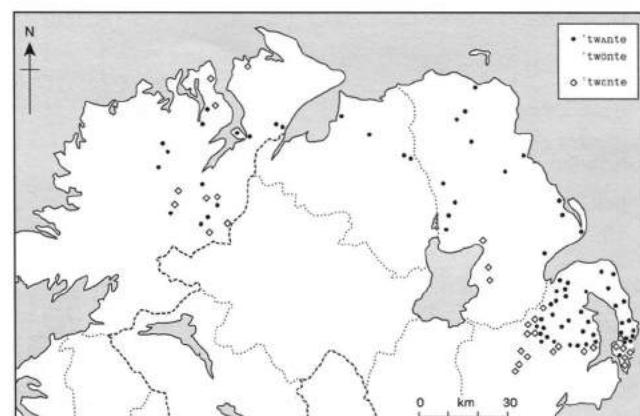


Figure 55: Gregg's Word Map for TWENTY (twunty)

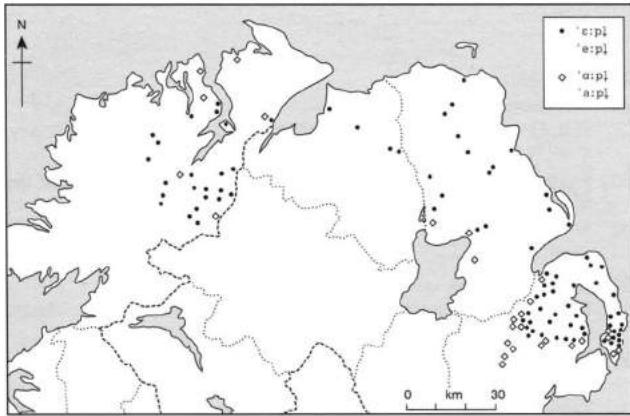


Figure 56: Gregg's Word Map for APPLE (epple)

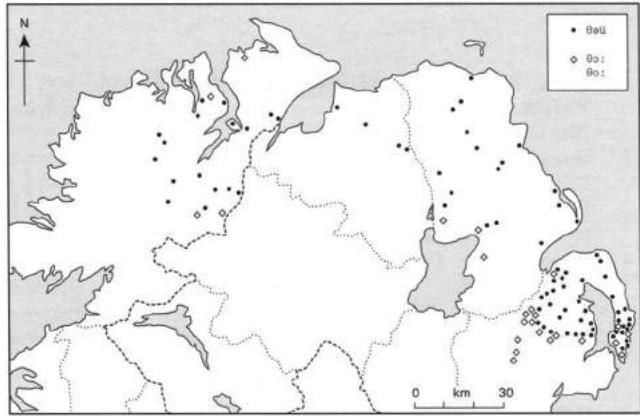


Figure 60: Gregg's Word Map for THAW (thowe)

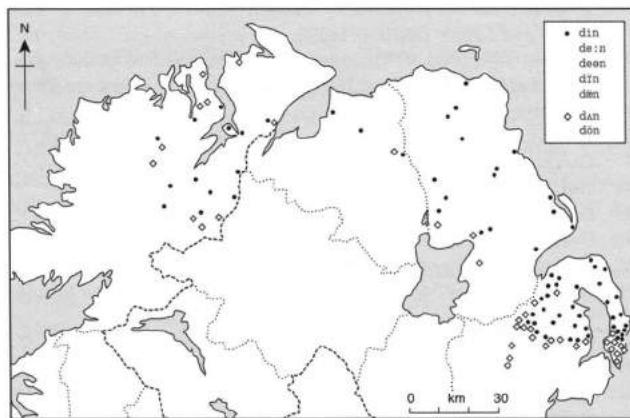


Figure 57: Gregg's Word Map for DONE (daen, etc.)

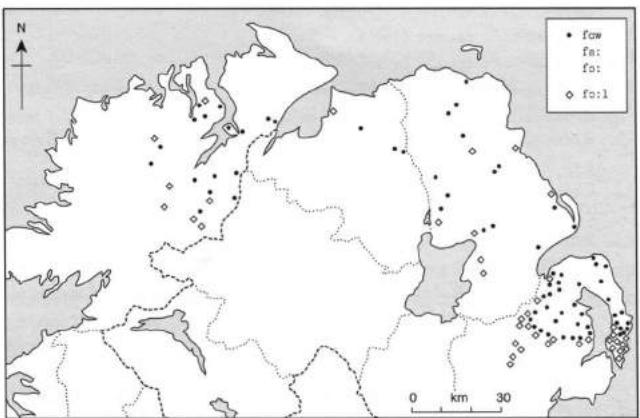


Figure 61: Gregg's Word Map for FALL (faw)

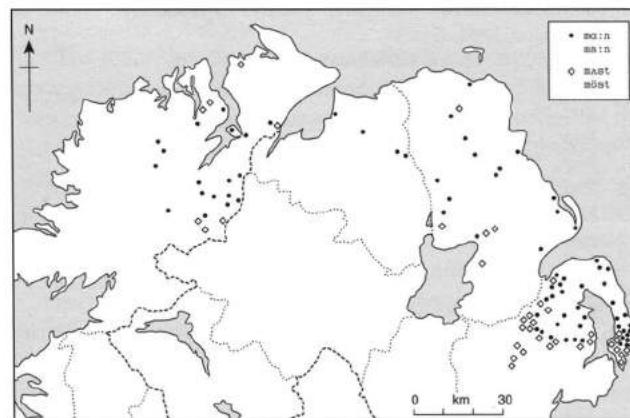


Figure 58: Gregg's Word Map for MUST (maun)

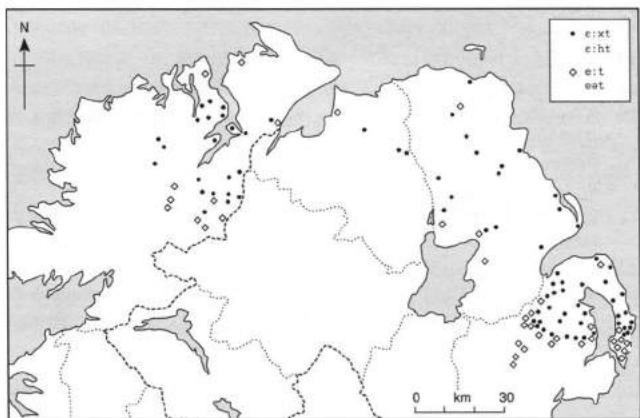


Figure 62: Gregg's Word Map for EIGHT (echt)

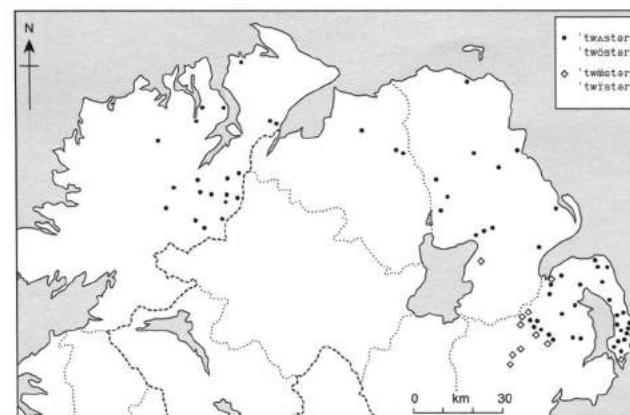


Figure 59: Gregg's Word Map for TWISTER (twuster)

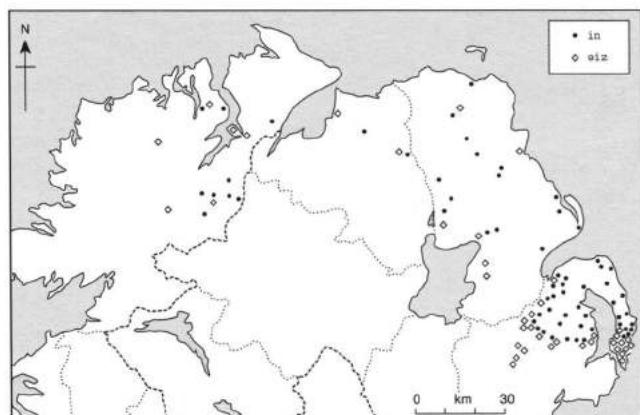


Figure 63: Gregg's Word Map for EYES (een)

Notes

- 1 Gregg, R. J., 'The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster', in Wakelin, Martyn F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, 1972), 109-139.
- 2 Gregg, R. J., *The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in the Province of Ulster* (Port Credit, 1985).
- 3 Braidwood, J., 'Ulster and Elizabethan English', in Adams, G. B. (ed.), *Ulster Dialects* (Holywood, 1964), 5-109.
- 4 Blaney, Roger, *Presbyterians and the Irish Language* (Belfast, 1996), 175-176.
- 5 Robinson, P., 'Plantation and Colonisation: The Historical Background', in Boal, F. W., and J. N. H. Douglas (eds.), *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem* (London, 1982), 19-47.
- 6 Gailey, R. A., 'The Scots Element in North Irish Popular Culture', *Ethnologia Europaea* 8 (1975), 2-21.
- 7 Robinson, P., *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish Landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin, 1984), 110.
- 8 Robinson, P., op. cit. (1984), 109-128.
- 9 Robinson, P., op. cit. (1982), 44-45.
- 10 Gailey, R. A., 'A New Year Custom in South-East Ulster', *Schweizerische Archiv für Volkskunde* 68 (1972), 126-136.
- 11 Robinson, P., *Ulster-Scots: A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language* (Belfast, 1997), 14-17.
- 12 Gailey, R. A., *Rural Houses of the North of Ireland* (Glasgow, 1984), 182.
- 13 Robinson, P., 'The Geography of Tradition: Cultural Tradition in the Ards Peninsula', in Gailey, R. A. (ed.), *The Use of Tradition* (Cultra, 1988), 13-32; Robinson, P., 'Harvest, Halloween and Hogmanay: Acculturation in Some Calendar Customs of the Ulster-Scots', in Santino, Jack (ed.), *The Popular Celebration of Halloween* (Knoxville, 1994), 3-23; Robinson, P., 'Further Cruck Houses in South Antrim: Problems of Culture-Historical Interpretation', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 112 (1982), 101-111.
- 14 Robinson, P., op. cit. (1984), *passim*.
- 15 Ibid., 92-93.
- 16 Ibid., 98.
- 17 Robinson, P. (1982), 43.
- 18 For example, Braidwood, J., op. cit., 5-38.
- 19 Knowler, W. (ed.), *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, II* (Dublin, 1740), 184-185.
- 20 Perceval-Maxwell, M., *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London, 1973), 314.
- 21 Hawkins, E. (ed.), *Sir W. Brereton, 'Travels in ... Ireland ... 1634-5'* (Manchester, 1844), 119-120.
- 22 Robinson, P., op. cit. (1984), 109-128.
- 23 Robinson, P., 'The Plantation of County Tyrone in the Seventeenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast [1974]) 48-54.
- 24 Ibid., 50.
- 25 Ibid., 55.
- 26 Robinson, P., op. cit. (1984), 94.
- 27 Hill, G. (ed.), *The Montgomery Manuscripts* (Belfast, 1869); Lowry, T. K. (ed.), *The Hamilton Manuscripts* (Belfast, 1867).
- 28 Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T. 615/3, Report of the Surveyor-General of Customs in Ireland, 1637.
- 29 National Library of Ireland, MSS 8014/8, Undertakers Certificates, 1622.
- 30 Robinson, P., op. cit. (1984), 121.
- 31 Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Hastings MSS. IV. Sir Josias Bodley's Survey, 1613* (London, 1947), 159-192.
- 32 Robinson, P., op. cit. (1997), 13; The Ordnance Survey Memoirs were compiled on a parish-by-parish basis for each county during the 1830s, as a manuscript resource accompanying the first edition 6-inch mapped survey. Many of the original manuscript memoirs have now been published (e.g. Day, A., and P. McWilliams [eds.], *The Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland, Vol. 17: Parishes of East Down and Lecale* [Belfast, 1992]; *Parishes of Co. Antrim, VIII* [Belfast, 1993]; etc.). The originals may be accessed at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), where they are boxed by parish and county.
- 33 PRONI, Ordnance Survey Memoirs, county Antrim, Parish of Carnmoney, 1839, Box 13.
- 34 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Templecorran, 1838, Box 14.
- 35 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Islandmagee, 1840, Box 16.
- 36 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Grange of Ballywalter, 1839, Box 3.
- 37 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Mallusk, 1838, Box 14.
- 38 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Carncastle and Killyglen, 1840, Box 16.
- 39 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Drumtullagh, 1840, Box 11.
- 40 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Ballintoy, 1837, Box 6.
- 41 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Ar moy, 1836, Box 7.
- 42 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Ahoghill, 1839, Box 9.
- 43 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Grange of Shilvordan, 1837, Box 11.
- 44 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Racavan, 1839, Box 6.
- 45 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Dundermot, 1837, Box 12.
- 46 Ordnance Survey Memoirs, county Londonderry, Parish of Aghanloo, 1845, Box 38.
- 47 Gregg, R. J., op. cit. (1985), 1-3.
- 48 Ibid., 3.
- 49 Ibid., 3.
- 50 Ibid., 12.
- 51 Ibid., 27.
- 52 Ibid., 37.
- 53 Ibid., 37.
- 54 Ibid., 12.
- 55 Ibid., 11.
- 56 Ibid., 37.
- 57 Ibid., 60.
- 58 Ibid., 86.

A Hiberno-English Dialect of West Tyrone

Bruce D. Boling

Among the holdings of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is a series of personal letters written by members of the Sproule family of the west Tyrone townland of Carnchorran Glebe (referred to simply as ‘Carnchorran’ by the correspondents), in the parish of Ardstraw, barony of Omagh West, just to the southeast of the town of Castlederg. The 29 letters in the collection date from 1845 to 1890 and originate from both Ireland and the United States (principally Ohio; see Appendix 2 below for a complete list of dates and places of writing and names of correspondents). The principal purpose of this essay is to provide the reader with an inventory of the linguistic content of the letters and to throw light on the English spoken in the extreme western reaches of county Tyrone in the second half of the 19th century.

The letters are composed in an unself-conscious (‘naïve’) style, close if not identical to the spoken word, and this feature makes them an important source for the reconstruction of the Hiberno-English speech current in west Tyrone at the time of writing. What follows is an attempt at an account of the grammatical and lexical features of the dialect of the Sproule letters. The data are arranged in broad classes of phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and phraseology. Considerations of space forbid exhibiting more than a selection of what is a very rich linguistic lode. Where appropriate, all forms and constructions cited are illustrated in context and, when deemed necessary to comprehension, provided with glosses. It is hoped that a complete edition of the letters can be made available on some future occasion.

Surname distribution places the origin of the Sproule family in Dumbarton, Scotland, and family tradition has it that the older generation spoke ‘with a Scotch accent’. Griffith’s *Valuation* and the *Tithe Appplotment Composition Books* surround the Sproules with friends and relations bearing Scots surnames, although the area was settled by English undertakers. The letters also teem with Scots surnames, and we may legitimately ask whether we have to do here with an outlyer Scots dialect. We will attempt to answer the question at the end of the presentation of dialect features.

This essay is intended as the first in a series exploiting the linguistic aspects of the many thousands of immigrants’ letters collected by Professor Kerby A. Miller and the author to form the basis of a ‘personal’ history of Irish immigration to North America from the earliest times to the present (the first volume of this material was published under the title *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan 1685-1815* by Oxford University Press in March 2003).

A few remarks on editorial conventions are warranted. Square brackets enclose matter originally present in the text which is now either gone altogether (because, for example, there is a hole in the paper) or obscured (because, for example, it lies on a fold). Square brackets are also used to indicate that in the case of errors the editor has rearranged letters for easy comprehension; e.g. *int[ar]ly* ‘entirely’ for *intraly* in the text. Angled brackets indicate that a letter, word, or phrase is missing in the original: e.g. *un<con>cideret* ‘inconsiderate’ for textual *uncidret*. Angled brackets are also used to indicate spelling and square brackets pronunciation. The location of the cited matter is given in the right-hand margin and has the form ‘letter number.page number.line number’.

PHONOLOGY

1. Middle English [e:]

The reflex of Middle English [e:] is [e], which has various representations in spelling.

- a. <aCV>* , <ai>, <ay>
 <aCV>: *chape* ‘cheap’, *schaper* ‘cheaper’ (see Appendix 1 for *sch* = *ch*), *crame* ‘cream’, *dale* ‘deal’, *lave* ‘leave’, *pace* ‘peace’, *spaking* ‘speaking’
 <ai>: *dailing* ‘dealing’, *naire* ‘near’, *Oat mail* ‘oatmeal’
 <ay>: *say* ‘sea’, *Say<s>*on ‘season’
- b. <aC(C)>:
 - 1. [e] not < ME [e:]: *all was* ‘always’, *backen* ‘bacon’, *strang* ‘strange’
 - 2. [e] < ME [e:]: *cland* ‘cleaned’, *reman(s)* ‘remain(s)’
- c. <e>:
 - 1. [e] not < ME [e:]: *beken* ‘bacon’, *Geleay* ‘Gailey’, *lete* ‘late’, *me* ‘may’, *peper* ‘paper’
 - 2. [e] < ME [e:]: *deatend* ‘detained’, *grete/grette* ‘great’, *mesels* ‘measles’, *ples/plese* ‘please’, *receved* ‘received’, *onesay/oneeasy* ‘uneasy’
- d. <eay>
 - 1. [e] not < ME [e:]: *a weay* ‘away’, *deays* ‘days’, *leay* ‘lay’, *Meay* ‘May’, *astreay* ‘astray’, *seay* ‘say’
 - 2. [e] < ME [e:]: *seay* ‘sea’
- e. <ea>

In the Sproule letters – and throughout the Hiberno-English area – <ea> is found as a means of representing the reflex of Middle English [e:]. In the standard language the earlier reflex [e] has been replaced by [i], but the spelling <ea> has remained unchanged and now represents [i], functioning as a doublet of <ee>, the spelling proper to the reflex of Middle English [e:]. Thus:

<u>Middle English</u>	<u>Modern Standard English</u>	
	<u>Earlier</u>	<u>Later</u>
[e:] <ee>	[i] <ee>	[i] <ee>, <ea>
[e:] <ea>	[e] <ea>	

Considering these facts, one may ask whether in the Sproule letters, and by extension in the dialect they reflect, the spelling <ea> represents two sounds, [e] and [i].

The phonetic value of the grapheme <ea> in the Sproule letters can be determined by a consideration of variant spellings, making use of two principles.

1. If, in the same word, <ea> varies with graphemes normally employed to spell [e], the phonetic value of <ea> must be [e]. Thus, for example, if *leat* is used as a variant of *late* (both meaning ‘late’), the phonetic value of *leat* is [let]. Similarly, if *dail* is used as a variant of *deal* (both meaning ‘deal’), the phonetic value of *deal* is [del].
2. If, in the same word, <ea> varies with graphemes normally employed to spell [i], the phonetic value of <ea> must be [i]. As it happens, there are no instances in the Sproule letters of the operation of the second principle and many examples of the operation of the first; therefore we may accept <ea> as a representation of [e]. This means that the reflexes of Middle English [e:] and [e] have not merged as in the standard language but have remained apart. Thus:

<u>Middle English</u>	<u>Sproule Letters</u>
[e:] <ee>	[i] <ee>
[e:] <ea>	[e] <ea>

Examples of <ea>:

1. [e] not < ME [e:]: *ekre* ‘acre’, *eeling* ‘ailing’, *awea* ‘away’, *afread* ‘afraid’, *Deavet* ‘David’, *Gealey* ‘Gailey’, *leat* ‘late’, *meaker* ‘maker’, *peper* ‘paper’, *pleace* ‘place’, *please* ‘place’, *rean* ‘rain’, *reased* ‘raised’, *stead* ‘stayed’, *streange* ‘strange’
2. [e] < ME [e:]: *breaking*, *diseast* ‘deceased’, *great/greate/greatte*, *greatley*, *increace*, *leave(s)*, *near* ‘near’, *oneaseay/oneeasy* ‘uneasy’, *peace*, *pleas(e)*, *speake*, *speaking*, *steamer*, *tea*.

* Here ‘C’ refers to any consonant, ‘V’ to any vowel

f. Some crossovers from ME [e]-class to ME [ɛ]-class have taken place: *agreay* ‘agree’, *cape/kepe* ‘keep’, *keaping* ‘keeping’, *mationg* ‘meeting’, *papel* ‘people’, *pace* ‘piece’, *strate* ‘street’, *wacke/weakes* ‘week(s)’

g. Equivalent spellings of [e] < all sources:

all was ‘always’ : <i>awea</i> ‘away’	<i>backen</i> : <i>beken</i> ‘bacon’
<i>cape/kafe</i> : <i>kepe</i> : <i>keaping</i>	<i>cland</i> : <i>clind</i> (reverse spelling) ‘cleaned’ (see section 5 below)
<i>dale</i> : <i>dailing</i>	<i>Geleay</i> : <i>Gealey</i>
<i>grett/grette/grete</i> : <i>great/greatte</i>	<i>lave</i> : <i>leave</i>
<i>near</i> : <i>naire</i>	<i>onesay/oneseay</i> : <i>oneasey/oneaseay</i>
<i>pace</i> : <i>peace</i>	<i>receve</i> : <i>recive</i> (reverse spelling)
<i>say</i> : <i>seye</i> ‘sea’	<i>spaking</i> : <i>speakes</i>
<i>strang</i> : <i>streange</i>	<i>wacke</i> : <i>weakes</i>

2. Coalescence of historically long and short [o]. Identical spelling of the vowel of the short [o] *cot*-series and that of the long [o] *coat*-series and use of the graphemes traditionally employed for the *coat*-series to spell the vowels of the *cot*-series suggest that, as in Scots, the two have fallen together in favor of the former.

a. Spelling of the *coat*-series:

<o>: <i>hop, post, hom, sold, stone</i>
<oCe>: <i>hope, note, poste, home, none</i> (‘known’), <i>sold, stone</i>
<oa>: <i>hoap, noat, poast, hoam, noan</i> (‘known’), <i>soald, stoan</i>

b. Spelling of the *cot*-series:

<o>: <i>crop, frost, pot</i>
<oCe>: <i>crope</i>
<oa>: <i>croap, froast, poat</i>

3. Middle English [u:] —————→ (Standard [au]):

a. Spelling of [u:] in general:

<o>: <i>do(ing), son</i> (‘soon’), <i>sonner</i> (‘sooner’)
<oo>: <i>doo, soonear</i> (‘sooner’)
<ou>: <i>douing</i> (‘doing’)
<ow>: <i>dow</i> (‘do’)
<u>: <i>Sun</i> (‘soon’), <i>sure</i>

b. Forms having [au] in Standard English < ME [u:]

<o>: <i>cont</i> (‘account’), <i>Ploing</i> (‘plowing’), <i>pond</i> (‘pound’)
<ou>: <i>about, count</i> (‘account’), <i>County, ploud(ed)</i> (‘plowed’), <i>pound(s)</i>
<ow>: <i>plowing</i>
<u>: <i>abut, Cunty</i>
<uCe>: <i>dune</i> (‘down’)

4. [a] —————→ [ɛ]:

we<e> Denn Gealley Woman ‘wee Dan Gailey’s wife’
mishirng and *veling* (‘valuing’) the land

11. 2. 14
4. 2. 2-4

5. [ai] —————→ [e]:

a young woman *bay* (‘by’) the name of Alexander
ther ar only some kinds of *dayt* (‘diet, food’) agreeay with me
(The form *dayt* is the product of a further process of reduction of hiatus:

[daiət] —————→ [deət] —————→ [det]; see section 16 below.)	19. 4. 8-10
<i>dry</i> (‘dry’) cettel is dune in price	6. 2. 17-18
John <i>lays</i> (‘lies’) in <the> other Bead beside her	11. 2. 11
(‘lie’ and ‘lay’ do not coalesce in Hiberno-English)	
she is as <i>Laike</i> (‘like’) her Father as ever you seen one	8. 2. 21
let them get what the<y> <i>lake</i> (‘like’)	4. 2. 11
now I am <i>laing</i> (‘lying’) still	23. 2. 7-9
I will <i>tray</i> (‘try’) him again	4. 2. 2

In the following passages [e] is found represented in spelling by <i>, a standard graphic symbol for [ai]; since [ai] develops to [e] in the dialect, <i> can be used to represent [e] from any source (cf. *all wise* ‘always’ 20.1.7, *libled* ‘labled’ 19.1.13, *sive* ‘save’ 5.1.33):

I have not got <i>main</i> ([men] ‘mine’) <i>clind</i> ([klend] ‘cleaned’) yet	22.	3.	2-6
oats is a good crop I<n> stoan<y> land and In damp also <in> som dray land hit is <i>lite</i> ([let] ‘late’)	20.	2.	10-11

When [ai] is followed by [r], this development does not take place; instead, the second member of the diphthong is lost: [air] → [ar].

hit is <i>admared</i> (‘admired’) by all that see hit for been a very nise child	29.	2.	11-13
I think it woud be hir <i>disar</i> (‘desire’) to com back	2.	1.	22-23

6. [e] → [a] / [r]:
- | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| one <i>barll</i> (‘barrel’) | 11. | 2. | 25-27 |
| at the Say below <i>Darry</i> (‘Derry’) | 8. | 3. | 17-18 |
| Mr Androw Sproule ... is ailing since may Last with a stroake of palatick (‘paralysis’) and with
narvich ness (‘nervousness’) | 8. | 2. | 13-15 |
| when <i>Sarven</i> (‘serving’) 20 years | 6. | 2. | 4-6 |
| (Note the reverse spelling in <i>ertbern</i> ‘Ardbarren’ [place name]) | 5. | 3. | 11 |
7. [e] → [æ]:
- | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| Watting on <i>Amleay</i> (‘Emily’) being maried | 11. | 1. | 17-18 |
| the 11 of <i>Fabuary</i> (‘February’) last | 7. | 3. | 21-22 |
| M and Jany and waliam <i>cap</i> (‘kept’) hir upt (‘took care of her’) a[lwa]ys | 5. | 3. | 13 |
| yo<u> <i>manchet</i> (‘mentioned’) of Deaths | 8. | 2. | 9 |
| Old Robert Corry <i>mat</i> (‘met’) with a mis Tacke (‘had an accident’) | 10. | 3. | 7-8 |
| he <i>nauer</i> (‘never’) rite (‘wrote about’) nothing but hor<s>es (or is <i>hores</i> the archaic collective?) | 2. | 1. | 32 |
8. [e] → [i]:
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| a. Before a nasal: | | | |
| the <i>Goverminth</i> (‘government’) | 23. | 4. | 5-8 |
| <i>Himpill</i> (‘Hemphill’ [surname]) | 7. | 1. | 28-30 |
| I was in hit last Wacke <i>Trinchin</i> (‘trenching’) | 18. | 2. | 9-10 |
- b. Other environments:
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| all I want now is A Woman and a <i>blissing</i> (‘blessing’ = ‘good luck’) | 18. | 2. | 18-20 |
| Hit Contains 24 Akears Statute <i>misure</i> (‘measure’) | 18. | 2. | 1-2 |
| the<y> ar men throw this contry <i>mishirng</i> (‘measuring’) and veling with them
(‘there are men engaged in measuring and valuing throughout this area’) | 4. | 2. | 2-4 |
| I thought often and often that shorely hit woud be here in <the> <i>nixt</i> (‘next’) maile | 7. | 1. | 10-11 |
| a Genearl <i>vit</i> (‘vet’) Shurgen | 10. | 3. | 31-35 |
| plese let me now if hit is all scined (‘skinned’) yit (‘yet’) or if hit was every brocken yout (‘out’) | 5. | 1. | 14-15 |
9. [i] → [æ]:
- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| unkel John (‘John’s’) <i>Chaldren</i> (‘children’) | 2. | 1. | 10 |
| M and Jany and <i>waliam</i> (‘William’) cap hir upt a[lwa]ys | 5. | 3. | 13 |
10. [i] → [e]:
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------|----|----|-----|
| you <i>ded</i> (‘did’) not ask | 5. | 3. | 5-6 |
| Eastern <i>Dest[ri]k</i> (‘district’) | 8. | 4. | 29 |
| the Steate of <i>Elinoys</i> (‘Illinois’) | 3. | 2. | 20 |
11. Rounding of [i] following [m] or [w]:
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| this <i>wonter</i> [wunτər] (‘winter’) | 5. | 2. | 16 |
| <i>woth</i> [wuð] (‘with’) | 2. | 1. | 22-23 |
| <i>Squnceay</i> [skwunse] (‘quinsy’) | 12. | 1. | 19-20 |
| some <i>mulkers</i> [mulkərz] (‘some milkers/milch cows’) | 22. | 3. | 12 |

12. Unstressed morpheme-final [i] —————→ [e]:
- Spelled <-ay>/<-ey>: armay 12.1.26, Coffay ('coffee') 11.3.28a, Crevey ('Creavy' [placename]) 8.2.24, Donceay ('sickly') 11.4.5, Emley 13.1.8, John Gealey 8.2.30, lonay ('lonely') 19.4.7, on esay ('uneasy, anxious') 4.1.7, Stormay 13.2.9
 - Spelled <-e>/<-ey>: armes ('armies') 23.4.7, bired ('buried') 22.7.10, Donsey 11.2.7, doncey 10.3.7, Emeley 7.2.11, Emley 8.3.19, Androw Galey 8.2.11, Denn Gealley 11.2.14, loaney ('lonely') 20.8.4, oneasey 11.3.18
13. [o] —————→ [ə] / ___#:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| County Sciata Sciato Ohio (running correction: [ə#] corrected to standard [o#]) | 5. 4. 2 |
| State of Ohia | 2. env. 4 |
14. [oi] —————→ [o] / ___C:
- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| the bose ('boys') ar all Marid but him
(cf. ther was a little boy Ciled the other day by a cart from Ringsenn) | 7. 2. 5 |
| the mold ('moiled' = 'hornless') cow is caved | 6. 3. 12-14 |
| I need not rise ('raise') any nose ('noise')
(rise is a reverse spelling of raise; see section 5 above) | 20. 2. 5 |
| that is the for mest ('foremost') pont ('point') of babes 'that is the main thing about babies' | 6. 1. 24-25 |
| | 2. 1. 29-30 |
- There are not enough data to demonstrate a direct continuity between this sound change and a similar one attested in Scotland from the 14th century (cf. for example William Dunbar, 'The Thrissil and the Rose', l. 59, the birdis did with oppin vocis (i.e. 'voices') cry). Since nothing like it is known to have occurred in the Mid-Ulster dialect, however, it is probably safe at least to label the development as Scots for the time being. The Ulster manifestation appears to involve more items than its mainland Scots counterpart, and this might suggest that the settlers brought with them the seeds of the change, which gave rise to a modest expansion of the development.
15. Aphaeresis:
- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| James is not well nor no mendmet ('amendment, recovery') for him (probably influenced by mend 'recover') | 2. 1. 16-17 |
| be as <i>tentive</i> as you were at hom to put in the crop on time ('be as attentive ...') | 2. 1. 30-31 |
| I had a <i>tack</i> ('an attack') of the Canser | 27. 2. 1 |
| one thing I <i>low</i> ('allow' = 'request') you to do | 22. 2. 6-9 |
| the <i>Merica ware</i> ('war') | 17. 3. 19-21 |
16. Resolution of hiatus (V₁ + V₂ —————→ V₁ or V₂):
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| hit is admared for <i>been</i> ('being') a very nise child | 29. 2. 11-13 |
| ther ar only some kinds of <i>dayt</i> ('diet') agreay with me | 5. 1. 26-27 |
| the<y> ar <i>groand</i> ('growing') fast | 6. 1. 19 |
| hit is thought the<y> will [be] <i>lorring</i> ('lowering') the rents | 4. 2. 4-5 |
17. Syllabic absorption:
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| the <i>bery</i> ([ber] 'bearer') of this letter
(The spelling <i>bery</i> contains 'silent -y' (see Appendix 1), a variant of 'silent -e'; cf. <i>remany</i> 'remain' (4.3.19), <i>aveny</i> 'even' (6.2.4), <i>grany</i> 'grand' (6.3.4)) | 2. 3. 10-11 |
| I was <i>diltary</i> ('dilatory') in saying any thing | 22. 2. 12-14 |
| little <i>emly</i> ('Emily') | 4. 3. 4 |
| he is <i>manger</i> ('manager') To Mr James Sir Strong | 18. 2. 67 |
| <i>marges</i> 'marriages' | 7. 2. 23 |
| the<y> ar men throw this contry <i>mishirng</i> ('measuring') and veling the land with them
(The spelling may represent [mížern].) | 4. 2. 2-4 |
| accorden to the <i>qualty</i> ('quality') | 12. 3. 13-14 |
| this is a <i>ragler</i> ('regular') thing | 6. 2. 8 |
| hir mind is <i>toatley</i> ('totally') astreay | 11. 2. 6 |
| ertbern 'Ardbarren' [place name] (see section 6 above) | 5. 3. 11 |
18. Loss of [d] after [n], [r], [l]:
- Final [nd]:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| a Goald wach <i>an</i> ('and') chain | 11. 1. 26 |
| as <i>graan</i> ('grand') a house as every I had my foot in | 6. 3. 10-11 |
| he sold his <i>lan</i> ('land') | 2. 3. 11-12 |
| <i>Ringsenn</i> ('Ringsend' [placename]) | 6. 3. 12-14 |
| when you rite <i>sen</i> a peaper ('newspaper') | 22. 4. 5-6 |
| A <i>stan</i> ('stand', i.e. 'suite') of the best me[hag]onay | 11. 1. 25-26 |

Because of the simplification of the final cluster [nd] to [n], the graphic sequence <nd> can be used to spell final [n] from any source:

the<y> ar <i>groand</i> ('growing') fast	6.	3.	10-11
I was <i>on willend</i> ('unwilling') To tell you	10.	1.	7-9

b. Final [rd]:

Unkle Abraham <i>Buster</i> ('Bustard')	18.	4.	17-19
-----------------------------------------	-----	----	-------

c. Final [ld]:

the farre <i>feale</i> ('field')	8.	1.	12
----------------------------------	----	----	----

d. Medial:

my ant <i>Garner</i> ('Gardiner')	3.	1.	8-10
the mares feet will <i>harely</i> ('hardly') get well	15.	2.	10-11

19. Medial [ð] —→ [ɸ]:

I registered <i>a nor</i> ('another') and got no Answer	27.	1.	6-7
let me now <i>wher</i> ('whether') fitting ('fighting') is near you	12.	2.	5-7

20. Development of [ju]. Unstressed [ju] develops to [jɪ]; the initial [j] of the cluster is then lost after all consonants except the resonants [l], [n], and [r], or when followed by a vowel (cf. the difference between *eddiation* and *veling* 'valuing': *edjukešin* —→ *edijkešin* —→ *edikešin*, but *veljum* —→ *veljim* —→ *veljin*) and between *eddiation* and *gradiation* (*gradjuešin* —→ *gradjiešin* —→ *gradješin*). In absolute final position [ju] develops ultimately to [e] (like any other final [ɪ]; see section 12 above): [indjə] —→ [indjɪ] —→ [indr] —→ [inde] *Indai* 'Indian corn'

the<y> ar men throw this contry mishirng and *veling* [veljin] ('valuing') the land with them

4. 2. 2-4

Mrs John *Mathison* ('Mathewson') of Claire is Deaid by a Cancer

13. 3. 3-4

(This surname is consistently attested as Mathewson in the *Calendar of Wills* of the Diocese of Derry, the *Tithe Composition Applotment books*, and *Griffith's Valuation*.)

21. [ɸ] —→ [č]/ ____ #:

He has takin his <i>pacich</i> ('passage')	19.	1.	10-11
--------------------------------------------	-----	----	-------

22. [l] —→ [ɸ]/ ____ [d]:

Beacky <i>Cadwell</i> ('Caldwell')	12.	2.	1-2
Weat and <i>Coad</i> ('cold') weather	13.	2.	4

23. [n] —→ [ɸ]/ ____ [s] (in surnames):

John *Joston* 'John Johnston'

5. 3. 11

Docter *Stivison* 'Doctor Stevenson'

11. 1. 23

Alexander *Robison* 'Alexander Robinson'

18. 1. 17-18

24. Loss of [n] in unstressed syllables:

James is not well nor no *mendmet* ('amendment') for him

2. 1. 16-17

it would [be] a mor *cont[ent]met* ('contentment') for fany and you

2. 1. 25

you did not *menc<h>ed* ('mention') to me of your tow little ones

22. 4. 10-11

(If correctly analyzed, this form appears to show an inorganic final [t]: [menčin] —→ [menčint] —→ [menčit])

8. 1. 13-14

you *manchet* ('mentioned') of pigs tacking the distemper

25. Unstressed morpheme [ɪŋ] —→ [ɪn]:

a. Spellings in <in>:

all that is <i>ailin</i> ('ailing') with hit	21.	5.	12-17
I was in hit <i>Trinchin</i> ('trenching')	18.	2.	9-10

b. Spellings in <en>:

dray stock selin 10£ down to 2£ - 10S <i>accorden</i> ('according') to the quality	22.	3.	13-14
caty has tow children <i>liven</i> ('living') and 4 dead	2.	2.	5

- c. Spellings in <eng> (these probably represent a combination of the standard spelling <ing> and the phonetic spelling [en]):
 we are *comenceng* ('commencing') our harvest at present
 he is *liveng* ('living') where Mathue Dumbare you<s>ty live
29. 2. 18-19
4. 2. 24-25

d. *being*:

- I am sory to hear of the [wi]nter and Spring *been* so wet
 on account of a dise<se> *ben* in Ingland
6. 1. 13-15
21. 5. 7-12

Since [ŋ] develops to [n] in the morpheme *-ing*, which is always unstressed, the graphic sequence <ng> can be used as a spelling for any final [n] following an unstressed vowel:

- this [?] is *engraving* ('engraven') in cide of the Wach
opping ('open') err preaching
 the<y> wer very good but the one half of the[m] *rotting* ('rotten')
 life is *oncerting* ('uncertain')
12. 3. 15-16
8. 3. 25-27
20. 2. 11-12
23. 1. 2

26. [s] → [ɸ] / __ #, particularly following [nd]:

- she *send* hir best re[spec]<t>s
 your *frend* At Omagh ar all well
 plese rite when he *land* with you ('arrives at your place')
Death ('deaths' [heading of a section of a letter])
6. 2. 25
13. 2. 11-14
19. 2. 14-15
7. 2. 15

27. Lenition of [t]:

- Beddijane* Sproule ('Betty Jane Sproule')
7. 2. 19

28. [tl] → [kl]:

- George *Richlach* [riklič] ('George Rutledge')
8. 2. 22-23

29. [t] → [ɸ] / __ #, particularly following [k], [p], and [s]:

- Mr Robert McCay Casteldrg has *purchas* upper kirail town land
 the<y> *fix* themselves and came hear the night be fore
 Eastern *Dest[ri]k* (section of Brooklyn)
 to be *cepe* safe
5. 3. 24-25
4. 2. 12-13
3. 4. 29
22. 2. 6-9

30. [s] → [ʃ]/ __ (j)u:

- A Gen[era]l vit *Shurgen* ('a general veterinary surgeon')
 (Cf. the reverse spelling: we have the poates all *suveled* ('shoveled'))
10. 3. 31-35
6. 2. 13-14

31. Inorganic final [t]:

- plese let me now how your *cropts* ('crops') looks
onst a fort night
 life is *oncertant*
 the<y> sent a telly <g>rahm to me and I went *oupt* ('up')
4. 2. 5
10. 1. 10-14
22. 1. 14
29. 3. 12-14

32. [d] → [t]/[l, n, r] __

- differt ('differed')
 hapent ('happened')
 secent ('second')
 husbant ('husband')
 pult ('pulled')
2. 1. 10
6. 3. 12
7. 2. 16
21. 4. 9
22. 3. 11

33. Assimilation:

- Dumbar* 'Dunbar'
Alexander Dummar 'Alexander Dunbar'
 I woud leake that ant woud be liven to I woud go the *lenth* ('length') thear ('I would like for Aunt to be still alive if I were to go as far as that')
 if providence Speres mee and Gives mee health and *Strennth* ('strength')
5. 3. 9
7. 2. 15-16
2. 2. 22-23
3. 2. 34-35

34. Modal auxiliary + *have* + past passive participle. In this construction *have* is usually reduced to [ø] (through an intermediate stage of [ə], as attested in other sources):
- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| for his presse he <i>wod got</i> 12S ('would have gotten') | 4. 2. 8 |
| I think you <i>mit manchet</i> ('might have mentioned') George and Marget how the<y> are | 8. 2. 6-8 |
| if he <i>coud stead</i> ('could have stayed') at home | 13. 1. 5-7 |
| I <i>woud roat</i> ('would have written') soonear | 13. 1. 17-19 |
| I <i>would paid</i> ('would have paid') for this letter | 17. 4. 21 |
35. Various
- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>brenths</i> ('breadths' [analogy of <i>strenth</i>]) | 5. 2. 5-7 |
| <i>cave</i> ('calf') | 6. 2. 16 |
| <i>feer</i> ('fair') | 2. 1. 13-15 |
| <i>feet</i> ('fit, suit') | 20. 3. 3 |
| <i>ospitel</i> ('hospital') | 10. 3. 11-13 |
| <i>palatick</i> ('paralytic') | 8. 2. 13-14 |
| <i>Strow</i> ('straw') | 10. 3. 26 |

MORPHOLOGY

- Indefinite article. The *n*-less form is frequently used before words beginning with a vowel sound:

<i>a apit<it>e</i> ('an appetite')	5. 1. 16-17
<i>a old woman</i>	11. 2. 13
<i>a inf[lue]nca Dicese</i> ('an influenza disease')	10. 3. 3
- Plural of *you*. Several forms are used for the second-person-plural pronoun: *you, yous, you(s) all*:
 - you*
my dear Cousins *you wil Bee plesed to Right Often* 3. 1. 32-34
 - yous*
I rite these fue lines to Let *yous* now that we ar all well at present 8. 1. 1-2
I have got now word from *yous* this long time 7. 1. 5
plese some of *yous* rite 7. 1. 8
what is the matr with *yous* that *yous* did not rite before this 7. 1. 9-10
I am sory that william left *yous* 22. 1. 6
 - you(s) all*
I hope by the mercy of god that thes lins will find *you all* in good helth 27. 1. 7-10
plese take my a drece of love to my Ant and to *yous all* 8. 4. 17-18
we wer glad to hear from *yous all* 6. 1. 10
hopping that these well find *youse all* in the same as the<y> leave *yous* ('us') in 6. 1. 6-8

In the preceding examples of *you(s) all* the element *all* has a purely 'grammatical' meaning as an 'emphasizer of plurality' and is not separable. In the following examples, however, *all* is separable and retains its full lexical meaning:

I recived your letter ... and glad that <i>yous ar all</i> well	8. 1. 4-5
hopping that <i>yous ar all</i> well	7. 1. 4
let me now how <i>youse ar all</i> coming on	6. 1. 30-32

These constructions are exactly parallel with the following, in which *all* has its full lexical meaning:
we are all well at present 7. 1. 1-2

When *how* is used with sentences containing *you(s) + separable all*, the following pattern is the result:
we noa ('know') not but I hoape I will shortly now how heis ('he is') and how *yous Ar all* 22. 1. 7-9
let me now how *yous ar all* 22. 1. 9-12

- Neuter pronoun (*it*). In the Sproule letters the spelling difference between *it* and *hit* does not correspond to a phonological distinction between stressed and unstressed variants of the pronoun ([hit] and [it]/[ət], respectively): *hit* is found in unstressed positions, where the variant *it* would be expected, and vice versa. In the Sproule letters the two forms have become mere orthographic alternates.
In several instances the genitive of the neuter pronoun lacks the desinence *-s* and is consequently not distinct from the nominative. The *s*-less variant is archaic and harks back to the replacement of the historically justified but ambiguous masculine and neuter genitive *his* 'his/its' by unambiguous forms: *his* (masculine) : *his* (neuter) → *his* : *it/its*. For the

variant genitive *it* cf. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, 1.4.199: that it's had *it* head bit off by *it* young. The following passage from the Sproule letters illustrates the nominative and genitive forms:

hit drive (i.e. *driv* = *drove*) hit out of *hit* place int[ar]ly ('it completely dislocated it')

8. 1. 27-28

4. Conjunct and disjunct pronouns. There is a tendency for pronouns which do not stand directly before the verb to assume the disjunct form (I → me, he → him, etc.) Compound pronouns (pronoun + pronoun, pronoun + noun, noun + pronoun) show the same tendency. The situation is highly unstable, however, indicating a change in progress; such use of disjunct forms is uncommon before the 19th century. Carleton's works, even in the most dialectal passages, make very sparing use of such constructions.

a. Disjunct Pronoun:

he me stray as well as <i>them</i>	2.	2.	14
she is as tall as <i>me</i> now	17.	3.	11
I gees That you will not now him nor <i>him</i> you	19.	2.	15-19
<i>hir ant nellenes and me</i> went to se <i>hir</i>	6.	3.	2-3
<i>him and hir</i> went a way	4.	2.	14
<i>her and another slip</i> that I had in the Space of One our took the disease and Died	1.	2.	4-6
young John Mooreland Has com hom ... <i>him</i> and a soon of Joseaph Himpill	7.	1.	18-20

b. Conjunct Pronoun:

that is <i>I</i>	22.	4.	5-6
<i>he a<nd> I</i> ntir ('entered') <a> horse	5.	3.	30
<i>Jane and I</i> Desared you and Fanney to send you<r> lekness	27.	4.	1-4
<i>she and Georges wife</i> cam down	17.	2.	3-4
<i>I and Mary</i> is well	20.	2.	2-3

5. *there is/are*. Beside the standard forms *there is* and *there are* occurs the form *they are*, which is used indifferently with both singular and plural subjects and appears to be a reanalysis of a form *thur*, construed also with singular and plural subjects and well attested in Scots. The reanalysis gives rise in turn to the preterite form *they were*, with the same syntax as *they are*. The form *they are* 'there is' can be reshaped as *there are* (+ singular/plural subject), which leads to such creations as *there have been* (+ singular/plural subject), as illustrated below.

a. *they are*:

<i>the<y> ar</i> nothing that I am so Delighted in as to keep up a corispondans with my frends	3.	1.	16-17
<i>the<y> say the<y> ar</i> more of them thu[s]	4.	2.	27-28
<i>the<y> ar</i> more dinging this year	8.	1.	20-22
<i>the<y> ar</i> now Deaths nor mariges in your frends since the last one you rote	8.	3.	14-16
In Cold Weat land <i>the ar</i> scarce any croap at all	13.	2.	4-5

b. *there is/are*:

<i>there is</i> a great revival going on through the north	9.	1.	14-15
<i>ther ar</i> only som kinds of dayt agreay with me	5.	1.	26-27
<i>ther is</i> plenty mared that you woud Not no an<y>thing a bout them	10.	3.	17-18
<i>There have been</i> almost no display of Orangeism this 12th	9.	3.	8-9

6. Nominal genitive. The genitive case of the noun has disappeared except when the noun stands in absolute position or in a stereotyped phrase.

Unkel <i>John Chaldren</i> wife and famely differt	2.	1.	20
<i>Frederick burg</i>	4.	env.	2
<i>George White</i> daughter has a young son	7.	2.	13-14
I woud roat sooner but watting on <i>Marry Wedding</i> taikin place	11.	1.	11-12
<i>mother cow</i> is milking well	20.	3.	4-5

In absolute position:

I am posting your letter and My <i>Ants</i> together	3.	2.	6-7
------------------------------------------------------	----	----	-----

Part of a stereotyped phrase: he have not tacken a spead ('spade') in his hand to work *adays work* since August last

5. 1. 21-23

7. *have for has*

he <i>have</i> not tacken a spead in his hand to work adays work since August last	5.	1.	21-23
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----	----	-------

8. Consuetudinal forms of the copula. Habitual action or state can be expressed by use of the marked forms *be/bes*, but the unmarked alternative is more common.

a. Marked:

when I *be* long getting a letter
he *bes* up 3 or 4 times a night With Hir

10. 2. 10-21
11. 2. 12-13

b. Unmarked:

[often we *are* [three] times a weake at the offes
I *am* all was ('always') think<ing> of you

4. 1. 12
5. 1. 15-16

9. Principal parts:

a. Strong verbs:

Present	Preterite	Past Participle
<i>become</i>		<i>becom</i>
<i>bid</i> 'invite'		<i>bid</i>
<i>break</i>	<i>break</i> [brek]	<i>Bracke</i> [brek], <i>broak</i> [brok], <i>broken</i>
<i>come</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>com(e)</i> [kum]
	<i>come</i> [kum]	
<i>do</i>	<i>ded</i> [dəd, dæd]	<i>dun(e)</i> [dun?], <i>doun/down</i> [dun?]
<i>drive</i>	<i>drive</i> [driv]	
<i>fight</i>		<i>fite</i> [fit]

(For the phonetic value of <drive> and <fite> cf. *Site* 'sit' 10.2.9, *shipe* 'ship' 20.3.10.)

<i>get</i>	<i>got</i>	<i>got</i>
<i>give</i>	<i>gave, give</i>	
<i>go</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>gon(e), went</i>
<i>grow</i>	<i>Groo</i>	
<i>hold</i>	<i>heald</i>	
<i>know</i>	<i>nue</i>	

Special negative form for 1st/2nd pers. sg. pres.: *dunna*

<i>rise</i>		<i>rizen</i>
<i>run</i>	<i>run</i>	<i>run</i>
<i>see</i>	<i>see, seen</i>	<i>seen</i>
<i>write</i>	<i>wrote, roat, rite</i> [rit]	<i>wrote, roat, rote, root, rite</i> [rit]

(For the phonetic value of <rite> cf. *Site* 'sit' 10.2.9, *shipe* 'ship' 20.3.10, as well as Standard <give>.)

b. Weak verbs:

<i>build</i>		<i>buildest</i>
<i>burn</i>		<i>burnt</i>
<i>buy</i>		<i>bought, Boat</i> [bot]
<i>cost</i>	<i>cost</i>	<i>cost</i>
<i>cut</i>	<i>Cut, cout</i> [kʌt?]	
<i>hear</i>	<i>heard, hear</i>	
<i>keep</i>	<i>capt</i> [kæpt], <i>cap</i> [kæp]	<i>cepe</i> [kɛp]
<i>kill</i>		<i>ciled</i>
<i>leave</i>		<i>left</i>
<i>pay</i>	<i>paid</i>	<i>paid</i>
<i>plow</i>		<i>ploud, pluded</i>
<i>pull</i>		<i>pult</i>
<i>say</i>		<i>Sed</i> [sed? sed?]
<i>sell</i>	<i>sold</i>	<i>sold</i>
<i>send</i>	<i>send</i>	<i>sent</i>
<i>sow</i>		<i>soad</i>
<i>think</i>	<i>thought</i>	<i>thought</i>

10. Formation of the perfect:
- a. With *be*:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| sch<e> is not come back as yet | 2. 1. 11-12 |
| James porter is gon to america ('James Porter has gone to America') | 2. 3. 9 |
| your Grand mother is com hear to live a gain | 4. 2. 25-26 |
| John Fife of this town is com also | 12. 2. 13 |
| the blite is comence<t> this year on the poatetes ('the potato blight has begun this year') | 23. 3. 2-3 |
- b. With *have*:
- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| you woud wonder to se what has com on Irland by the rot of the poats ('you would be surprised to see what has happened to Ireland with the rotting of the potatoes') | 2. 2. 17-18 |
| actions a great dale of them has hapent this year ('a great many events have taken place this year') | 6. 3. 12 |
| both has went awea again last Weacke ('both of them have gone away again last week') | 7. 2. 1-2 |
| The wetther has changed all Togethe<r> | 18. 3. 3-5 |
| there has come som rean ('there has been some rain') | 21. 5. 2 |
11. Present, Past, and Perfect
- a. Simple present for Standard present perfect:
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|
| his wife has bad health this [l]ong time | 4. 2. 28 |
| Mary Charlton is ealing since Chri<s>mas last | 6. 3. 1-2 |
- b. Simple past for Standard present perfect:
- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------|
| the<y>did not get aletter from him this five years | 5. 3. 2 |
| he never wrote Since | 24. 4. 4-7 |
- c. Present perfect = Standard usage:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| this has been <a> wet Sore winter | 5. 2. 14-15 |
| I am glad that your crop has doun well this yeare | 8. 3. 4-5 |
- d. Past event/state —————→ present state = Standard usage:
- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| he have not tacken a spead in his hand to work ... since August last | 5. 1. 21-23 |
| this is <the> sores froast that has ben this long time | 23. 2. 17-18 |
- e. Stative/Resultative (*have* + object + past passive participle):
- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| we have 2 yeakers of potteates set | 6. 2. 10-11 |
| George has som soad | 18. 3. 1 |
- f. Present perfect for simple past:
- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------|
| young John Moreland Has com hom about may | 7. 1. 28-29 |
| both has went awea again last Weacke | 7. 2. 1-2 |
- g. *is dead* 'died, has died':
- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Mr Samul Cadwell of Belloan is dead the 22 past | 11. 3. 14-17 |
| William loag is d[ai]d this day | 5. 3. 18 |
- h. *is married* 'has gotten married':
- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| your nabour John Galeay ... is marid to his cuz en | 8. 2. 29-31 |
| William Hender son ... is marid to a Doughter to James Care of Clougher | 7. 3. 13-16 |
12. Existential without *there*:
- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| we had the driest sommor that has ben this 30 years or more ('we had the driest summer there has been for the last 30 years or more') | 8. 1. 5-6 |
| let me now wher ('whether') fitting is near you ('let me know whether there is fighting near you') | 12. 2. 6-7 |
| this is <the> sores frost that has ben this long time ('this is the most severe frost there has been for a long time') | 23. 2. 17-18 |
| the lak of this snow has not ben <this> long time ('there has not been a snow like this for a long time') | 23. 4. 13-14 |
13. *a + -ing*: The prefixing of *a* (<on>) to the verbal noun is rarely found in Ulster sources from any period; it is more common in mainland Scots verse and enjoyed a considerable efflorescence in both literary and non-literary sources in the southern United States. Apparently the syntagma was spared only a short life in Ulster, except where it has a mediopassive signification, and then chiefly in stereotyped phrases (e.g. you're *a-wantin*).
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| hit is not noan what he is <i>a dowing</i> (active) | 11. 2. 21 |
| the Revenue Police is <i>a breaking</i> (passive) | 8. 4. 23-24 |

14. Formation of phrases expressing instrument/cause
- a. With *of*:
- when pepl have noth to rite of the<y> are no youse *of* poverty ('when people have nothing to write about, the deficiency makes them useless (as correspondents)') 5. 1. 29-30
Mr Androw Sproule of Mc Cregan Is [ai]ling bad this three w<eeks> *of* a stroake and narves 7. 3. 1-3
- b. With *by*:
- the oates is pirty good but short *by* a dray spring ('because of a dry spring') 6. 2. 9
take greate keare for fere You hort yourself *by* the work 10. 2. 2-3
Mrs John Matheson of Claire is Deaid *by* a Cancer Dises 13. 3. 3-4
the<y> ar a greate dale of ones dad *by* the Snow 23. 4. 10-12
- c. With *with*:
- Mr Winter of this town is dead and dead in a few ours *with* licker 5. 3. 9-11
Androw Galey son John James is ailing since Harvest last *with* a decline 7. 2. 28-29
I am doncey in hea[ll]th *with* pains and cold 23. 2. 14-15
hit was *with* a cancer in hir head 29. 3. 16-17

SYNTAX

1. Fronting:
- a. Plain
- in Ca[stl]derg feer Robert and mary and John was in hit ('Robert, Mary, and John were at the Castlederg fair') 2. 1. 12-13
and actions a great dale of them has hapent this year ('a great many events have taken place this year') 6. 3. 11-12
Forster Chisam of Ballylenen his daughter toock something in hir eye of apaine ('Foster Chisolm of Ballylennan's daughter got some kind of pain in her eye') 8. 1. 25-27
you mit ma<n>che<n>t George and Maraget [sic] how the<y> ar ('you might have mentioned how George and Margaret are') 8. 2. 7-9
James Raulston of Goland his Wife is D (i.e. 'dead') ('James Ralston of Golan's wife has died') 10. 3. 3-4
- b. Introduced by (*as*) *for*:
- but for potatees th<y> ar goaing away again ('as for potatoes they are fading again') 2. 2. 16-17
as for Robert, he is liveng where mathue Dumbar you<s>ty live ('as for Robert he is living where Matthew Dunbar used to live') 4. 2. 24-25
as for Wowilliam fooot [sic] hit is no better yet ('as for William's foot, it hasn't healed yet') 5. 1. 18-19
and for the pota<te>s Crop hit never was never so good this last seven years ('and as for the potato crop, it has never been so good this last seven years') 5. 2. 21-23
2. Pronoun Drop:
- pleas forgive me of that mis tack ... but expect if you and I live I schal see yo all I hop erly in spring ('please forgive me for that mistake ... but *I expect* that if you and I live, I will see you all in early spring') 2. 2. 29-30
I have wondered verey mucht that you never Send me aney word how you were Dooing But Got several Letters from my Cousen George Garner and my Ant ('I am very much surprised that you never let me know how you were doing, but *I got* several letters from my cousin George Gardiner and my aunt') 3. 2. 1-4
he seais that he has got his pay adveance at forteen years served ... and when Sarven 20 years Will be 6 pence aday aded ('he says that he has gotten his raise for 14 years' service, and when he has served 20 years, *there will be* an increase of sixpence a day') 6. 2. 4-6
the last of may was very [thundery] and wet but kepes cold ('the last of May was very thundery and wet, but *it continues* to be cold') 6. 2. 12-13
it cost £10 and bought A hourse at £25 S10 ('it cost £10, and *I bought* a horse for £25 10s') 27. 3. 3-5
3. Zero Copula:
- the Onley thing that has to be Regreted that wee ar all Sow fare A part ('the only regrettable thing *is* that we are so far apart') 3. 1. 17-20
all I can sea I wish that the Lord Meay send him hom seafe to his place ('all I can say *is* that I wish the Lord may send him safely to his home') 13. 1. 9-10
all I can Seay for him to tacke god for his gide ('all I can say *is* for him to take God as his guide') 21. 3. 8-10
4. Adverb Placement:
- if the<y> are *Right* Dereected ('if they are addressed correctly') 3. 1. 10
I was *three times* at the offese ('I was at the post office three times') 4. 1. 15

as graan a house as <i>every</i> ('ever') I had my foot in ('as grand a house as I ever had my foot in')	6.	3.	4-5
she is as laike her Fathir as <i>ever</i> you seen one ('she is as like her father as anyone you ever saw')	8.	2.	2
it is a <i>long time</i> wrote before I get it ('it has been written a long time before I get it')	14.	2.	14-16
5. Concord with <i>any/each/every/one</i> :			
tack good caire of your money when you ern hit for mony is usfull to <i>one</i> when <i>the<y></i> ar sickle	21.	3.	14-17
let that <i>person</i> never lay too high [a] Value on <i>themselves</i>	1.	3.	13-14
6. <i>but + ___ ing</i> . This syntagma is probably based on the Irish <i>ach + ag + verbal noun</i> pattern. In the Sproule materials it occurs exclusively as a letter-writing formula.			
I woud roat before this <i>but watting</i> on aletter from Alex (Cf. Irish <i>chuirfinn litir chughat roimhe seo ach ag fanacht ar litir ó Alex</i>)	5.	1.	5-6
I woud roat sonner <i>but watting</i> on your sister Emley having Squnceay in hir throat	12.	1.	19-20
7. Emphatic clefting:			
it is the Lord does all and provides all	1.	3.	14-15
Lord only know it may not be for long I will be spared	28.	2.	16-31
what I wanted of you is to Send your p<h>ot<o>graf from life	29.	1.	11-13
8. <i>God</i> . Words for 'God' are often followed by a pleonastic subject pronoun, and the third-person-singular desinence is frequently lacking.			
<i>God he only Now</i> whether he now is a live or not ('God only knows whether he is alive or not')	22.	1.	6-7
Lord only know it may not be for long I will be spared	28.	2.	16-18
9. Nominalization:			
you manchet of <i>pigs tacking</i> the distemper	8.	1.	13-14
not <i>getting</i> your letter and <i>George Beatty not sending</i> me one I am In very great truble of mind	4.	1.	10-11
D<ear> Androw you menc<h>ed to me about <i>you seling</i> your land and going Waist	22.	2.	11-12
I got my thigh bone Bracke in tow by <i>A cart nocking</i> me Down on the Strate	23.	2.	4-6
your kind offer of giving my children a support and work for a certain number of years and <i>they</i> then <i>becoming</i> their own masters	9.	1.	6-9
10. Verbal Concord. Unless immediately preceded (or followed) by a simple personal pronoun as subject, the verb stands in the third-person singular; e.g. <i>we are</i> (simple personal pronoun), but <i>me and him is</i> (compound personal pronoun), <i>them is</i> 'those are' (demonstrative pronoun).			
<i>the<y> ar nothn but leake seed</i> ('they are like nothing else but seed potatoes'; verb immediately preceded by a simple personal pronoun)	2.	3.	30
<i>I John is here today</i> ('I, John, am here today'; verb preceded by a noun)	20.	2.	1
<i>the<y> of the contry is selling ther butter in it</i> ('the country people are selling their butter there'; verb not immediately preceded by a simple personal pronoun)	2.	2.	24-25
<i>I and Mary was in hit at a party since</i> ('since then Mary and I have been to a party there'; compound subject)	8.	2.	19-20
I am thank ful to God that <i>you ar</i> doing so well and <i>has</i> so good halth ('I am thankful to God that you are doing well and have such good health'; first verb immediately preceded by a simple personal pronoun; second verb immediately preceded by zero)	20.	1.	5-7
our <i>oats looks</i> very well ('our oats look very good'; verb immediately preceded by a noun)	4.	1.	23-24
<i>Robert and Mary and John was in hit and the<y> wer hear</i> ('Robert and Mary and John were there and they were here [afterwards]'; first verb immediately preceded by nouns; second verb immediately preceded by a simple personal pronoun)	2.	1.	12-13
11. Double negative. The double negative construction is rarely attested in the Sproule letters, except after the conjunction <i>nor</i> , where it constitutes the regular pattern:			
he <i>naver rite</i> ('wrote about') <i>nothing</i> but hor<s>es	2.	1.	32
With <i>nor</i> :			
James is not well <i>nor no</i> mendmet for him ('James is not well nor is there any improvement in store for him')	2.	1.	16-17

12. Use of *that* + finite clause instead of infinitive complement. This construction occurs mostly after *like* and its equivalents:
- | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-------|
| I wod leake <i>that you woud rite</i> to James cuberson ('I would like (for) you to write to James Culbertson') | 2. | 1. | 20-21 |
| I woud leake <i>that ant woud be liven</i> ('I would like (for) Aunt to be alive') | 2. | 2. | 22-23 |
| [I wou]d be glad <i>that you [w]oud tell</i> me how much [yo]u hold at the present ('I would like (for) you to tell me how much land you hold at present') | 6. | 1. | 16-17 |

With other verbs:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-------|
| sche <i>reqwest</i> <i>you to let</i> hir now how your mother is | 4. | 3. | 2-3 |
| I wod <i>alow</i> <i>you to speake</i> with Ant Betty ('I would ask you to speak with Aunt Betty') | 2. | 1. | 22-23 |

LEXICON

<i>action</i> 'event': death<s> are very plenty if I cude mine (i.e. <i>mind</i> 'remember') them and <i>actions</i> a great dale			
of them has hapent this year	6.	3.	10-12
<i>addition</i> 'increase (in the size of a family)': She has got a Young Son in <i>addition</i> to the family	1.	1.	16-17
<i>address</i> 'message, declaration': plese take my <i>a drece o[f]</i> love to my Ant and to yous all untill Death	8.	4.	17-18
<i>advance</i> 'pay raise': he has got his pay <i>adveance</i> at forteen years served 4 pence a day	6.	2.	4-5
<i>again(st)</i> 'by, towards': mother cow is milking very well and is to come ('come into heat') <i>again</i> march	20.	3.	4-5
<i>ail</i> 'be ill': I am sory That your Sheep is <i>ealing</i>	10.	3.	31-32
<i>alike</i> 'equal': <i>alike</i> parts	15.	2.	14
<i>allow</i> 'request': I wod <i>alow</i> <i>you to speake</i> with Ant betty	2.	1.	22-23
<i>always</i> 'continually': M And Jany and waliam cap hir upt ('took care of her') [always]	5.	3.	13-14
<i>amendment</i> 'improvement, recovery': James is not well nor no <i>mendmet</i> for him	2.	1.	16-17
<i>[apose]</i> 'impose': She came and <i>aposed</i> hir self on me	5.	2.	4-5
<i>appearance</i> 'likelihood': Whe have the <i>a pearance</i> of bad times in this part of Ireland	13.	2.	2-3
<i>article</i> 'thing': She woud not luke to give one <i>art<ic>le</i> tome wh<e>n dath ('dead')	5.	2.	31-32
<i>at</i> 'engaged in': Lizabeth Cenerley is in Edernay <i>at</i> dress making	7.	2.	30-32
<i>[a self]</i> (emphatic particle 'altogether?'): the<y> fix theselves and came hear the night be fore and left this (i.e. 'here') next morning and him and her went a way very hardy <i>a self</i>	4.	2.	12-14
<i>attends</i> 'medical care': I had a tack of the Canser in my left brest and I went to omagh and I took a room and paid for my <i>attends</i>	27.	2.	1-5
<i>away</i> 'off, gone': the ar that many around yous ('us') <i>a way</i> to America	4.	3.	12-13
<i>back</i> 'behind, delayed': the Work is fare <i>back</i> at present	10.	1.	28-29
<i>bail</i> 'to set a reserve price for an item to be auctioned': the<y> woud had to go for what he <i>beald</i>	4.	2.	11-12
<i>be</i> 'contribute': I was tenn Shilllings my ssself	11.	3.	31-32
<i>before</i> 'already': the[y] have tow sons in hit <i>before</i>	7.	3.	20
<i>behind</i> 'after one's death': the<y> left me tow [young] ones <i>behind</i> hir	8.	1.	17-18
<i>beside</i> 'compared to/with': that is a chang beside wh<e>n you wer her	5.	2.	19
<i>best</i> 'most': he is the talest of the famely and the <i>best</i> lake me	19.	2.	19-21
<i>biddable</i> 'obedient': he is sow wise and <i>bi<dda>ble</i> to his mother	29.	3.	6-7
<i>blessing</i> 'good luck': all I want now is a Woman and A <i>blissing</i> and all is of now use un less that	18.	2.	18-20
<i>brash</i> 'bout of illness': mother is verry oncertent in hir health is verry subject to <i>braches</i> and is verry loaney at night	20.	1.	3-4
<i>break</i> 'to break up; go away (of an illness); fail financially': the Revenue police is <i>a breaking</i> she was verey ill for som time but hit <i>break</i> and she is mending	8.	4.	23
Times are getting very bad At present with ones <i>Breaking</i> and going a way	12.	1.	21-23
<i>bruise</i> [?; said of flax]: the flax is pirty good and we have hit <i>broused</i>	18.	3.	8-10
<i>care</i> 'dependent members of the family': Mr McCaley and his <i>ceare</i> is well	8.	1.	8
<i>carefully</i> (in <i>receive</i> <i>carefully</i>) 'carefully check items received against a shipping list': we received every thing carefully that was mentioned in the letter	23.	3.	9
<i>case</i> 'instance': she was very ill in many a <i>case</i> for she did not [know] when she was full or not	1.	1.	12-13
<i>chance</i> 'opportunity': he is making avery good <i>chance</i> of it of his horse	12.	1.	13-15
<i>chance</i> 'to venture': you might <i>chance</i> to Make a visit to this Country	6.	3.	21-22
<i>close</i> 'to end': we never can <i>close</i> the ware by fighting	17.	4.	6-8
<i>cold</i> 'clayey': In <i>Cold</i> Weat land the ar <s>cearce any croap at all	14.	1.	14-15
<i>come</i> 'to come into heat': mother cow is milking very well and is to <i>com</i> again ('by') march	13.	2.	4-5
<i>come on</i> 'to get on' (intrans.): let me know how youse ar all <i>coming on</i>	20.	3.	4-5
<i>come on</i> 'happen to' (trans.): his Boxes is to be libled in your cere for feare Any thing might <i>com on</i> him	6.	1.	32-33
<i>cut down</i> 'to reap': I am fretting to know [how you wi]ll get your crops <i>cut down</i>	19.	1.	13-15
<i>dear</i> 'expensive': housre is very der	12.	2.	10-11
<i>decline</i> 'consumption': your Cuzen James Alexander is Dead with the <i>decline</i>	27.	3.	5-6
<i>detain</i> (intrans.) 'delay' (intrans.): I <i>deatend</i> in ritting untill William woud be ready to seat Seale	4.	2.	26-27
<i>detain</i> (trans.) 'delay' (trans.), keep from': I will tell you what <i>Deatend</i> me in ritting	19.	1.	8-10
	18.	1.	11-12

dilatory ‘hesitant’: I was <i>diltary</i> In saying any thing concerning you on cont of fanny laving hir native p[ll]ace	22.	2.	12-14
dinging ‘heavy rain’: the ar more <i>dinging</i> this year Since may last than have been this many a year	8.	1.	20-22
direct ‘to address’: when you Right <i>Derect</i> to Joseph Culbertson	3.	3.	11-12
direction ‘address’: I had to datain the letter a weack to gett his <i>direction</i>	6.	1.	27-28
doat ‘be senile’: <she is> verry Seroce in <i>doating</i> and very often cutes hir cloat<h>es in peaces	10.	1.	15-17
donsie ‘sickly, delicate in health’: I am Sometimes very <i>doncey</i> With a paine in my Side	10.	2.	7-8
done ‘done for’: I was afraid you were <i>done</i>	17.	1.	11-12
dry ‘not giving milk’: <i>dray</i> stock seling 10£ down to 2£-10S	22.	3.	13
earning ‘income’: I beg of you to be careful of your <i>earning</i>	1.	3.	20
employ ‘employment’: S[tea]dy <i>employ</i>	1.	3.	11
even ‘uniform’: we have a party <i>aveny</i> crop of flack<s>	6.	2.	10
family ‘children’: he and there (i.e. ‘they’re’) all well and expecting more <i>family</i>	5.	1.	6-7
fat ‘to rise/increase in price’: Cettel is <i>fatting</i> very fast in prise on account of a dise<s> ben in Ingland of a cattel plague	21.	5.	7-9
feed ‘breast feed’: send me Word I[f] you will <i>feed</i> them	10.	2.	23-24
find [someone] <i>out</i> ‘discover where someone is’: perhaps you know some person in Philifidelphia [sic] who could <i>find her out</i>	24.	1.	13-2.2
fit ‘suit’: if you coud meet him at the treane off[ice] hit woud <i>feet</i> him	19.	1.	16-18
fix [oneself] ‘get [oneself] ready’: the<y> <i>fix</i> <i> theselves and came hear the night be fore and left this (i.e. here) next morning	4.	2.	12-14
flee ‘run away, take off’: the man <i>fled</i> and left the Land to Mr Caddwell of Cloverhill	18.	2.	4-6
flee to ‘have recourse to’: when I be long getting A letter I have nothing to <i>flee to</i> but the lekness	10.	2.	19-21
for fear ‘lest’: when your commenceny (i.e. ‘commencin”) To bild take greate keare for fere You hort your self by the work	10.	2.	1-3
for to (+ infinitive, usually to express purpose): we got orders <i>for to</i> be redy to march	16.	1.	10
fret (n.) ‘worry’: It gave me a great <i>fret</i> in respect of the making of money	1.	2.	9-10
fret (participial adj., probably an alternate past passive participle of <i>freight</i>) ‘loaded, well-fed’: ceape fret your babes for that is the for mest pont (‘point’) of babes	2.	1.	29-30
friend ‘relation’: your frendes ar all well At Omagh and Mr McCaley and his ones ar all well	21.	4.	1-4
go away ‘disappear, get lost; fail’: at the time of Mothers death it (sci. the photograph) <i>went away</i>	27.	4.	3-4
go on ‘expend on’: you woud not now our mationgs house what repere <i>has went</i> on it	8.	4.	1-3
go to ‘get to’: hee never Stoped till hee <i>went to</i> the Steate of elinoys	3.	2.	20-21
greens/green crop ‘vegetables’: Georges <i>green crop</i> lookes party well	23.	3.	8
guess ‘estimate, reckon’: I gess the<y> ar [big] ons now	22.	2x.	1
handy ‘convenient, easy’: Cettle is so hie that it is not <i>handy</i> for to get such	20.	2.	6-7
hear ‘hear of’: by <i>hearing</i> somaney ons comeing hom on a visit and seeing so maney I thought that you wer coming also	7.	1.	24-27
hear from ‘hear about’: if you Coud I woud be con<ten>ted to <i>heare from</i> him been Near hand you	21.	2.	4-7
high ‘expensive’: milk sells <i>high</i>	6.	2.	18
hundred ‘hundredweight’: I gave the cattle to <i>hundres</i> of them every day	5.	2.	18
in ‘among’: the ar no Deaths nor mariges <i>in</i> your frends since the last one you wrote	8.	3.	14-16
in ‘put in, sowed’: I have the Crops all <i>in</i>	27.	3.	9-10
keep ‘stay, continue’: the last of may was very [thunery] and wet but <i>kepes</i> cold	6.	2.	12-13
keep up ‘take care of’: M and Jany and waliam <i>cap</i> hir <i>upt</i> a[lwa]ys	5.	3.	13-14
labor ‘farm work’: as for our <i>leabor</i> we ar all most down (‘done’) plowing	5.	2.	13-14
land ‘to arrive’: plese rite when he <i>land</i> <s> with you for I will be thinking the Weeks verry longe to I get A letter from you	19.	2.	14-14
late ‘late ripening’: oats is <a> good crop I<n> stoan<y> land ... but <in> som dray land hit is <i>lite</i>	22.	3.	3-5
leave out on ‘spend on’: some thing a bout 4 [hondre] pounds has been <i>left out</i> on hit	8.	4.	4-5
leave past ‘leave behind’: she came and had toget them and <i>left</i> them <i>past</i>	5.	2.	7-8
the length ‘as far as, all the way’: I woud leake that ant woud be liven to I woud go <i>the lenth</i> thear	2.	2.	22-23
lift ‘collect money due on a bill’: I want you to let me know if you <i>lifted</i> the bill of sale that I gave George	15.	2.	10-11
long [said of oats]: our oats is very good in generall but not <i>long</i>	8.	1.	7
(Cf. the oates is party good but <i>short</i> by a dray spring 6.2.9)			
look for ‘get information about’: I am a mind to rite one to <i>look for</i> marget	4.	1.	18
low ‘cheap’: pork is verrey <i>lo</i> hear	17.	3.	21
mail (replaced by <i>post</i> in current usage): I thought often and often that shorely hit woud be here in <the> nixt <i>maile</i>	7.	1.	10-11
mail ‘to send through the post office’: so I <i>mailt</i> the letter that I wrote to send with him (American usage)	15.	1.	26-27
man ‘husband’: the Mis Sproules ar all dead and ther <i>men</i> mared again	7.	2.	6-7
meat ‘meal, food’: the<y> for got a pot that the<y> mad ther <i>mate</i> in	4.	2.	15
mend ‘improve, recover’: this fresing is very sore aganst me in <i>mending</i>	23.	2.	15-17

<i>menskin</i> (Ir. <i>meascán</i>) ‘molded mass of butter’: ther is a butter market in Castlederg and the<y> of the country is selling ther butter in it all in <i>menskins</i>	2.	2.	23-25
<i>mind</i> ‘to remember, recall’: and ma[n]y others if I woud <i>mind</i> them	7.	2.	22
<i>mistake</i> ‘accident’: Old Robert Corry met with a <i>mis Tacke</i>	10.	3.	7-8
<i>moiled</i> ‘hornless’: the mold cow is caved and is doing well	20.	2.	5
<i>more</i> ‘greater’: I think shourly it woud <be> a <i>mor cont<ent></i> met for fany and you	2.	1.	24-25
<i>more</i> ‘others’: some of the young Ones lived five weeks and some <i>more</i> Eight Weeks	1.	2.	6-7
<i>name</i> ‘mention, identify’: You did not <i>name</i> to me what Soart O<f> halth Fanny had	10.	2.	15-17
<i>nearhand</i> ‘near, close by’: if you Coud I woud be con<ten>ted to heare from him been <i>Near hand</i> you	21.	1.	4-7
<i>nerves</i> ‘nervousness’: Mr Andrew Sproule of McCregan (i.e. Magheracreggan) Is <ai>ling of a stroake and <i>narves</i>	7.	3.	1-3
<i>news</i> ‘report’: Alete (i.e. ‘a late’) <i>nues</i> that your Ant Jane linceay is dead	5.	3.	12
<i>nigh</i> ‘near, close to, like’: this is <the> sores frost that has ben this long time hit is <as> <i>nih</i> to a merica as eve<r> was in Ireland	23.	2.	17-20
<i>off</i> ‘(a)way back’: <i>off</i> in sommor last	8.	3.	25
<i>on account of</i> ‘because of’: she woud lake to hear from you <i>Onecount</i> of the war commencing	11.	3.	19-20
<i>one</i> ‘same’: we had tow toocket hit in the <i>one</i> Weack in August last	8.	1.	14-15
<i>one</i> ‘single’: hoping in the goodness of God that they will find you in every degree as well in health happiness and contentment of mind in every <i>One</i> way as we all could wish you to be in	1.	1.	2-6
<i>ones</i> ‘people’: the ar a great dale of <i>ones</i> dad by the Snow	23.	4.	10-12
<i>only</i> ‘except’: I am laing Still on the Broade of my Back since that <i>onley</i> As the<y> lift and leay me	23.	2.	7-9
<i>ought to</i> ‘should’: you <i>ought to</i> let hir run loos	15.	2.	17-18
<i>out of</i> ‘from’: ther ar a greatte dale of people coming hom <i>out of</i> hit	12.	2.	4-5
<i>palatick</i> ‘paralysis’: Mr Andrew Sproule of Maricrigan is ailing since may last with a stroack of <i>palatick</i> and with narvich ness	8.	2.	13-15
<i>part</i> ‘area, place’: the Snow is from 3 foot deep in many a <i>part</i>	23.	4.	9-10
<i>part</i> ‘depart’: she <i>parted</i> this life the June 27 1890	29.	3.	11-12
<i>peace</i> ‘police’: the Revenue Police is a breaking and more of the <i>pace</i> incede of the Revenue	8.	4.	23
<i>please</i> ‘come to an agreement with’: Mr McC said that he woud ples old Mr Richlach in a porti<o>n (‘marriage portion’)	8.	2.	25-26
<i>plenty</i> ‘well off’: I think I will be pretty <i>plenty</i>	5.	2.	16-17
<i>plenty</i> ‘numerous’: Deaths ar ver<y> <i>plenty</i> this year And a greattē <many> dos die with a inf[lue]nca Dicese	10.	3.	1-3
<i>portion</i> ‘marriage portion’: Mr McC said that he woud ples old Mr Richlach in a <i>porti<o>n</i>	8.	2.	25-26
<i>put in</i> ‘spend (time)’: I am remarkable uneasy about how you have <i>put in</i> the winter	1.	3.	6-7
<i>put in</i> ‘plant’: be as tentive (‘attentive’) as you wer at hom to <i>put in</i> the crop in time	2.	1.	30-31
<i>rate</i> ‘price’: I rite <to> let you now <i>reates</i> of this contrȳ	22.	3.	1
<i>rise up</i> ‘quit’: the<y> ar plentey of farmers <i>rising up</i> and leaving their place	17.	3.	16-18
<i>run down on</i> ‘disparage’: I see 2 or 3 letters in the Wayne County Democrat of the 12 <i>runing down on</i> the Goverment	15.	1.	10-11
<i>safe</i> ‘free and clear’: the<y> had a bout 10 pounds <i>safe</i> with them	4.	2.	19-20
<i>see</i> ‘visit’: John was hear <i>seeing</i> yous (‘us’)	7.	2.	2
<i>see after</i> ‘look after’: let the person <i>See after</i> her If She could be got into a Gentle mans family	24.	2.	12-14
<i>seed potato</i> : the<y> ar nothn but leake <i>seed</i>	2.	3.	20
<i>seek for</i> ‘try to get’: I roat and got now ancer And now I rite this one to <i>seake for</i> a nancer	22.	4.	9
<i>set</i> ‘plant’ (said of potatoes): we have 2 yeakers (‘acres’) of potteates <i>set</i>	6.	2.	10-11
<i>sharp</i> ‘painful’: Dr. Thompson cut and Dr. Love Attended and Dr. Gamble also this was <i>Sharp</i>	27.	2.	9-12
<i>shift</i> (n.) ‘move’: Let[ec]y Sproule and Betty Sproul of laston and Charles famly all went in one <i>shift</i>	4.	3.	10-11
<i>short</i> [said of oats]: the oattes is pirty good but <i>short</i> by a dray spring (Cf. our oats is very good in generall but not <i>long</i>)	6.	2.	9
<i>sitter</i> ‘guest at a wedding’: there was 50 <i>Sitters</i> at the Wedding	8.	1.	7
<i>situation</i> ‘job, position’: I might get a <i>situation</i> in Newyork	1.	2.	16-17
<i>slip</i> ‘young pig’: when they were three Week old her and another <i>Slip</i> that I had in the Space of One hour took the disease and Died	26.	1.	12-13
<i>so</i> ‘such’: I am thank ful to God that you ar doing so well and has <i>so</i> good halth	1.	2.	3-6
<i>something</i> of ‘some kind of’: his daughter toock <i>somthing</i> in hir eye of a paine that hit drive hit out of hit place int[ar]ly	20.	1.	5-7
<i>sore</i> ‘severe’: this has ben a <i>Sore</i> winter	8.	1.	26-28
<i>stand</i> ‘set, suite’: a <i>Stan</i> of the best me[hag]onay	10.	1.	26
<i>still</i> ‘always’: I want you to ... aply that as I <i>still</i> don	11.	1.	25-26
<i>stop</i> ‘stay’: plese let me now if you have Any one to <i>stop</i> in the house with you	15.	2.	12-14
<i>strange</i> ‘foreign’: be all wise thankfule to god for all that he is bestoing on you in a <i>streange</i> Country	13.	1.	22-24
<i>stray</i> ‘leave, go away’: the young men is all <away?> and he me <i>stray</i> as well as them	20.	1.	7-9
(Cf. ... arise and come awa / this [is] the day ye are to <i>stray</i> from Caledonia, Greig Duncan Folk Song Collection, song no.	2.	2.	14

1535, version D, 2.3-4; not listed in SND)

<i>supple</i> ‘nimble’: he is <i>supla<n></i> d well but she has the decline	6.	3.	6-7
<i>talk</i> ‘rumor, talking’: I hear a great <i>tack</i> about the trublsm Times in America	11.	3.	1-2
<i>that</i> ‘there, then’: From <i>that</i> to Canada	3.	2.	32
<i>h<e></i> was marid on the 15 of may last and I and Mary was in hit at a party since <i>that</i>	8.	2.	19-20
<i>that</i> ‘so that’: his daughter toock somthing in <i>hir eye</i> of a paine <i>that</i> hit drive hit out of hit place	8.	1.	26-28
<i>that</i> ‘so’: the ar <i>that</i> many around yous (‘us’) a way to America	4.	3.	12-13
<i>these</i> ‘this letter’: hopping that <i>these</i> will find youse all in the same as the< <i>y</i> > lave yous (‘us’) in at present	6.	1.	6-8
<i>think long</i> ‘be anxious/impatient’: I am <i>think<ing></i> long for a letter from you on account of your country	12.	1.	5-7
<i>this</i> ‘here, now’: let me now if you every (‘ever’) had the chramp in your goots since you left <i>this</i> for it is often a thought to me	2.	3.	13-15
<i>thole</i> ‘bear, suffer’: I have paine A nofe to <i>thole</i>	23.	1.	16
<i>throng</i> ‘busy’: we were <i>throng</i> Shearing last weack the work is [very] <i>thorong</i> at present	4.	1.	14-15
<i>through</i> ‘throughout’: There is a great revival going on <i>through</i> the north	4.	1.	23-24
<i>tidy</i> ‘in calf’: We have a year old heffer <i>tidey</i>	9.	1.	14-15
<i>time</i> ‘apprenticeship’: John has most part of his <i>time</i> up in a Shop	24.	3.	9-10
<i>times</i> ‘state of things’: <i>Times</i> are getting very bad At present with ons breaking And going a way to ‘until’: I was not long to I sent for your mother to hear your letter	18.	3.	8-10
<i>town</i> ‘townland’: you Say that you for get the <i>towns</i> but I think you ar lake the man that came home and did not now his cat	17.	2.	1-3
<i>travel</i> ‘walk’: Your Grand mother is well as she has been this long time and can travel to unk< <i>le</i> > Androw w<ith>out stopping	3.	3.	8-11
<i>unbeknownst</i> ‘unknown’: you might be ded and bired (‘buried’) a nonste to Androw	6.	2.	23-24
<i>under end</i> ‘end of the house closest to the road’: she has the <i>under end</i> of the house	22.	2.	10
<i>uneasy</i> ‘anxious, worried’: I am verry <i>oneasey</i> to hear from you	17.	2.	11-12
<i>unless</i> ‘except, without’: She was confind to hir Bead for 11 months and Never was up <i>unlece</i> un a caisen	11.	3.	18
<i>upping</i> ‘care, support’: I have never got any money yet for hir <i>upping</i>	12.	1.	10-11
<i>victuals</i> ‘food’: She was confind to hir Bead for 11 months ... and she was 5 months of that not able to tacocke hir on (‘own’) <i>vitles</i>	6.	2.	25-27
<i>view</i> ‘vet, inspect’: Mr McCallow and James Wilson Went And <i>vued</i> him and the< <i>y</i> > ar well Content With his place	12.	1.	10-13
<i>want</i> ‘need, lack’: all I <i>want</i> now is A Woman and A blissing and all is of now use un less that	11.	1.	31-32
<i>well-like</i> ‘handsome, well-favored?’: ye wood not got the seen (‘couldn’t have seen’) the equal <of> hir in all the feer (‘fair’) for tall <i>well leake</i> young womans	18.	2.	18-20
<i>whetin</i> ‘whitlow’: since he had the <i>whetin</i> in his finger	2.	1.	13-15
<i>woman</i> ‘wife’: William and <i>woman</i> is well	17.	3.	4
<i>wonder</i> ‘be surprised’: Dear Androw I <i>winder</i> but you woud now my temper beter to say that you woud rite and woud not	2.	1.	16
<i>write</i> ‘write about, describe in writing’: pleas forgive me of that mis tack ... you <i>rite</i> in last leter	4.	1.	13-14
<i>yet</i> ‘still’: you did not say ... if Ant Saragh was with you <i>yet</i>	2.	2.	29-31
	14.	2.	19

PHRASEOLOGY

Beatty Graham is also by the <i>bad times</i> ‘Betty Graham is also suffering financially’	2.	2.	6
<i>the<y> of the contry</i> ‘the country people’	2.	2.	24
(Cf. Shakespeare, <i>Henry V</i> , 1.2.139-141: They of those marches ... shall be a wall sufficient to defend our England (‘those marchers’))			
as soon as this <i>gos to hand</i> ‘as soon as this comes to you’ (sender’s perspective)	2.	3.	13
the Onley one that <i>has Come to hand</i> ‘the only one that has come to me’ (receiver’s perspective)	3.	1.	6
hit the boan is <i>of</f> the pleace</i> ‘it (the bone) has been dislocated’	5.	1.	20-21
<i>the<y> ar now youse of poverty</i> ‘poverty makes them useless’	5.	1.	30
I need not <i>rise any nose</i> (‘noise’) ‘I needn’t make a stir’	6.	1.	24
he is <i>making avery good chance</i> of it of his horse this sayson ‘he is making a very good opportunity of it (of his horse) this season’	6.	3.	21-22
<i>yo<u> manchet of Deaths</i>	8.	2.	9
you <i>manchet</i> of pigs tacking the distemper	8.	1.	13-14
bying is <i>sore to Stand</i> ‘high prices make it very hard to buy anything’	8.	3.	5-6
hit <i>drive hit out of hit place</i> intraly (‘intarly’ entirelyss) ‘it completely dislocated it’	8.	1.	27-28
Hit will <i>Scost you hi</i> to repere all ‘it will cost you a lot to repair the whole thing’	10.	2.	6
I <i>thought a great pity of her</i> ‘I pitied her greatly’	17.	1.	19
she <i>thinks long for you</i> ‘she misses you greatly’	17.	4.	13-14
cropes had <i>most to goa way</i> ‘there was almost no way the crops could escape failure’	21.	2.	17-18

GAELICISMS

I and Mary was <i>in hit</i> at a party since (Irish <i>ann</i> ‘in it, there’)	8.	2.	19-20
his Boxes is to be libled (ie labled) in your care for feare Any thing might <i>come on</i> him (Irish <i>teacht air</i> ‘come upon, happen to’)	19.	1.	13-15
it is often <i>a thought to me</i> (Irish <i>is dóigh liom</i> ‘it is my opinion’)	2.	3.	15
selling ther butter ... all in <i>menskens</i> (Irish <i>meascán</i> ‘moulded mass of butter’)	2.	2.	24-25

ULSTER-SCOTS OR MID-ULSTER?: A TENTATIVE ANSWER

Most of the hallmarks of Ulster-Scots are absent from the language of the Sproule letters. The letters know nothing of such Ulster-Scots staples as the negative particle *-no/na(e)*, the modal auxiliary *maun*, the prepositions *tae* ('to') and *wae* ('with'), [e] for [o] (as in *claes* ('clothes') or *hame* ('home')), the loss of final [l] as in *a* ('all') or *ca* ('call'), etc. On the other hand the letters regularly exhibit features which are characteristic of Mid-Ulster speech, such as [ar] as a development of [er] (cf. Ulster-Scots *nervish* ‘nervous’ vs. Mid-Ulster *narvich ness*, 8.2.13-15), the negative particle *not*, etc. The only unequivocal features of Ulster-Scots found in the letters are the retention of Middle English [u:] (vs. Standard [au]) (Phonology, section 3), the coalescence of the *cot-* and *coat-* classes (Phonology, section 2), and the monophthongization of [oi] to [o] (Phonology, section 14).

The area of west Tyrone in which the Sproule family held land from the 17th century on was heavily settled by people of Scots ancestry, as is indicated by the high incidence of Scots surnames among the landholders. One would therefore expect that the language spoken by these landholders would be a variety of Scots, as it surely was at the beginning of the settlement. That the speech recorded in the Sproule letters in fact looks far more like Mid-Ulster than Ulster-Scots has probably to do with the fact that the Scots community of west Tyrone is isolated from the Ulster-Scots heartland and its language is therefore vulnerable to Mid-Ulster linguistic pressure. To judge from the paucity of unequivocal Ulster-Scots features it seems likely that the language of the Sproule letters is in an advanced stage of assimilation to the proximate Mid-Ulster dialect and will sooner or later sever its ties with the distant Ulster-Scots speech. Such assimilation is not unknown in Ulster: a similar development took place in south Co. Donegal on the Murray estate, isolated like west Tyrone from the Ulster-Scots linguistic heartland. In the mid 18th century the tenants on the estate spoke Ulster-Scots, but by the late 19th century the local speech had assimilated to Mid-Ulster (for a comparison of this south Donegal Ulster-Scots speech to the language of the Sproule letters see Kerby A. Miller et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan* (New York, 2003), ch. 2 ‘Alexander Crawford, 1736’). Interestingly, in spelling (as opposed to grammar) the Sproule letters have a heavier Scots cast, showing such typical Scots spellings as *sch* for *sh* (e.g. *sche* ‘she’), *hir* for *her* ('her'), *ght* for final *gh* (e.g. *Omaght* ‘Omagh’) among others. These spellings, which do not appear in writings of Mid-Ulster provenance, are relicts on a level with the phonological archaism seen in the retention of Middle English [u:]. Both phonological and orthographic archaism in the Sproule letters highlight the loss of most of the distinctive features of an Ulster-Scots speech well on its way to assimilation to a neighboring language.

APPENDIX 1: PECULIARITIES OF SPELLING

- a. Conventions
 - 1. Abbreviations: *a* ‘and’; *D* ‘dear’ *wout* ‘without’
 - 2. Silent <y>: *yeakers* ‘acres’ (6.2.10); *yous* ‘us’ (7.1.3); *yout* ‘out’ (5.1.15); *Akerany* ‘Aghyaran’ (2.2.3); *aveny* ‘even’ (6.2.10); *remany* ‘remain’ (4.3.19)
 - 3. Silent <i>: *Colinacronethy* ‘Coolnacrunaght’ (with silent <y> as well; 4.3.7); *linis* ‘lines’ (2.1.2)
 - 4. <sch> for <sh>: *schal* ‘shall’ (2.2.31); *sche* ‘she’ (4.3.2-3); *scheep* ‘sheep’ (2.1.32)
 - 5. Alternation of initial <c(h)> and <sc(h)>: *cerce* ‘scarce’ (4.1.24); *coul* ‘school’ (5.2.3); *Scost* ‘cost’ (10.2.4); *Schaper* ‘cheaper’ (10.2.5). The cause of this spelling doublet probably lies with the existence of ‘true’ (i.e. phonological) doublets such as *Squnceay* (12.1.21) and standard *quinsky*.
- b. Departures from the Standard:
 - 1. Analytic Spellings: *for got* ‘forgot’ (2.3.10); *be fore* ‘before’ (4.2.13); *all most* ‘almost’ (8.1.6); *narvich ness* ‘nervousness’ (8.2.15); *a goa* ‘ago’ (21.2.12)
 - 2. Synthetic Spellings: *alletter* ‘a letter’ (5.1.6); *somaney* ‘so many’ (7.1.25); *Onecount* ‘on account’ (11.3.20); *iam* ‘I am’ (19.4.5); *Heis* ‘he is’ (22.1.12)
 - 3. Anticipation: and hope that he woud bring *youth* with him (2.3.2); *thant contry* (5.1.10); *hit well not getter better* (5.1.20)
 - 4. Dittography: *thuth* ‘thus’ (4.2.28); *you youd* ‘you would’ (6.1.16); *but my beet* ‘but my feet’ (7.1.23)
 - 5. Crasis: *asone* ‘as soon’ (6.3.22); *Intend* ‘I intend’ (29.2.6)
 - 6. Haplology: *apite* ‘appetite’ (5.1.17)
 - 7. Displaced doubling: *seels* ‘sells’ (5.2.24); *sonner* ‘sooner’ (12.1.39); *Tood* ‘Todd’ (10.3.34)
 - 8. Omission of letters: *sun rsing* ‘sunrising’ (2.2.26); *a ltter* ‘a letter’ (11.1.10)
 - 9. Metathesis: *Calstderg* ‘Castlederg’; (2.1.12); *trunep* ‘turnip’ (5.2.17); *Clorach* ‘Clogher’ (10.3.5)
 - 10. Words Left Unfinished: *linne* ‘linen’ (6.3.6); *Flak* ‘flax’ (10.3.29); *fiftee* ‘fifteen’ (17.3.12)
 - 11. Various Unsystematic Errors: *gog* ‘go’ (4.2.1-2); *foooot* ‘foot’ (5.1.19); *James Sport* ‘James Short’ (12.2.25)

APPENDIX 2: DATES OF THE LETTERS

1. December 21, 1845
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
2. August 13, 1850
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda and John Sproule to Andrew Sproule
3. December 11, 1850
Philadelphia
Joseph Culbertson to Andrew Sproule
4. September 21, 1851
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
5. March 6, 1854
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
6. June 4, 1854
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
7. August 13, 1857
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
8. October 6, 1857
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
9. July 19, 1859
Co. Londonderry
Alexander Sproule to Andrew Sproule
10. February 20, 1860
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
11. March 4, 1861
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
12. July 22, 1861
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
13. July 28, 1862
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
14. January 26, 1863
Vicksburg, Mississippi
Andrew Sproule to Frances Sproule
15. February 27, 1863
Vicksburg, Mississippi
Andrew Sproule to Frances Sproule
16. July 4, 1863
Vicksburg, Mississippi
Andrew Sproule to Frances Sproule
17. January 11, 1864
Carnchorran Glebe
Margaret Sproule to Andrew Sproule
18. March 26, 1864
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda and John Sproule to Andrew Sproule
19. March 6, 1865
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda and John Sproule to Andrew Sproule
20. November 15, 1865
Carnchorran Glebe
John and Matilda Sproule
21. June 5, 1866
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
22. August 3, 1866
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
23. January 16, 1867
Carnchorran Glebe
Matilda Sproule to Andrew Sproule
24. July 24, 1870
Londonderry
Alexander Sproule to Andrew Sproule
25. September 20, 1870
Philadelphia
Ann Sproule to Andrew Sproule
26. 1870?
Philadelphia
Ann Sproule to Andrew Sproule
27. May 2, 1872
Carnchorran Glebe
George Sproule to Andrew Sproule
28. October 25, 1873
Carnchorran Glebe
Robert Sproule to Andrew Sproule
29. September 8, 1890
Drumrawn, Co. Tyrone
John Sproule to Andrew Sproule

Ulster-Scots in the Twenty-First Century

James Fenton

The Ulster-Scots tongue described here (and also recorded in *The Hamely Tongue*¹) is the everyday spoken language of the great majority of the people living in much of the central, eastern and northern areas of rural county Antrim. (It is also, with very little variation, spoken in parts of east Down, north Derry, north Tyrone and north-east Donegal.) Its use throughout the area, formal contexts apart, rarely depends on the social or material circumstances of speakers, and never at all on their religious or political convictions. Details of the area will be considered more fully shortly. First, however, it is necessary to look briefly, and of necessity somewhat sketchily, at its nature and immediate origins². This is important since, while the Scots influence on much of Ulster vernacular speech is pervasive, features of its vocabulary and especially phonology give this tongue a quite distinct identity. (Many grammatical, particularly syntactic, features are also peculiar to Ulster-Scots; Robinson's 1997 study has a detailed formal analysis of these³.)

The Tongue

The essence of a language cannot be encapsulated in a simple definition, but in describing Ulster-Scots as 'an offshoot of the Central Scots dialect as spoken in Galloway, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire' the late Brendan Adams at least identified that Scots character which remains its dominant and distinguishing feature⁴. Its source is well known. The extent and make-up of the influx of Scottish and English immigrants into Ulster, mainly during the 17th century, have been thoroughly described and analysed, and they cannot be covered here. But it is clear that in the designated areas there was such a preponderance of Scots speakers that their language became dominant and, whatever the subsequent modifications or developments resulting from contact with varieties of English and local Irish speech, the Scottish element is still today the core of Ulster-Scots. It is unmistakable. When we hear speakers use *hoose* and *roon* for 'house' and 'round', *hame* and *stane* for 'home' and 'stone', *heid* and *deed* for 'head' and 'dead', *het* for 'hot', *fit* for 'foot', *ocht* and *strechit* for 'aught' and 'straight' and *daenae* and *cannae* for 'don't' and 'can't', we recognise a profound Scots influence that is quite peculiar to the speech of those areas. It is true, of course, that Ulster-Scots and Lallans (Lowland Scots) have diverged considerably over the years, yet the relationship remains sufficiently close for the former to be described as a variant of Scots in the *Scottish National Dictionary* and to be included (though hardly adequately) in its coverage⁵.

There are, as we shall see, other important elements, and we may describe contemporary Ulster-Scots as a blend of that strong and dominant Scots core, dialectal influences from other parts of Ulster and elsewhere, a considerable input from local Irish speech, and locally-coloured but ever-encroaching Standard English. This is not the place, nor is the writer the person, to trace the history of these constituents and their relationships back along the Germanic and other twigs and branches of the Indo-European language tree. However, some insight into that will be gained when we look below at representative groups of words from the Ulster-Scots vocabulary and their etymologies.

The Area

The key linguistic 'markers' noted above are taken from a long checklist used to determine as accurately as possible the speech boundaries of Ulster-Scots in county Antrim. Such boundaries are usually fuzzy linguistic zones, and this is especially true of the fringe regions in the south and west of the county. R. J. Gregg had that part of county Antrim 'where broad rural Scotch-Irish dialect' is spoken bounded in the south by a line running from Antrim to Whitehead⁶. Today such a line would mark the path of such a zone at best roughly, shading into Ulster-Scots to the north and local Standard English to the south. This line has since, in many places, clearly shifted northwards with, for example, increased linguistic mixing occurring especially in such expanding villages as Parkgate, Doagh, Burnsides, Ballynure and Ballycarry. In any case, the broad Ulster-Scots described here is indeed found only to the north of that line. The larger urban areas – again, expanding steadily – have long had a mixed speech, ranging from a mostly diminishing broad tongue to locally-accented or consciously-cultivated Standard English. This is patently no longer the situation in Antrim town and is increasingly less so in Whitehead, where large-scale development and population shift have radically altered the speech balance to the detriment and indeed virtual extinction of Ulster-Scots. On the other hand, extensive housing development in Ballymoney has drawn many people from surrounding rural areas into the town, adding to the already marked incidence of the tongue in that part of Antrim.

As Adams and Gregg have noted, both the Glens of Antrim area lying between (but not including) Carnlough and Ballycastle and the mid-western to south-western part of the designated area cannot be included. The first of these clearly does not belong. However, part of the second – and personal

findings have required some widening, so that not only Portglenone and Rasharkin but also the Dunloy/Tullaghans area are excluded – presents particular difficulties too complex to be considered here. They are fully discussed in the introduction to *The Hamely Tongue*. Here we may note that while much speech, especially in the northern part, is coloured by a strong Ulster-Scots accent and clear elements of Scots in the vocabulary – and markedly so in Dunloy/Tullaghans – it is not Ulster-Scots as defined.

The districts included were selected to provide a comprehensive coverage of the relevant area, which is genuinely representative of Ulster-Scots speech, its geographical distribution and the absence, on the whole, of fundamental social change during the period. They range from Drumdo (a few miles from the north coast) through The Ganaby and Leaney in the Ballymoney area, my home district Drumadarragh/Ballinaloob, and mid-Antrim (Broughshane and Buckna/Teenies) to Carneary and Kilbride in the south and a large part of east Antrim (including Loughmourne, Magheramorne, Raloo, and Kilwaughter). Informants from these districts, born in the 1930s or (the majority) earlier, contributed crucially to this study by a) checking for their area the core material collected by this writer over many years in Ballinaloob and surrounding townlands and supplemented by other collections published and unpublished⁷; and b) making their own contributions, either in the form of ‘new’ material or of variations in that listed, indicating usage level for items identified. Each informant’s contribution was cross-checked with all other informants to give a complete picture of incidence and distribution, a similar procedure being followed for additional material received from other sources. This was continued over several years, and repeated for material added to the second edition of the dictionary (2000). Rigorous adherence to this methodology has ensured a record of 20th-century Ulster-Scots which is certainly authentic and, the author believes, now comprehensive.

Vocabulary

The vocabulary has five broad elements: 1) ‘pure’ (i.e. non-standard) Ulster-Scots (US) words; 2) dual-status US words; 3) dual-status Standard English (SE) words; 4) single-status US words; and 5) locally-accented SE words.

1) Pure Ulster-Scots Words

These are words not found in any form in Standard English. Most are shared with Scots, albeit sometimes in slightly altered form, while some — especially those of Irish Gaelic derivation — are shared with other varieties of Ulster speech or in a few cases are found only locally. A few of unknown or uncertain origin are peculiar to the area. The principal origins are illustrated here by small, representative groupings, and two points must be stressed. The examples are presented merely to indicate the diversity and richness of the tongue’s origins, and established etymologies are simply listed without historical or other comment. The label ‘Gaelic’ refers to words described in the sources as derived from Scottish and/or Irish Gaelic. ‘Local Irish’ refers to words assimilated or derived from local Irish speech.

From Old Norse (ON)

<i>frae</i> ‘from’	[Scots <i>frae</i> , ON <i>frá</i>]
<i>gar</i> ‘force to’	[Scots <i>gar</i> , ON <i>gera</i>]
<i>lair</i> ‘to sink in mud’	[Scots <i>lair</i> , ON <i>leir</i> ‘mud’]

<i>loof</i> ‘palm’	[Scots <i>luif</i> , ON <i>löfe</i>]
<i>scrae</i> ‘brat, runt’	[Scots <i>scrae</i> , ON <i>skrā</i> ‘piece of dried skin’]
From Middle English (ME) or Old English (OE)	
<i>aizle</i> ‘cinder’	[Scots <i>aizle</i> , ME <i>isyle</i> /OE <i>ysele</i> ‘ashes’]
<i>kye</i> ‘cows’	[Scots <i>kye</i> , OE <i>cý</i>]
<i>hap</i> ‘swaddle’	[Scots <i>hap</i> , ME <i>happe</i>]
<i>oxter</i> ‘armpit’	[Scots <i>oxter</i> , OE <i>ōxta</i>]
<i>sope</i> ‘sip, etc.’	[Northern English <i>sope</i> , OE <i>sopa</i>]
From Scottish Gaelic/Irish Gaelic	
<i>carry</i> ‘weir’	[Scots <i>carry</i> , Gaelic <i>caraidh</i>]
<i>donsie</i> ‘sick’	[Scots <i>donsie</i> , Gaelic <i>donas</i> ‘bad luck’]
<i>dyoochry</i> ‘gruel’	[Scots <i>deochray</i> , Gaelic <i>deoch-reith</i>]
<i>errak</i> ‘pullet’	[Scots <i>earock</i> , Gaelic <i>eirog</i>]
<i>sonsie</i> ‘buxom, pretty’	[Scots <i>sonsie</i> , Gaelic <i>sonas</i> ‘good luck’]
From Scots	
<i>boass</i> ‘hollow’ (adj.)	[origin unknown]
<i>glar</i> ‘mud’	[origin unknown]
<i>heth</i> ‘indeed’	[probably from <i>faith</i>]
<i>nyirps</i> ‘fretful mood’	[probably imitative]
<i>tove</i> ‘to boast, praise extravagantly’	[apparently from <i>stove</i> (verb)]
From French (F) or Old French (OF)	
<i>fash</i> ‘to upset, disgust’	[Scots <i>fash</i> , OF <i>fascher</i>]
<i>footer</i> ‘to fiddle about, etc.’	[Scots <i>fouter</i> , OF <i>foutre</i> ‘to copulate’]
<i>jalooze</i> ‘to suspect’	[Scots <i>jalousie</i> , F <i>jalouse</i>]
<i>sang!</i> (in a vow or oath)	[Scots <i>sang</i> , F <i>sang</i> ‘blood’]
<i>stoor</i> ‘dust’	[Scots <i>stour</i> , OF <i>estour</i> ‘tumult’]
From Local Irish Gaelic	
<i>clabber</i> ‘soft mud’	[Irish <i>clábar</i> ‘mud’]
<i>doran</i> ‘dolesful person’	[perhaps Irish <i>dobhran</i> , <i>dorán</i>]
<i>dourag</i> ‘cleg’s proboscis’	[perhaps Irish <i>duirc</i> ‘dirk’]
<i>dull</i> ‘noose, snare’	[Irish <i>dul</i>]
<i>prakis</i> ‘botch, wreck’	[Irish <i>prácas</i> ‘hotch-potch’]
Other sources include especially German, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages of different periods and levels. Words of unknown origin peculiar to various parts of the area include <i>dyach</i> ‘brat’, <i>eelyatter</i> ‘hairworm’, <i>grobach</i> ‘dwarf’, <i>grunt</i> ‘the stone loach’, and <i>scravery</i> ‘a scrubby area’.	
2) Dual-Status Ulster-Scots Words	
These are words which differ in form from their SE counterparts and which have, in addition to the conventional meanings and/or usages, others peculiar to the tongue. Two are fully illustrated here.	
<i>alloo</i> ‘to allow’	
‘to remark’: <i>He allooed it wuz a quare day</i>	
‘to suggest, imply’: <i>A’m naw allooin ye’ll naw pie</i>	
‘to grant, concede’: <i>A hae tae alloo ye that</i>	
‘to reckon’: <i>They alloo thon’s what happen’t</i>	

- 'to intend': *A wuz allooin tae cal the morra*
mine 'mind'
 'recollection': *A hae nae mine o that*
 'to remember': *She can mine naethin; Mine an sen it back*
 'to note, observe': *Mine the cut o thon!*
 (with *on*) 'to remind (one) of': *He mines me on somebody A met somewhur*
 (with *on*) 'to strike (one) as': *He mines me on a boy's worth a-watchin*
 'to remind': *Mine me tae sen it the morra*
 (with *tae*) 'to remember (one) to': *Mine me tae a' at hame*
 'to be obedient to': *Mine what the mester tells ye*

Others are *chairege* (English *charge*) 'an uncouth man, a large meal'; *cliver* (English *clever*) 'generous, handsome, rather large for the wearer'; *en* (English *end*) 'a room, an added room'; and *jowlt* (English *jolt*) 'a large piece'.

3) Dual-Status Standard English Words

These are words which retain their standard forms and meanings, but which have additional meanings and/or usages long obsolete and lost from modern English. Many are found in Shakespeare. Some examples are:

- answer* 'to fit, suit': *That kep daesnae answer ye*
colour 'a small amount': *a wee colour o money*
even 'to suspect, guess': *A wud niver 'a evened he wuz the yin*
lucky 'rather more than': *lucky a hunther*
sermon 'a sorry sight': *the sermon o hir shooherin him hame*

Others in this group are *canker* 'to fester', *learn* 'to teach', *poem* 'to spread gossip', *thing* 'some, sort', *tight* 'strong, capable at fighting'.

4) Single-Status Ulster-Scots Words

These are words which differ in form but not in meaning from their standard counterparts. Since they exemplify most clearly those identifying phonological features peculiar to US speech, as defined, they are examined in some detail in the next section.

5) Standard English words

These words, which usually show typical lengthening and/or 'broadening' of the vowel-sounds and often the retention of the consonantal features discussed below, make up an increasing proportion of Ulster-Scots speech, but it remains true that many words common in standard speech are still excluded from Ulster-Scots. Words in this category include (local equivalents in italics): *feared, scarred* 'afraid', *as weel*, *forby* 'also', *sleepin* 'asleep', *come* 'came', *big* 'large', *lachin* 'laughter', *maybe*, *aiblins* 'perhaps', *the mair* 'though, although'.

Phonology

The consonantal and vocalic features of Ulster-Scots speech are presented here with minimal recourse to the phonetic alphabet and largely avoiding the technical language of formal phonological analysis. (This form of presentation, especially

in the examples given, may perhaps make some contribution to the development of a standardised Ulster-Scots spelling system.) The story of the evolution and survival of these features and the extent of any subsequent local modification cannot be covered here.

Consonants

Several of the consonantal features described here are shared with colloquial speech elsewhere in Ulster and in some cases farther afield. These features apart, the pronunciation of consonants is conventional. Distinctive features include

- 1) final *d* usually dropped following *l* or *n*: *fiel* 'field', *sen* 'send', *soon* 'sound'
- 2) the glottal stop often substituted for medial or final *t* and other stops: *weh* 'wet', *wa'er* 'water'
- 3) *t* usually omitted from *mpt* and final *pt*: *empty* 'empty', *slep* 'slept'
- 4) final *l* or *ll* omitted in SE words having *-all*: *fa/fal* 'fall', *wa/wal* 'wall'
- 5) *l* usually omitted from the suffix *-ful*: *airmfu* 'armful', *affa* 'awful': the vowel becoming the neutral vowel schwa
- 6) medial *ng* always a single sound: *fing'r* 'finger' (rhymes with 'singer'), *tang'l* 'tangle'
- 7) medial *nd* usually *nth* before *er*: *tenthaler* 'tender', *wanther* 'wander'; otherwise usually *nn*: *bunngle* 'bundle', *hannle* 'handle'
- 8) *d* and *t* always interdental when followed by *r*: *dhriue* 'drive', *atthrect* 'attract'; this occurs often when followed by a vowel and *r* (as in *ordher* 'order', *tturn* 'turn'), but with many exceptions, especially in words denoting agency, and never in comparatives
- 9) *l* and *n* sometimes palatalised *blyue*: 'blue', *nyuck* 'nook'
- 10) *ch* or *gh* (the voiceless velar fricative), common in 'pure' Ulster-Scots words (as in *bachle* 'an old shoe', *cloicher* 'wet cough'), is retained where standard pronunciation has *f* (as in *coch* 'cough', *rugh* 'rough', with *draught(s)* being normally the sole exception) and often where standard *gh* is silent (as in *bocht* 'bought', *strechit* 'straight') but with the standard forms now also common
- 11) *s* sometimes pronounced *sh*: *breesht* 'breast', *shoo* 'sew'
- 12) *hw*, for *wh*, never standard *w*

Vowels⁹

Vowels are examined here mainly as they feature in those Ulster-Scots words which differ from their Standard-English counterparts in form only, having a different vowel sound sometimes combined with one or more of the consonantal features identified above. (These vowel sounds feature also, of course, in 'pure' US words and in the local pronunciation of many of those SE words which make up an integral element of Ulster-Scots speech.) This approach allows a demonstration of the entire range of the varied but often systematic ways in which such substitutions occur, our main concern here. Some occur in numerous cases, some in only a few. But together with the 'pure' words, they form the strong distinctive core of the tongue. Most are constant features of everyday speech, while some have varying degrees of interchangeability with standard forms (e.g. *weel* 'well',

wecht ‘weight’). As stated, vowel sounds are represented using both conventional lettering (the single modification in this section being the added umlaut to distinguish the main Ulster-Scots version of short, stressed *i*) and phonetic symbols, with vowel-length usually the only feature referred to. Finally, the written forms used in the examples given here attempt to indicate pronunciation directly, and thus they occasionally differ from those used in *The Hamely Tongue*, which has a simple system of supplementary guidance, and in some cases are not offered as possible standardised forms.

- 1) *i/i/* is close to standard ‘short *i*'; it occurs in *bis* ‘bes' (i.e. the third-person-singular form of *be*) and in *gin* ‘by' (as in *gin Setterday*) and local forms *abin* ‘above', *agin* ‘against', *giss* ‘goose', *nithin* ‘nothing', *schill* ‘school' and *shin* ‘shoon' (modern English *shoes*).
- 2) *i/æ/* is equal or close to standard short *a* (as in *bat*) and normally substitutes for short stressed *i* (*bit*, *arithmetic*), but not always (see also *aa*, *ee*, *eh*, *o*, *u*). Examples of other substitutions, grouped here (as in the following sections) in order of frequency, are (a) *misure* ‘measure', *pillet* ‘pellet', *trümmle* ‘tremble', *binch* ‘bench', *hird* ‘herd', *küst* ‘chest', *yit* ‘yet', *cliver* ‘clever'; (b) *üther* ‘other', *blid* ‘blood', *stibble* ‘stubble', *tift* ‘tuft', *sümmer* ‘summer', *sün* ‘son', *tip* ‘tup, ram', *pliver* ‘plover', *bizz* ‘buzz'; (c) *guid* ‘good', *fit* ‘foot', *püt* ‘put'; (d) *rid* ‘rode', *writ* ‘wrote', *riz* ‘rose'; (e) *nücht* ‘night', *blin* ‘blind', *smit* ‘to smite (i.e. infect)'; and (f) *bink* (peat-) ‘bank', *ir* ‘are'.
- 3) *aa/a/* is always long and is usually substituted for the vowel in both standard *bat* and *calf* (see also *ay*, *aw*, *eh*, *i*, *u*). The other substitutions are (a) *aalways* ‘always', *staak* ‘stalk', *wal* ‘wall', *hant* ‘haunt', *ja* ‘jaw', *hab* ‘hob', *laft* ‘loft', *fand* ‘fond', *crap* ‘crop', *warm* ‘worm', *haavel* ‘hovel'; (b) *dar* ‘dare', *wab* ‘web', *hard* ‘heard', *swal* ‘swell', *wat* ‘wet'; (c) *awa* ‘away', *vaary* ‘vary', *wad* ‘wade', *wav* ‘wave'; (d) *had* ‘hold', *appen* ‘open', *cra* ‘crow'; and (e) *twa* ‘two', *wha* ‘who'.
- 4) *aw/ɔ/* is always long. It is sometimes retained as the local form of the standard vowel sound in some words (*bocht* ‘bought') but, as noted in the preceding section, *aa/a/* is often substituted here (see also *ay*, *eh*, *o*, *ow*). Other substitutions are few: (a) *sporra* ‘sparrow', *borra* ‘barrow'; (b) *naw* ‘no/not', *yawk* ‘yoke, yolk'; and (c) *plorisy* ‘pleurisy'.
- 5) *ay/e/* is usually long and is the local form in *fail*, *day*, etc. (see also *aa*, *ee*, *eh*). Substitutions are (a) *flay* ‘flea', *shaif* ‘sheaf', *dail* ‘deal', *saison* ‘season', *chait* ‘cheat', *saicret* ‘secret', *faiver* ‘fever'; (b) *nae* ‘no', *laid* ‘load', *hale* ‘whole', *hame* ‘home', *alane* ‘alone', *graip* ‘gripe', *maist* ‘most'; (c) *phaisan* ‘pheasant', *daith* ‘death', *aidge* ‘edge', *waild* ‘weld', *laisure* ‘leisure'; (d) *blaе* ‘blue', *tae* ‘to, too'; (e) *saidle* ‘saddle', *raivel* ‘ravel'; (f) *claith* ‘cloth', *stray* ‘straw'; (g) *daen* ‘done', *jaist* ‘just'; and (h) *lake* ‘like', *chainy* ‘china', *dake* ‘dyke'. A short form, usually written as *y* or *ye*, substitutes for some weakly-stressed vowels: *münster* ‘minister', *folly* ‘follow', *valye* ‘value'. It also occurs in local *before*, *beside*, *babby* ‘baby', etc. and in weakly-stressed *he* (as in *gin he comes*), *we* (as in *whun we dae*) and *ye* ‘you' (as in *but ye might*).
- 6) *ee /i/* is usually long in final syllables and in the past-tense form of verbs (as in *dee* ‘die', *deed* ‘died') and before *r* (*weer* ‘wear'), voiced *th* (*wreath* ‘wreath'), *v*

(*deave* ‘deafen') and *z* (*breeze* ‘blaze'). Otherwise the vowel sound is usually shorter (as in *deed* ‘dead', *heid* ‘head'). The substitutions are (a) *breek* ‘brick', *geagle* ‘giggle', *conteenye* ‘continue', *poseetion* ‘position', *leeve* ‘live'; (b) *breed* ‘bread', *deef* ‘deaf', *meent* ‘meant', *freen* ‘friend', *meer* ‘mare', *weel* ‘well'; (c) *dee* ‘die', *heech* ‘high', *steepin* ‘stipends', *ee* ‘eye'; and (d) *maintein* ‘maintain', *breeze* ‘blaze'. (See also *ay*, *eh*.)

- 7) *eh /ɛ/* is usually long, but length can depend on stress (e.g. the vowel is usually long in *Is the grun set?* but certainly shorter in *He set it yesterday*). The substitutions are (a) *gebble* ‘gabble', *jeck* ‘jack', *peddle* ‘paddle', *efter* ‘after', *fleg* ‘flag', *shella* ‘shallow', *gemmle* ‘gamble', *flennen* ‘flannel', *epple* ‘apple', *yern* ‘yarn', *mester* ‘master', *flet* ‘flat', *gether* ‘gather', *trevel* ‘travel', *tex* ‘tax'; (b) *bled* ‘blade', *feth* ‘faith', *brek* ‘break', *echt* ‘eight'; (c) *kennle* ‘kindle', *quet* ‘quit', *revet* ‘rivet'; (d) *ether* ‘either', *fecht* ‘fight', *strek* ‘strike'; (e) *helter* ‘halter', *jendies* ‘jaundice', *het* ‘hot'; (f) *mair* ‘more', *air* ‘over'; and (g) *baird* ‘beard', *interfair* ‘interfere'. (See also *aa*, *ay*, *ee*, *o*, *u*.)
- 8) *oa/o/* is usually long, but shorter where there is reduced stress (e.g. long in *Gie it a poke* but shorter in *Poke it oot*). Apart from exceptional *oany* ‘any', *loass* ‘lose', *oagly* ‘ugly', the only and frequent substitution is for the standard *aw* sound (as in ‘cost', ‘short'): *roabin* ‘robin', *poaket* ‘pocket', *boady* ‘body', *doag* ‘dog', *coalie* ‘collie', *boamy* ‘bonny', *shoart* ‘short', *loass* ‘loss', *coast* ‘cost'. (See also *aa*, *aw*, *ay*, *eh*, *i*, *oo*, *ow*, *u*.)
- 9) *oo, ue /ü/* is mainly long, in three slightly varying forms: (a) as in *coo /kü:/* ‘cow'; (b) when followed by *r*, as in *poor /pør:r/*; and (c) as in the rare *blyue /bljü/* ‘blue', *pue /pjü/* ‘plough'; with a short form, as *hoose /hüs/* ‘house'. The substitutions are (a) *hoo* ‘how', *soor* ‘sour', *poor* ‘power', *croon* ‘crown', *oot* ‘out'; and (b) *dooble* ‘double', *sook* ‘suck', *goom* ‘gum', *roost* ‘rust'; *boord* ‘board', *shoo* ‘sew', *goold* ‘gold', *poor* ‘pour', *poothch* ‘poach'. (See also *aa*, *aw*, *ay*, *i*, *aw*, *u*.)
- 10) *u /ʌ/* is always short. The substitutions are (a) *bush*, *full*, *put* as in *hush*, *hull*, *hut*; *wud* ‘wood, would', *luck* ‘look'; (b) *squub* ‘squib', *swunle* ‘swindle', *whup* ‘whip', *wun* ‘wind' (noun); (c) *hur* ‘her'; (d) *mony* ‘many', *twunty* ‘twenty', *whun* ‘when'; (e) *spulpin* ‘spaldeen', *sut* ‘sat', *wuz* ‘was'; (f) *fun* ‘found', *grun* ‘ground'; (g) *ruz* ‘rose'; (h) *grun* ‘to grind', *wun* ‘to wind'; (i) *ludge* ‘lodge'; and (j) *puzhin* ‘poison'. (See also *aa*, *ay*, *i*, *o*, *oo*, *ow*.)
- 11) *ie /əi/* is close to the standard diphthong (as in *line*), but ‘narrower', for which it is often substituted; also for *ay* in *hie* ‘hay', *pie* ‘pay', *wie* ‘way', and *oi* in *bile* ‘boil' (noun only). (See also *aai*, *ay*, *ee*, *i*, *u*.)
- 12) *aai /æi/* is always long; it substitutes for the standard diphthong (a) in ‘hiatus' (i.e. when followed by another vowel, as in *denial* and *hire*, pronounced *haai-er*), but not following *w* or its equivalent (as in *enquire* and *wire*); (b) in open syllables (those ending in a vowel, as in *pie* and *by*, pronounced *paaai* and *baai*), but with many monosyllabic exceptions (as *die*, *why*); and (c) before voiced fricatives such as *th*, *s*, *v*, *z*: as *saaithe* ‘scythe', *surpraise* ‘surprise', *alaalive* ‘alive', *saize* ‘size', but again with exceptions. Most exceptions have *ie*.
- 13) *oi /əe/*, as in *boy*, is always long, but otherwise usually

- as in standard English pronunciation, the only exceptions being the noun form of *boil*, producing *bile* (see also *ie*) and *poison*, producing *puzhin* (see also *u*).
- 14) *ow /əʊ/*, as in *how*, is always long. The only substitutions are (a) *cowl* ‘cold’, *powny* ‘pony’, *sowl* ‘soul’; (b) *knowe* ‘knoll’, *thow* ‘thaw’; and (c) *chow* ‘chew’, *lowce* ‘loose’. (See also *oo*, *u*.)

Several other phonological features must be noted:

- (1) substitution of *eh /ɛ/* for standard *a /æ/* or */ɑ:/* is found throughout the area, but is especially common in parts of mid-Antrim in words in which *aa /ɑ:/* is usual elsewhere, so that we have, for example, *bleck* for the more common *blaak* ‘black’.
- (2) substitution of the same vowel sound for *ay /e/* is also common throughout, but is almost total in northern parts of the county, so that we have, for example, *becon* and *plen* for the more common *bacon* and *plain*.
- (3) substitution of *i /æ/* for *u* in many words occurs throughout, as noted earlier, but is especially common in parts of the far north of the county (e.g. Ballinlea), so that we have, for example, *kim* and *ip* for the usual *come* and *up*.
- (4) some speakers add a glide to several of the vowel sounds described, especially *aw /ɔ:/*, *ee /i:/*, *oa /o:/* and *oo /ø:/*, so that these vowels become diphthongal, giving, for example, *pawit /pɔ:ət/* ‘pot’, *fee-er /fi:ər/* ‘fear’, *road /ro:əd/* ‘road’, *poo-er /pø:ər/* ‘pour’. Again, the diphthongs *aai /ae/* and *oi /œ/* can have the first elements lengthened so that they become, in effect, two syllables, as in *ka-ay /ka:e/* for *kye* ‘cows’ and *baw-ay /bø:e/* ‘boy’. These are often family or individual, rather than regional, features.
- (5) Finally, the final vowel *ow* usually becomes a neutral vowel /ə/ (schwa) as in *holla* ‘hollow’, *sporra* ‘sparrow’, with the only exceptions being *folly* ‘to follow’, *swally* ‘to swallow’ (see also *ay*), and *fur* ‘furrow’.

Ulster-Scots Today

Several factors have contributed and continue to contribute in varying degrees to some diminution and dilution of the broad Ulster-Scots discussed here. The development of ‘fringe’ villages and the rapid growth of the larger urban areas with, in both cases, sometimes considerable influx of linguistic ‘outsiders’, have inevitably changed the speech pattern in several areas. Again, the post-war development of universal secondary education has meant that many rural children are spending several more years than formerly in an environment where Standard English, in its local form at least, is usually spoken, often indeed in large urban schools. This and the marked increase in the numbers going on to higher education have clearly created something of a generational contrast in speech, so that the speech of many of even those reverting to their native tongue in their home environment shows a degree of dilution. This generation is also, of course, largely computer-literate and often highly articulate in the language of internet and website, while television markedly influences the content and vocabulary of their conversation.

More marked, and certainly more quantifiable, are the inevitable losses of ‘pure’ Ulster-Scots resulting from post-

war changes in the rural way of life. The mechanisation of agriculture, the disappearance of flax-growing and the scutch-mill, the vast reduction in the growing of oats (with the corn-mill a fading memory), the virtual disappearance of traditional methods of peat-cutting and hay-making: these and many similar forms of ‘progress’ will surely see the eventual loss of much of the rich stock of associated words and expressions. Nor are such losses confined to the countryside: it is unlikely that many of the younger generation will have warmed their feet at the *greeshoch*, supped *sowans* (or even *brochan* or *sturaboot*) or drunk the *stribbins*. Such changes and losses occur, of course, in all languages. The difference here, however, is that while Ulster-Scots words are being lost, acquisitions are at best modified forms of standard words (*tellyveesien*, *computther*, etc.).

However, the overall effect of these factors must not be exaggerated. Seen in the context of the broad linguistic picture, they are often marginal. As in Standard English, words which have lost original or literal use often survive figuratively (many who have never seen a *rickle o peats* will be perfectly familiar with an *owl rickle o a hoose*). More importantly, the great majority of ‘pure’ words are rooted in everyday life and are not similarly affected by changes in particular activities. The broad core discussed in the section on phonology remains strong and largely unchanged throughout the area. There is, moreover, an increasingly significant factor. Most speakers have an abiding affection for their native tongue; to this is now added a growing awareness of, and pride in, both its historical pedigree and its lexical and idiomatic richness¹⁰.

Notes

- 1 Fenton, James, *The Hamely Tongue: A Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim* (Newtownards, 1995); 2nd. edition (Belfast, 2000). Some material in this essay is taken from the introduction to that book.
- 2 For a wide-ranging academic survey – historical, literary, phonological, etc. – of Ulster-Scots, see Montgomery, Michael B., and Robert J. Gregg, ‘The Scots Language in Ulster’ in Jones, Charles (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language* (Edinburgh, 1997), 569-622.
- 3 Robinson, Philip, *Ulster-Scots: A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language* (Belfast, 1997). This volume also has a detailed list of Ulster-Scots poets and their published works for the period 1720-1920.
- 4 Adams, G. B., ‘Ulster Dialects’ in Adams, G. B. (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: an Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 1-4.
- 5 Grant, William (ed.), ‘Introduction’, *The Scottish National Dictionary*. Vol. 1. Edinburgh. Scottish National Dictionary Association, xli.
- 6 Gregg, R. J., ‘Scotch-Irish Urban Speech in Ulster’, in Adams, G. B., op. cit., 163-192.
- 7 These are listed and discussed in Fenton, James, ‘The Hamely Tongue: The Making of an Ulster-Scots Dictionary’, *Ullans* 3 (1995): 25-29.
- 8 This spelling is employed to indicate that the consonant *t* is pronounced interdentally; it is not a suggested spelling.
- 9 The vowel sounds (vocalic phonemes) discussed here are those identified by Gregg in his studies of speech in Glenoe, which, allowing for minor local variations, can be taken as representative of Ulster-Scots speech generally. The writer is indebted to Professor Montgomery’s technical but clear account of this work in the essay referred to in note 2 (pp. 612-615), and any shortcomings in presentation are his own.
- 10 This development is at least partly due to the enthusiastic and persistent efforts of the Ulster-Scots Language Society and associated bodies to have Ulster-Scots given general and, especially, official recognition and to encourage and promote its use as both a spoken and written medium. That, above all, warrants a very optimistic prognosis for its future.

Status, Stigma and Sex in Coleraine Ulster-Scots Speech¹

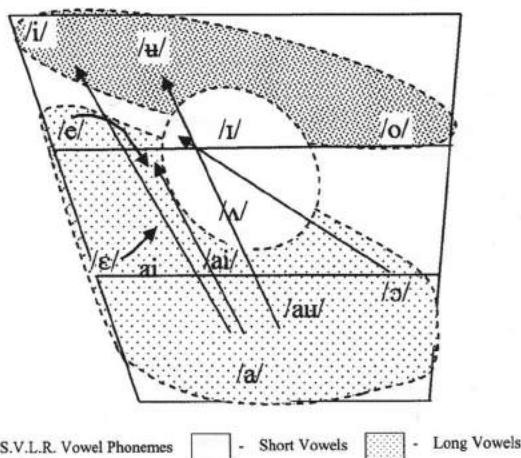
Rona R. K. Kingsmore

This study investigates social variation in the speech of Coleraine, an Ulster-Scots town in east county Londonderry, sixty miles north of Belfast. It is based on thirteen hours of recordings made for doctoral studies at the University of Ulster in 1981². The author carried out field work using a family-based model that involved interviewing three generations (i.e. teenagers/young adults, parents, and grandparents) of four families, totalling 26 speakers. She followed Lesley Milroy's 'friend of a friend' approach to gain access to social and family networks and then correlated results with four non-linguistic variables: age, sex, areal differences (rural vs. urban), and social class (as shown by the speaker's type of housing – council-owned vs. private)³. Speakers were recorded in peer-group interaction for 60 minutes and were then asked to read a word-list. Before turning to details of the variation itself, the author presents an overview of distinctive features of Ulster-Scots phonology.

Vowel Duration

The Ulster-Scots vowel system is not phonemically dichotomous (i.e. long vs. short), but rather exhibits a three-way classification into long vowels, short vowels and vowels that follow the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR)⁴. SVLR vowels /i, u, o/ vary in length according to context, and length differences may be accompanied by noticeable phonetic differences. Figure 1 shows articulatory placement and vowel classification.

Figure 1: Correlation between articulation and duration in Vowel Classification



Short Vowels

KIT [ɪ] (Wells 2.2.1)⁵ This vowel is noticeably lowered and centred compared to Received Pronunciation (RP) and tends to be fronted before velars and palatals and to be further back and centralised before sonorants and laterals. In local vernacular it is lowered and centralised to approximate [ə] and may amalgamate with [ʌ], especially in male speech. Neutralisation is avoided in some male and elderly speakers, since [ʌ] is in turn lowered, backed and rounded to approximate [ɒ] or [ʊ].)

STRUT [ʌ] (Wells 2.2.5) This vowel may have lip rounding to approximate [ə] or [ɒ] in older working-class speakers. Its distribution excludes certain lexical sets of -OVE and -ONE words.

Scottish Vowel Length Rule Vowels

NEAR [i] (Wells 2.2.6) In broad vernacular speakers, this vowel may lower and back in polysyllabic short environments to become [ɪ], e.g. *cheaper* [tʃɪpɪr].

GOAT [o] (Wells 2.2.14) In long environments, this vowel may have closing [ʊ] or [ə] glide. Teenage middle-class females sometimes use [əʊ], following an RP model.

GOOSE [u] (Wells 2.2.15) This close, rounded front or central vowel corresponds in distribution to /ʊ/ and /u/ phonemes in RP, producing such homonyms as *pull* = *pool*. Its height and frontness depend upon the phonetic environment, which also determines length. Long environments -z and -# result in highest variant [u:]. Shorter environments produce lowered, retracted variants ranging progressively from [u] before nasals and laterals, e.g. *soon* [sʌn] and *pool* [pʊl], to [ʊ] in shortest environment (i.e. before voiceless plosives), e.g. *soup* [sup], *boot* [but].

Long Vowels and Diphthongs

All long monophthongs tend to have a closing centralised glide.

FACE [e] (Wells 2.2.11) This vowel approximates Cardinal Vowel 2, but is subject to the influence of phonological and sociolinguistic variation. It may be lowered and lengthened to [ɛ:] before velar plosives to neutralise with the /e/ phoneme, e.g. *bake* = *beck* [be:k]. It may be raised and backed to [ɛ̄] in short environments, e.g. *place* [plɛ:s] or even [plɪ:s], and in disyllabic and polysyllabic words in older

vernacular, e.g. *table* [tēb], *available* [əvēləb]. Elderly speakers tend to use monophthong [e:], a rural, recessive variant noted in general use forty years ago by Robert Gregg⁶. Middle-aged and younger speakers tend to use [ɪə] or [eə] (a Belfast variant coming into Ulster-Scots speech⁷) in all environments except open syllables, where it remains principally monophthongal. Note the morphemic distinction: *days* [deɪz] or [də'z] versus *daze* [dɪəz]. ‘Corrected middle-class’ style amongst younger females approximates RP with a closing glide [eɪ]

DRESS [ɛ] (Wells 2.2.2) This vowel approximates Cardinal Vowel 3, but is more open and centralised and tends to have a closing schwa glide. In pre-velar or prepalatal position, it has closing [i] glide, e.g. *leg* [leɪg].

TRAP [a] (Wells 2.2.3) This vowel is open and slightly back of centre. It corresponds to the /æ/ and /ɑ/ phonemes of RP, e.g. *Sam* = *psalm* [sa:m]. An additional lexical set with this vowel is heard mainly in middle-aged, elderly and rural speech, e.g. *wash* [waf], *warn* [warn], *once* [wanst]. A recessive variant /a/ + velar consonant neutralises with /ɛ/ in elderly working-class males, e.g. *bag* [beg], *factory* [fektri].

NORTH [ɔ] (Wells 2.2.22) This vowel is half-open, back and rounded between Cardinal Vowel 5 and Cardinal Vowel 6. It corresponds to the /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ phonemes of RP, but also includes lexical sets of -OVE and -ONE words, e.g. *gloves* [glɔ:vz], *above* [abo:v], *done* [dɔ:n].

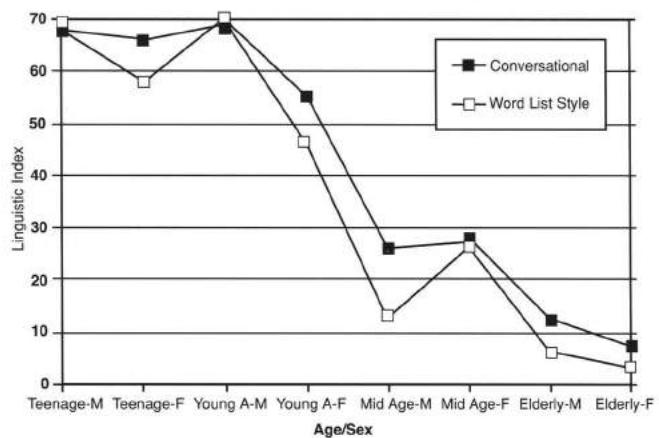
PRICE [aɪ] (Wells 2.2.16) Note that there is a distinction between [aɪ] in long environments and certain lexical items (e.g. *tide*, *rise*, *my*, *dye*) and [ʌɪ] in short environments (e.g. *eye*, *die*, *white*). All ages and particularly males have a strong tendency in local vernacular to raise the first element to [ɛ] in all phonetic environments, e.g. *nine* [neɪn]. Note that there is less phonetic distinction between [aɪ] and [ʌɪ] than that observed in Ulster-Scots by Gregg, who noted [ae:] versus [əɪ]⁸. This greater distinction is heard only in elderly informants. It is probable that with the raising of the first element in both cases to [ɛ] the phonemic distinction is being lost, bringing the accent in line with Belfast phonology⁹ and RP phonemic distribution.

MOUTH [aʊ] (Wells 2.2.18) In long environments the first element of this diphthong is lengthened and in local vernacular speech it is raised to [ɛ], as in Belfast vernacular¹⁰.

Consonants

/l/ is subject to considerable sociolinguistic variation. Elderly speakers use little or no dark /l/, reflecting the older Ulster-Scots clear /l/ speech pattern as described by Gregg¹¹. In contrast, teenage and young adults use a high percentage of dark /l/, as shown in figure 2. The shift towards dark /l/ is not initiated by a desire to approximate standard British English since these younger speakers show equally high dark /l/ scores in the non-standard context of syllable-medial position. Rural-born and middle-class speakers use more clear /l/, and there is a shift led by working-class males away from rural, clear /l/ towards urban, dark /l/, both varieties being non-standard. There is strong evidence to indicate that dark /l/ is a marker of male urban working-class vernacular and is increasing in all phonological environments, ages and sexes despite certain middle-class pressure to maintain clear /l/ in syllable-final position¹².

Figure 2: Correlation of velarized /l/ with age, sex and style



/ŋ/ This phoneme is always realised by the variant [n] by working-class speakers in the local vernacular.

/r/ [ɹ] This consonant is characteristically rhotic, with an open, frictionless continuant similar to North American /r/. The vocalic system in environments before /r/ is linguistically unstable, with several subsystems undergoing change and merger, presenting an intermediate stage of urbanisation between Ulster-Scots and Belfast systems.

/ð/ is frequently deleted in intervocalic position in male working-class speakers, e.g. *mother* [møər]. Final /ð/ may be devoiced, e.g. *with* [wiθ].

/s/ is frequently retracted in all environments in middle-aged and elderly speakers.

/ʍ/ occurs in most speakers (less in the younger generation) in initial position in *wh-* words, e.g. *what* [ʍɔ:t].

/χ/ is used by all speakers, mainly in place and family names, dialect words, and exclamations, e.g. *Donaghadee* [dənəχədi], *Donaghy* [dənəχi], *dreigh* [χrɪx], *ugh* [uχ].

Plosive Consonants

In male urban working-class vernacular, all voiceless, intervocalic plosives tend to be voiced, e.g. *get it* [gedɪ?], *happy* [habɪ], *pack of* [pag əv]. Yet unstressed syllables ending in /ɪd/ may be devoiced, e.g. *stupid* [stjupɪt], *ended* [endɪt]. The glottalic air stream mechanism is frequently used for final voiceless plosives when followed by a pause, e.g. *cat* [ka?t?]. Alveolar plosives are dentalised when immediately followed by /r/ in some middle-aged and elderly speakers, e.g. *Antrim* [antrɪm]. Velar plosives are articulated further forward in the mouth than their RP counterparts, giving a palatalised quality and influencing adjacent sounds, e.g. *bag* [ba'g]. Similarly all affricates and palato-alveolar fricatives tend to be palatalised with lack of lip rounding, causing a raising of preceding vowels, e.g. *mash* [maʃ], *patch* [pa:tʃ].

Intervocalic /t/ is characterised by considerable sociolinguistic variation. In particular, [t?] tends to be used in ‘corrected’ rural speech; [?] is used by all informants, but most often by females and rural speakers; and [d] occurs most often in male, working-class urban vernacular. [ɸ] is an advanced male working-class variant.

Social Variation

This study examines the sex-based rivalry between the two predominant vernacular variants of intervocalic /t/ in

Coleraine speech (i.e. the glottal stop [?] and [d]). The family-based model was particularly successful in gaining access to female networks, and results of the study challenge some widely held assumptions about female speech – namely that women stereotypically use more standardised variants in contrast to men, who use more non-standard variants. While there is substantial evidence to support the conventional theory, the author would agree with Fassold, who notes that ‘the consistency of the gender pattern has sometimes been overstated’¹³. Some results of this study support the reverse trend, but the variation probably depends on which social networks are chosen for study. For example, this study focussed on working-class families, which had close-knit, female social networks centred in and around the home and local church, in contrast with the male network structure, which was more open and loose-knit. It was therefore not surprising that female scores for some non-standard variants (such as [n] for /ŋ/) were higher than male scores.

Glottal stop appears to be undergoing rapid changes in both standard and non-standard varieties of British English. It has been a popular variable in recent studies due to its widespread use and negative prestige. However, it must be stressed that there are some seriously misleading categorisations of glottal behaviour in many studies, due to inadequate description and also insufficient consideration of standard versus non-standard usage in British English. It was therefore essential for this study to create more precise articulatory definitions and also make a detailed distinction between standard and non-standard usage¹⁴. Historically, glottal stop has been described as a typical feature of Ulster-Scots¹⁵, whereas there is no record of the intervocalic [d] variant in Ulster-Scots, although it commonly occurs in Belfast speech¹⁶, Mid Ulster speech generally, and also West Country speech in England¹⁷.

In this study three separate phonological environments have been examined for intervocalic /t/: 1) word-initial, as in *go to* (where the word *to* functions enclitically); 2) word-medial, as in *water*; and 3) word-final, as in *got a*. There were two main reasons why context was so crucial. Word-initial environments occurred at only 15% while the other two environments were equally matched at 42%. Total scores would have hidden this bias. Also, some variants were more context-dependent than others. For example, [d] occurred more in word-initial context, which is least frequent, whereas glottal stop occurred most in the more frequent word-medial position. Thus, it was crucial to isolate these contexts; otherwise subtle trends would have been masked or even obliterated.

Results show that in all environments and ages, males use more [d], whereas females use more glottal stop. In fact, the two variants are almost in complementary distribution in initial and final environments, with the most extreme scores in teenagers. Other age groups show similar trends to a lessening degree with age. We might conclude that [d] is a marker of male style and that glottal stop is a marker of female style, as shown in final environment in figure 4 where scores are contrastively matched. However, this would be an oversimplification, since in the other two environments, sex-based linguistic behaviour is more complex. According to Labov et al., phonological conditioning does not occur in stable phonemes, and therefore these results would seem to indicate sound change in progress¹⁸. There is strong rivalry

between the two variants that is not only sex- and age-based, but also phonologically conditioned. But which is the incoming form, and which is the receding form, if there is a receding form? It has already been noted that in earlier Ulster-Scots studies glottal stop was a familiar feature, whereas the intervocalic [d] variant was not mentioned. Therefore one could hypothesise that [d] is an incoming variant from influential larger, urban centres such as Belfast, its progress being led by males and younger females, as is typical of vernacular changes. However, glottal stop is also increasing in Coleraine speech. Figure 3 graphically shows that in all age groups and both sexes it is increasing most steadily in word-medial position with women strongly in the vanguard of this change. We may conclude that the three environments, as illustrated in figures 3, 4, and 5, highlight an interesting sex-based conflict between two non-standard variants, both of which appear to be increasing as they move through the various barriers of phonological environment, sex and age of speaker.

Figure 3: Correlation of [?] and [d] variants with sex and age in medial position in conversational style

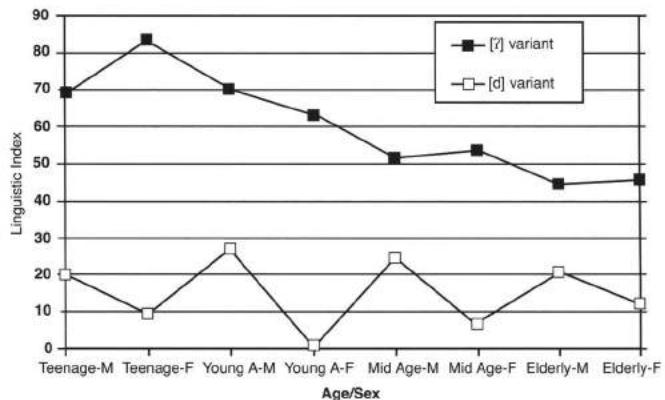
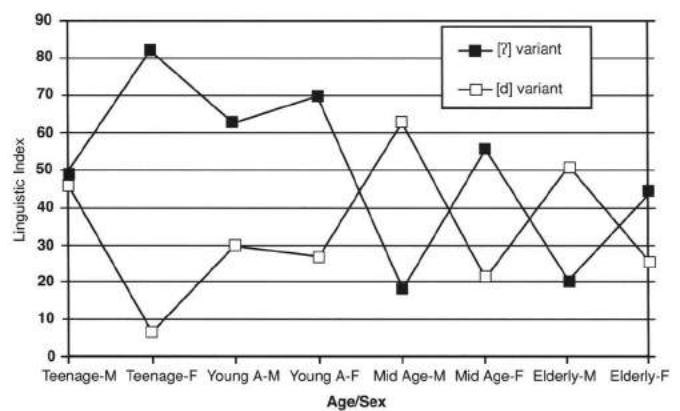
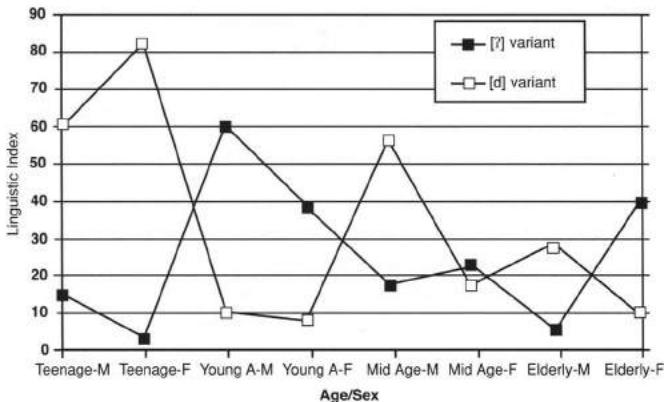


Figure 4: Correlation of [?] and [d] variants with sex and age in final position in conversational style



If this hypothesis is correct, then word-medial environment in figure 3 represents an earlier stage of the ongoing change. The predominant variant here for all speakers is glottal stop, which is increasing in younger speakers. The [d] variant shows a much lower incidence and is strongly associated with male speech. It presents Labov's classic pattern of a stable linguistic marker, since it does not appear to be participating in any change¹⁹. Note that females

Figure 5: Correlation of [?] and [d] variants with sex and age in initial position in conversational style

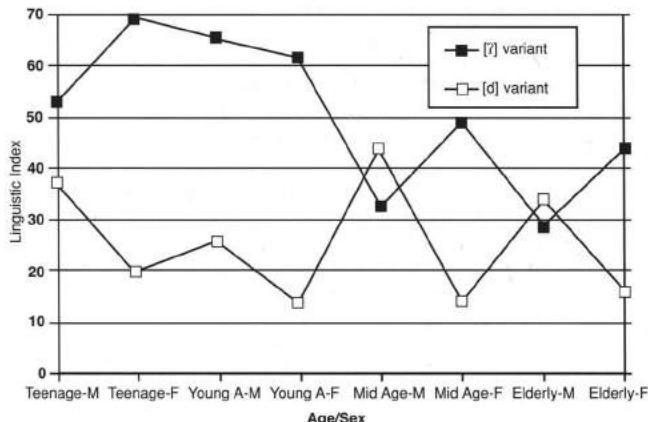


tend to avoid [d] almost entirely in this environment.

Figure 4 (i.e. word-final environment) shows a striking pattern of sex-based complementary distribution of glottal stop and [d] variant, with the cross-over pattern indicating change in progress²⁰. Clearly there is rivalry between the variants, and all speakers show an increased use of [d] variant with males in the vanguard. Sex differences are strikingly obvious, with males using more [d] and females using more glottal stop in all age groups.

The trend towards [d] is at its most advanced in word-initial environments, and figure 5 shows the steady increase in [d], led by men and teenage girls, with a corresponding decrease in glottal stop. If the three environments are collapsed together, as in figure 6, we find a challenge to the hypothesis that [d] is beginning to increase at the expense of glottal stop. Younger speakers of both sexes show a strong preference for glottal stop, with younger females leading the way. As predicted, the less frequent word-initial environment of figure 5, which showed [d] to be on the increase, is totally submerged beneath the larger glottal stop scores of the other two environments.

Figure 6: Correlation of [?] and [d] variants with sex and age in conversational style



To summarise, there appear to be two sex-based trends operating in Coleraine vernacular, both of which are moving away from standard British speech. [d] is the incoming, male-led variant from Belfast, but glottal stop is also increasing and is strongly preferred by females. Fasold suggests that sex may be a more influential factor on language than social class, i.e.

gender differences may typically precede social-class differences, which occur at a later stage²¹. He says that rather than men choosing lower-status variants and women choosing higher-status ones (as has been generally thought), perhaps ‘there are ways of speaking which men use to emphasize their masculinity and other forms women use to symbolize their femininity, and that this is more basic than social class’²². The results of this study tend to support these views, with the [d] variant being used almost exclusively by men, and the glottal variant preferred by women. Fasold goes on to suggest that ‘perhaps men’s speech became derivatively associated with lower social status and women’s speech with higher status’²³. In Coleraine vernacular there is evidence of some social ranking of non-standard variants, in that female variants appear to have higher social prestige. For example, in figures 7 and 8, which correlate glottal stop and [d] variant with housing type and sex, we find a clear correlation between housing type and choice of variant, which is further complicated by sex contrasts.

Figure 7: Correlation of [?] variant with sex and housing

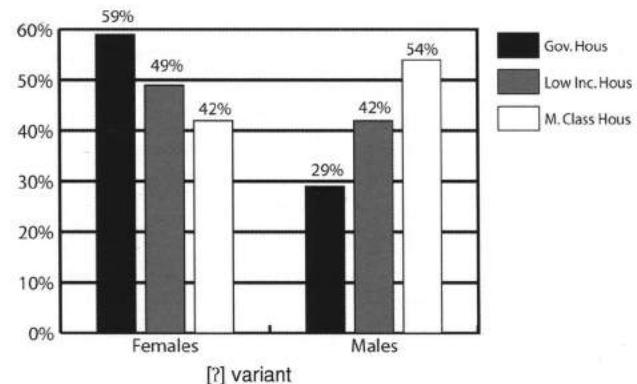


Figure 8: Correlation of [d] variant with sex and housing

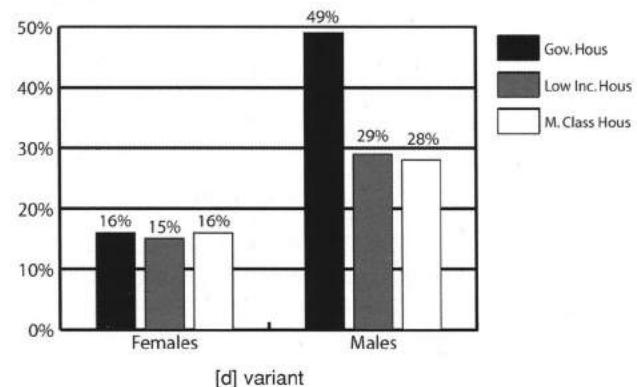


Figure 7 shows a striking housing-based and gender-based pattern of complementary distribution for glottal stop. It appears to be ranked according to housing type for both sexes, but in contrasting patterns, with working-class females in government housing and middle-class males in private housing using most glottal stop. In comparison with the [d] data in figure 8, the [d] variant shows mainly a sex contrast. The strong class stratification in glottal stop probably shows that it is at a further stage of change than the [d] variant. Presumably if [d] becomes more accepted by female groups,

it will also show more class stratification.

It is interesting to note that the preferred female non-standard glottal form is also the older rural form. This may provide a clue as to some of the mechanisms of change. Bortoni-Ricardo's study of a Brazilian city found that as people move from close-knit, norm-enforcing rural networks to more loose-knit urban settings, they become more vulnerable to social (and linguistic) influences and change²⁴. The urban/rural distinction is a highly significant factor in the present study of small town speech. As speakers move out of rural networks to a more urban setting (through, for example, the necessities of employment), they experience social pressures to conform to the new forms in order to avoid being perceived as old fashioned or rural and also in order to be accepted by the new urban network. According to James Milroy, 'avoidance of stigma (attached particularly to rural stereotypes) is a powerful initiator of rapid change. The stigmatised *rural* form may be replaced by an *urban* vernacular form ... which in turn may be stigmatised by upwardly mobile persons'²⁵.

One vehicle for the innovation of /t/ voicing to [d] in Coleraine speech was probably via young male dock workers who had to travel back and forth to Belfast docks. As their identity with their home base weakened, they became more vulnerable to change and thus adopted and transported the urban [d] form back home. Thus [d] became associated with working-class male status. At the same time, women maintained their feminine distinctiveness by rejecting or resisting the newer male urban forms, preferring to use the more conservative, non-standard *rural* variant which may eventually achieve middle-class status (as has already happened in the case of clear /l/). It is noteworthy that in this study, working-class males are the innovators, whereas women tend to be more conservative.

The female preference for rural variants is significant in the light of previous research into attitudes towards varieties of British speech. Macaulay describes a predominant tendency for city speech to be overtly and strongly stigmatised whereas rural varieties are regarded as pleasant or attractive²⁶. The Coleraine results not only confirm the well-documented covert male prestige of urban speech, but also the female-associated overt prestige of rural speech. It would appear that notions of status and stigma are to some extent sex-based. Coleraine working-class males are motivated by an avoidance of rural stigma (through peer pressures in the workplace), whereas the women in the sample are more motivated by conservative 'homestead' values of family, church and neighbourhood, together with avoidance of city stigma. This lends interesting support to the findings of Tannen, who studied differences between male and female world views as reflected in language²⁷. She found that in general men are more focussed on hierarchies of power and accomplishment (involving independence, status and contest), whereas women are more focussed on hierarchies of friendship (involving intimacy, connection and community).

We have already seen that glottal stop is socially ranked, indicating its status and stigma. In general the Coleraine results show that, although both sexes displayed this ranking pattern to different degrees for different variables, it appeared most consistently in the scores of women. This leads to the hypothesis that in the process of change, non-standard variants become associated with status/prestige mainly via women. It may be that women are more sensitive to these

social parameters and that social connotations are (consciously or unconsciously) applied or even initiated by women. James Milroy also suggests that women, who typically have a 'normalising influence', are involved in later stages of linguistic change, e.g. the rapid middle stage of lexical diffusion²⁸. However, an alternative explanation could be that the Coleraine findings are simply the result of methodological bias, and a study by a male researcher focusing on male network structure may reveal similar social patterning in men.

By way of conclusion, the sex-based rivalry between the two nonstandard /t/ variants in Coleraine speech raises several questions. Will the two variants continue to strengthen in opposition to each others? Or will one become more associated with middle-class values (via females)? Glottal stop appears to be gaining increasing prestige in many urban varieties of British English²⁹. On the other hand, will [d] continue to spread via the male chain, or will it become stigmatised by upwardly mobile speakers – as has been observed in Belfast³⁰. Clearly more research is needed on these questions.

It must be stressed that the above discussion is limited to the Coleraine data only. Any conclusions may not apply to other small towns in which Ulster-Scots is spoken or indeed to other social networks in Coleraine.

Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was published in *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 11 (1996), 223-237.
- 2 See Kingsmore, Rona K., *Coleraine Speech - Phonology and Sociolinguistics* (University of Ulster Ph.D. thesis, Coleraine, 1983); and Kingsmore, R. K., *Ulster Scots Speech* (Tuscaloosa, 1995).
- 3 Milroy, Lesley, *Language and Social Networks* (Oxford, 1987).
- 4 For further discussion of the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, see Aitken, A. J., 'The Scottish Vowel Length Rule' in Benskin, Michael, and Michael L. Samuels (eds.), *So Mony People, Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh* (Edinburgh, 1980), 131-157; and Kingsmore, op. cit. (1983).
- 5 Vowels are keyed to their 'standard lexical sets', as presented in Wells, J. C., *Accents of English*, 3 volumes (Cambridge, 1982).
- 6 Gregg, R. J., 'Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect: Part 1', *Orbis* 7 (1958), 392-406.
- 7 Milroy, James, 'Synopsis of Belfast Vowels', *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 1 (1976), 111-116.
- 8 Gregg, op. cit.
- 9 Milroy, James, op. cit.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Gregg, R. J., 'The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster' in Wakelin, Martyn F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, 1972), 110.
- 12 For greater details of phonological and social conditioning, see Kingsmore, op. cit. (1995).
- 13 Fasold, Ralph, *Sociolinguistics of Language* (Cambridge, 1992), 92.
- 14 For further details, see Kingsmore, op. cit. (1995).
- 15 Gregg, R. J., 'Scotch-Irish Speech in Ulster' in Adams, G. B. (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 163-192.
- 16 Milroy, James, *Speech Community and Language Variety in Belfast*. Report to Social Science Research Council, 1977.
- 17 Wells, op. cit. (1982), vol. 1, 344.
- 18 Labov, William, Malcah Yaeger, and Roger Steiner, *A Quantitative Study of Sound Change in Progress* 2 (Philadelphia, 1972), 263.
- 19 Labov et al., op. cit. 179.
- 20 Milroy, James, and Lesley Milroy, 'Linguistic Change, Social Network and Speaker Innovation', *Journal of Linguistics* 21 (1985), 371; Labov, William, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia, 1972).

- 21 Fasold, op. cit.
- 22 Ibid., 99.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Bortoni-Ricardo, S. M., *The Urbanization of Rural Dialect Speakers: A Sociolinguistic Study in Brazil* (Cambridge, 1985).
- 25 Milroy, James, op. cit. (1977), 12.
- 26 Macaulay, R. K. S., *Language, Social Class and Education: A Glasgow Study* (Edinburgh, 1977).
- 27 Tannen, Deborah, *You Just Don't Understand* (New York, 1990).
- 28 Milroy, James, 'The Methodology of Urban Language Studies: The Example of Belfast' in Little, David (ed.), *Perspectives on the English Language in Ireland. Proceedings of the First Symposium on Hiberno-English* (Dublin, 1986), 42.
- 29 Wells, op. cit., 323; Mees, Inge, 'Glottal Stop as a Prestigious Feature in Cardiff English', *English World-Wide* 8 (1987), 37.
- 30 Milroy, James, op.cit. (1977), 12.

‘An’ There Some Readin’ to Themselves?: Reading and Orality in 18th-Century Ulster Poetry

Linde Lunney

Verse, letters, essays, sermons, reports, fiction – all these genres are to be found in the publishing record of the late 18th century in Ulster. When we look at these artefacts from the perspective of the early 21st century, it is easy to assume, firstly, that they were produced in a society much like ours, and, secondly, that these written texts have more or less the same relationship as that which (at a level below consciousness) applies to our own written and spoken outputs.

However, in making such assumptions, it is possible that we are guilty of transposing modern patterns onto the 18th century. At the very least, we should be more aware of the conventions which governed the composition of written texts in the past, and of the paradox which insists that all we know of the spoken language of the 18th century is derived from written sources. If we are interested in studying the lost speech sounds, and/or the equally lost contexts in which speech events occurred, then we must wring as much information as possible from the published texts, relatively few in number as these are. Poetry is likely to be the best source of information on the sounds of speech, since its whole structure is predicated on the poet’s conscious attempt to rhyme words in which he expected his readers or hearers would perceive similar sounds. It will be particularly important to analyse the poetry written in what purports to be a written version of the Ulster-Scots spoken dialect, for in this sub-genre the poet’s awareness of the sounds of speech, and his efforts to recreate them in written form, are as important to the ‘message’ as they are to the ‘medium’. It turns out on closer examination that the poetry of a small number of people writing in the late 18th century, in particular that of James Orr (1770-1816) of Ballycarry in south-east Antrim, is a useful source of information about the society and the spoken language of his time and place, as well as about the linguistic attitudes discernible in the interaction between society and language. In Orr’s poetry, there are descriptions of contexts within which speech events took place, as well as direct evidence about the sounds of speech and hints about the place of literature, specifically verse, in his society. It is also possible to discern in Orr’s work some of the poet’s own attitudes to literature, to orality, and to the changes around him.

Niall Ó Ciosáin has recently suggested that just such a close focus on an individual reader/writer might shed light on the ethnography of orality and literacy. In his analysis of the popular culture of 18th-century Ireland, the content and context of ‘popular print’ (chapbooks, ballads, primers,

catechisms and the like) serves to some extent to delineate the reading practices and attitudes to literacy and literature that characterized that society¹. Ó Ciosáin’s approach and insights are valuable developments in the study of the period and of the topic, particularly so for areas of the country and social classes which have been scarcely examined. It is perhaps ironic, or perhaps just indicative of the need to avoid generalizations, that, when the writings of James Orr are examined, it becomes clear that though socio-economically and culturally he might be regarded as someone likely to be an avid reader of chapbooks and other printed ephemera, Orr’s view of ‘popular print’ is anything but favourable.

Further study will be needed to determine whether Orr’s community as a whole held similar prejudices or whether it was those who regarded themselves as the ‘better sort’ who affected such views. It must be remembered that it is possible that Orr was not typical of his community or of his own generation in his experiences and resulting attitudes; it should be noted that he was the only child of relatively elderly parents, who did not send him to school. They were themselves literate, and preferred to teach him at home. He may therefore have held beliefs about language and about literacy which were more characteristic of an earlier period. Though it may be impossible to decide on this one way or the other, given the scarcity of evidence, the case of Orr’s attitude to ballads and chapbooks does underline the importance of local and individual studies.

It can be claimed that on education, at least, Orr seems to have held views similar to those of others who wrote on the subject at that time. Formal education outside the home had long been available in the north of Ireland. The local schoolhouse in which Orr’s ‘rude coevals learn’d to read and write’ was already in ruins by 1810². Literacy rates were high even in the 18th century. A figure of 83% of Protestant men who were literate has been suggested for north-west Ulster in the two decades 1780-1799, and literacy would have been at least as widespread in north-east Ulster³. Women were more likely to read only than to read and write, but in Ballycarry and elsewhere girls often did attend the same schools as their brothers. Orr’s poems and essays by Orr and others in the *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, which was published between 1808 and 1814, are full of the enthusiasm for education which characterized many people in the period, particularly those with liberal or radical views, who hoped that literacy skills and universal education would inevitably bring about unparalleled moral and social amelioration⁴.

The poetry of Orr and his contemporaries, as well as travellers' descriptions, local periodicals, surviving booksellers' lists and contemporary bookplates, etc., all make it abundantly clear that books were available, were bought and were read. J. R. R. Adams's book *The Printed Word and the Common Man* (1987) suggests many of the ways in which these books could be acquired and lists those which were locally published or reprinted. It is possible to trace some of Orr's literary influences and to count the books he must have read. Orr mentions or quotes from over thirty classics of the period, both English and Scottish, and a contemporary description of a local poet, unnamed, but probably Orr himself, notes that he had amassed an impressive collection of books. A bookcase was 'really crammed with books, chiefly select, as Hume's *History of England*, Gibbon's *Decline of the Roman Empire*, Gordon's *History of Ireland*, Heron's *Scotland*, several modern tours, and a large collection of magazines. The novels and poetical works I found equally elegant, and very numerous'. So Orr was literate, even well read, and so probably were most of his neighbours.

Orality, literacy, language attitudes, spelling conventions, the creative urge: these are topics which are of increasing interest to theorists, as well as to those with more involvement in applied linguistics, and are increasingly important in studies of societies and language groups worldwide. Middle English dialectology has been the source of a number of insights relevant to such studies, and of course anthropology can link modern contexts with analogous situations more or less distant in time or space. The work of the late Robert Gregg and of the late Brendan Adams, and those who came after them, provides useful hard synchronic data on Ulster speech, to which historical linguistic material can be contrasted, and the contemporary Ulster speech situation has been the subject of a number of sophisticated and productive theoretical analyses by such scholars as Rona Kingsmore and the Milroys. Sociolinguistic interrogation of literary sources produced in the past in Ulster is beginning to be undertaken by Philip Robinson, Michael Montgomery, John Erskine and a few others; and in this paper, though there are more questions than answers, an attempt will be made to delineate some linguistic aspects of the community within which Orr lived and wrote. The rôle of written material in the transmission of information and news in general throughout society will be examined first. This possibly predated the use of reading material as entertainment, and it is certainly easier to understand. Theorists are still struggling to explain why or how people derive pleasure from the written word.

The early stages of human society were characterized by a completely oral and aural culture, in which transmission of information, entertainment and general phatic and meaning-laden communication necessitated the close proximity of those involved in the interchange. As writing and reading became available means of communicating, and particularly when printing technology increased the density of possible links in a society, a new phase of human development was reached; people did not have to be within earshot of each other to hear what was being said. It could be argued that in our time we are working our way into a third phase, which in some senses encapsulates the two earlier stages. Nowadays, we have returned to communication of information and entertainment which is aurally received, but we do not have to be close to the interlocutor or to the source of the message. Probably our society has still to become completely relaxed

with the new technologies and the new media. Individuals seem often, for instance, to believe that they 'know' as acquaintances or even friends, television personalities whose voices and faces have become so familiar that that is the only way they can be regarded, given our experience and expectations of human interaction. People assume that someone you see often, who smiles at you and talks to you, is your friend. It seems possible that Orr was writing at just such another phase change, when a largely oral society was shifting towards a print-based culture.

Orr's poetry hints at the ways in which, over a few preceding generations, the practice of reading had been assimilated by a previously oral community. It is probable that letters bringing news from friends and loved ones were among the earliest forms of the written word to impact on previously oral communities. Several poems feature the reading or writing of letters. Orr notes with gentle amusement the pride of a mother 'whose son on distant coasts / Sails in some fleet, or roams a foreign land'. She 'brings each blurr'd scrawl he sent, and fondly boasts, / That no night scholar wrote so fair a hand'.^{vi} Several of Orr's poems are themselves epistles; two of them are to fellow poets with published books to their names, Samuel Thomson and W. H. Drummond. The latter, though from county Antrim, never wrote in Ulster-Scots, but Orr chooses to address him in Scots. The letter to Thomson begins conventionally, 'Dear Thomson', but the poem's style and the tone of the address is that of colloquial Ulster-Scots speech, rather than the more formal register usually adopted for letters. Orr ends it with 'Good night!', rather than 'I remain, Sir, ...' or even 'Yours faithfully' or 'yours sincerely'. Orr's friend Thorson preserved the letters that he received from people who were interested in literature. In his letter book, there is a letter (in English prose) from Orr, which shows him to have been perfectly at home with the contemporary conventions of handwriting, orthography and letter-writing in English'. Orr's decision to write to Thomson in verse in Ulster-Scots, and so informally, suggests that he was perhaps aware of the novelty value of writing a letter in Ulster-Scots. Though Ulster-Scots speech was clearly important to him, and though it is possible that he may have been attempting to reclaim genres in which Scots could be written, it seems to have been too difficult for him to overcome convention and write down Ulster-Scots in any medium except verse.

In one of the letters in Samuel Thomson's letter book we can see an intermediate stage between the private letter and the newspaper. For people like Thomson, educated, literate and politically aware, news from outside their own rural communities had become a necessity. Thomson had asked his friend Aeneas Lamont, who worked on the *Northern Star* newspaper in Belfast, to send him news from Belfast or further afield. Thomson's letter to Lamont is not extant, but it may be that he had asked his friend, not so much for news which he could not have obtained in any other way, but for news which was reliable because it was personally vouched for. Lamont responds on 1 June 1797, impatiently but with affection and humour:

There is not a man in the county that I would readier oblige if it were in my power than yourself, but as to coming under an obligation to send you the news weekly, it is a thing impossible. When I got your letter I would willingly have paid an express to have went to

your place, but damn me if I could either force or coax myself to sit down and write. I went to inquire when the carts would go away – I was told I have time enough to write a line – I waited until the carts were away and damn the line I wrote! The truth is I am so much agitated about these eventful times, so eternally absorbed in reflection and speculation about my country and its inhabitants that I can do nothing but what I am compelled to by necessity, and I am even deficient in that. The foreign news till this time are as follows. The preliminaries of peace are ratified and proclaimed over all the continent. The French are threatening to punish perfidious England. The mutiny of the fleets continues in all the ports. The prince of Wurtemburg makes a great fuss in London, and the Princess his wife let a fart! So there now, you have all the foreign news⁸.

A few lines further on, Lamont warns Thomson that there will be ‘no more Stars nor any impartial news under this present system – we are all to be sworn in cumulo tomorrow. A swearing mill, otherwise two judges, have come down here for the purpose’. Lamont’s letter reveals that people at this time were already sophisticated consumers of news, increasingly discriminating about the quality of the news which was available to them in printed sources.

From the end of the 18th century onwards, demand for news never slackened. The small village of Maghera in county Londonderry in 1814 had ‘a very great thirst for news’. The local clergyman estimated that about £80 a year was spent on one English paper, four Dublin papers, nineteen from Belfast and one each from Waterford and Kilkenny. Undoubtedly each of these had several readers, sometimes six or more, as the owner of the *Belfast News Letter* claimed in 1794⁹. Contemporaries realized that newspapers had the same effect on isolated areas as did the arrival of personal letters; ‘periodical publication’, ‘this mailcoach of mind’, ‘this vehicle of various intelligence ... [is] the means of quickening the suspended animation of the human mind in the most distant corners’¹⁰. The pun on the two meanings of the word ‘intelligence’ is perhaps not without significance.

Orr’s poems show us, however, that news, whether of printed origin or not, was still very often orally transmitted within the county Antrim community. The opening of one of his poems captures a moment when one man passes news from far away on to another:

The lift begud a storm to brew,
The cloudy sun was vex’t an’ dark,
A forket flash cam’ sklentin’ thro’
Before a hawk, that chas’d a lark;
Then as I ran to reach a booth,
I met a swain, an’ ax’t ‘what news?’¹¹

What Orr heard on this inauspicious occasion was indeed ‘sad news’: the death of Robert Burns. Meditating on the importance of this poet to his readers in Ulster, Orr’s poem sums up how he sees the function of written literature as well as the reading habits of his generation:

Sad news! He’s gane, wha baith amus’d
The man o’ taste, an’ taught the rude;
Whase warks hae been mair read an’ roos’d

Than onie, save the word o’ Gude¹².

Literature for Orr can both amuse and teach. The Bible, God’s word, is paramount, but other texts have their own importance. Many poems show how people read for pleasure as well as for improvement. Orr writes about his own response to literature; in a poem which insists that life is basically good, Orr includes a verse on literature, which claims that even in relatively impoverished lives,

imagination ... can charm thee with a smile.
Or read till wrapt, and o’er thy lamp,
With Tully plead for Rome,
Comment on war in Cæsar’s camp,
Or share all Eden’s bloom
With Milton; talk to Trim with Sterne:
Or drink with Burns in Kyle;
From sympathy a sot might learn
That Man was made to smile¹³.

In this mood, at least, Orr is in agreement with those of his contemporaries who held that literature, and especially fiction, exerts its power over the reader because it is able to excite emotions analogous to those of the protagonists within the work of art.

In another of Orr’s poems, ‘The Penitent’, he notes how lessons derived from the Bible, literature, and theology are readily learned because the readers identify with the experiences and emotions described:

Ane Fletcher’s warks, a bra unbiassed sage,
Gart ‘em wi’ might an’ mense the Calvinists engage.

An’ searchin’ for the Truth improv’d their taste:
How nat’ral Joseph’s Life was weel they kent;
How Moses’ muse her notes sublimely rais’d,
An Jeremiah’s deeply did lament;
The spen’thrift son’s fine scene they weel cud paint,
An’ guid Samaritan’s — an’ nearer han’,
How Young made night mair solemn wi’ his plaint;
How Milton’s Eve was fair, his Adam fand;
How Gray was sad an’ grave, an’ Shakespeare wildly
grand¹⁴.

In this poem, the reading of the Bible and literature complete the work of spiritual and social regeneration begun when the drunken and wastrel father of the family attends a Methodist meeting in a barn. The conversion results from an experience in an oral environment when ‘Smyth, the methodie, harangu’d the folk / They mourn’d and cried amen’; but reading of the texts is apparently carried out within the home; the books are described collectively as ‘bolefu’s’. The bole was a shelf in a recess close to the chimney¹⁵.

In ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, he describes how during the wake, the night before the funeral, the neighbours and extended family gather in the cottier’s family home. ‘Belyve an auld man lifts the Word o’ God, ... / Reads o’er a chapter, chosen as it should, / That maks them sure the dead shall rise again’¹⁶. The use of the phrase ‘Word o’ God’ is particularly telling. The Bible was held to preserve divine utterances, and Orr’s use of the term here works poetically as well as theologically to suggest that those present are comforted by hearing God’s own voice. There is a

surprisingly strong parallel drawn between the word of God and the reported ‘dyin’ words’ of the old cottier, an earthly father who tells his children, just as God the heavenly father does, that ‘whan your clay lies mould’rin’ in a shroud / Your saul shall soar to Heaven, an’ care nae mair becloud’¹⁷. The older people at the wake, as the night wears on, ‘argue Scripture’, a particularly succinct description of the characteristic Presbyterian Bible-based discussions of theology. On the same occasion, a girl ‘turns to the light and sleely seems to read’, though she is really listening to the conversation of the young men¹⁸. Reading, at least on this occasion, is shown as subordinate to orally transmitted advice, comfort and entertainment.

One of the most fascinating aspects of Orr’s work, and of the personality glimpsed through that work, is the complexity of the patterns of attitudes revealed. He is clearly very strongly attached to his native area and to the people and way of life characteristic of it, and yet he criticizes some of its traditional beliefs as superstitious. Similarly, he writes songs and what appear to be fictional narratives and takes pleasure in hearing them recited locally, and yet is deeply hostile to ballad singers and chapbooks. In ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, he notes that despite the fact that the cottier himself, Orr’s hero, would have disapproved,

To bare the shelves o’ plates they fa’ to wark;
Before the looking-glass a clraith they cast;
An’ if a clock were here, nae ear might hark,
Her still’d han’s tell how hours an’ moments pass’d;
Ignorance bred sic pranks, an’ custom gars them last¹⁹.

In one of Orr’s most ambitious poems in English blank verse, on the Assizes in Carrickfergus, he laments the fate of an uneducated youth, who ‘scarce can spell the ribaldry he sings’²⁰. In ‘Ballycarry Fair’, a ballad-singer ‘bawls a string o’ noisy nonsense O!’²¹ There is a relatively lengthy prose essay in the *Belfast Monthly Magazine* for May 1810, p.321, which though signed pseudonomously ‘Censor, Ballycarry’, must be by Orr.

In every market and fair of our country villages, some itinerant musician bellows out a panegyric on debauchery, riot and splendid ruin, and sells the destructive doggerel as fast as he can hand it out. The gaping pumpkin shrugs and laughs and having waited to learn the tune, hums it along the path, which the Grub-Street muse, for want of flowers, has strewed with weeds; the perilous path that leads him to some of the ‘stytes which law has licensed’, where, obedient to his anonymous monitor, he inhales as many potations as his whole pig’s price will purchase, swears his hostess out of half a pint [If criticized by his mother or wife] he pulls out the cheap apology for licentiousness, which she must know is now become fashionable, and half spells, half sings her to silence

Orr’s evidence on the various ways in which ‘popular print’ circulated, and the degree to which it was accepted by different sections of society, adds greatly to our knowledge of the diffusion of such material and its influence. His essay indicates that in some homes at least, the ballads and ballad-singers were frowned on. He notes that some

striplings whose ears are barred against the energetic notes of an ‘excellent new song’ are none the less susceptible to the blessed biographic sketch of twenty four pages As soon as the hawker’s basket is set down, if [the father has] as much money as will purchase whatever worthless work they happen to fancy, it is cheerfully granted, happy in the hope, that while they seek amusement only, they will be ensnared into the art of reading. The means are blameable, as the end is praiseworthy.

Orr, afraid of the ‘imperceptible power of first impressions’, suggests that stories about Robin Hood, Captain James Hind, ‘the chief robber of England’, and Redmond O’Hanlon, will awaken a propensity to crime in the young. In the expression of these attitudes, Orr must be perceived as making common cause with those of the élite who increasingly sought to reform the culture, morals and habits of the ordinary people.

Orr’s poems do not provide much evidence on exactly how people read. In one verse, on his own formation as a poet, he notes that ‘the little lore that I acquir’d / Was closely sought while others slept’ and that if a book was mentioned to him, he ‘bought, or borrow’d, read and thought’²². This suggests that private reading did occur, while in a poem on the experience of emigration across the Atlantic, in a description of how people pass the time, there is one telling phrase which suggests that private reading was not the only way in which people experienced books.

Here, some sing sangs, or stories tell,
To ithers bizzy knittin’;
An’ there some readin’ to themselv’s,
Nod owre asleep, while sittin’
Twa fold that day²³.

‘Readin’ to themselv’s’ of course is an unambiguous phrase. The term ‘reading’ on the other hand is not adequate to describe the ways in which people take hold of material from a printed page, and we need to remember that in earlier periods it quite often means ‘reading aloud’ to others as well as ‘reading to oneself’. Reading, whether public or private, took place within family and social settings, and it may well be that the contemporary phenomenon of the reading society arose at a time when private reading was still unfamiliar and perhaps somewhat difficult to locate within the expected patterns of behaviour. Orr’s description of the ‘reading circle’ which he attended stresses that his fellow members ‘all my toils and all my pastimes share’; reading was likewise to be shared so that all could profit by ‘transfusing copiously the stream of thought’²⁴. It seems that, at least in the society of which Orr was a member, books were read at home, then brought to the meeting to be discussed, and that the second part of the evening consisted of a debate, conducted quite formally with a chairman and adhering to pre-arranged rules. It would be interesting to know if this format had been introduced to Presbyterian areas in the meetings of ministers for mutual improvement which had been occurring sporadically since the previous century. Of course, as is evident in Orr’s description of the cottier’s wake, ‘arguing Scripture’ was of prime importance in the social and intellectual life of Ulster Presbyterians, and an extension of this practice to other forms of literature is not surprising.

Reading aloud, reading in the reading societies – these were ways in which printed literature and its enjoyment could be fitted in to the existing social patterns; but there is an abundance of evidence in Orr and elsewhere which suggests that the community had long been accustomed to enjoy ‘unprinted literature’, and also that the production of literature was in this society something of a communal, rather than a solitary, experience. Historians note with surprise the number of people who published verse in north-east Ulster in the late 18th and early 19th centuries; it is likely that the volumes which were published represent only the tip of the iceberg²⁵. Orr and Thomson and the other published poets mention their acquaintances who also wrote verse, but never published it in print; Orr congratulated his friend Nathaniel Pinkerton of Broadisland on a poem about a boat race²⁶. There has been a long tradition in the north of Ireland in the Masonic Order, of which Orr was an enthusiastic member, of writing songs to be sung, or verse to be recited, at the dinners after meetings. Even into the 20th century, verse on local topics, often satirical or ribald, was written by both men and women.

In the 18th and early-19th centuries, one of the popular evening entertainments was the practice of metrical psalm tunes. It was held to be wrong to use the psalm’s words, so any one who could compose a verse to the appropriate metre could oblige his friends to sing it. Several of the poets who published poetry in county Antrim, including Orr, had their first experience of verse composition at these gatherings²⁷. The fireside game of crambo, when people competitively composed lines or verses of poetry, is also known to have been popular. Samuel Thomson, Orr’s friend, even called his house Crambo Cave, presumably in honour of the pastime, and we know that Thomson and several of his friends jointly composed pieces of verse²⁸. It can even be argued that it is in this communal approach to poetry that we can locate the way in which Ulster poets read the works of Robert Burns. They regarded him as one of themselves, addressed verses to him, and took up some of his themes and diction and used them in their own work. Thomson printed a volume of poems, *Poems on different subjects* (1793), in a style to match Burns’. When literary historians alleged that Ulster poets started to write poetry in imitation of Burns, they clearly failed to appreciate the extent to which verse-making was endemic in the orally based cultures of Ulster (and Scotland), and assumed that publication in print is an essential part of the process of producing literature²⁹.

It may well be, of course, that it is thanks to Burns’ example that a number of Ulster poets in the late 18th century were motivated to have their verse printed, and so it may be that it is to Burns, famous for his description of ‘the chiel amang ye takin’ notes, And faith, he’ll prent it’, that we are indirectly indebted for a large amount of what we know about late 18th-century Ulster speech and speech situations³⁰. Orr’s success in capturing the subtleties of the social setting of language is evident in his description of the attempt by those present at the cottier’s wake to converse in a formal register with the college-educated minister. The people at the wake show off their knowledge of book language, but ‘they monie a lang learn’d word misca’ and misapply’ – they mispronounce words that they have only seen written down. Orr records something of the linguistic etiquette of the period. The people at the wake feel that it is appropriate to attempt to ‘quat braid Scots’ when they are speaking to the Presbyterian minister, though it is more than likely that he was himself a

local man, and educated at a Scottish university³¹.

Orr is particularly adept at representing the idioms and phraseology of speech; even within the confines of the stanza and rhyme scheme, the reported speech is much more like ‘the language really used by men’ than anything achieved by his more famous contemporary, William Wordsworth³². One of Orr’s poems reveals his interest in the different registers and dialects that he encountered when he travelled away from Ballycarry. In ‘The Passengers’ he describes the experience of emigrating; the colloquial and realistic flavour of the dialogue is marked even in the quotations from the local people who travelled with him; exclamations abound: ‘L—d man’; ‘hegh!, och!'; ‘L—d sen’ me hame!’ But Orr is particularly interested in the sailors’ argot. ‘Yo heave ho!’ is their exclamation, and in four lines, still within the confines of the rhyme scheme, he preserves what was for him the novel diction of the seaman, who was possibly not from Ulster. The only word with its final consonant elided is *lan'*, which has to rhyme with *man*; Ulster-Scots speakers would usually have elided the ‘d’ of *lend* and *blind*, and the ‘f’ of *of*.

Eh! dem my eyes! how is’t, goodman?
Got clear of Davy’s locker?
Lend me a facer till we lan'
Till blind as Newgate’s knocker
We’ll swig, that day³³.

Other poems in which he is able to suggest the sound of speech in written text include ‘The Spae-wife’ and ‘The Wanderer’. Both of these are completely in reported speech, with no authorial comment and nothing to set the scene; poems of this sort are rare in English literature, with Robert Browning as the best-known exponent. Orr is surprisingly expert in rendering the spoken word in written form. The rhythms and cadences of the spoken language are generally as difficult to convey as are the familiar sounds of Ulster-Scots in written conventions which were not designed for them. It is easy to forget that it took the written form of English several hundred years to become even as consistent in its symbolic representation as it is, and the development of the international phonetic alphabet took the equivalent of several full-time Victorian careers. We are all accustomed to the written language the way it is; this partly explains why it is probably easier to write in standard English, and why, even for enthusiasts for Ulster-Scots, it is easier to read standard English.

It was hard for poets to keep up the effort of trying to write down their spoken speech, partly because of the rigidities associated with the writing down of language. Perhaps we unconsciously pick these up at school: you have to write neatly and carefully; writing is structured and possibly permanent, whereas speech is gone with the wind. Anything written is liable to become associated with permanence and formality; only suitable topics are worth writing about. Ulster-Scots dialect, like Dorset dialect and Yorkshire dialect in England, becomes associated with particular topics and forms of verse, and then it is rapidly restricted to those. This is partly why there are few Ulster-Scots poems on serious subjects like death.

A society which begins to become literate makes a huge investment of effort and money in the process of educating its members. Anyone who has watched schoolchildren struggling to form shaky print, and who remembers the effort

that went into learning the one correct, but apparently arbitrary, combination of letters to spell any word, recognizes the effort involved. The language of literacy is an abstraction from the spoken language, and learning the spoken language of the home is so much easier for all of us than learning a second language, the written form of the first. But once the investment is made, once literacy is possible, there is no turning back. In all societies, literacy is recognized as a passport out of isolated non-literate communities; it simultaneously creates and supplies the demand for ever more information. That information in turn brings about the loss of the purely oral, as well as the destruction of the isolation of the community. In Ulster, literacy in the standard form of the language brought in its wake the consolidation of the acceptance of the standard form as the elite language. This phenomenon, so well documented in other societies and language situations, may at least partly explain the contemporary attrition of the Irish language³⁴.

The kinds of behaviour expected in a given community, the ways of relating to others, the attitudes and entertainments characteristic of that group – these are all mediated by language, and in earlier societies, that would have been the spoken language. It can be argued that speech makes the culture of a community distinctive, and though borrowing of language items may occur, distinction in language is what prevented one community from merging with another. People who share one language, as they shared so much else of life's experiences, share one mindset. Written texts from outside that mindset introduce the possibility of learning alternative ways of doing things, of experiences which are novel, of new methods used elsewhere. They create dissatisfaction with the old ways, and not just among younger generations.

Written texts, so portable, so addictive, so powerful, will inevitably breach the invisible barriers round an isolated speech community. Not only that, but the acquisition of literacy parallels the acquisition of modern self-consciousness and individuation. The literate individual is aware of himself and of his environment in a way that a member of a pre-literate society is not. It has been argued that writing makes possible 'the intellectual objectification of self and world', introducing the 'distancing inherent in the scientific approach to life' which is held to characterize modern societies in the West³⁵. It may well be, also, that it is not just literacy which changes a society for ever. Literacy is generally acquired in schools, and the whole experience of schooling, the new kinds of socialization therein, and the removal of children from the home to join a group with different rules and expectations, and with a novel hierarchy and a generational structure: all of this could have contributed to the changes in society which anthropologists expect to follow upon the acquisitions of literacy.

The poetry of late 18th-century Ulster is produced in a society which has undergone some of these changes and in which orality is losing ground. The poets who turn to publishing their work in books seem to have realized, perhaps only dimly, that the speech of their native region was important, and some of them, especially Orr and Thomson, perhaps also grasped that something valuable and distinctive was under threat, that standardization of language was a possibility, and that the community life of Ulster was so intimately bound up with its language that the loss of linguistic distinctiveness would alter their society. Whether any of them perceived the irony that print itself would bring

about the destruction of the oral community which they valued, is doubtful.

Orr and Thomson learned to write the standard language. Its conventions are not designed to represent the idiosyncrasies of speech and regional variations, but they tried to make them do so. It must be emphasized that this was the only way open to them to represent their spoken language, Ulster-Scots, in print. It is an extremely complex task to develop alternative ways of spelling sounds, and even if an individual is successful in designing a new system, he runs the risk that no-one in his intended audience will be able to read it – and more than likely will not take the trouble to try. The challenge for writers of Ulster-Scots is to represent their language faithfully using conventions which are already familiar. Orr's successful renditions of speech make it seem all the more likely that in using the conventions which had been first adumbrated by the Scots authors of earlier generations such as Allan Ramsay, and later by Burns, he was almost iconographically imaging his involvement with the distinctiveness of his community. Hugh Porter of Moneyslan in county Down noted that 'And thirdly in my style appears / The accent of my early years, / Which is nor Scotch nor English either / But part o' baith mix'd up thegither / Yet it's the sort my neighbours use / Wha think 'shoon' prettier far than shoes'³⁶. What seems to have been almost a conscious linguistic choice is reported here. Orr takes pleasure in realizing that 'countra folk my dog'rels roose, / In terms that mak' me blythe'³⁷.

Orr's use of the apostrophe to indicate dropped consonants and elided syllables is remarkably careful. It is not often that even close study will turn up an inconsistency like that in two successive lines of 'Song Written in Winter', where he writes 'wi' settin' dogs' and 'we snaw-baws'³⁸. His most frequent use of the apostrophe is to write down a word which in his pronunciation would have no final consonant – 'restin'', 'o', but there are other, more imaginative uses. For instance, he uses an apostrophe at the end of a past participle or the past tense, almost certainly to indicate that in his speech the pronunciation of the final syllable is /t/ rather than /d/, representing the earlier Scots form -it, and to make sure that there is no ambiguity or danger of misapprehension of meaning or intended sound introduced by respelling the verb with a final t. Thus in the phrase 'weel-pair't peasants', the apostrophe is not strictly necessary – no syllable is elided, but Orr's use of it here prevents a reader from reading 'pair't' as if it was a respelling of 'part' or wondering what is the adjective being used to describe the peasants. Similarly, in 'sparkle't', the apostrophe allows the verb to be read correctly, and not as *spark-let.

Orr takes care to indicate when even a relatively minor difference from standard pronunciation is intended; for instance, in *rememb'rin'* and *mould'rin'*. The use of the apostrophe in other circumstances, though conventional nowadays and perhaps already in Orr's time, should be recognized as an ingenious, even inspired, method of representing words which have different pronunciations in Ulster-Scots. The word *eye* for instance, pronounced /i/ in Ulster-Scots, can be represented with admirable accuracy and read with ease when written down *e'e*; the medial apostrophe scarcely impinges on the reading eye, and the new spelling has the merit of retaining enough of the conventional spelling to be instantly recognized. The same is true of a respelling like *gi'es* for 'gives' and *lea's* for 'leaves', while in spellings

like *mak'* for 'make', the apostrophe has something of the force of a diacritic, indicating to the reader that the vowel in the syllable before the apostrophe must be pronounced differently from the vowel in the equivalent English word, which would otherwise be difficult to respell and thus much more difficult to read. *Mak's* could be respelled, using conventional English rules of representing sounds, as **max* or **macks*, but neither of these would be so readily understood and accepted by the reader.

The beginning of this paper emphasized the importance of examining all details of the written texts available from the late 18th and early 19th centuries. There is a wealth of information about the sounds of contemporary speech in Orr's rhymes. Rhyme evidence is not, however, always unambiguous, and analysis must wait for another occasion. Orr's respellings, which were adopted specifically and consciously to indicate one particular pronunciation, are easier to elucidate; conclusions about Orr's attempts to render pronunciation on paper will be presented in an appendix. Even cursory examination indicates that Orr was deliberately respelling words to indicate their local pronunciation. This suggests that he was aware that the speech of his community differed from that of people who might read his work. Linguistic awareness of this sort, as discussed above, suggests a degree of sophistication which would not have been present in a community without external contacts.

Orr's community, then, was no longer isolated, unaltered and orally orientated. There is still, however, in Orr's poetry, evidence which allows us to guess at some of the elements of attitude and behaviour which would have characterized earlier generations of Ulster-Scots. It is worth stressing that this kind of reconstruction, while tentative, can only be attempted at all because Orr and his contemporaries happened to live during a phase transition between states of linguistic development. It has been claimed, for instance, that oral societies are 'utterance-collecting'³⁹. Proverbs and habitually used phrases contain general truths which have been painfully learned and which are thus orally transmitted between the generations. The term *cliché*, with its pejorative connotations of staleness and triteness, derives appropriately enough from printing technology; for an oral society, something good cannot be too often repeated. There are many proverbs and traditional collocations in Orr and especially also in the work of his friend Thomson. Orr writes approvingly of a child of whom he was fond that 'acute were his senses and his mem'ry strong / How soon he learns the tale, the riddle or the song'⁴⁰. A number of proverbs and what appear to be collocate phrases, or idioms, are listed in Appendix 2; Orr frequently sets these off in his text with inverted commas or uses italics, indicating that he recognized these utterances as in some way special or perhaps characteristic of his own area.

One can glimpse in Orr's poetry some aspects of a previously oral society, which in ways resembles that described by David Rollison, who studied a small area of Gloucestershire in England in the 16th century⁴¹. Rollison notes that the lives of the inhabitants there and then were focused on a number of 'dynamic loci'; the most immediate was the home, then the family, then the neighbours and what the people of Dursley called 'the country'. This last focus was very different from what we mean when we use either of the meanings of 'country' current today. For these 16th-century people, 'the country' was the landscape around them, in which they perceived meaning and continuity, and in which

resided known or related families. In 'the country' was vested the right to pass judgment on the activities or characters of individuals and families; some of this way of looking at the community seems also to be found in Orr's world⁴².

Many of Orr's poems contain reference to the judgment of the community; the poet's persona has been told the tale of the penitent weaver's life by 'Brice, the auld herd on the moor ... Brice gi'ed me this account, an' right weel pleas'd I was'. The penitent weaver's progress is of interest to his neighbours – 'ilk short relapse the clashes met to track o''⁴³. Orr's description of the community as it sits in judgment is not always flattering: 'the claggin' wives, wi' heads in flannin', / Forgether'd on a sabbath e'enin' / Losh how they rauner, rail an' ripple / Their nybers' names, an' mumph an' sipple'⁴⁴. The community is particularly prone to sum up the nature of the contribution of its deceased members. Orr notes that some receive the 'palm of posthumous applause', while, in a poem on the death of the cottier, Orr writes:

The village sires, wha kent him lang, lament
The dear deceas'd, an praise his life an' creed:
For if they crav'd his help in time o' need,
Or gied him trust, they prov'd him true an' kin'.

In several of Orr's poems he speculated on what his neighbours would say about him after his death, and he tried to ensure that poems he had written would not be lost; he asked friends to try to publish them. In a biographical sketch prefixed to the posthumously published volume of Orr's poems, his friend Archibald McDowell wrote:

the fate of a character, as well as worldly effects, is bequeathed to futurity. [Orr's] wish was that [his poems] might be published; and my aim is in acceding to his desire, that whatever ability in them shall be found, may not be lost in the progressive waste of time, but that the Press may save them to posterity, as evidence on which to form judgment.⁴⁵

Robert Gregg was a native of Glenoe, and thus from the same 'country' as James Orr. Both men were fascinated by their native speech and struggled to preserve it in a written form, which in their different ways they have 'bequeathed to futurity'. Posterity can rightly form the judgment that the work of both Gregg and Orr merits the 'palm of posthumous applause'.

Appendix 1

Respelled words in James Orr's poems

nybers, nyb'rin ‘neighbours’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ai/ and with non-occurrence of a schwa vowel
le'er ‘liar’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ir/ or /er/
saint ‘saint’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
cam ‘came’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
bleaze ‘blaze’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
peys ‘pays’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ai/
staid ‘stayed’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ai/
wauk ‘wake’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
straught ‘straight’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and probably with a medial fricative /x/
staun ‘stand’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and with non-occurrence of final /d/
bonnock ‘bannock’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
moorlun ‘moorland’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ə/ or perhaps merely an attempt to render the unstressed syllable before non-occurrence of final /d/
stauchrin ‘staggering’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/, /x/ instead of /g/ and non-occurrence of syllabic /ə/
wat ‘wet’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
weel ‘well’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
wab ‘web’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
whan ‘when’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
walth ‘wealth’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
rack ‘wreck’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
monie ‘many’ suggesting a pronunciation with /o/
crap ‘crept’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and non-occurrence of final /t/
carn ‘cairn’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
whare ‘where’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ or perhaps /a/
scaur'd ‘scared’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ or perhaps /a/, and probably indicating final /t/ instead of final /d/
daur ‘dare’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ or perhaps /a/
graise ‘grease’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
quat ‘quit’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
hade ‘hid’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
lieve and ‘live’ and *leev'd* ‘lived’, suggesting a pronunciation with /i/ and perhaps final /t/ in the past tense
dreep ‘drip’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
seevs ‘sieves’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
lee-lang ‘live-long’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/ and with /a/ in ‘long’, and non-occurrence of medial /v/
tap ‘top’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
saps ‘fops’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
drap, drapie, drapple ‘drop’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
sang ‘song’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
gude ‘God’ suggesting a pronunciation with /u/
lang ‘long’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
stap ‘stop’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
safit, safily ‘soft, softly’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
eft ‘oft’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
wrang'd ‘wronged’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and perhaps final /t/ instead of /d/
claith ‘cloth’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/

shap ‘shop’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
fander, fandness ‘fonder, fondness’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
laft ‘loft’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
fand ‘fond’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
half-thow't ‘half-thawed’ suggesting a pronunciation with /au/, perhaps, and with final /t/
amang ‘among’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
sauls ‘souls’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ or possibly /au/
cam'd ‘combed’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/ or with /a/ and possibly with final /t/ instead of /d/
faes ‘foes’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
banes ‘bones’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
haudins ‘holdings’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ or possibly /au/, and with non-occurrence of medial /l/ and occurrence of final /n/
fald ‘fold’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
baith ‘both’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
row ‘roll’ suggesting a pronunciation with vocalization of final /l/. The vowel may be either /o/ or /au/.
haud ‘hold’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and vocalization of medial /l/
rapes ‘ropes’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
maist ‘most’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
laigh ‘low’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/ and with a final fricative /x/
hame, hameward ‘home, homeward’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
lanely ‘lonely’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
hauden ‘holding’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/, non-occurrence or vocalization of medial /l/ and occurrence of final /n/
shaw ‘show’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
snaw-baws ‘snowballs’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and with non-occurrence or vocalization of final /l/ in ‘balls’
bauld ‘bold’ suggesting a pronunciation with /au/ or /a/
hale ‘whole’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
brak ‘broke’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
thrave ‘throve’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
strave ‘strode’ suggesting a pronunciation with /e/
tald ‘told’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
saw ‘sow’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
bord ‘board’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ɔ/
sla-thorn ‘sloe-thorn’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/
owre ‘over’ suggesting a pronunciation with /au/ and non-occurrence of medial /v/
ithers ‘others’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
sin ‘sun’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
bit ‘but’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
rin ‘run’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/
cou'd, cud ‘could’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ʌ/; the indicated non-occurrence or vocalization of medial /l/ is perhaps merely a diacritic
wad, wadna ‘would, would not’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and with non-occurrence of final /t/ in *not*
beuk ‘book’ suggesting a pronunciation with /yu/
muir suggesting a pronunciation with /yu/
sud ‘should’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ʌ/ and with an initial /s/ instead of /ʃ/
pit ‘put’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/

bouse, bous t ‘boozed’ suggesting a pronunciation with /u/ and final /t/ instead of /d/

guid ‘good’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ɪ/

hoose ‘house’ suggesting a pronunciation with /u/

fand ‘found’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/

pouther, pouther t ‘powder, powdered’ suggesting a pronunciation with /u/, with medial /θ/ instead of /d/ and with final /t/

doon ‘down’ suggesting a pronunciation with /u/

doonright ‘downright’ suggesting a pronunciation with /u/

Airlan ‘Ireland’ suggesting a pronunciation with /er/ and non-occurrence of final /d/

slee, sleely ‘sly, slyly’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/

e'e ‘eye’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/

dee, deein ‘die, dying’ suggesting a pronunciation with /i/ and occurrence of final /n/

wark ‘work’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/

warst ‘worst’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/

warl ‘world’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/ and non-occurrence of final /d/

wark ‘work’ suggesting a pronunciation with /a/

brust ‘burst’ suggesting a pronunciation with /ʌ/ and indicating that metathesis occurs in this word

misca ‘miscal’, *fiels* ‘fields’, *chiel* ‘child’, *frien's* ‘friends’,

an' ‘and’, *bin's* ‘binds’, *han's* ‘hands’, *boatfu's* ‘boatfuls’,

bolefu's ‘bolefuls’; *en's* ‘ends’, *sen's* ‘sends’, *min's* ‘minds’,

hoise ‘hoist’, *ca't* ‘called’ *roun'* ‘round’, *houn's* ‘hounds’, *wi'*

‘with’, *men'* ‘mend’, *warmin'* ‘warming’, *lyin'* ‘lying’, *lea*

‘leave’, *behin'* ‘behind’, *werena* ‘were not’, *wa'* ‘wall’, *wa'-*

stead ‘wallstead’, *warl* ‘world’, *row'* ‘roll’, *saut* ‘salt’, *o'* ‘of’,

ha'f ‘half’, *dreadfu'*, ‘dreadful’, *fause* ‘false’, *faut* ‘fault’,

soger ‘soldier’, *snaw-baws* ‘snowballs’: all these provide

evidence of non-occurrence of a final consonant or of vocalization of /l/.

Hae ‘have’, *ne'er* ‘never’, *e'er* ‘ever’, *gies* ‘gives’, *lo'esome*

‘lovesome’, *ser't* ‘served’, *co'ers* ‘covers’, *deels* ‘devils’,

sillar ‘silver’, *hin'-hairst* ‘hind-harvest’ indicate non-occurrence of medial /v/.

Claes ‘clothes’ indicates non-occurrence of medial /ð/.

Tase ‘taste’, *plun'ers* ‘plunders’, *hun'ers* ‘hundreds’, *har'ly*

‘hardly’, *wan'er* ‘wander’, *yon'ers* ‘yonder is’, *frien'ship*

‘friendship’, *wan'rers* ‘wanderers’, and *hairbreath*

‘hairbreadth’ all suggest non-occurrence of medial /t/ or /d/.

Brust(in') ‘burst(ing)’, *gingebread* ‘gingerbread’, *pa'snips*

‘parsnips’ suggest metathesis or non-occurrence of post-vocalic /r/.

Conversely, *thristle* ‘thistle’ indicates intrusive /r/.

Metathesis of Old English <sc> explains the spellings of ‘ask’ as *ax*.

Orr’s spellings *wiss* ‘wish’, and *Slimiss* ‘Slemish’ suggest the substitution of /s/ for /ʃ/, and *leash* ‘lease’ suggests use of final /ʃ/ in place of /s/.

Pouther(t), ‘powder(ed)’ probably indicates use of medial /d/.

Orr’s respellings provide evidence of /x/ preserved in words such as *leugh* ‘laugh’, *straught* ‘straight’, *staughers* ‘staggers’, *laigh* ‘low’, *licht* ‘light’, *nicher* and *cleighrin*.

Appendix 2

Apparently proverbial or habitually collocated phrases and idioms in Orr.

Wha wad hae belled the cat awee
my inner man
I ledge we'd fen
chow the fat o', meaning ‘talk over’
play'd the weary
biggin' castles in the air (italicized)
the fiddler's acre (in inverted commas)
blessed be the Maker! (an exclamation apparently used after praising someone’s children)
haud up the mirror to the times (in inverted commas)
deel-ma-care
workin' sair days-dark on't
I wadna gie for a' Braidislan' tythe
deel tak ...
gif bowls row right, meaning ‘if things work out right’
bandied frae post tae pillar
wise men o' Gotham
I'd beg my bread through Airlan'
the guid auld rule, ‘first come, first ser’t’
twa three like that will wreck her
at ance baith pray an' watch
the wheel o' chance revolv'd
rise not on empty goblet (in inverted commas)
had ay a hearty fill
an' eat the bread o' care
habit like a bough by force held straight, Sprang till its ain
auld thraw
fair fa' ye
in fegs
I'll swear by jing!
deel brust him!

Notes

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- 2 Orr, James, *Poems on Various Subjects* (Belfast, 1804) and *The Posthumous Works of James Orr of Ballycarry: with a Sketch of his Life* (Belfast, 1817), reprinted in one volume (Belfast, 1935), 282.
- 3 Kirkham, Graeme, 'Literacy in North-West Ulster 1680-1860', in Daly, Mary, and David Dickson (eds.), *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700-1920* (Dublin, 1990), 80.
- 4 Linda Lunny [sic], 'Knowledge and Enlightenment: Attitudes to Education in Early Nineteenth-Century Ulster', in Daly, Mary, and David Dickson (eds.), *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700-1920* (Dublin, 1990), 97-112.
- 5 Orr quotes from, or indicates some knowledge of, Thomas Campbell, James Thomson, Robert Heron, Robert Burns, Goethe's Werner, Sappho, the Bible and Apocalypse, Shakespeare, Isaac Watts, Alexander Pope, MacPherson's Ossian, Edward Young, Isaac Newton, John Locke, William Robertson, John Tillotson, Francis Atterbury, Michael Bruce, Oliver Goldsmith, Robert Ferguson, David Garrick, Thomas Gray, Henry Brooke, John William Fletcher, Cicero, John Milton, Laurence Sterne, William Cowper, Sir John Denham, Sydney Owenson, David Hume, Samuel Johnson, Edmund Gibbon, Francis Bacon, Sir Matthew Hale, Thomas Erskine, John P. Curran, John Home, the *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, some version of a life of Alexander Selkirk and Michel de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer*. He quotes most often from Burns, Young, Shakespeare, Goldsmith, the Bible, Pope, Hume, Ossian and Gray. The quotation is from 'A Sketch of a Ramble to Antrim', *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, July 1809, 422.
- 6 Orr, James, 'Elegy Written in the Ruins of a Country Schoolhouse', op. cit. (1935), 284.
- 7 MS 7257 in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The author is grateful to the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, for permission to quote from this manuscript.
- 8 Ibid., p. 78.
- 9 Graham, J., 'Parish of Maghera' in Mason, W. S. (ed.), *A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland ...*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1816), 594; Joy, H., *Northern Star*, 10 November 1794.
- 10 'Monthly Retrospect of Politics', *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, July 1812.
- 11 Orr, James, 'Elegy on the Death of Mr. Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Poet', op. cit. (1935), 29.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Orr, James, 'Man was Made to Smile', op. cit. (1935), 201.
- 14 Orr, James, 'The Penitent', op. cit. (1935), 178-179.
- 15 Ibid., 178.
- 16 Orr, James, 'The Irish Cottier's Death and Burial', op. cit. (1935), 264.
- 17 Ibid., 262.
- 18 Ibid., 265.
- 19 Ibid., 263.
- 20 Orr, James, 'The Assizes', op. cit. (1935), 300.
- 21 Orr, James, 'Ballycarry Fair', op. cit. (1935), 156.
- 22 Orr, James, 'Lines Presented to a Gentleman by the Author, with His Own Poems', op. cit. (1935), 293.
- 23 Orr, James, 'The Passengers', op. cit. (1935), 140.
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- 25 Hewitt, John, *The Rhyming Weavers and Other Country Poets of Antrim and Down* (Belfast, 1974), 1.
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- 27 McDowell, A., 'Sketch of the Author's Life', prefixed to 1817 volume, op. cit. (1935), 187.
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- 32 Wordsworth, William, 'Preface, Lyrical Ballads', 2nd edition, *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (New York, 1968), 107.
- 33 Orr, James, 'The Passengers', op. cit. (1935), 139.
- 34 Ó Ciosáin, Niall, op. cit. (1997).
- 35 Ong, Walter J., *Interfaces of the Word. Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca, 1977), 207, quoted by Rollison, David, *The Local Origins of Modern Society. Gloucestershire 1500-1800* (London, 1992), 14.
- 36 Adams, A., and J. R. R. Adams (eds.), *The Country Rhymes of Hugh Porter the Bard of Moneystane born c. 1780* (Bangor, 1992), xxix.
- 37 Orr, James, 'Epistle to S. Thomson of Carngranny A Brother Poet', op. cit. (1935), 124; Robinson, Philip, *Ulster-Scots. A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language* (Belfast, 1997) deals with the principles and practice of the spelling of Ulster-Scots in more detail than can be attempted here.
- 38 Orr, James, 'Song, Written in Winter', op. cit. (1935), 163.
- 39 Ong, Walter J., quoted by Rollison, op. cit. 14.
- 40 Orr, James, 'Lambert an Elegiac Ode', op. cit. (1935), 44.
- 41 Rollison, op. cit., 7-9, 152-153.
- 42 Orr, James, 'The Penitent', op. cit. (1935), 177, 179.
- 43 Orr, James, 'Tea'. op.cit. (1935), 62.
- 44 Orr, James, 'Elegy Written in the Churchyard of Templecorran'; 'The Irish Cottier's Death and Burial', op.cit. (1935), 130, 265.
- 45 Orr, James, op. cit. (1817).

Lowland Sources of Ulster-Scots: Gregg and *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (volume 3) Compared

Caroline Macafee

Robert Gregg's work on the dialect boundaries of Ulster-Scots has become one of the pillars of research in this field. His map of the boundaries has been much reprinted, and is known to many people who are not familiar with the extensive research on which it was based¹.

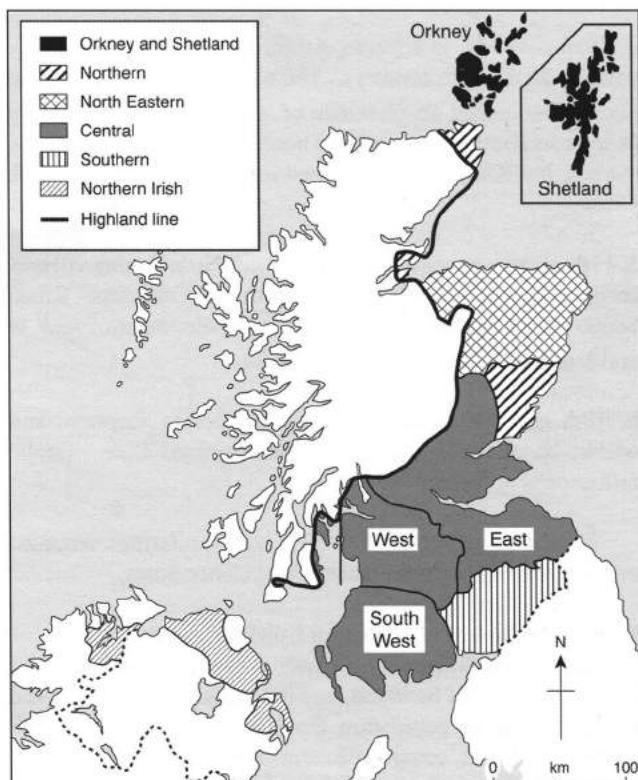
Gregg conducted his fieldwork between 1960 and 1963, only a few years after the completion of fieldwork by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. When he published his thesis in 1985², Gregg was already aware of some of the preliminary findings of the Survey, but the results were not published until the following year, as volume 3 of *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (*LAS3*)³. Until now, no comparison has been made between the two studies. Of course, *LAS3* can have little to add to Gregg's coverage of Ulster-Scots, since its selection of localities is much smaller, and confined to East Ulster. There are actually only eight localities in *LAS3* that represent Ulster-Scots (Down 1-4, Antrim 2-5). The other Ulster localities are clearly Hiberno-English. (As in Gregg, the dividing line is quite abrupt, though not, of course, absolute.) The main interest of the *LAS3* data for us lies in the possibility of exploring connections between Ulster dialects and their Lowland Scots sources. In this paper, I concentrate on the phonemic level of analysis, including lexical incidence. A more phonetic treatment can be found in the work of Johnston, but, like Milroy, Johnston does not always confine his description of East Ulster speech to Ulster-Scots as understood by Gregg and followed here⁴. (This conflation of the two varieties leads to a possible misinterpretation, as discussed below.)

A note on the presentation of the *LAS3* data may be helpful. The 'polyphonemes' (see Table 1) are no more than large chunks of phonetic space, and information is simply lost by grouping the data in this way. Polyphoneme E in particular covers four historical phonemes, and the maps which show how many 'phonemes' occur in E (environment by environment) do not clarify which ones occur. In word maps, two or more different phonemes can be shown as the same; or the same phoneme can be shown as different polyphonemes in different places⁵.

As Johnston points out, the *LAS3* 'phonemes', which are not aggregated across phonetic environments, are too numerous to fit in with our understanding of the phonemic system of Scots vowels. Fortunately, the data are given in detail, though some doubts have been expressed about accuracy (especially with regard to vowel length) and missing localities⁶.

Dialect Divisions of Lowland and Insular Scots

Map 1 shows the dialect divisions of Lowland Scots. The dialects of Lowland Scots were originally mapped by Murray⁷, and modified by Grant⁸ (though Ulster-Scots had to wait for Gregg). Johnston's revision based on *LAS3* shows for instance that Southern and South-West Scots are being encroached upon by Central dialects⁹. However, these recent developments do not concern us here, and I have simply reproduced the well-known map in the form given in *CSD* (which renames some of the dialect areas), although Johnston's map may, in some ways, be more accurate even for earlier periods, as the traditional map sometimes resorts merely to following county boundaries. For the same reasons, I have not followed Aitken in incorporating Speitel's revision of the Highland Line, which shows the possibly recent phenomenon of Scots retreating eastwards, although it also gives a more accurate treatment of largely uninhabited areas¹⁰.



Map 1: the main dialect divisions of Scots (based on CSD, Map 1, and Gregg, 1985, Part II, Map 1), by kind permission of Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd. and Mrs. Gregg

It is as well to remember that the dialect divisions shown in Map 1 relate to a period two and a half centuries later than the Scots settlement of Ulster.

The Spread of Scots in Scotland and Ulster

It is interesting to place Ulster within the context of the spread of Scots within Scotland, as it reminds us that some Lowland dialects were formed later than Ulster-Scots. The chronology below is based on the work of Speitel and Mather¹¹.

1. 15th century: Caithness (modest influx from the 13th century on); Orkney and Shetland (ceded to Scotland from Denmark in 1486, with a modest influx previously, particularly in Orkney). The modern dialects are broad Scots. There is a variant development of /ald/ to /auld/ ‘old’, etc., discussed below. A striking archaism is incomplete /l/-vocalisation (/al/ ‘all’, etc.). There is considerable Norn influence on vocabulary and phonology. The islands were never Gaelic-speaking, but Caithness shows Gaelic influence.
2. 16th century: presumed demise of Gaelic in the South-West. Long-term interaction with Ulster makes it difficult to determine the direction of influence and to separate Scottish Gaelic from Irish influence.
3. 1603 onwards: spread to county Antrim, county Down, county Donegal, later into county Londonderry. Nothing specific is known of the characteristics of the Medieval Anglo-Irish previously spoken in urban centres (Carrickfergus, Newry). The modern dialects are broad Scots, exhibiting dialect variation, some presumably from the point of creation.
4. 1650 onwards: to Kintyre, Arran, Bute (the latter possibly as early as the 15th century). The modern dialects are broad Scots. The variant development of /ald/ to /auld/ etc. is found at least in Kintyre and Bute. These dialects have been little studied, but Kintyre again has had long-term interaction with Ulster.
5. 17th century onwards: to inner Moray Firth, fishing villages on the east coast between Moray Firth and Caithness. Broad Scots, Gaelic influence. The variant development of /ald/ to /auld/ etc. is found.
6. 18th and 19th centuries: Broad Scots to forestry- and whisky-based settlements along the Highland Line. Gaelic influence is apparent.

We shall see below that there are similarities amongst many of these peripheral dialects and Ulster-Scots.

Reverse Influence of Ulster on Lowland Scots

A reverse influence from Ulster is always to be suspected in adjacent parts of Scotland, and in Glasgow, which received a large influx of population from Ireland in the mid-19th century, and this complicates our attempts to identify the origins of Ulster-Scots. Riach assumes that similarities (lexical in his study) between Ulster and Galloway (South-West Scots) reflect seasonal migration from Ulster¹², but Milroy takes the more reasonable view that in general:

Galloway Scots is itself probably the basis of much of Ulster-Scots (especially in county Down); therefore the influence goes from Scotland to Ulster¹³.

This does not, of course, preclude influence in the other direction. Certainly of Ulster origin is Glasgow *youse* (plural of *you*), and perhaps also *wan* ‘one’ (but see discussion below). Also apparently an Ulster importation is West Central lowering of /er/ to /ər/; Macafee has some slight support for its association with Catholic speech in Glasgow¹⁴ – and occasional stopping of /θ/, /ð/ in Glasgow (also associated with Anglo-Irish influence in Liverpool)¹⁵.

Vowel Phonology

To refer to the vowels, I shall use Aitken’s numbering system (see Table 1)¹⁶. Readers not accustomed to this system will probably find it necessary to make frequent reference to the table.

Vowel length in Modern Scots is governed by the Scottish Vowel-Length Rule (SVLR), sometimes called Aitken’s Law. This is the outcome of a series of shortenings in all environments except morpheme-finally, before /t/ and before voiced fricatives. The powerful influence of this environment extends to the splits of Vowels 1 and 7 (see below). The originally close short Vowels 15 /ɪ/ and 19 /ʌ/ are unaffected (presumably showing little allophonic length variation to begin with), and where Vowels 8 and 12 remain distinct they are long in all environments. Otherwise the long vowels have lost distinctive length, and both originally long and short vowels show allophonic variation in the environments specified, particularly in the final syllable of a word, with various exceptions in peripheral dialects¹⁷. So the following contrast:

<i>beat: tea</i>
<i>greed: agreed</i>
<i>beat: beer</i>
<i>leaf: weave</i>
<i>bait: 'both': bathe</i>
<i>race: raise</i>
<i>leash: /pliʒɪŋ/ ‘pleasure’</i>

The early date of the SVLR is shown by the fact that it has spread (not always in its fullest form) throughout the Scots area, including Insular and Ulster-Scots, and also into Mid Ulster English¹⁸. Aitken cites definite evidence for its establishment before c.1560¹⁹.

Vowel 1, primarily from OE ī, is split in Modern Scots into a diphthong with a short, centralised, half-open starting point (an earlier stage in development), variously represented as /əi, ʌi/, e.g. *Fife*; and a diphthong with a half-long, open starting point, variously represented as /aɪ, a-e, ae/ e.g. *five*. The split is determined by the environments of the SVLR. The distinction is phonemic in Scots, because Vowel 1 short also contains the reflexes of Older Scots Vowel 8 word-finally (Vowel 8a), e.g. *pey* ‘pay’. An example of a minimal pair is *pey* and *pie*.

Gregg describes additional phonological and morphological constraints on the occurrence of the lengthened /aw/ variant in Ulster²⁰.

In Central dialects of Scots, Vowel 3 (from OE æ etc.) mostly falls together with Vowel 2, e.g. *meat* (as in Standard

Table 1: Vowel systems of Scots: a rough historical outline, based the following sources: Aitken (1977), Table 1; †Aitken (2002)

Main OE and other sources	Early Scots (to 1450)	Middle Scots (to 1700)	Modern Scots	Vowel number	LAS3 polyphoneme
<i>tīma</i> ‘time’, <i>fīf</i> ‘five’	i:	— ei	əi ai	1 short 1 long	EI
<i>cwēn</i> ‘queen’	e:	— i:	— i	2	I
<i>clāne</i> ‘clean’	ɛ:	— or —		3	
<i>hām</i> ‘home’	a:	— e:	— e	4	E
OF <i>estōr</i> ‘store’	ɔ:	— ɔ:	— o	5	O
<i>hūs</i> ‘house’	u:	— u:	— u	6	U
<i>full</i> ‘full’	ʊl			6a*	
<i>mōr</i> ‘moor’, <i>mōna</i> ‘moon’	ɸ:	— ɸ:	— ɸ or — i	7	Y
			or — e or — e I	7 7 long 7 short	E E Y
<i>hægel</i> ‘hail’	ai	— ei	ɛ:, eə or — e	8 8	E
<i>clæg</i> ‘clay’	ai#	— ei#	— ei#	8a**	

OF <i>qi chois</i> 'choice'	qi	—	qi	—	oe	9	OI
AN <i>ui puisoun</i> 'poison'	ui	—	ui	—	əi	10	EI
<i>ēg ēge</i> 'eye'	ei#	—	e:#	—	i:#	11	I
<i>āw snāw</i> 'snow'	au	—	a:	—	a	12	A
		↑		or	ɔ	12	O
<i>āl all</i> 'all'	al					12a	
<i>ō grōwan</i> 'grow'	əu	—	əu	—	au	13	WU
<i>ōl gōld</i>	əl					13a	
<i>ēaw dēaw</i> 'dew'	eu						
<i>īw nīwe</i> 'new'	iu	—	iu	—	iu	14	U
			or	—	(j)u	14	
<i>ī bīta</i> 'bit'	ɪ	—	ɪ	—	ɪ	15***	Y
<i>ě bed</i> 'bed'	ɛ	—	ɛ	—	ɛ	16	E
<i>æ træppe</i> 'trap'	a	—	a	—	a	17	A
<i>ō hlot</i> 'portion'	ə	—	ə	—	o	18	O
			or	—	ɔ	18	
<i>ū putian</i> 'put'	ʊ	—	ʊ	—	ʌ	19	W

Notes:

* There are several words where l-vocalisation fails with *yl*, e.g. *bull* /bʌl/.

** There are frequent lexical exceptions in /e/, e.g. *day*.

*** The phoneme /ɛ/ belongs to Scottish Standard English, not to Scots.

English), but Wigtownshire has /e/ as in Hiberno-English, as has Ulster-Scots in some words. There is no shortening before /d/ (as in English *head*), so this includes e.g. *heid* ‘head’ and also *deif* ‘deaf’.

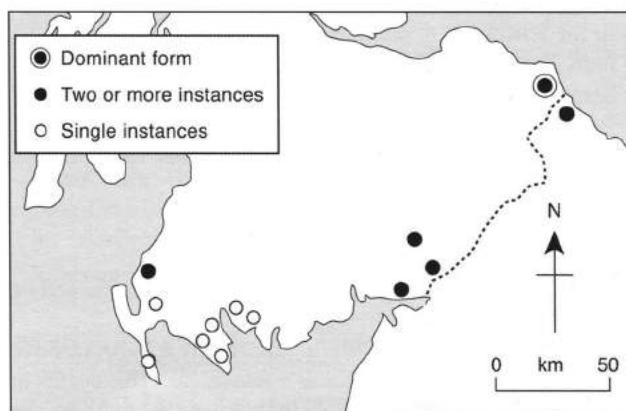
Vowel 4, OE *ā*, did not raise and round prior to the Great Vowel Shift (as in modern English south of the Humber), but has developed as a front vowel, merged with the reflex of OE *æ* by Open Syllable Lengthening, and consequently has a large functional load (e.g. *gait* ‘goat’, *hame* ‘home’, as well as, e.g. *face*, *name*).

The load of Vowel 5 is correspondingly small, consisting mainly of French loans, e.g. *store*, *noble*. It has usually merged with Vowel 18. However, the two vowels remain separate in Ulster-Scots. From this and other dialects which retain the distinction, it appears that before /r/ Scots lengthened Vowel 18 to merge with Vowel 5 rather than *vice versa*²¹.

Vowel 6 (from OE *ū* etc.) did not diphthongise by the Great Vowel Shift, and is still a close back or centralised monophthong. The load of Vowel 13 is correspondingly small, consisting mainly of OE *ōw-* e.g. *growe* ‘grow’.

Vowel 7 from OE *ō* fronted north of the Humber prior to the Great Vowel Shift, thus e.g. *guse* ‘goose’. Non-final OF *ū* also falls in with this, e.g. *use*. A number of words, including *foot*, are captured by Vowel 15 (see below) and there are special developments before voiceless velars (see below). It remains a front rounded vowel only in the most conservative dialects of Modern Scots, now mainly Shetland and Orkney. In the North-East it has unrounded to merge with Vowel 2 /i/. There are also traces of this development in parts of the South-West (and eastwards to the vicinity of Berwick on both sides of the Border)²². See Map 2. The occurrence of /i/ for Vowel 7 in the South-West appears to have been overlooked until the Linguistic Survey of Scotland²³. This is doubtless the source of this form in county Down and county Donegal (see Map 5 below).

Map 2: /i/ reflexes of Vowel 7 in the south of Scotland, based on LAS 3: Lists (cf. Maps W26, W66, W87, W97)



Notes: In *tooth*, /i/ is widespread (LAS3: Map W164).

The [ɛɪ] realisation in *do* and *too* at Spittal (Northumberland 2) also implies underlying final /i/.

In northern East Central Scots it has unrounded to merge with Vowel 4 /e/, which is found also in county Antrim (see Map 5 below). Elsewhere it has unrounded or is still unrounding to merge with Vowel 4 in the long environments of the SVLR (e.g. *mair* ‘moor’, *yaize* ‘use’ verb), and Vowel 15 in the short environments (e.g. *gis* ‘goose’, *yis* ‘use’ noun).

In a few dialects, including Ulster, the short reflex remains separate, and is a closer and more peripheral vowel than 15, nearer to RP. Hence Gregg’s suggestion²⁴, followed by Macafee²⁵, that in the formation of Scottish Standard English, this separate Vowel 7 short was equated with English /ɪ/, while the original Scots Vowel 15 (which corresponds historically to /i/) survives as the marginal phoneme /ɛ/, mainly in the environment of a following /r/, e.g. *earth*, or /v/, e.g. *river* with /ɪ/, never with /ɛ/, sever with /ɛ/²⁶.

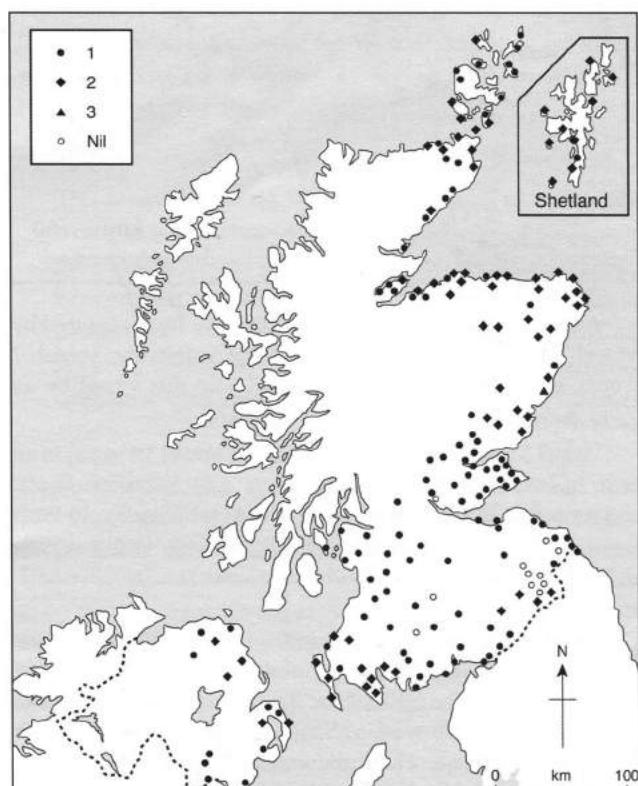
Vowel 12 comes from OE *aw* (e.g. *claw*) and also *āw* (e.g. *snow*), and OF *au* (e.g. *cause*). The Modern Scots reflex is variously unrounded (Northern, Southern, South-West), in which case it may merge with Vowel 17, or rounded (Central Scots). Both occur in Ulster-Scots.

Vowel 4 in final position after /w, ʍ/, e.g. *twaē* ‘two’, *whae* ‘who’, has been captured by Vowel 12 except in Southern and southern East Central, where it develops normally to /e/ (see LAS3 Maps W42, W44).

Vowel 12 also contains the reflex of Vowel 17 when vocalised before /l/ (around 1450, and not taken to Caithness, Orkney and Shetland), e.g. *awl* ‘all’. Gregg shows /al/ in all etc. as an occasional form in East Ulster, and as the main reflex in most of Donegal, presumably a genuine archaism²⁷. A following /d/ blocks the loss of /l/, e.g. *auld* ‘old’. The variant development to *ould* (Vowel 13) will be discussed further below.

Vowel 14 remains separate in Southern Scots, but in most dialects has become /ju/, with consequent merger with Vowel 12.

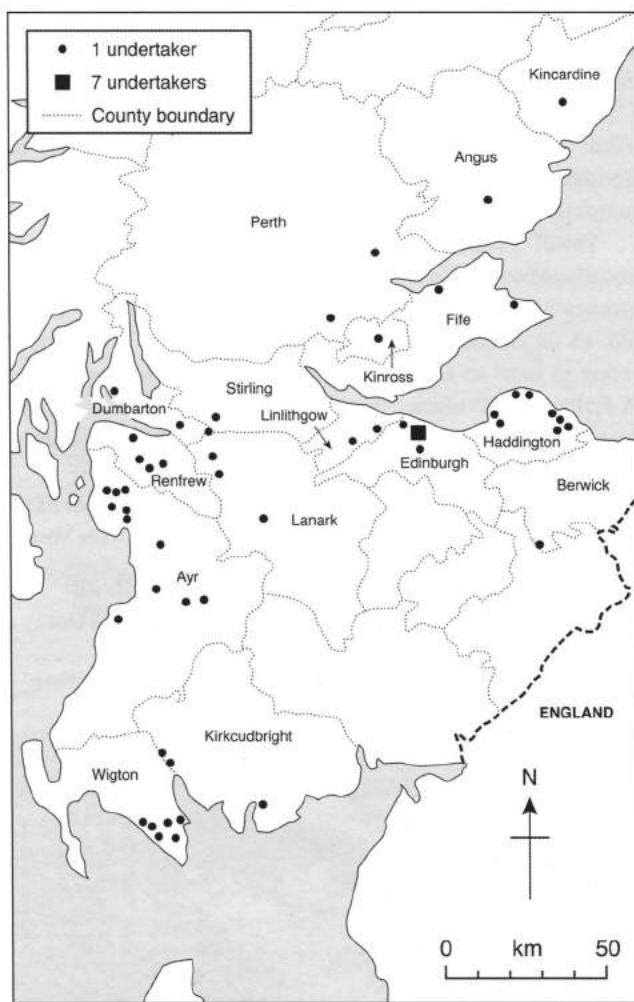
Map 3: merger of Vowel 18 with Vowel 12 as [ɒ]: nil phonemes in polyphoneme A (LAS3: Map S23 – © the estate of the late Hans Speitel, reproduced by kind permission of Pauline Cairns Speitel and James Mather



Note: Section 0 - the environment before /t/.

6 (e.g. *dew, due*), and loss of /j/ in some phonetic environments (e.g. *true, blue*). As well as OE ēow and word-final OF ū, it also contains, in some dialects, original Vowel 7 before voiceless velars, e.g. *pleuch* ‘plough’ and *heuk* ‘hook’. But in other dialects (West Central, northern East Central, as well as Ulster-Scots) these have /jʌ/, i.e. Vowel 19.

Map 4: the foci of Scottish migration to Ulster
(Perceval-Maxwell, 1973: Map ‘The origins of the
Scottish undertakers’, by kind permission of Prof.
Perceval-Maxwell)



A small number of Vowel 19 words have been captured by Vowel 15, e.g. *hinny* ‘honey’. Some originally Vowel 7 words, e.g. *mither* ‘mother’, *fit* ‘foot’, join this vowel by an early shortening to *u*, hence to /i/ as in *hinny*.²⁸

Vowel 17 has merged with a rounded Vowel 12 as [ɒ] in an area of southern East Central Scots and Southern Scots, cutting across the main dialect divisions (see Map 3). In West Central, there is a conditioned merger with Vowel 12 /ɔ/ before /r, rC, nd, l/.

Phonological Links

Ulster-Scots is, as Johnston points out, clearly a dialect of Central Scots.²⁹ The bulk of the Scots planters are known to have come from the west of Scotland (see Map 4), with the addition of lawless elements expelled from the Borders (Southern Scots). In the data we are examining here, there is little indication of an input from Southern Scots.

There is considerable regional variation within Ulster-Scots. Gregg mentions some features briefly, but concentrates mainly on mapping Scots forms in the aggregate against their English cognates, leaving much of his valuable data to speak for itself.³⁰

In the present paper I compare Ulster-Scots and Lowland Scots in terms of the main differentiae of Scots dialect phonology (the splits, mergers and sound changes that affect large parts of the vocabulary), and also examine the LAS3 maps for peculiarities shared between Ulster-Scots and particular Lowland Scots dialects. (Constraints of time preclude a full examination of the LAS3 lists.) I have also examined the LAS3 data for evidence relevant to Gregg’s interpretation of the distribution of long and short reflexes of Vowel 1 in Ulster-Scots.

Shared with Central Scots (Central includes South-West):

- merger of Vowel 3, e.g. *cheat*, with Vowel 2 as /i/ (except Wigtownshire)
- /jɪ/ for initial /e/ Vowel 4 as in *yin* ‘one’ (see LAS3 Map W144), coexisting in Ulster-Scots with *wan*
- West Central and South-West /ɔ/, /ɑ/ Vowel 12 after /w, m/, e.g. *twa* ‘two’, *awa* ‘away’, as opposed to Southern Scots /e/ Vowel 4³¹
- individual peculiarities of lexical incidence (based on LAS3 Maps, checked against Lists):

W10 *wet* with /a/, as opposed to *weet* elsewhere in Scots

W12 *sat* with /ʌ/

W85 *drove* (past tense of *drive*) with /i/ (coexisting in West Central and South-West with usual Scots *drave*, and possibly representing an East Midland English form transmitted from Ulster)

W88 *live* with archaic /i/

W103 *came* (past tense of *come*) with /ʌ/.

Shared with South-West Scots:

- merger of Vowel 3, e.g. *cheat*, with Vowel 4 as /e/ in Wigtownshire
- /ɑ/ for Vowel 12, e.g. *snow, all*
- /i/ for Vowel 7, e.g. *moor, moon*
- individual peculiarities of lexical incidence (based on LAS3 Maps, checked against Lists):

W18 *doit* ‘a fool’ with /o/

W25 *wade* with /a/ (only recorded from the late 19th century on)

W53 *weigh* with /əi/

W89 *has* with archaic /ɛ/

W92 *poison* with /ʌ/, and with /oe/ (the latter apparently a loan from English)³²

W106 *loup* ‘to leap’ with /u/ (apparently a hyperadaptive form on the analogy of *house = hoose*, etc. This occurs in only one South-West locality, where it may be an influence from Ulster.)

W126 *wale* ‘to select’ with /a/ Vowel 12

W171 *voice* with /oe/ (in much of Lowland Scots captured by /əi/ Vowel 10)

- Hiberno-English shares with the South-West a rounded realisation of Vowel 19 /ʌ/ as [ö], an archaism found also in Insular Scots, but not in Ulster-Scots. As Milroy points out,

Most Ulster dialect has less rounding and raising in this

vowel than does W[i]gt[ownshire], and the feature is characteristic of S[southern] Hib[erno-] English³³, perhaps implying that its retention could be a Hiberno-English influence on Wigtownshire, brought by seasonal migrant labour. It has been suggested that a rounded realisation may have been variably present in much of Scots at quite a late date³⁴, but it seems to me more likely that 18th-century reports of rounded realisations in Scottish Standard English represent hyperadaptive attempts at contemporary English pronunciation³⁵. The lack of rounding in Ulster-Scots is an argument in favour of early and widespread unrounding in Lowland Scots.

Shared with West Central Scots:

- /ɔ/ for Vowel 12, e.g. *snow, all*
- /ɪ/ for Vowel 7, e.g. *moor, moon*
- the development of Vowel 7 before velars to /ʌ/ (*LAS3* Maps W112 *hook*, W119 *look*; *LAS3* Lists *enough, rough, tough*)
- the unrounding of Vowel 18 to merge with Vowel 17 before labials, e.g. W105 *hop* with /a/ (W104 *crop* shows this change spreading into the South-West)
- individual peculiarities of lexical incidence (based on *LAS3* Maps, checked against Lists):

W69 *fir*³⁶, W70 *firth* with /ʌ/, and similarly W72 *earth* (assuming an underlying /ɪ/)

W72 *earth* with /ɪ/

W92 *poison* with /ɪ/

W118 *dog* with /ʌ/ (apparently West Central spreading into the South-West)

W165 *wish* with /i/ (recent, and possibly an influence from Hiberno-English)

Shared with Southern Scots:

- individual peculiarity of lexical incidence (based on *LAS3* Maps, checked against Lists):

W175 *leuch* (past tense of *lauch*) ‘laugh’ with /a/ Vowel 12 (as in the infinitive) in one locality each, possibly independently

• Milroy notes the lowering of /e/ to /a, æ/ in certain positions, notably before voiceless stops, ‘quite systematically in East Ulster speech including Belfast’, and links this with Galloway³⁷. In fact, the lowering of /e/ (in all environments) is characteristic of Southern Scots (eastern Dumfriesshire rather than Galloway) (cf. *LAS3* localities 25.5-25.7). Johnston likewise attempts to relate Ulster pronunciations to his ‘Border Scots Counter-Clockwise Vowel Shift’³⁸. The lowering of /e/ is the only part of the shift peculiar to Southern Scots. In Ulster-Scots, *LAS3* shows the conditioned lowering that Milroy discusses only for one county Down locality (Ballywalter, 29.2); there is no trace in Gregg (cf. List 4: *flat, matter, Saturday* with Scots /e/). It is therefore doubtful whether it is a native characteristic of Ulster-Scots, or rather an urban feature spreading from Belfast. As noted above, Milroy and Johnston arrive at their interpretation because of their failure to distinguish within East Ulster between Hiberno-English and Ulster-Scots.

Shared with Northern and Insular Scots

Strikingly often, the Ulster forms are shared also with Caithness and/or fishing villages from the Moray Firth northwards, and/or Insular Scots (Orkney and/or Shetland).

This applies to some archaic items (unvocalised /al/, /e/ in *has*) which might be expected to have a peripheral geographical distribution³⁹, but also to recent and sometimes irregular items such as /a/ in *wade*, /u/ in *loup* and also *doup* (Ulster and Orkney), and /a/ in *work* verb (see Table 3)⁴⁰. *Ould* etc. and *wan* are discussed further below.

Johnston mentions various possible Gaelic influences, a number of which are shared by East Ulster and north Northern Scots or other Highland Line localities⁴¹. As is sometimes remarked, the Caithness accent even sounds like a county Antrim or Belfast accent⁴². To some extent, these similarities have to be put down to a combination of peripheral archaism, Scottish Gaelic/Irish influence, and sheer coincidence (for which, as a lexicographer, I have a healthy respect), but the possibility of contact also deserves to be explored in future research. One possibility is a mingling of migrant agricultural workers from the north of Scotland with those from Ireland in the large farms of Central Scotland in the 18th and 19th centuries⁴³. There were certainly maritime contacts⁴⁴, such as the annual migration of county Donegal women to the fish-gutting in Shetland⁴⁵, and the reverse movement of fishermen from the Moray Firth:

with the opening of the Caledonian Canal there was a very regular west coast fishing by the fleets of the inner Moray Firth – Avoch, Hopeman, Buckie – which also extended to Buncrana (Donegal)⁴⁶.

Some Vocalic Developments in More Detail

Ould ‘old’

This brings us to the variant development of /ald/ to /əuld/ etc., which occurs in Ulster alongside the normal development to Vowel 12, and also, as we saw above, in peripheral dialects in Scotland (see *LAS3* W137 *cold*), again alongside the expected development. If the /əuld/ forms were found only in Ulster and adjacent areas of the West of Scotland, we would probably have no hesitation in seeing these as Hiberno-English forms (of English West Midlands origin). Gregg writes:

The competing forms with [əld/] crop up in only a few words in a few places in Ulster and always in addition to the [əuld]-forms. Mostly there is a semantic difference between the two forms so that they are not actually in competition with one another. The [əld]-form of *old* suggests familiarity and affection Similar semantic oppositions are valid for [kal/] versus [kəul/], meaning *cold*⁴⁷.

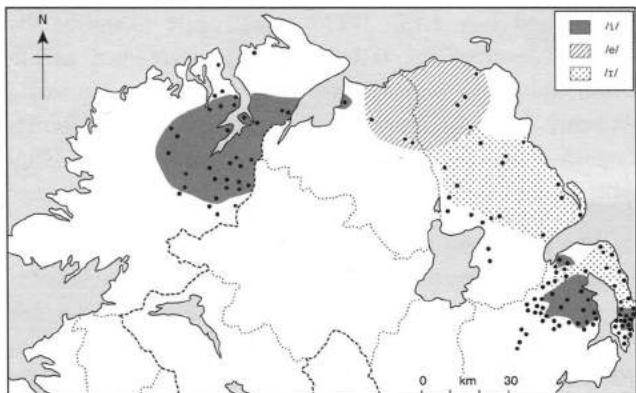
Such reallocation is typically to be expected when more than one alternative survives a situation of dialect contact, in this case (we might speculate) between Hiberno-English and Ulster-Scots⁴⁸. However, the Lowland Scots distribution has to be accounted for. Gregg sees the /əu/ form as archaic Scots, and is followed in this by Aitken⁴⁹. However, the argument for this being a survival is based on geography alone. Unlike a clear relic such as /al/ ‘all’ etc. in Donegal, Caithness and Insular Scots, there is no convincing contemporary evidence for *ould* in earlier periods when it is supposed to have been more widespread in Lowland Scots, nor is it a necessary stage in the development of the regular Modern Scots forms.

Rather it is supposed that it was an alternative development, later replaced. Johnston suggests⁵⁰ that there must be *some* influence from dialects of England, via Hiberno-English, even if only reinforcement, and that we may even have to see the eastern and western developments as separate phenomena in Scotland, with occurrences in Kintyre, South-West Scotland and Glasgow coming from, or at least reinforced by contact with, Ulster. Older Scots spelling throws little light on the matter: the few <o(u)> spellings that occur are late enough to be anglicisations⁵¹.

Wan ‘one’

A similar case is the form *wan* ‘one’, found in Modern Scots especially in West Central, but also Edinburgh, and in Wigtownshire, Insular Scots, Caithness and the Inner Moray Firth (*SND* s.v. *wan*; *LAS3* Map W144). This is a widespread Ulster form, not only Ulster-Scots⁵², and its mainly western distribution in Lowland Scots would immediately suggest influence from Ulster – perhaps originally an English dialectal form (cf. Somerset and Devon [wæn] (*EDD*))⁵³ – were it not that *wan* also occurs as a rare form in Older Scots (*DOST* s.v. *wan*)⁵⁴. These instances are mainly 17th century, from East Central Scots as well as Orkney, and Highland English. Particularly intriguing are two early citations, from John of Ireland (1490) and the Maitland Folio MS (a 1570–1586). These all speak against an Ulster source. On this basis, Aitken is again inclined to regard *wan* as a relic in Lowland Scots, and he reconstructs a possible route from earlier /a:n/⁵⁵. It is also conceivable that *wan* is an interdialectal blend of English *one* and Scots *ane*. Again, reinforcement from Ulster is possible and indeed likely in the West of Scotland.

Map 5: Ulster-Scots reflexes of Vowel 7 in *abuin* ‘above’ (based on Gregg, 1985: Lists)



Vowel 7, reflexes of /ə/

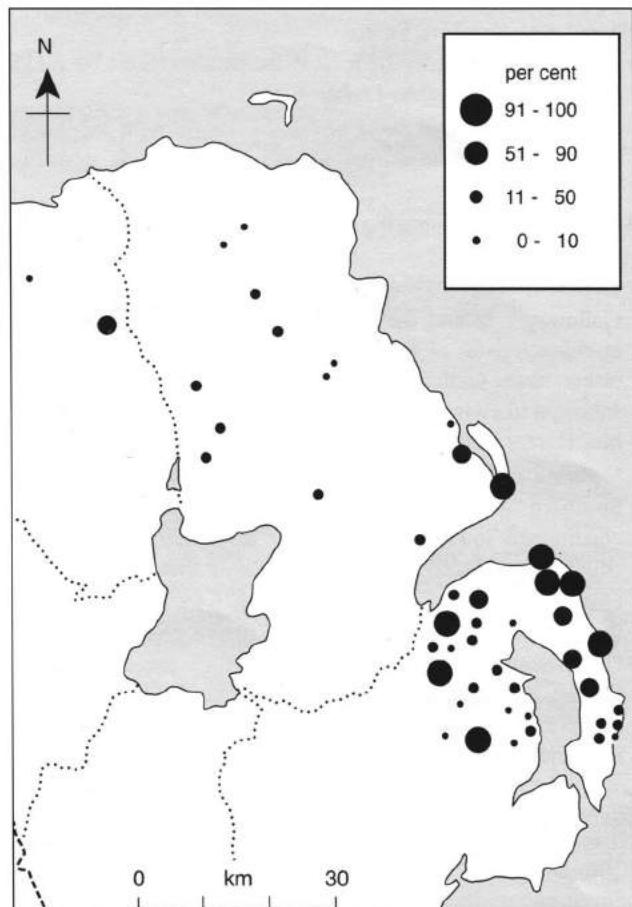
The Ulster reflexes of Vowel 7 appear to reflect a mixture of source dialects. Map 5, based on Gregg (cf. *LAS3* Map W150), shows the forms of *abuin* ‘above’⁵⁶. We find /əbin/ in south Down and Donegal, /əben/ in north Antrim and Londonderry, and /əbm/ elsewhere. As noted above, /əbin/ appears to have its origin in South-West Scots (Map 2). It appears that unrounding to /i/ dates back to the late 15th century in the North-East of Scotland⁵⁷, but there is no indication of the date of unrounding in the South-West. As Gregg points out⁵⁸, the /i/ areas were planted early and are further removed from contact with Scotland (in the case of county Down, from the ports of Donaghadee and Bangor), so this is probably the most archaic (surviving) form, undergoing replacement by /ɪ/⁵⁹.

Apart from relics of /i/, /əbin/ is now the SVLR-short outcome in the South-West as well as in West Central and southern East Central Scots, so its presence in Ulster is easily accounted for. The earliest evidence for a split between Vowels 15 and 4 dates from 1635 for /i/ and 1674 for /e/ in West Central⁶⁰. In the South-West, *LAS3* indicates that this /i/ generally remains separate from Vowel 15, the latter as [ɛ]. In Ulster too, *LAS3* sometimes shows this distinction in at least some environments (cf. 29.4 Ballyhalbert, 30.4 Cashel, 30.5 Kells). Gregg found merger with Vowel 15 only sporadically for certain items, and as the normal outcome only for a single county Down speaker⁶¹.

The form /əben/ is found in Lowland Scots in northern East Central, not a significant source of migration. Unrounding to /e/ can be dated to the end of the 16th century, but contemporary evidence is scant⁶². Gregg suggests that Ulster-Scots /e/ is a local development from /i/, citing an [e] realisation of unstressed /i/⁶³. The remaining possibility is that the unrounding to /e/ is an independent development in Ulster, from an earlier /ə/⁶⁴. Given the early date of settlement, it is likely that unrounding was incomplete in some of the source dialects, as it still is in *LAS3* data for Southern Scots. Even in Edinburgh, some words apparently retained /ə/ [ə, y] as late as the 1870s⁶⁵. The /əbuŋ/ form of *abune* (sporadically on the periphery of Ulster-Scots in Gregg’s data: see Lists and Map p. 82) is a spelling pronunciation.

A split to merge with Vowel 15 in short environments and Vowel 4 in long environments must follow the establishment

Map 6: unrounded and rounded reflexes of Vowel 12 in eastern Ulster-Scots (based on Gregg, 1985: Lists)



of the SVLR, but SVLR does not mean that there has to be a split: this depends rather on a phonetic distance between the long and short allophones. An independent unrounding to /e/ in all environments could have taken place at any point. An independent interaction with SVLR is also a possibility. In both the localities that show /e/ for *abuin* in *LAS3* (30.2 Ballymoney, 30.3 Lavan), the vowel is long, as are several other vowels in this environment. Gregg's 1985 lists provide further lexical items taking /e/, mainly also before /n/, but also before /l/ (Antrim 3 and 4 *school*, Londonderry 1 and 3 *school* and *stool*), which again tends to be an additional lengthening environment. However, /e/ also occurs rarely in *just* (Antrim 1 and 2) and *good* (Londonderry 3). Elsewhere, /e/ in *abuin* coexists with /ɪ/ in *good*. Some data, then, point towards a split, as in West Central Scots, but with an independent allocation of long and short environments; other data is towards /e/ throughout.

Vowel 12 /a/ or /ɔ/

The reflex of Vowel 12 as in *cause* is predominantly unrounded in most of the Ulster-Scots area (and merged with Vowel 17 as in *cat*), but almost all points show some rounded forms, and the predominant form is rounded in a small area around Belfast Lough, with a finger stretching south down the main Belfast-Downpatrick route (as well as an isolated occurrence in county Londonderry) (see Map 6). This could represent a mixed input: /ɔ/ is the present West Central form, and /a/ occurs in most of the South-West. However, the geographical configuration suggests that it is a later importation from Scotland. The date of the rounding in Lowland Scots is uncertain⁶⁶.

The hypothesis of a later intrusion of /ɔ/ would perhaps explain Ulster-Scots *form* 'farm'⁶⁷. Gregg must have been uncertain how to interpret this, as he departs from his usual practice of mapping all Ulster-Scots forms against all English forms, and maps *form* separately. It occurs on the edges of the Ulster-Scots area, almost entirely in the county Down, and appears to confirm Trudgill's point that in situations of dialect contact, interdialect forms arise that are derivable from neither variety⁶⁸. It must be a local development of Scots or English *farm* (Ulster-Scots otherwise has the more usual Scots *ferm*).

Figure 1: Possible development of *farm* to *form*

Stage 1 →	Stage 2 →	Stage 3 →	Stage 4
Older Scots	Ulster-Scots		co. Down
Vowel 17 [a ~ ə] <i>farm</i>	Vowel 17/12 [a] <i>farm</i>	Vowel 12 [a ~ ɔ] * <i>faurm</i>	Vowel 12/18 [ɔ] <i>form</i>

Figure 1 suggests a possible route from *farm* to *form*. As we saw, unrounded Vowel 12 is merged in Ulster-Scots with Vowel 17 as [a, a]. When rounded Vowel 12 /ɔ/ was introduced, an erroneous /ɔ/ form of *farm* was created. The situation is further complicated by the fact that /ɔ/ already existed as the realisation of Vowel 18 (as in *cot*, *cord*) in some environments, including before /t/. The lexical membership of /ɔ/ is unstable in this environment, and overlaps with the membership of /o/, but overall it appears that /o/ represents Vowel 5 (as in *before*) plus part of the inventory of Vowel 18, which has partly merged with it (see above), while /ɔ/

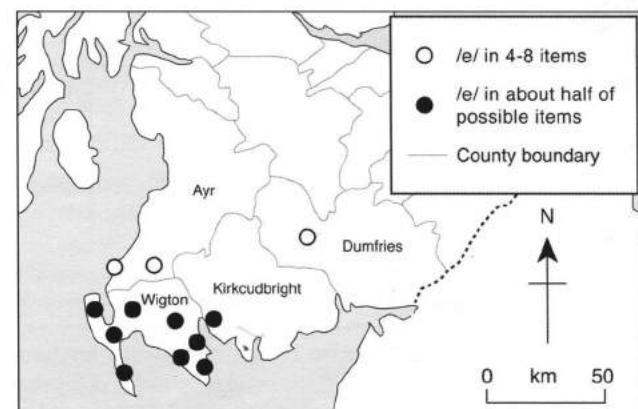
represents a residue of Vowel 18 (with not infrequent captures of Vowel 5). Hence the spellings in <o>, appropriate to Vowel 18. The confused state of the lexical inventories is illustrated in Table 3, which takes the *LAS3* data for one Ulster-Scots locality and adds the historical vowel numbers.

There are some other isolated captures or transfers of lexis from Vowel 17 to rounded Vowel 12, for instance in *work* noun (Scots *wark*) in a single county Antrim locality (*LAS3* Map W77). This word also has Vowel 12 in Central and Southern Scots (*CSD*), presumably originating by reinterpretation in dialects adjacent to the area where Vowel 17 merges with Vowel 12 as [ɒ] (see Map 3). Another Ulster example may be the change of *marrow* 'a match, to exchange help with agricultural tasks' to *morrow* (*CSD*, *CUD*)⁶⁹.

Vowel 3 /i/ or /e/

In Ulster-Scots, Vowel 3 is normally merged with Vowel 2 as /i/, not, as in Hiberno-English, with Vowel 4 as /e/. There are lexical exceptions as in Central Scots, but also unexpected /e/ forms, linking up with a cluster of /e/ localities in Wigtownshire and adjacent parts of Kirkcudbrightshire and Ayrshire (see Map 7).

Map 7: /e/ reflexes of Vowel 3 in the South-West of Scotland (based on LAS3 lists)



Notes: other localities in Kirkcudbrightshire, Dumfriesshire, south Lanarkshire and Roxburghshire frequently have /e/ in *meal* 'repast', and occasionally in other items.

At first sight, it would be tempting to interpret these forms, on both sides of the Irish Sea, as intrusions from Hiberno-English. However, Milroy argues that the /e/ variants are native to Ulster-Scots, originating in South-West Scots⁷⁰. He points to /e/ forms in words such as *head* and *deaf* in East Ulster, which do not occur in Hiberno-English, because of shortening in English (see also above), but do occur in Wigtownshire. As it happens, neither *LAS3* nor Gregg 1985 records /e/ in such words in rural Ulster-Scots, although two of *LAS3*'s Hiberno-English localities have /e/ in *lead* noun⁷¹. Gregg does not give complete data for Vowel 3 words, but he

evidently expected /e/ in some items where it is not general in Scots (e.g. *beak, beast, cheat, cream, Easter, neat, reaper, treat* in List 10), but did not report the results. The LAS3 data are set out in Table 2.

Table 2: /e/ in Vowel 3 in South-West Scots and Ulster-Scots (based on LAS3 Lists)

neither	both	South-West only	Ulster only
sweat	cheat	<i>head</i>	meat
lead v.	pear	<i>bread</i>	heat
swear	bear v.	<i>dead</i>	wheat
steam	heap	<i>lead n.</i>	tea
east	cream	<i>thread</i>	pea
	speak	fear	pease
	meal (repast)	wear	leave
	steal	mare	breathe
	lean adj.	please	beak
	peace	deave	break***
	beast	dream	meal (flour)
	aneath*	leak**	bean
	yeast	beal	mean
		creash	clean
		leaf	
		deaf	
		least	

Notes:

Italicised items take /e/ in Standard English.

/e/ also occurs in the following words: *beat, great, flea, bear n., beard, cheap, weak, heal, deaf, breath*. These have /e/ generally in Scots.

No /e/ forms occur for *knead* or *tread* (Scots /e/) or *hear, reap, seal v., scene* (Scots /i/).

* *aneath* has an uncharacteristic distribution in South-West Scots, being found only in a small cluster of localities in Kirkcudbrightshire and Dumfriesshire (see LAS3: map W160).

** *leak* also has /e/ in Scotland and Ulster; cf. *break*.

*** *break* usually has /e/ in Scots.

All of LAS3's eight Ulster-Scots localities show a mixture of /i/ and /e/ forms. We do not find, as with Vowel 7, different geographical distributions for the different reflexes. The impression is of a complex ebb and flow of influences, with Hiberno-English perhaps reinforcing the adoption of some /e/ forms from the original mixture of inputs, and later reinforcing the survival of forms such as *tea* (universal in the LAS3 data for Ulster-Scots, but absent in Wigtownshire). Conversely, *deaf* with /i/ has spread into Hiberno-English (LAS3 Map W159).

Table 3: Overlapping lexical incidence of Vowels 17/12, 12/18 and 5 before /r/ in Ulster-Scots (data from LAS3 Lists: 29.1 Newtownards, county Down). The numbers after the lexical items indicate the vowels to which they historically belonged.

LAS 3 phoneme	Historical phoneme(s)	Lexical incidence
ä	17 a + 12 a	barn (17), barrel (17), barren (17), dark (17), far (17), hard (17), sark (17), war (17), waur (12), work n. (17), work v. (17)*
ɔ	18 o + 12 o	fourth (5), hoarse (4)**, horse (18), north (18), sort (18), where (12)
o	5 o	before (5), boar (4)**, bore (5), born (18), corn (18), horn (18), port (18), storm (18), worn (18)

Notes:

* By analogy with the noun. Also in Shetland (CSD). The verb is historically *wirk*.

** Anglicised forms.

Vowel 1: Additional Constraints on the Distribution of /ai/

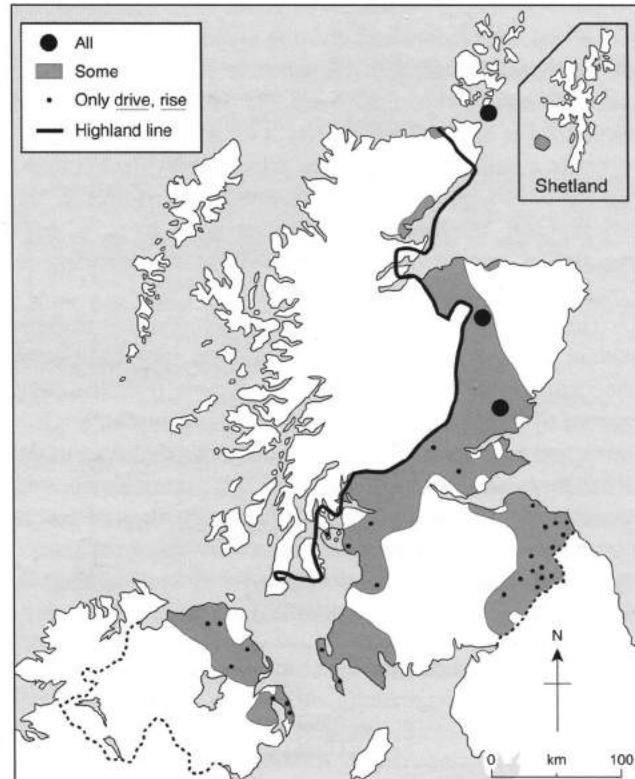
Gregg⁷² detected additional constraints in Ulster-Scots on the distribution of the lowered reflex of Vowel 1, as follows:

1. before voiced fricatives, weak verbs show the expected lowered reflex /ai/, e.g. *arrive, dive, revise, prise*; but strong verbs show unexpected /əi/, e.g. *drive, rise, strive, thrive*;
2. following /t/:

əi does not go to ai in any type of S[cotch]-I[rish] if the preceding segment is w. Thus letter 'y' is called wəi, and 'wise' is wəiz, even in spite of the final voiced fricative z. The forms wəi'r 'wire', ... 'choir' / 'quire', ... 'inquire', ... 'require', ... 'Maguire', show the same constraint, these latter being conspicuously deviant from the norm whereby the diphthong always precedes r, but is separated therefrom by a transitional ə, for example: daɪ'r 'dire', ...⁷³.

We shall consider these in turn.

Map 8: /əi/ reflexes of Vowel 1 before /v, z/



Drive, rise

LAS3 does not include any weak verbs in the relevant environment (before the voiced fricatives /v, z/), so Gregg's hypothesis cannot be tested for Lowland Scots. However, the strong verbs *drive* and *rise* do figure in the *LAS3* data, allowing us to say that there are areas around the periphery of Central Scots where /əi/ occurs in these two words (sometimes with the analogical addition of *raise* and *drove* verb), but not in other Vowel 1 words in the same environment (see Map 8), which is at least consistent with Gregg's interpretation of Ulster-Scots, though Aitken's pronunciation entries in *CSD* give no indication of unexpected /əi/ in *strive* or *thrive*. The geographical distribution of /əi/ forms of *drive* and *rise* in Lowland Scots suggests the remnant of a once-wider distribution, as does the larger penumbra of localities with /əi/ before /v, z/ in a wider range of vocabulary. At the time of the formation of Ulster-Scots, then, there may have been a more widespread retention of the conservative /əi/ form in the voiced fricative environment, but a predominance of the *drive/rise* pattern in the input dialects. As Gregg suggests, this retention may be owing to the influence of other /o/ preterite verbs such as *ride* and *write*⁷⁴. The analogy appears to have been taken further in Ulster-Scots and to have become systematised there into a grammatical constraint with the addition of other strong verbs. Particularly telling is Gregg's observation that *thrive* 'will always retain *əi* when the past tense is *θro:v*, but with speakers who have moved this verb into the weak class, *θrəiv* at the same time shifts to *θraiv* (past tense *θraivd*)'⁷⁵.

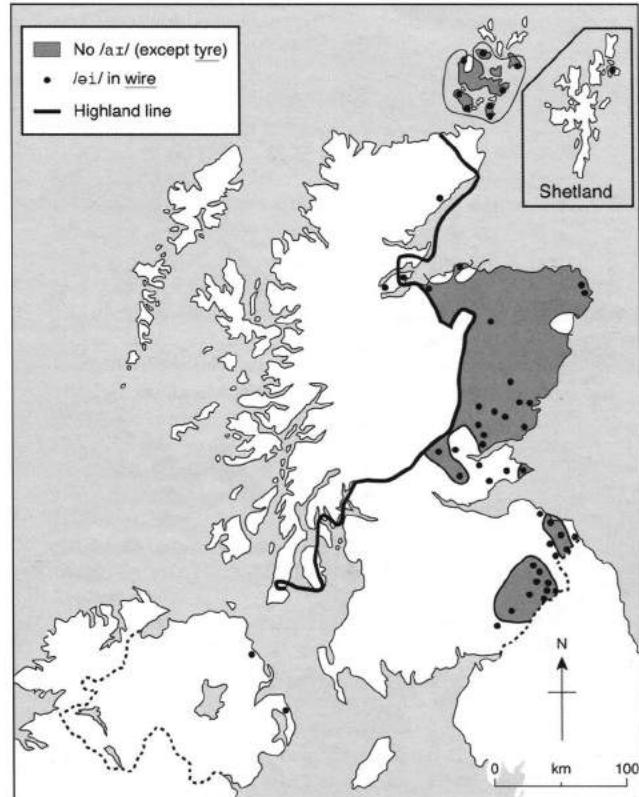
Wise, wire, why

The discussion of unexpected /əi/ following /w, ʍ/ is fraught with complications, as the lexical items involved often admit of other explanations. We must dismiss *wise*, for instance, for which the usual Scots form is *wyce* /wəɪs/. This is Gregg's only instance before a voiced fricative.

Many of the relevant items have following /r/, which is itself a conservative environment over large parts of the Lowlands, including much of Southern Scots (see Map 9). The only item in *LAS3* with both preceding /w, ʍ/ and following /r/ is *wire*. Apart from Ulster-Scots, the localities where *wire* has /əi/ are within or peripheral to the area where /əi/ is the normal reflex before /r/ (see Map 9)⁷⁶, suggesting that the preceding /w/ is of little significance in Lowland Scots, if any⁷⁷.

Gregg's morpheme-final examples are *y* (the letter) and *why*. The former seems to be peculiar to Ulster-Scots (it is not mentioned in *SND* s.v. *y*). In the 1973 article, he offers an alternative explanation for the latter, grouping it with a number of /əi/-final words that belong to Standard English as spoken in the Ulster-Scots area rather than to Ulster-Scots proper, e.g. *die* /dəi/ (Scots *dee* /di/). Presumably the confusion arose because the English model did not distinguish between the two diphthongs and therefore offered no guidance as to which was appropriate in these words. The surprising thing is not that such a confusion should have occurred (cf. the 18th century interdialectal forms of Scottish Standard English discussed in Macafee⁷⁸, on the basis of data from Jones, inter-

Map 9: /əi/ reflex of Vowel 1 before /r/, based on LAS3: Lists

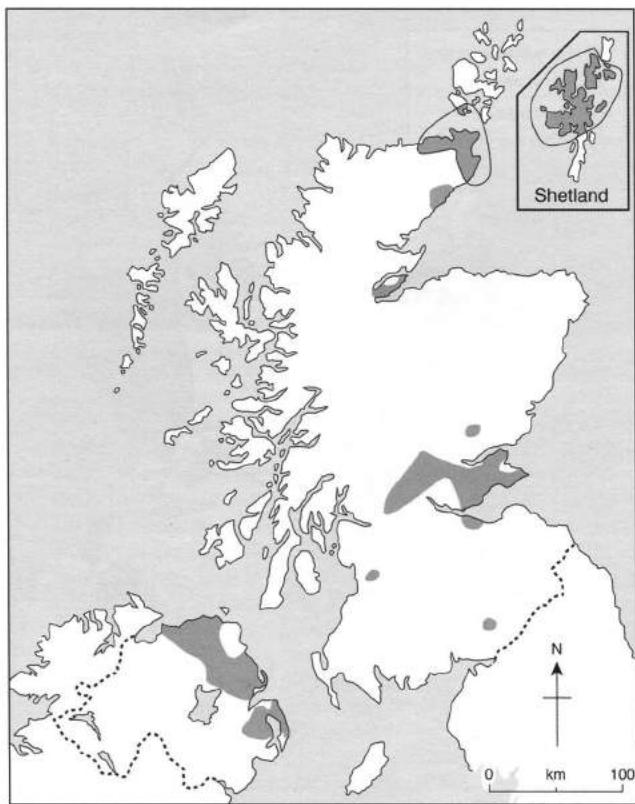


Note: in much of the North, *wire* takes the form *weer* with /i/.

alia), but that the interdialectal forms should have persisted. *Why* /məi/ was found in 18th-century Scottish Standard English, on the evidence of 'Aulaxaunder Scoat'⁷⁹.

LAS3 has only two words where morpheme-final Vowel 1 is preceded by /w, ʍ/. One of these, *quey*, we must dismiss, as its regular development to /kwəi/ throughout most of the Lowland Scots area (apart from North-Eastern *quoy*) suggests its early capture by Vowel 8, and indeed it appears with Vowel 8 items in the *LAS3* questionnaire⁸⁰. The remaining item is *why*. *LAS3* shows several clusters of /əi/ in *why* (see Map 10). Some of these are in the peripheral areas that we have already seen linked with Ulster-Scots, but another is centred on Fife. In the North-East, possibly because of greater confidence in the use of Scots, the interviewees tended to translate *why* as Scots *foo*. Gregg similarly regards *why* as the English for *what for*⁸¹. If *why* /məi/ is indeed an English (or rather interdialectal) intrusion into some Scots dialects, this presents a very interesting situation, for the word *why* certainly existed in Older Scots (*CSD* s.v. *why*). Of the replacement terms, *hoo* is recorded in this sense only from the 17th century, North-Eastern *foo* from the 19th, *what for* and *what way* from the 18th (*CSD*). Yet, if Gregg's interpretation is correct, these colloquial forms completely replaced the older word in Ulster and in much of Scotland north of the Forth, indicating the extent and rapidity of the restriction of Scots to colloquial registers. However, the distribution in Lowland Scots is also compatible with the interpretation that /məi/ is an archaism.

Map 10: /əi/ reflex of Vowel 1 in *why*, based on LAS3: Lists



Note: In the North-East, the reply *foo* was usual.

For the preceding /w, m/ environment, then, the evidence is inconclusive, but points to the apparent constraint in Ulster-Scots being a recent development, consisting mainly of /w, m/ in combination with following /r/, this perhaps being the most conservative /r/ environment in Lowland Scots also.

Conclusion

Ulster-Scots was formed at a period when Lowland Scots was undergoing important phonological changes, whose effect was to increase the differences amongst regional dialects. The patterning of variation within Ulster-Scots suggests that some dialect differentiae reflect variation in the sources, while others may have diffused to Ulster-Scots later. The variants found in Ulster-Scots can sometimes be useful in reconstructing the history of the source dialects. As we have seen, the combined data of Gregg (1985) and LAS3 give us a detailed picture of the sources of phonological variation in the dialects of Ulster-Scots, but there still remain mysteries to be solved.

Notes

- 1 Gregg, Robert J., 'The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster' in Wakelin, Martyn F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London: 1972), 109-139; Gregg, Robert J., *The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in the Province of Ulster* (Port Credit, 1985).
- 2 Gregg, op. cit. (1985).
- 3 Mather, James Y., and H. H. Speitel, *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland*. 3 volumes (London, 1975, 1977, 1986).
- 4 Johnston, Paul, 'Regional Variation' in Jones, Charles (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language* (Edinburgh, 1997), 443-513; Milroy, James, 'Some Connections between Galloway and Ulster Speech', *Scottish Language* 1 (1982), 23-29.
- 5 The polyphones are symbolised by capital letters, but this convention is used in a different way by Catford, and, following him, Johnston, to symbolise vowels additional to the basic system. Catford, J. C., 'Vowel Systems of Scots Dialects', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 107-117.
- 6 †Aitken, A. J., *The Older Scots Vowels: A History of the Stressed Vowels of Older Scots from the Beginnings to the Eighteenth Century*, Caroline Macafee (ed.), (Scottish Text Society, n.p., 2002); Johnston, op. cit.
- 7 Murray, J. A. H., *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (London, 1873).
- 8 Grant, William, 'Introduction', *The Scottish National Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1931).
- 9 Johnston, op. cit.
- 10 Aitken, A. J., 'Scottish Accents and Dialects' in Trudgill, Peter (ed.), *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1984), 94-114; Speitel, H. H., 'The Geographical Position of the Scots Dialect in Relation to the Highlands of Scotland' in Benskin, Michael, and M.L. Samuels (eds.), *So Many People, Longages, and Tongues: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh* (Edinburgh, 1981), 107-129.
- 11 Speitel, H. H., and James Y. Mather, 'Schottische Dialektologie' in Schmitt, L. E. (ed.), *Germanische Dialektologie: Festschrift für Walter Mitzka* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 520-541.
- 12 Riach, W. A. D., 'A Dialect Study of Comparative Areas in Galloway', *Scottish Literary Journal Supplement* 9 (1977), 1-16; *Supplement* 12 (1979), 43-60; *Scottish Language* 1 (1980), 13-22.
- 13 Milroy, op. cit., 28.
- 14 Macafee, Caroline, *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World: A Glasgow Case Study* (Frankfurt, 1994).
- 15 Knowles, G. O., 'The Nature of Phonological Variables in Scouse' in Trudgill, Peter (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* (London, 1978), 80-90.
- 16 Aitken, A. J., 'How to Pronounce Older Scots' in Aitken, A. J., et al. (eds.), *Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance* (Glasgow, 1977), 1-21; †Aitken, op. cit. (2002); Macafee, Caroline, and A. J. Aitken, 'The Phonology of Older Scots' in Corbett, John, J. Derrick McClure and Jane Stuart-Smith (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots* (Edinburgh, 2003), 138-169.
- 17 Aitken, A. J., 'The Scottish Vowel Length Rule' in Benskin, Michael, and M. L. Samuels (eds.), *So Many People, Longages and Tongues: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh* (Edinburgh, 1981), 131-157.
- 18 Harris, John, 'English in the North of Ireland' in Trudgill, Peter (ed.), *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1984), 115-134; Harris, John, *Phonological Variation and Change. Studies in Hiberno-English* (Cambridge, 1985).
- 19 Aitken, op. cit. (1981).
- 20 Gregg, Robert, 'The Diphthongs əi and əu in Scottish, Scotch-Irish and Canadian English', *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 18 (1973), 136-145.
- 21 Johnston, op. cit.; †Aitken, op. cit. (2002), §14.5.
- 22 Mather, James Y., 'The Dialect of the Eastern Borders', *Scottish Literary Journal Supplement* 12 (1980), 38-42.
- 23 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 5.
- 24 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 50.
- 25 Macafee, Caroline, 'Scots and Scottish English' in Hickey, Raymond (ed.), *Legacies of Colonial English* (Cambridge, 2004), 59-81.

- 26 Kohler, K. J., 'A Late Eighteenth-Century Comparison of the "provincial dialect of Scotland" and the "pure dialect"', *Linguistics* 23 (1996), 30-68; Abercrombie, David, 'The Accents of Standard English in Scotland' in Aitken, A. J., and Tom McArthur (eds.), *Languages of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), 68-84.
- 27 Gregg, op. cit. (1985).
- 28 †Aitken, op. cit. (2002), §16.1.
- 29 Johnston, op. cit.
- 30 Gregg, op. cit. (1985).
- 31 Gregg notes that some speakers have /ɔ/ in these words but not in other Vowel 12 items, and regards this as a local development, but this seems unnecessary given the Lowland Scots precedent; see Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 56.
- 32 This word has extremely varied outcomes in Scots, but the other forms lacking expected Vowel 10 can probably all be referred to an underlying Vowel 7.
- 33 Milroy, op. cit., 24.
- 34 †Aitken, op. cit. (2002), 23.
- 35 Macafee, Caroline, 'The Impact of Anglicisation on the Phonology of Scots: a Keethin Sicht' in Lenz, Katya, and Ruth Möhlig (eds.), *Of dyuersitie & chaunge of langage. Essays Presented to Manfred Görlich on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Heidelberg, 2002), 240-256.
- 36 The distinction between *fir* and *fur* is not always maintained.
- 37 Milroy, op. cit., 25.
- 38 Johnston, op. cit.
- 39 Petty, K. M., *The Study of Dialect: An Introduction to Dialectology* (London: 1980).
- 40 Millar also identifies a body of lexis in CSD which has a distribution down the East Coast and also in the North, the South-West and often Ulster, but this is a wide grouping that takes in much of the Scots-speaking area; Millar, Robert McColl, 'Some Geographic and Cultural Patterns in the Lexical/Semantic Structure of Scots', *Northern Scotland* 18 (1999), 55-65.
- 41 Johnston, op. cit., *passim*.
- 42 For instance, Johnston, op. cit., 447.
- 43 Collins, E. J. T., 'Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 29 (1976), 38-59.
- 44 Johnston (op. cit., 63) suggests that there may have been 'a seventeenth-century koiné of some kind, possibly a maritime one which would spring up in sailor and fisher communities', but this is mere speculation.
- 45 Bell, Jonathan, 'Donegal Women as Migrant Workers in Scotland', *Review of Scottish Culture* 7 (1991), 73-80.
- 46 Mather, James, Y., 'Linguistic Geography and the Traditional Drift-Net Fishery of the Scottish East Coast' in Wakelin, Martyn F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, 1972), 7-31.
- 47 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 4, 5.
- 48 Trudgill, Peter, *Dialects in Contact* (Oxford, 1986); Britain, David, and Peter Trudgill, 'Migration, Dialect Contact, New Dialect Formation and Re-allocation: Canadian Raising in England', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 97 (1999), 245-256.
- 49 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 4, 5; Johnston, op. cit., 489; †Aitken, op. cit. (2002).
- 50 Johnston, op. cit., 489.
- 51 †Aitken, op. cit. (2002), §10.
- 52 Adams, G. Brendan, 'Patterns of Word Distribution', *Ulster Folk Life* 2 (1956), 6-13.
- 53 An etymology from Irish has also been suggested; cf. Adams, op. cit., 10.
- 54 I am grateful to Marace Dureau for providing me with then unpublished DOST materials.
- 55 †Aitken, op. cit. (2002), note 51.
- 56 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), list 2, item 48.
- 57 Dieth, Eugen, *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect* (Cambridge, 1932).
- 58 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 49.
- 59 Gregg, Robert J., 'Linguistic Change Observed: Three Types of Phonological Change in the Scotch-Irish Dialects' in Rigault, André, and René Charbonneau (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Phonetic Sciences. Held at the University of Montreal and McGill University 22-28 August 1971* (The Hague/Paris, 1972), 723.
- 60 Grant, William, and James Main Dixon, *Manual of Modern Scots* (Cambridge, 1921), §151. Since the earliest evidence of unrounding to /i, e/ is from the West of Scotland, and there is late evidence for a rounded vowel in Edinburgh (see below), the innovation may have spread from West Central Scots, *pace* Gregg, 'Linguistic Change' (1972), 722.
- 61 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 49-51; words such as *foot* with /ɪ/ already in Middle Scots are a different case (see above).
- 62 †Aitken, op. cit. (2002), §7.1.
- 63 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), 50.
- 64 LAS3 shows a number of cases of a rounded realisation in Ulster Scots, but it is unlikely that these represent the survival of original rounded Vowel 7. For instance Kells (Antrim 5) has [ɛ] before /f/ (*luif* 'palm of the hand', *roof*), and this is also the realisation of Vowel 15 before /x/ (*bright*, etc.) In other cases, we have to suspect a fronted /u/ Vowel 6, representing the Standard English form, e.g. [y] in Ballymoney *boot*, *too*, etc. and /ø/ in Ballywalter *cure*, *moor*, although the possibility of survival cannot be entirely discounted.
- 65 Ellis, Alexander, *On Early English Pronunciation*, volume 5 (London, 1889), as cited Kohler, op. cit., and Speitel, H. H., 'An Early Specimen of Edinburgh Speech', *Work in Progress, Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, University of Edinburgh* 3 (1969), 26-36.
- 66 Discussed further in Macafee, op. cit. (2002).
- 67 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), Map 160, also Map p. 83.
- 68 Trudgill, op. cit.
- 69 Another intriguing case is that of *whan* (LAS3 W152 *when*). This map illustrates very well the weaknesses of the 'polyphoneme' system of presentation. A small number of localities in southern Scotland and one in north county Antrim are shown as having O. Phonetically O can be, for instance, [ɑ, ɔ, o]; phonemically it can be Vowel 17 (which may be merged with Vowel 12), Vowel 12, Vowel 5 (which may be merged with Vowel 18) or Vowel 18. In this case, it is most of the above. The impression of uniformity conveyed by the mapping of O is wholly misleading. In Lanarkshire and Berwickshire, it represents regular Vowel 17 *whan*, but merged with Vowel 12. Kirkcudbrightshire 1 has Vowel 12. A cluster of three localities in southern Dumfriesshire and Roxburghshire have Vowel 5/18 (apparently a unique survival of *quhone*, which is thought to have disappeared in the early 16th century). Which of these possible inputs, if any, is responsible for [ɔ] (Vowel 12? Vowel 18?) in county Antrim is anybody's guess.
- 70 Milroy, op. cit., 24.
- 71 The relevant LAS3 maps (W21, W22) are systematically misleading, showing Hiberno-English /e/ forms and Wigtonshire /e/ forms both as 'E'.
- 72 Gregg, Robert, 'Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect. Part 1: Synchronic Phonology', *Orbis* 7 (1958), 392-406; Gregg, op. cit. (1973); Gregg, op. cit. (1985).
- 73 Gregg, op. cit. (1973), 141.
- 74 Gregg, op. cit. (1985), I, 21.
- 75 Gregg, op. cit. (1973), 139-140.
- 76 *Ibid.*
- 77 The item *tyre* is often an exception, having /aɪ/ in many localities where /əɪ/ is otherwise general before /t/. The word did not occur in Older Scots, and appears to be a recent loan from Standard English, hence the irregular phonology.
- 78 Macafee, op. cit. (2004).
- 79 *The Contrast* (1779), reproduced and discussed in Jones, Charles, *A Language Suppressed. The Pronunciation of the Scots Language in the 18th Century* (Edinburgh, 1995), Table 7.1, Appendix 1.
- 80 In LAS3, /kwæ/ occurs in a few Roxburghshire localities, once in Morayshire, and in Orkney. CSD records it more widely, adding southern East Central and West Central.
- 81 Gregg, op. cit. (1973), 141.

Aspects of the Morphology and Syntax of Ulster-Scots

Michael Montgomery

Elsewhere in this volume can be found an extensive bibliography of published writing on Ulster-Scots, compiled and annotated by this author and John G. W. Erskine¹. The items noted there fall largely into four categories: 1) studies of pronunciation (represented most prominently and authoritatively by the work of Robert J. Gregg, as a result of which far more is known about the pronunciation of Ulster-Scots than about its other components); 2) works on vocabulary (including glossaries, local word-lists, word studies, and the like dating from the late 19th century); 3) studies of Ulster-Scots literature and culture, which provide larger contexts from the 18th century to the present for understanding traditional Ulster-Scots speech; and 4) items examining or inspired by the recent Ulster-Scots revival movement and the cultural and linguistic politics accompanying it over the past decade and a half.

Notably under-represented, however, is research on the grammar of Ulster-Scots. In his doctoral fieldwork Gregg investigated a cluster of grammatical forms – auxiliary and modal verbs and their negatives (*hae, cannae*, etc.), principal parts of verbs (*break, begin, give, take*, etc.), and combinations of modal auxiliary verbs and phrases and their negatives (*will can, 'll no can*, etc.) – because he anticipated that their patterning, like that of vowels and the consonant /x/ in *nicht, richt*, etc., would reveal a boundary between Ulster-Scots and Ulster-English speech areas. Gregg used that material with considerable success to achieve his mapping objectives and reproduced his raw data in its entirety in his published Ph.D. thesis². As invaluable as that material is, it includes only three small areas of grammar, with no structural analysis or commentary. Until the appearance in 1997 of Philip Robinson's volume *Ulster-Scots: A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language*³, which draws copiously on both excerption of historical sources (especially the work of 18th-/19th-century Rhyming Weaver poets) and observations of modern speech in Counties Antrim and Down, there was virtually no other information on the subject. Robinson's aim was mainly descriptive (to give the grammar of traditional Ulster-Scots long overdue, comprehensive attention), but also prescriptive (to set forth, especially with regard to orthography, a form that was reasoned and historically based, as an exercise in language planning and status building for Ulster-Scots). For reference purposes as well as for many others, Robinson's volume will remain a standard work for the foreseeable future.

Because otherwise grammatical patterns have received little attention, especially in a comparative framework, this writer has sought to expand the descriptive base of knowledge about contemporary Ulster-Scots by an in-depth investigation of morphological and syntactic features. The present survey details a number of these and, where appropriate, compares their patterning to Lowland Scots as well as to Ulster English and Irish English⁴. Although not motivated primarily by theoretical concerns, it proposes rules and generalizations where these are justified.

Found as it is in northern reaches of Ireland, Ulster-Scots descends originally from the speech of Lowland Scots who in the 17th century came to Ulster in several waves, crossing a channel which is barely twelve miles wide at its narrowest stretch⁵. It developed mainly as a 'variant of West-Mid Scots' from Ayrshire and Renfrewshire⁶, with additional elements also from the South Mid Scots of Galloway and Kirkcudbrightshire⁷. Subsequently Ulster-Scots has influenced, and been influenced by, varieties of English brought during the Plantation period originally to more interior parts of Ulster (principally from the northwest Midlands of England), and by the Irish language either directly or through varieties of English in Ulster. The Irish influence, which cannot always be distinguished from that produced by earlier, centuries-long contact in Scotland (e.g. *beltane* 'May 1' is documented as early as 1424, borrowed into Lowland Scots from Scottish Gaelic)⁸, is especially prominent in vocabulary⁹. It is unambiguous as well in pronunciation¹⁰ and in grammar directly or indirectly (as with the second-person plural pronoun *yous* and the habitual verb *be/bes*¹¹). These later influences from English and Irish and other developments are what distinguish Scots in Ulster from Scots in Scotland today. They are products of the most dynamic language contact zone in the British Isles over the past four hundred years (perhaps most dramatically in County Donegal)¹². Even in its most traditional form, Ulster-Scots has been far from the isolated, conservative variety suggested by the rural communities in which it is found today¹³.

Tens of thousands of people speaking Ulster-Scots or Scots-influenced Ulster English migrated to North America in the 18th century, as a result of which many grammatical patterns in American English can be traced to Ulster and from there ultimately to Scotland and northern England¹⁴. Historically speaking, Ulster formed an important linguistic bridge between Britain and North America¹⁵. Because Ulster-

Scots has steadily diverged from the mainland variety from which it sprang, especially to converge with Ulster English (and vice versa), the linguistic patterns of its most conservative speakers today cannot be assumed to reflect the emigrant language of more than two centuries ago without the confirmation of earlier historical sources from one or both sides of the water, such as emigrant letters, where this is possible¹⁶.

The present study is based on a series of elicitations conducted with nine native speakers of traditional Ulster-Scots in County Antrim whom the author met or developed friendship with in the course of research in Northern Ireland between 1997 and 2004. These individuals were Mr. James Fenton (a native of Ballinaloob and Drumlarragh townlands in north Antrim) and eight of his long-standing north Antrim and east Antrim consultants who participated in the project to collect traditional Ulster-Scots material that led to his dictionary, *The Hamely Tongue: A Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim*¹⁷. Fenton nominated these eight people from among the several dozen he had visited and interviewed for more than twenty years. In many ways ideal for the investigation undertaken here, these individuals were quick, confident, and certain in their judgments, having each responded to hundreds of queries by Fenton about the grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, semantics, and phraseology of traditional Ulster-Scots¹⁸. For the researcher they represented the best of both worlds, in that they were little traveled and close to their roots, but thoroughly accustomed to answering questions about their speech. Thus seasoned to the process of recalling, judging and articulating their own usage and that of their families and local communities, they needed no coaching in objectively contrasting their native speech habits with the Standard English used in wider spheres in the British Isles.

To queries about grammatical patterns respondents showed no overt effect (in the form of hesitation, self-correction, or otherwise) of the stigmatization of their speech by the educational system. Because their experience in the classroom would have taken place a half century or more earlier, this should probably not be a surprise. However, they were quite clearly aware of English as the tongue of power and authority; in Northern Ireland it is identified with Belfast and governmental and other institutions. Awareness of the difference in status was seen in their ability to style shift readily. One verity that researchers on Ulster-Scots (and no doubt other minority language varieties) discover is that speakers are guarded in the presence of, or especially when conversing with, strangers and often shift automatically to English. In conversational interaction before and after questioning, speakers in this study frequently pronounced words differently or used different forms when addressing the investigator than when addressing Fenton (e.g. *town* and *doesn't* in the former case, *toon* and *disnae* in the latter). The fact that all individuals in this study – among the most conservative one might hope to find – were multi-style speakers presented a classic case of the observer's paradox¹⁹, which was overcome through the mediation of Fenton. A vernacular native speaker himself, he assisted the investigator at all sessions (which usually took place in the living room of respondents) and introduced the investigator and briefly the object of his work to each respondent, but he intervened thereafter only when the process hit a snag of some kind. His many years of acquaintance with the speakers and his skill as

a fieldworker in his own right greatly facilitated this investigation, not least in keeping respondents at their ease. If the researcher, an American, had been on his own, he might have recorded any number of relatively informal interviews with speakers who were Ulster-Scots geographically speaking, but he would have gathered little actual Ulster-Scots²⁰.

All nine speakers had been born and raised in rural parts of the county and were over sixty years of age at the time of fieldwork. Most had received only primary-level education. The researcher had two basic goals. Because he was pursuing a long-term project to explore American historical links to local speech (to reconstruct how 18th-century Ulster emigrants spoke), many early questions that were asked concerned whether features of American English grammar were attested in Ulster-Scots. The relative unproductiveness of this line of inquiry and the realization that contemporary Ulster-Scots lacked detailed description for many grammatical features led to a shift to a second emphasis. The same basic approach was employed to gather data: asking speakers to judge the grammaticality/naturalness and in many cases the relative commonness of sentences exemplifying a wide range of morphological and especially syntactic phenomena.

Many constructions were presented in contrasting sets in order to explore specific points of grammar²¹. For example, speakers were asked to evaluate and compare 'the girl *wha sa me*', 'the girl *that sa me*' and 'the girl *at sa me*'²² to discover which pronoun form(s) in this context (human head-noun as subject of a restrictive relative clause) can be used in Ulster-Scots. When respondents accepted more than one alternative pattern, they were asked which was more common or preferable, in order to gauge variation within Ulster-Scots. Sometimes they identified a difference in meaning. While its methods of data collection were painstaking and a consensus was reached in nearly all cases of what represented the usual patterns of Ulster-Scots, there was somewhat less agreement about what did not conform. This situation reflects not an artefact of the methodology, but rather that some speakers had a mixed grammar for some features that was characterized by variation and on-going change. The minority forms that were thus revealed represent intrusions from either Standard English or from Ulster English into the speech of a seemingly homogenous group of conservative speakers (e.g. some respondents accepted *they wur* and not *they wuz*, but others accepted both, almost certainly because of the influence of Ulster English). These forms indicate that Ulster-Scots is, as suggested by the historical background sketched above, not a 'pure' variety today, if it ever has been. In other words, the elicitation procedures, while tapping perhaps the closest thing to traditional Ulster-Scots, was also able to detect considerable variability²³. This linguistic complexity of Ulster-Scots is presented in what follows as it was discovered by the procedures used, and Ulster-Scots is not presented as a uniform or idealized language, as is often done, even for urban language varieties²⁴. One must always remember that few, if any, people speak only Ulster-Scots and thus that for the speakers at hand as well as generally Ulster-Scots and Ulster English form a continuum. Even for older, rural, less-traveled speakers, variation in language may indicate change in progress, suggesting areas for future research to explore; Gregg recognized this fact in his study of the speech of his native Larne two generations ago.

In some cases speakers were asked to rephrase a sentence whose awkwardness they sensed in the course of elicitation, or they offered to rephrase a sentence without prompting, providing very useful insights and suggestions for further inquiry. Sometimes they were asked to translate a sentence from English, which they were always able to do unambiguously. All speakers were asked a core set of questions in the summer of 1997. Subsequently the investigation was expanded in several stages, to well over 300 sentences. Due to this length, the constraints of time and the mortality of three speakers, not all nine were queried with regard to every feature. Prepared sentences were often based on citation sentences from Fenton's dictionary or from other sources²⁵, in order to minimize unforeseen lexical, factual, or pragmatic anomalies, to ensure their vernacularity, and to avoid inadvertent mixtures of Ulster-Scots and Ulster English. Initial queries often formed points of departure for the fuller exploration of intuitions. The investigator allowed considerable opportunity for speakers to comment or elaborate on their responses and routinely pursued more detailed lines of inquiry of specific features when this proved productive. Much time was also spent in follow-up sessions comparing responses collected earlier. The data for this study required between twenty-five and thirty hours to collect.

This study concentrates on pronouns, verbal features and a variety of syntactic patterns; data on many other areas of interest (e.g. imperatives, multiple modal verbs) were collected but are not presented here. The consensus judgments of nine individuals, however skillful and uniform they may be as respondents, are not absolutely definitive, and there is no guarantee that a pattern rejected by all might not occasionally occur in Ulster-Scots speech (the findings here usually agree with and build on those presented in Robinson's grammar volume). The limitations of this investigation derive primarily from the smallness of the sample, but these have been counter-balanced by its fine-grained depth. In addition to addressing structural issues, such an exercise goes a long way to set Ulster-Scots in its proper comparative and historical contexts and identify grammatical features for treatment by the historical dictionary of Ulster-Scots being undertaken by the Ulster-Scots Language Society. It complements the data being gathered by the Tape-Recorded Survey of Ulster-Scots and the Ulster-Scots Text-Base, two of the Society's on-going work programmes.

1 Pronouns

1.1 Conjoining and Ordering of Personal Pronouns. In Ulster-Scots the accusative form of a personal pronoun (*me, her, him, us, or them*) is used as the subject of a clause only when joined with another personal pronoun (1a-4c), with a proper noun (5a-5c), or a common noun (6a-6c). This pattern is shared with many other varieties of Scots and English. In the present tense, the accompanying verb form with conjoined subjects in Ulster-Scots is usually *is* (often contracted to 's) rather than *ir*, or it takes the suffix -*s*; for further commentary on verb forms with these subjects, see §2.1.1. The ordering of pronouns is partially constrained, in that *me* tends to come first (thus, 3a, 4a, 5a and 6a are preferred to 3b, 4b, 5b and 6b).

- 1a) Them an iz is crakkin. 'They and we are chatting'. (Because of the fore-going consonant, the verb *iz* here tends not to be contracted, unlike elsewhere)

- 1b) Iz an them's crakkin. 'We and they are chatting'.
- 2a) Yous an iz is nixt tae them. 'You (plural) and we are next to them'.
- 2b) Iz an yous is nixt tae them. 'We and you (plural) are next to them'.
- 3a) Me an them's crakkin. (most common)
- 3b) Them and me's crakkin. (less common)
- 3c) Me an them ir crakkin. (least common)
- 4a) Me an hir eats oor dinner at six. 'She and I eat our dinner at six'. (most common)
- 4b) Hir an me eats oor dinner at six. (less common)
- 4c) Me an hir eat oor dinner at six. (least common)
- 5a) Me an John gaes oot ivery nicht. 'John and I go out every night'. (most common)
- 5b) John an me gaes oot ivery nicht. (less common)
- 5c) Me an John gae oot ivery nicht. (least common)
- 6a) Him an the three doags is awa agane. 'He and the three dogs have left again'. (more common than 6b)
- 6b) The three doags an him is awa agane. (less common than 6a)
- 6c) Him an the three doags ir awa agane. (least common)

1.2 Demonstrative Pronouns and Demonstrative Adjectives. Traditional Ulster-Scots employs *this, thon* and *that* as singular demonstratives. Representing a conflation of *thon* and *yon, thon* as both a pronoun and an adjective is shared with Lowland Scots and northern English and is first attested in both uses in Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808). How much older the form may be is unknown. Since it was found throughout Ulster by the end of the 19th century, it quite possibly arose in Scotland in the 18th century and spread to Ulster after the major influx of Scottish settlers in the 1600s²⁶. Murray speculates that *thon* is much older, from its occurrence by the late 19th century from Northumbria to the northernmost Scottish mainland²⁷. While both *that* and *thon* are equivalent to English *that*, they only partially overlap in function. *That* tends to refer to something more concrete and immediately at hand (8a), *thon* to something more distant from both the speaker and the hearer physically or psychologically in space or time (8b); in this regard the present survey confirms the difference cited by Robinson²⁸. Thus, *that* more often contrasts with *this*.

- 7a) Tak that wae ye. 'Take that with you'.
- 7b) Tak thon wae ye.
- 8a) That wuz a guid year (i.e. the one just past).
- 8b) Thon wuz a guid year (i.e. one many years ago).

Both *that* and *thon* function as singular demonstrative adjectives, frequently modifying *yin* 'one'.

- 9a) That yin isnae worth the money. 'That one isn't worth the money'.
- 9b) Thon yin isnae worth the money.
- 10a) That yin's guid. 'That one is good'.
- 10b) Thon yin's guid.
- 11a) Tak that yin wae ye. 'Take that one with you'.
- 11b) Tak thon yin wae ye.

Thon can function as a plural demonstrative adjective (12a-12c), but not as a plural demonstrative pronoun (12d-12f). On the other hand, *them* (the plural of *that* in modern Ulster-Scots) can function as either a pronoun (13a-13b) or an

adjective (13c-13d). *Those* is not used in traditional Ulster-Scots (14a-14b)²⁹. *Thir* ‘these’ and *thae* ‘those’ are forms found, for example, in the verse of James Orr (1770-1816) of Ballycarry and other Rhyming Weaver poets, but no longer in Ulster-Scots speech (*thae* remains in Lowland Scots, however³⁰).

- 12a) Thon yins isnae worth the money. ‘Those ones aren’t worth the money’.
- 12b) Thon yins is guid. (more common than 12c)
- 12c) Thon yins ir guid. (less common than 12b)
- 12d) *Thon isnae worth the money. ‘Those are not worth the money’.³¹
- 12e) *Thon’s guid. ‘Those are good’.
- 12f) *Thon ir guid. ‘Those are good’.
- 13a) Them isnae worth the money. ‘Those aren’t worth the money’.
- 13b) Them’s guid. ‘Those are good’.
- 13c) Them yins isnae worth the money.
- 13d) Them yins is guid.
- 14a) *Those yins is guid.
- 14b) *Those is guid.

In traditional Lowland Scots, according to Murray, *thon* corresponds to English *yon* and can participate in a three-way distinction between *this/that/yon* or *this one/that one/yon one*: ‘*thys* is used to identify the object nearest the speaker; *that* is used to identify the object nearest to the person spoken to; *thon* or *yon* is used to identify an object remote from both’³². Macafee likewise suggests that Lowland Scots today has a similar ‘distinction in the demonstrative system: *yon* [and *thon*] (singular and plural) expresses a further degree of physical or conceptual distance than *that* and *thae*³³. While *thon* may be used in Ulster-Scots to express relative remoteness, the third member of such a series when a three-way contrast is made is usually periphrastic, as by *this/that/the other*. Likewise, a speaker may use *thon yin* to single out one instance, item, etc., among others, but not to contrast with both *this yin* and *that yin*; in this case, *the ither yin* is used. Nor does Ulster-Scots make a three-way distinction corresponding in form to English *here/there/yonder*, expressing this instead as *here/thonner/awa thonner*.

In traditional Ulster-Scots *this* and *these* are both demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, usually functioning as singular and plural forms, respectively. Certain constructions permit only *this* (15a, 16a). *This* may be followed by a numeral (17a), but not modified by *a* ‘all’ (17b), in which case *these* is required (17c).

- 15a) He’s leevin here this years. ‘He has lived here these/several years’.
- 15b) *He’s leevin here these years. ‘He has lived here these/several years’.
- 16a) A’m waitin this oors. ‘I have been waiting several hours’.
- 16b) *A’m waitin these oors. ‘I have been waiting several hours’.
- 17a) A wrocht hard an sore this four/twa/mony years. ‘I worked hard and sore these four/two/many years’.
- 17b) *A wrocht hard an sore a’ this years.
- 17c) A wrocht hard an sore a’ these years.

Both *that* and *thon* can be used to introduce a statement

where English has *it* (18a-18b), but in some cases *it* with a post-posed *that* is an even more common alternative (18c).

- 18a) That’s a brave day. ‘It’s a fine day (today)’. (more common than 18b)
- 18b) Thon’s a brave day. (less common than 18a)
- 18c) It’s a brave day, that. (most common)

1.3 Relative Pronouns and Relative Clauses. The usual relative pronoun in Ulster-Scots, as in Lowland Scots, is *that* or *at*, regardless of whether the antecedent head-noun is human or not. *At*, which Murray calls ‘the simple Relative of the Scottish and Northern English dialects’,³⁴, represents either a form inherited from Old Norse, an elision of *that* (which is always unstressed), or both. *Wha*, *whas*, and *which* (but not *wham*) occur in Ulster-Scots as interrogative pronouns (*which* is less common than *what* as a modifier, as in ‘what book ir ye wantin?’, and *whilk* retains marginal usage in Lowland Scots. None of these forms is a relative pronoun in spoken Ulster-Scots. The *Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL)* describes *wha* as ‘literary and formal anglicized usage’, and Macafee notes at least a marginal use of *wha/whas* in modern Lowland Scots, apparently in-coming forms from English³⁵. *As* (and its contracted form *’s*) are found in many parts of England (especially the Midlands), but not among the Ulster-Scots speakers surveyed in this study (21d-21e)³⁶.

- 19a) It’s him that daen it. ‘It’s him who did it’.
- 19b) It’s him at daen it.
- 19c) *It’s him wha daen it. (but ‘Wha daen it?’)
- 20a) Thonner’s yer boy that A seen in the toon. ‘Yonder is the boy that I saw in town’.
- 20b) Thonner’s yer boy at A seen in the toon.
- 20c) *Thonner’s yer boy wha A seen in the toon.
- 21a) the girl that sa me. ‘the girl that saw me’
- 21b) the girl at sa me.
- 21c) *the girl wha sa me.
- 21d) *the girl as sa me.
- 21e) *A’s A hae is mae ain. ‘All that I have is my own’. (but ‘A’ A hae is mae ain’.)

The possessive forms of relative pronouns in Lowland Scots, according to Murray, are phrasal: ‘When the Relative is used in the Possessive Case (*whose*) it is necessary to express it by the conjunction *at* (*that*) and the possessive pronoun belonging to the antecedent; thus, “the man *at* hys weyfe’s deid”, the man whose wife is dead’³⁷. Patterns such as 22a-22b, 23a-23b, 24a-24b were rejected by the respondents in this study³⁸. Instead, they accepted *thats* and its variant *ats* as the usual possessive forms (22c-22d, 23c-23d, 24c-24d). According to *DSL* (s.v. *that*), *thats* derived historically from *that + his*, but the ‘s of *that (hi)s* was later construed as a possessive ending as in *its* (and presumably English *whose*) and came to be used with all head-nouns, whether singular or plural, male, female or neuter.

- 22a) *the lad that his book wuz prentit. ‘the boy whose book was printed’
- 22b) *the lad at his book wuz prentit.
- 22c) the lad thaths book wuz prentit.
- 22d) the lad ats book wuz prentit.
- 22e) *the lad whas book wuz prentit.
- 23a) *the wee lassie that hir da is deid. ‘the little girl whose

- father is dead'
- 23b) *the wee lassie at hir da is deid.
 23c) the wee lassie thaths da is deid.
 23d) the wee lassie ats da is deid.
 23e) *the wee lassie whas da is deid.
 24a) *the wains that their bus broke doon. 'the children whose bus broke down'
 24b) *the wains at their bus broke doon.
 24c) the wains thaths bus broke doon.
 24d) the wains ats bus broke doon.
 24e) *the wains whas bus broke doon.

In Ulster-Scots (as in Lowland Scots³⁹), the relative pronoun form is often absent even when representing the subject of the relative clause (omission when the direct object, as *the man A sa*, or the object of a preposition, as *the man A towl ye about*, is frequent even in formal varieties of English and Scots). Lack of the subject pronoun in Scots occurs particularly when the clause is existential (25a-25d)⁴⁰. Henry has identified four overlapping types of sentences in which omission is possible in 'Belfast English'⁴¹: 1) existential sentences; 2) *it*-cleft sentences; 3) equative sentences with a copula verb; and 4) presentational sentences that introduce a person or thing by such verbs as *know*, *meet*, etc. In Ulster-Scots as well, the pronoun is often or normally deleted in these four sentence types.

Existential sentences. In these the verb may be either transitive or intransitive in the simple past tense (25a-25b) or the simple present tense (25c-25d). As in English and Scots generally, *that* + a form of the auxiliary verb *be* may be deleted before a present participle (25e).

- 25a) There wuz a yell cat _ killed a power o mice. 'There was a yellow cat that killed a large number of mice'.
 25b) There wuz a yell cat _ aye sut on the sofa. 'There was a yellow cat that always sat on the sofa'.
 25c) There's a freen of mine _ eats nae beef. 'There is a friend of mine who eats no beef'.
 25d) There is a wunda _ lucks doon the road. 'There is a window that looks down the road'.
 25e) There wuz a yell cat _ aye sittin on the sofa. 'There was a yellow cat always sitting on the sofa'.

The verb may also be passive with either an overt auxiliary (26a), or, more commonly, with the relative clause reduced to the past participle (26b); a one-word adjectival complement may also follow the subject (26c). Speakers judged that neither pattern represented in 26a or 26b was as common as the non-existential alternative (26d).

- 26a) There's a wheen o prittas _ is spoilt. 'There are a lot of potatoes that are spoiled'. (less common than 26b and 26d)
 26b) There's a wheen o prittas _ spoilt. (less common than 26d)
 26c) There's some of the teachers _ cross. 'Some of the teachers are bad-tempered'.
 26d) A wheen o prittas is spoilt. (more common than 26a and 26b)

***It*-cleft sentences.** In these a simple sentence is transformed into a complex one by extracting a word or

phrase and giving it prominence by placement directly after *it's/it is*. For example, 'He wants his money' becomes 'It's his money (that) he wants'. This device is well known in Irish English⁴². When involving a personal pronoun, the form of the pronoun shifts from nominative to accusative (27a-27b).

- 27a) It's hir _ aye pays the bills. 'It's her that always pays the bills'. (if *hir* is stressed, then *that* may occur)
 27b) It's him _ daen it. 'It's him that did it'.
 27c) It's Pam _ aye maks mae dinner. 'It's Pam who always makes my dinner'.
 27d) It wuz Jim _ growed the flures. 'It was Jim who grew the flowers'.

Equative sentences with a copula verb.

- 28a) That's a doag _ wuz in mae shap. 'That's a dog that was in my shop'.
 28b) She's a wumman _'s ill tae get on wae. 'She's a woman who is difficult to get along with'.
 28c) He wuz a lad _ niver stapped takkin. 'He was a boy who never stopped talking'.

Presentational sentences.

- 29a) We met a man _ had a lock o money. 'We met a man who had a large quantity of money'. (more common than 30a)
 29b) A know a boady _ haes a lock o money. 'I know someone who has a large quantity of money'.

Henry concludes that 'it is, in fact, very difficult to characterize syntactically the class of contexts' in which such omissions are possible and that the constraints may not be syntactic at all⁴³. Rather, she proposes that what the four sentence types have in common is that they introduce new entities to a discourse. Whether such a function characterizes all possible cases of omission cannot be determined by a study such as hers or the present one, based as they are on eliciting judgments regarding individual sentences having no discourse context. Such a proposal is extremely broad, however, in that the introduction of new items into a discourse is probably the most common, if not the default, function of post-verbal noun phrases (direct objects, subject complements, and so forth), especially indefinite ones. The evidence from Ulster-Scots suggests that subject relative pronouns may be omitted in a wider range of contexts. For example, in presentational sentences head-nouns with omitted relatives may be definite as well (30a, 31a), although less accepted than sentences having an overt relative pronoun (30b, 31b).

- 30a) We met the man _ had a lock o money. 'We met the man who had a large quantity of money'. (less common than 29a or 30b)
 30b) We met the man that had a lock o money. (more common than 30a)
 31a) They caught the man _ stole mae car. 'They caught the man who stole my car'. (less common than 31b)
 31b) They caught the man that stole mae car. (more common than 31a)

Further, unlike in Belfast English as described by Henry, the relative pronoun in Ulster-Scots may be omitted even if the head-noun is the subject of a clause, as in 32a. Crucially it is the intonation contour of the elicitation prompt that

determines the acceptability of such a sentence; if ‘man’ in 32a is given level rather than falling intonation, ‘stole my car’ is more likely to be interpreted as having a relative clause.

- 32a) The man _ stole the car leeves nixt dorr. ‘The man who stole the car lives next door’. (occasional)
- 32b) The man that stole the car leeves nixt dorr. (usual)

2 Verbal Features.

2.1 Verbal Concord. Ulster-Scots follows the ‘Northern Subject Rule’ (NSR)⁴⁴, whereby a verb form in the present tense takes an -s suffix unless its subject is an adjacent simple personal pronoun; cf. 33a (with a common noun) and 33b (with an indefinite pronoun) to 33c (with a personal pronoun). This rule operated in Scots and Northern English by the 14th century and is undoubtedly much older⁴⁵. By analogy, *is* (34a) and *has/haes* (35a) follow the same constraint, which will henceforth be called ‘verbal -s’⁴⁶. In modern Ulster-Scots the NSR is less strict in the past tense, however (36a-36d), and when the subject consists of conjoined personal pronouns, *wur* is more common than *wuz* (41a-43b).

- 33a) The lads knows whun tae keep their mooths shut. ‘The boys know when to keep their mouths shut’.
- 33b) Some gaes and some stays. ‘Some go and some stay’.
- 33c) *They knows whun tae keep their mooths shut.
- 33d) They know whun tae keep their mooths shut.
- 34a) The wains is awa. ‘The children have left’.
- 34b) *They is awa.
- 34c) They ir awa.
- 35a) His big plans haes went aglee as usual. ‘His big plans have gone awry as usual’.
- 35b) *They haes went aglee as usual.
- 35c) They hae went aglee as usual.
- 36a) A can mine whun wains wuz different. ‘I can remember when children were different’. (more common than 36b)
- 36b) A can mine whun wains wur different. (less common than 36a, but *wur* is the normal form if the verb is stressed)
- 36c) They wuz different. (less common than 36d)
- 36d) They wur different. (more common than 36c)

2.1.1 Concord with Conjoined Pronouns. Following the NSR, verbal -s operates in the present tense with conjoined-pronoun subjects, whether the pronouns are singular or plural. However, when the verb is stressed, as in expressing emphasis or contrast (37c), this is no longer the case.

- 37a) Them and me’s crakkin. ‘They and I were chatting’. (less common than 37b)
- 37b) Me an them’s crakkin. (more common than 37a)
- 37c) Me an them ir crakkin. (less common/natural, but normal when *ir* is stressed)
- 38a) Me an hir eats oor dinner at six. ‘She and I eat our dinner at six’. (more common than 38b)
- 38b) Me an hir eat oor dinner at six. (less common than 38a)
- 39a) Me an John gaes oot ivery nicht. ‘John and he go out every night’. (more common than 39b)
- 39b) Me an John gae oot ivery nicht. (less common

than 39a)

- 40a) Iz an yous is nixt tae them. ‘We and you (plural) are next to them’. (more common than 40b)
- 40b) Iz an yous ir nixt tae them. (less common than 40a)
- 40c) Yous an iz is nixt tae them. (more common than 40d)
- 40d) Yous an iz ir nixt tae them. (less common than 40c)

By contrast, with conjoined pronoun subjects the verb in the past tense (where only concord with *be* is possible, as in English) is usually *wur*. Some respondents judged *wuz* also to occur, but to be less common or less natural than *wur*. In sentences with two singular pronouns, as in 43a, *wuz* was judged more likely than if the pronouns were plural.

- 41a) Them an iz wur crakkin. (more common than 41b)
- 41b) Them an iz wuz crakkin. (less common than 41a)
- 42a) Me an them wur crakkin. (more common than 42b)
- 42b) Me an them wuz crakkin. (less common than 42a)
- 43a) Me an him wur crakkin. (more common than 43b)
- 43b) Me an him wuz crakkin. (less common than 43a)

The difference in preferred verb forms for the two tenses suggests that, under the influence of English, the NSR is eroding more quickly for the past tense⁴⁷, illustrating very well the mixed nature of Ulster-Scots pointed out earlier, with *ir* and *wur* being intruding forms from Standard English, but on different trajectories within Ulster-Scots.

2.1.2 With plural demonstrative pronouns (*them, them yins*), the choice of verb forms is also variable in Ulster-Scots, but verbal -s is preferred (44a-44c, 45a-45c, 46a-46c, 47a-47b, 48a-48c). However, when the appropriate tag question is added, sentences become ungrammatical because of the co-occurrence of *is/-s* with *they* (compare 44e with 44f).

- 44a) Them yins is guid. ‘Those (ones) are good’. (most common)
- 44b) Them’s guid. ‘Those are good’. (less common)
- 44c) Them ir guid. (rare)
- 44d) *Those is/ir guid. (*those* does not occur in Ulster-Scots)
- 44e) Them’s guid, irn’t they?
- 44f) *Them’s guid, isn’t they? (violates the NSR in the tag question)
- 45a) Them yins lucks guid. ‘Those ones look good’. (most common)
- 45b) Them lucks guid. (less common)
- 45c) Them luck guid. (rare)
- 45d) *Those lucks guid.
- 46a) Them yins is mine. (most common)
- 46b) Them’s mine. (less common)
- 46c) Them ir mine. (rare)
- 47a) These is mine. (more common than 47b)
- 47b) These ir mine. (less common than 47a)
- 48a) Them yins wuznae worth the money. ‘Those were not worth the money’.
- 48b) Them wuznae worth the money.
- 48c) Them wurnae worth the money. (rare)
- 48d) Them yins wurnae worth the money. (more common than 48c)

2.1.3 Verbal concord with the second-person plural pronoun *yous(e)* is variable in Ulster-Scots (49a-49b, 49e-49f, 50a-

50b). However, this pattern does not constitute an exception to the NSR (which prohibits a verb taking *-s* or being *is/haes* when adjacent to a single simple personal pronoun). *You* (along with its variant form *ye*) is the historical member of the paradigm of personal pronouns in Scots. *Yous* is a fairly recent innovation, developing in Ulster English apparently in the early 19th century, almost certainly as a product of Irish speakers acquiring English, and then spreading to Ulster-Scots and to urban varieties in England (especially Liverpool and Newcastle) and Scotland (Glasgow). That *yous* has been evolving from a pronominal compound having two morphemes to a personal pronoun is suggested by the existence of both *yous is* and *yous ir*⁴⁸. *Yous*, like other pronouns (e.g. demonstrative *them*), may take a cliticized form *yins*, as in *yous yins*, ‘you (plural)’, literally ‘you ones’. *Yous yins* has at least one feature of a personal pronoun, in that its meaning is the same as both *yous* and *you* (plural). When it is the subject of a clause, *yous yins* (like *yous*) often follows the NSR (51a, 52a), but it does not occur in tag questions (51c-51d, 52c-52d).

- 49a) Yous is daft. ‘You (plural) are foolish/insane’. (more common than 49b)
- 49b) Yous ir daft. (less common than 49a)
- 49c) *You is daft.
- 49d) Ye’r daft. ‘You (plural) are foolish/insane’.
- 49e) Yous wuz daft. (more common than 49f)
- 49f) Yous wur daft. (less common than 49e)
- 50a) Yous is tae come hame noo. ‘You (plural) must come home now’. (more common than 50b)
- 50b) Yous ir tae come hame noo. (less common than 50a)
- 51a) Yous yins is daft. ‘You ones are daft’. (more common than 51b)
- 51b) Yous yins ir daft. (less common than 51a)
- 51c) Yous yins is daft, irn’t yous?
- 51d) *Yous yins is daft, irn’t yous yins?
- 52a) Yous yins stans it powerfu weel. ‘You ones are very well preserved’. (more common than 52b)
- 52b) Yous yins stan it powerfu weel. (less common than 52a)
- 52c) Yous yins stan it powerfu weel, daen’t yous? ‘You ones are very well preserved, aren’t you?’
- 52d) *Yous yins stan it powerfu weel, daen’t yous yins?

2.1.4 Verbal Concord in Yes-No Questions. Henry says that in her study of Belfast English verbal *-s* (which she terms ‘singular concord’) does not operate in yes-no questions (thus, ‘*Is the eggs cracked?’)⁴⁹. This statement is rather surprising, because verbal *-s* in yes-no questions is reported for Belfast by other researchers⁵⁰ and examples of it from transcriptions of Ulster folktales are not hard to find⁵¹. Inversion is possible in Ulster-Scots, a finding that perhaps shows that the NSR is more vigorous than in local varieties of English. A verb with *is/-s* is preferred when the subject is a noun phrase (53a, 53c, 53e, 54a, 57a, 57c) or a demonstrative pronoun (57b). Such a verb is also possible if the subject is *yous* (55b) or conjoined pronouns beginning with *ye* (56b).

- 53a) Is the wains awa? ‘Have the children left?’ (more common than 53b)
- 53b) Ir the wains awa? (less common than 53a)
- 53c) Is a’ the wains awa? ‘Have all the children left?’ (more common than 53d)

- 53d) Ir a’ the wains awa? (less common than 53c)
- 53e) Is the twa/four/echt wains awa? ‘Have the two/four/eight children left?’
- 53f) Ir the twa/four/echt wains awa?
- 53g) Ir they awa?
- 53h) *Is they/we/you awa?
- 54a) Daes the wains eat ower much? ‘Do the children eat too much?’ (more common than 54b)
- 54b) Dae the wains eat ower much? (less common than 54a)
- 55a) Ir yous gan? ‘Are you (plural) going?’ (usual)
- 55b) Is yous gan? (occasional)
- 56a) Ir ye an him still merried? ‘Are you and he still married?’ (more common than 56b)
- 56b) Is ye an him still merried? (less common than 56a)
- 56c) Is him an ye still merried? (more common than 56d)
- 56d) Ir him an ye still merried? (less common than 56c)
- 57a) Is them boys daft?
- 57b) Is them the yins ye’r takkin about? ‘Are those the ones you’re talking about?’
- 57c) Haes the kye broke oot o the fiel? ‘Have the cows broken out of the field?’

2.1.5 Concord with an intervening adverb. In line with what Henry found for Belfast English⁵², in Ulster-Scots the presence of an intervening adverb can interfere with the Northern Subject Rule, though the constraints on this are not clear. Verbal *-s* does not occur when an adverb comes between a noun subject and either a copula verb (compare 59a with 59c) or a tensed auxiliary (compare 61a and 61c); however, if the subject is a pronoun, the sentence is ungrammatical regardless of the verb form used (60a, 62a). With a tensed lexical verb, this prohibition appears to operate for only certain adverbs. In 63a *aye, mebbe* or *aply* are permissible before *cum*, but in 64a *railly* is not; respondents always rephrased the latter as 64c, with post-verbal *rail*. They accepted 59c, with a pre-verbal adverb (though judging it less common than its alternative, 59b), but they rephrased 60a and 62a, moving the adverb after *ir* (60b) and *hae* (62b). That adverbs do not normally precede the verb in Ulster-Scots, regardless of the person or number of the subject, undoubtedly plays a role in the ungrammaticality of sentences like 59a and 61a.

- 59a) *The lads aye/mebbe is late. ‘The boys always/maybe are late’.
- 59b) The lads is aye/mebbe late. (usual)
- 59c) The lads aye/mebbe ir late. (occasional)
- 60a) *They aye/mebbe ir late.
- 60b) They ir aye/mebbe late.
- 61a) *The lassies aply haes left. ‘The girls probably have left’.
- 61b) The lassies haes aply left. (usual)
- 61c) The lassies aply hae left. (occasional)
- 62a) *They aply hae left.
- 62b) They hae aply left.
- 63a) The lads aye/mebbe/aply cums late. ‘The boys always/maybe/probably come late’.
- 63b) *The lads cums aye/mebbe late.
- 64a) *The horses railly rins fast. ‘The horses really run fast’.
- 64b) The horses rins railly fast.
- 64c) The horses rins rail fast.

2.1.6 Verbal Concord in Existential Clauses. As in many varieties of English and Scots⁵³, an existential sentence having a plural subject often takes *is* (usually contracted to 's) in Ulster-Scots (65a, 65c). While *there* has long been employed to introduce existential clauses in English, in Scots by the early-18th century *they* (distinct from the personal pronoun having the same form) had developed as a variant and is used today in both Lowland Scots⁵⁴ and Ulster-Scots. In Ulster-Scots only *there* is used with *is/s/wuz* (compare 65c with 65e, etc.) In contrast, especially in yes-no questions or in answer to such a question, *they* appears with *ir/wur/etc.*, but not *is/s/wuz*, even if the subject is singular (66c, 68a, 69a).

- 65a) There's a wheen o folk in the toon the day. 'There are a lot of people in town today'. (usual)
- 65b) There ir a wheen o folk in the toon the day. (rare)
- 65c) There's nae coals in the hoose. 'There are no coals in the house'. (usual)
- 65d) There ir nae coals in the hoose. (rare)
- 65e) *They's nae coals in the hoose.
- 66a) There's nae tay left. 'There is no tea left'.
- 66b) *They ir nae tay left.
- 66c) Ir they oany tay left? Aye, they ir. 'Is there any tea left? Yes, there is'.
- 66d) *Is they oany tay left?
- 66e) Is there oany tay left?
- 66f) *Ir there oany tay left?
- 67a) There's nae scones left.
- 67b) *They ir nae scones left.
- 67c) Ir they oany scones left? Aye, they ir.
- 67d) *Is they oany scones left?
- 67e) Is there oany scones left?
- 67f) Ir there oany scones left?
- 68a) They wurnae much money in them days. 'There wasn't much money in those days'. (less common than 68c)
- 68b) *They wuznae much money in them days.
- 68c) There wuznae much money in them days. (more common than 68a)
- 68d) *There wurnae much money in them days.
- 69a) Wur they oany tay left? Aye, they wur. 'Was there any tea left? Yes, there was'.
- 69b) *Wuz they oany tay left?
- 69c) Wuz there oany tay left?
- 69d) *Wur there oany tay left? (however. 'Wur there oany scones left?')
- 69e) Wud they be oany point?

2.2 Negation of *be* and *have*. In many varieties of English in England and the United States *ain't* is the equivalent of negated forms of both *be* (*isn't*, *aren't*, *am not*) and *have* (*hasn't*, *haven't*). However, it is not used in Ulster-Scots for either (70a, 71a, 71c, 72a, 74a, 75a, 76a), and historically not in Lowland Scots⁵⁵. *Haenae* (= English *haven't*) negates both auxiliary and main-verb *hae* in statements (73a, 73c), but not in questions, where the form is sometimes *haen't* (74c, 75c, 76c) or *haesn't* in the third singular (72c), but more commonly *hae/haes ... naw* (74d, 75d, 76d). These same patterns (with negative particle *no* rather than *naw*) also characterize Lowland Scots⁵⁶.

- 70a) *Ain't ye feared? 'Aren't you afraid?'
- 70b) *Haen't ye feared?

- 70c) Irn't ye feared?
- 71a) *He's feared, ain't he?
- 71b) He's feared, isn't he?
- 71c) *He ain't feared.
- 72a) *He's taen/took the book, ain't he? 'He's taken the book, hasn't he?'
- 72b) *He's taen/took the book, haen't he?
- 72c) He's taen/took the book, haesn't he?
- 73a) A haenae seen or hard o him this years. 'I haven't seen or heard of him these years'.
- 73b) *A haen't seen or hard o him this years.
- 73c) A haenae a yin. 'I haven't a one'.
- 73d) *A haen't a yin.
- 74a) *Ain't A eyes in mae heid? 'Haven't I eyes in my head?'
- 74b) *Haenae A eyes in mae heid?
- 74c) Haen't A eyes in mae heid? (less common than 74d)
- 74d) Hae A naw eyes in mae heid? (more common than 74c)
- 75a) *Ain't ye had yer tay? 'Haven't you had your tea?'
- 75b) *Haenae ye had yer tay?
- 75c) Haen't ye had yer tay? (less common than 75d)
- 75d) Hae ye naw had yer tay? (more common than 75c)
- 76a) *A hae eyes in mae heid, ain't A? 'I have eyes in my head, haven't I?'
- 76b) *A hae eyes in mae heid, haenae A?
- 76c) A hae eyes in mae heid, haen't A? (less common than 76d)
- 76d) A hae eyes in mae heid, hae A naw? 'I have eyes in my head, have I not?' (more common than 76c)

2.3 Habitual Verbs. Like Ulster English, but not Lowland Scots, Ulster-Scots uses *be/bes* (77b, 78b) and occasionally *dae be/daes be* (77c, 78c) to express habitual activities or occurrences. It also uses *be/bes* for conditions (84b, 85b), but not for states (77e). For the habitual these verbs are usually accompanied by an adverb such as *whiles* or *affen*. When the verb is negated (79b-79d) or put into a question (80b, 81c), *dae* or *daes* is normally inserted. All these usages have almost certainly come into Ulster-Scots through Ulster English, from the influence of the Irish language⁵⁷. However, it remains true that the far most frequent means of expressing the habitual in Ulster-Scots (and also Ulster English) is with *wud* (77a, 78a, 79a, etc.), although *wud* is used to express conditions and has other functions as well. One must also note that the simple present-tense (i.e., the non-progressive) form of verbs (81b) frequently expresses the habitual in Ulster-Scots as well as in English. The respondents in this study rejected the suffix *-s* (possibly of Scottish influence) in (82) as another means of expressing the habitual⁵⁸.

- 77a) A wud be there whiles. 'I am there occasionally'.
- (usual)
- 77b) A be there whiles. 'I am there occasionally'.
- (occasional)
- 77c) A dae be there whiles. 'I am there occasionally'. (rare)
- 77d) *A dae be there. (i.e. not acceptable without an adverb)
- 77e) *We be country fowk. 'We are country people'. (does not express habitual)
- 78a) He wud be aboot a lock. 'He is around a lot'. (usual)
- 78b) He bes aboot a lock. (occasional)
- 78c) He daes be aboot a lock. (rare)

- 79a) A wudnae be about much. 'I am not around much'.
(usual)
- 79b) A daenae be about much. (occasional)
- 79c) He daesnae be about much. (occasional)
- 79d) He besnae about much. 'He isn't around much'. (rare)
- 80a) Wud they be angry affen? 'Are they angry often?'
(usual)
- 80b) Dae they be angry affen? 'Are they angry often?'
(occasional)
- 81a) *They dae be eatin. 'They eat'.
- 81b) They eat at six. 'They eat at six (as a rule)'.
- 81c) Dae they be eatin at six? 'Do they eat at six?' (rare)
- 81d) Wud they be eatin at six? (usual)
- 82) *We milks the kye ivery moarnin. 'We milk the cows
every morning'.
- 83a) The kye bes milked ivery moarnin. (rare)
- 83b) The kye wud be milked ivery moarnin. (usual)
- 84a) *If his wine be better nor mine ... 'If his wine is better
than mine ...'
- 84b) If his wine bes better nor mine ... (occasional)
- 84c) If his wine is better nor mine ... (common)
- 84d) If his wine wud be better nor mine ... (common)
- 85a) *If his wine benae better nor mine ...
- 85b) If his wine besnae better nor mine ... (occasional)

2.4 Complement Shifting. Under certain conditions Ulster-Scots permits the past participle of a *have*-verb phrase to move rightward to the slot after the direct object, with a consequent slight change in emphasis (compare 86a with 86b). This phenomenon is apparently not documented for Lowland Scots, but is well known in varieties of Irish English (Filppula terms it the 'Medial-Object Perfect'⁵⁹), which is almost certainly the source for the pattern in Ulster-Scots. Ulster-Scots also permits either a past participle (87a) or a present participle of a *be*-verb phrase (87c) to move beyond an adjective phrase.

- 86a) He haes et his dinner. 'He has eaten his dinner'.
- 86b) He haes his dinner et. 'He has finished eating his dinner'.
- 87a) Coals is wile dear got. 'Coals have got/become very expensive'. (more common than 87b)
- 87b) Coals is got wile dear. (less common than 87a)
- 87c) Coals is wile dear gettin. (more common than 87d)
- 87d) Coals is gettin wile dear. (less common than 87c)

3 Phrases and Miscellaneous Syntax.

3.1 When combined to form a phrase with an adjective, the definite article *the* is sometimes interpreted to mean 'how' in Ulster-Scots (and *a' the much* = 'how little')⁶⁰.

- 88a) Luck at the much lan he haes. 'Look at how much land
he has'.
- 88b) Wud ye luck at the big she is. 'Would you look at how
big she is'.
- 88c) Luck at the little ye et. 'Look at how little you ate'.
- 88d) Luck at a' the much ye et. 'Look at how little you ate'.
- 88e) Ye see the skinny A've got. 'You see how skinny I've
got/become'.

3.2 When modifying a singular noun or pronoun, the phrase *a' the* means 'the only' (89a-89c). However, when modifying an

adjective it expresses extent and can be translated as 'how' or 'as ... as' (thus, *a' the far* = 'as far as') in either statements (90a-90d) or questions (91a-91d) in a pattern that is clearly based on the one presented in the previous section. Unlike in some varieties of American English, *a' the* cannot be used before a comparative adjective to mean the same thing (92a-92b), but the pattern *a' the + positive adjective* was almost certainly the one from which the American ones with a comparative or superlative form developed⁶¹. Neither is *a' the* used before a superlative adjective in Ulster-Scots (93a-93c).

- 89a) That wuz a' the job A could get. 'That was the only job
I could get'.
- 89b) A wush A could gie ye a better yin, but that's a' the yin
A hae. 'I wish I could give you a better one, but that's
the only one I have'.
- 89c) Marie is a' the dochter she had. 'Marie is the only
daughter she had'.
- 90a) That's a' the far he could gae. 'That's as far as he
could go'.
- 90b) That's a' the much ye et. 'That's how little you ate'
(literally 'That's as much as you ate').
- 90c) That's a' the fast ye can rin. 'That's as fast as you can
run'.
- 90d) That's a' the weel ye ken me. 'That's as well as you
know me'.
- 91a) Is that a' the far ye'r gan? 'Is that as far as you're
going?'
- 91b) Is that a' the much ye et? 'Is that as much as you ate?'
- 91c) Is that a' the fast ye can rin? 'Is that as fast as you can
run?'
- 91d) Is that a' the weel ye ken me? 'Is that as well as you
know me?'
- 92a) *That's a' the farther he could gae. 'That's as far as he
could go'.
- 92b) *Is that a' the faster ye can rin? 'Is that as fast as you
can run?'
- 93a) *That's a' the farthest he could gae. 'That's as far as
he could go'.
- 93b) *Is that a' the best ye can dae? 'Is that as good as you
can do?'
- 93c) *Is that a' the maist ye can eat? 'Is that as much as you
can eat?'

3.3 Placement of *a' 'all'*. In Ulster-Scots, as in Lowland Scots, the quantifier *a'* can follow a *wh-* form (*who*, *what*, etc.) in either a statement or a question to specify an exhaustive list rather than a partial one. Normally *a'* immediately follows (94a, 95a). It may also appear after the first element of the predicate (94b, 95b), but not at the end of it (94c, 95c).

- 94a) He didnae tell me wha a' wuz gan. 'He didn't tell me
who all was going'. (common)
- 94b) He didnae tell me wha wuz a' gan. (occasional)
- 94c) *He didnae tell me wha wuz gan a'.
- 95a) Wha a' wuz there? 'Who all was there?' (common)
- 95b) Wha wuz a' there? (occasional)
- 95c) *Wha wuz there a'? 'Who all was there?'

3.4 Pronominal Copy Shift. An indefinite pronoun or pronoun phrase subject such as *ivery yin* 'every one' (96a), or *ivery yin*

o them (97a) may be extracted from subject position and moved rightward to any of several positions, leaving the appropriate pronominal copy behind. The phrase may move to the slot immediately before a tensed lexical verb (96b, 97b) and thus appear to be in apposition to the subject, or it may come immediately after the tensed verb (96c, 97c).

- 96a) Ivery yin had a pick at me. ‘Everyone had a grudge against me’. (most common)
- 96b) They ivery yin had a pick at me. (less common)
- 96c) They had ivery yin a pick at me. (rare)
- 97a) Ivery yin o them had a pick at me. (most common)
- 97b) They ivery yin o them had a pick at me. (less common)
- 97c) They had ivery yin o them a pick at me. (rare)

However, if there is a tensed auxiliary or a tensed copula, the pronominal phrase must appear after the first element in the verb phrase (98c, 99c, 100c, 101c, 102c, 103c) rather than before it (98b, 99b, 100b, 101b, 102b, 103b) or after a second auxiliary (98d, 99d).

- 98a) Ivery yin had been pickin on me. ‘Every one had been berating me’.
- 98b) *They ivery yin had been pickin on me.
- 98c) They had ivery yin been pickin on me.
- 98d) *They had been ivery yin pickin on me.
- 99a) Ivery yin o them had been pickin on me.
- 99b) *They ivery yin o them had been pickin on me.
- 99c) They had ivery yin o them been pickin on me. (less common than 99a)
- 99d) *They had been ivery yin o them pickin on me.
- 100a) A' o iz hae et. ‘All of us have eaten’. (more commonly ‘A’ of iz haes et’.)
- 100b) *We a' o iz hae et.
- 100c) We hae a' o iz et.
- 101a) Baith o them wur in the hoose. ‘Both of them were in the house’.
- 101b) *They baith o them wur in the hoose.
- 101c) They wur baith o them in the hoose.
- 102a) A' o that femly wuz guid singers. ‘All of that family were good singers’.
- 102b) *That femly a' o them wuz guid singers.
- 102c) That femly wuz a' o them guid singers. (more common than 102d)
- 102d) That femly wur a' o them guid singers. (less common than 102c)
- 102e) That femly wuz guid singers, a' o them. (rare)
- 103a) Ivery yin of that femly wuz guid singers.
- 103b) *That femly ivery yin o them wuz guid singers.
- 103c) That femly wuz ivery yin o them guid singers. (more common than 103d)
- 103d) That femly wur ivery yin o them guid singers. (less common than 103c)

For emphasis, an indefinite pronoun phrase may shift to the end of the sentence (104b, 104d-g, 104i) if it has a prepositional phrase, but not if it is a bare indefinite pronoun (104a, 104c). Similarly, a nominal may move if it represents the object of a preposition after an indefinite pronoun (104h, 104j).

- 104a) *They had a pick at me, ivery yin.

- 104b) They had a pick at me, ivery yin o them.
- 104c) *They had been pickin on me, ivery yin.
- 104d) They had been pickin on me, ivery yin o them.
- 104e) We hae et, a' o iz. (but *We hae et, a'.)
- 104f) They wur in the hoose, baith o them. (but *They wur in the hoose, baith.)
- 104g) That femly wuz guid singers, a' o them. (but *That femly wuz guid singers, a'.)
- 104h) They wur a' o them guid singers, that femly.
- 104i) That femly wuz guid singers, ivery yin o them.
- 104j) They wur ivery yin of them guid singers, that femly.

3.5 Elliptical Infinitives. In Ulster-Scots a set of verbs (*luck*, ‘look, expect, ask for’, *want, need*, and sometimes *lake* ‘like’) can take a past infinitive (105a-106d) or a preposition (107a-108c) without requiring an intervening infinitive phrase (i.e. having implied *to be, to go, to come*, etc.)

- 105a) The hens is luckin fed. ‘The hens look to be fed’.
- 105b) The hens is wantin fed. ‘The hens want to be fed’.
- 105c) The hens is needin fed. ‘The hens need to be fed’.
- 105d) The hens is lakin fed. ‘The hens like to be fed’.
- 106a) The hens lucks fed in the moarnin. ‘The hens look to be fed in the morning’.
- 106b) The hens wants fed in the moarnin. ‘The hens want to be fed in the morning’.
- 106c) The hens needs fed in the moarnin. ‘The hens need to be fed in the morning’.
- 106d) The hens lakes fed in the moarnin. ‘The hens like to be fed in the morning’.
- 107a) Is the doag luckin oot? ‘Is the dog looking to go out?’
- 107b) Is the doag wantin oot? ‘Does the dog want to go out?’
- 107c) Is the doag needin oot? ‘Does the dog need to go out?’
- 108a) The cat is luckin in. ‘The cat looks to come in’.
- 108b) The cat is wantin in. ‘The cat wants to come in’.
- 108c) The cat lakes in. ‘The cat likes to come in’.

3.6 Infinitives with *for tae*. The construction *for tae* (less often *for til*) is used to introduce infinitive phrases in Ulster-Scots, most often to express purpose (= ‘in order to’), as in 109a-109e. However, speakers in this study accepted *for tae* as a general equivalent to the infinitive marker *tae/til* (110a-110b)⁶². In Ulster-Scots if an overt subject appears for the infinitive, this must immediately precede *tae* (compare 111a, 112a with 111c, 112c); similarly, *for tae + verb* is not possible as the subject of a sentence (113b).

- 109a) A'll need the key for tae lock in the hens.
- 109b) A'll need the key for til lock in the hens. (local, according to Fenton)
- 109c) He rin to the shap for tae buy some tay. ‘He ran to the shop to buy some tea’.
- 109d) A'm naw here for tae mak a fool o. ‘I’m not here to make a fool of’.
- 109e) He's efter hir but naw for tae merry her. ‘He’s after her but not to marry her’.
- 110a) Ye need for tae get the kye in. ‘You need to get the cows in’.
- 110b) We'r gan for tae visit her. ‘We are going to visit her’.
- 111a) A want for him tae be the yin tae dae it. ‘I want him to be the one to do it’.
- 111b) A want him tae be the yin tae dae it.
- 111c) *A want him for tae be the yin tae dae it.

- 112a) A dinnae like for them tae go. 'I don't like them to go'.
- 112b) A dinnae like them tae go.
- 112c) *A dinnae like them for tae go.
- 113a) For iz tae visit hir wud be daft.
- 113b) *For tae visit hir wud be daft.

3.7 Embedded Questions. In Ulster-Scots, as in Ulster English and Irish English, embedded questions frequently use the inverted word-order found in main clauses in other varieties, either by moving an auxiliary verb (114a, 115b) for *wh*- questions or by inserting the appropriate form of *dae* (116a) for yes-no questions.

- 114a) A wunthered whun had she gaen. 'I wondered when she had gone'. (more common than 114b)
- 114b) A wunthered whun she had gaen. (less common than 114a)
- 115a) He axed whur had A been. 'He asked where I had been'. (less common than 115b)
- 115b) He axed whur A had been. (more common than 115a)
- 116a) A wunthered did he gae hame. 'I wondered if he went home'. (more common than 116b)
- 116b) A wunthered if he went hame. (less common than 116a)

4 Conclusion

Through exploration and analysis, this survey has sought to increase scholarly knowledge about selected features of Ulster-Scots grammar to the depth exemplified by Robert Gregg's work on pronunciation. It complements Robinson's broad descriptive coverage of traditional Ulster-Scots and provides details about some of the syntactic structures examined by Henry's study of Belfast English. Although it is mainly synchronic in focus, its comparisons to Lowland Scots and Ulster English situate the historical contacts and relationships that Ulster-Scots has had with other language varieties and identify some features that may be innovations in Ulster-Scots. In particular, the many similarities with Lowland Scots, while hardly unexpected, show that Ulster-Scots cannot be regarded simply as one among many varieties of Irish English. Indeed, Ulster English shares many of the same similarities with Lowland Scots, and this fundamental affinity may account for some differences Henry found between Belfast English and Standard English. There remains much to learn about the grammar of Ulster-Scots, of course, but for this study as well as others in this volume, Gregg's insistence on scrupulous, painstaking fieldwork and analysis has shown the way forward.

Notes

- 1 The author is profoundly indebted to James Fenton, without whose assistance in innumerable ways this study would not have been possible.
- 2 Gregg, Robert J., *The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in the Province of Ulster* ([Port Credit], 1985), 257-286.
- 3 Robinson, Philip S., *Ulster-Scots: A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language* (Belfast, 1997).
- 4 For Lowland Scots these include Murray, James A. H., *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland: Its Pronunciation, Grammar, and Historical Relations* (London, 1873); and Macafee, Caroline, 'Characteristics of Non-Standard Grammar in Scotland', unpublished typescript, 1992, at <www.abdn.ac.uk/enl038/grammar.htm>, consulted 14 April 2005. For Irish English the principal sources are Harris, John, 'The Grammar of Irish English', in Milroy, James, and Lesley Milroy (eds.), *Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles* (London, 1993), 139-186; and Filppula, Markku, *The Grammar of Irish English: Language in Hibernian Style* (London, 1999).
- 5 For migration from Britain to Ulster in the 17th century, see Braithwaite, John, 'Ulster and Elizabethan English', in Adams, G. Brendan (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 5-109; Macafee, W. A., 'The Movement of British Settlers into Ulster in the Seventeenth Century', *Familia* 2 (1992), 94-111; Fitzgerald, Patrick, 'Black '97': Reconsidering Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century and the Scotch-Irish in America' in Kelly, William P., and John R. Young (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland 1600-2000: History, Language and Identity* (Dublin, 2004), 71-84; Montgomery, Michael B., and Robert J. Gregg, 'The Scots Language in Ulster', in Jones, Charles (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language* (Edinburgh, 1997), 569-622.
- 6 Grant, William, 'Ulster Dialects', *Scottish National Dictionary*, volume 1 (Edinburgh, 1931), xli.
- 7 Adams, G. Brendan, 'Introduction', in Adams, G. Brendan (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 1.
- 8 These two possible – and no doubt reinforcing – sources are cited in many etymologies in Macafee, Caroline (ed.), *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (Oxford, 1996). According to G. Brendan Adams, 'The Emergence of Ulster as a Distinct Dialect Area', *Ulster Folklife* 4 (1958), 69, 'many Gaelic borrowings at present used in Ulster ... were already embedded in [Scots] before its establishment here, for they show sound changes which either belong to Scottish rather than Irish Gaelic or they belong to an earlier stage of Lowland Scots than that at which it was brought to Ulster'.
- 9 For the fullest view of Irish vocabulary borrowed into Ulster-Scots, see Fenton, James, *The Hamely Tongue: A Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim* (Newtownards, 1995; 2nd. edition, 2000; 3rd. edition, 2006).
- 10 Adams, G. Brendan, 'The Phonology of the Antrim Dialect', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 57C3 (1956), 69-152.
- 11 Kirk, John, and Georgina Millar, 'Verbal Aspect in the Scots and English of Ulster', *Scottish Language* 17 (1998), 82-107.
- 12 For an overview of the historical linguistic landscape, see Montgomery, Michael, 'The Position of Ulster-Scots', *Ulster Folklife* 45 (1999), 85-104.
- 13 For a different assessment, see Tagliamonte, Sali, and Jennifer Smith, "'Either It's not or It isn't': NEG/AUX Contraction in British Dialects', *English World-Wide* 23 (2002), 251-281, who describe the Cullybackey community of mid-Antrim as having a 'peripheral geographic location' and 'isolated socio-political circumstances' (p. 256).
- 14 Montgomery, Michael, 'The Scotch-Irish Influence on Appalachian English: How Broad? How Deep?' in Blethen, H. Tyler, and Curtis W. Wood Jr. (eds.), *Ulster and North America: Trans-Atlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish* (Tuscaloosa, 1997), 189-212.
- 15 Montgomery, Michael, and Philip Robinson, 'Ulster: A Linguistic Bridge across the North Atlantic', *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* 1 (2000), 40-60.

- 16 Montgomery, Michael, 'The Linguistic Value of Ulster Emigrant Letters', *Ulster Folklife* 41 (1995), 26-41; Montgomery, Michael, 'Making the Trans-Atlantic Link between Varieties of English: the Case of Plural Verbal -s', *Journal of English Linguistics* 25 (1997), 122-141.
- 17 The speakers ranged from Dervock in the north to Ballynure in the east to Doagh in the south, ten miles north of Belfast; see Fenton, op. cit., viii.
- 18 For a brief account of his methodology, see Fenton, op.cit., ix.
- 19 Labov, William, 'Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology', *Language in Society* 1 (1972), 97-120.
- 20 For example, in Ulster-Scots areas the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno English recorded only one individual who used *dinnae*, in large part no doubt because the interviewees were strangers and not speakers themselves. See Barry, Michael V. (ed.), *Aspects of English Dialects in Ireland* (Belfast, 1981); and Kirk, John M., *Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech* (Colchester, 1991).
- 21 In this process all examples and queries were presented to respondents orally.
- 22 In this paper all patterns are presented in the system of orthography devised over a period of more than two decades by James Fenton in his *The Hamely Tongue*; see Fenton, op.cit., x-xiii.
- 23 For a sophisticated study showing the variability in pronunciation, see Kingsmore, Rona R. K., *Ulster-Scots Speech: A Sociolinguistic Study* (Tuscaloosa, 1995).
- 24 Henry, Alison, *Belfast English and Standard English: Dialect Variation and Parameter Setting* (Oxford, 1995). Henry's purpose was to present the major syntactic structures of 'Belfast English'; by 'variation' in her title she meant contrasts to 'Standard English', not any differences within Belfast English. Nonetheless, she occasionally alludes to the existence of the latter, stating, for example that 'singular concord is also generally [my emphasis] impossible with inversion' (p. 16), a qualification which she does not explore. For the term 'singular concord', see note 44.
- 25 The author had studied the published and archival literature on Ulster-Scots since 1988.
- 26 *Thon* is documented from east county Down in Savage-Armstrong, George Francis, *Ballads of Down* (London, 1901) to south county Donegal in the west, in Simmons, D. A., *A List of Peculiar Words and Phrases Formerly in Common Use in the County Armagh, Together with Expressions at One Time Current in South Donegal* (Dublin, 1891).
- 27 Murray, op. cit., 187.
- 28 Robinson, op. cit., 74.
- 29 Macafee, op. cit. (1992), §20.4.
- 30 Ibid.; Miller, Jim, 'The Grammar of Scottish English', in Milroy, James, and Lesley Milroy (eds.), *Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles* (London, 1993), 108; Macafee, op. cit., §20.4.
- 31 Here and elsewhere sentences are marked by “**” to indicate that speakers judged them not to be possible in Ulster-Scots.
- 32 Murray, op. cit., 179.
- 33 Macafee, op. cit., §20.4.
- 34 Murray, op. cit., 194.
- 35 Macafee, op. cit., §9.1.
- 36 But cf. Robinson, op. cit., 77-78.
- 37 Murray, op. cit., 196; see also Macafee, op. cit., §9.2; Miller, op. cit., 111, and *DSL*, s.v. *that*. The first citation of the construction is dated 1456.
- 38 But cf. Robinson, op. cit., 78.
- 39 *DSL*, s.v. *that*.
- 40 Macafee, op. cit., §9.4.
- 41 Henry, op. cit., 125.
- 42 Filppula, op. cit., 243ff.
- 43 Henry, op. cit., 126.
- 44 For this term, see Ihäläinen, Ossi, 'The Dialects of England since 1776', in Burchfield, Robert (ed.), *Cambridge History of the English Language. Volume 5: English in Britain and Overseas* (Cambridge, 1994), 221-222.; Murray, op. cit., 211-212, was apparently the first to describe this rule, though he did not give it a name. The label 'singular concord' is used by Milroy, James, *Regional Accents of English: Belfast* (Belfast, 1981); Policansky, Linda, 'Grammatical Variation in Belfast English', *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 6 (1982), 39-66; and Henry, op. cit. It is rather a misnomer, in that the rule pertains to plural contexts. In English (and Scots) it is only nouns and pronouns that have inherent number of either singular or plural, since verbs acquire or are assigned number when finite depending on the number of their subject. If the form or category of a subject constrains the form of a verb, as is clearly the case with the NSR, then concord does take place. A more appropriate term than 'singular concord' is therefore 'plural verbal concord' or 'differential plural concord'.
- 45 For a quantitative view of the history of this rule, see Montgomery, Michael, 'The Evolution of Verb Concord in Scots', in Fenton, Alexander, and Donald A. MacDonald (eds.), *Studies in Scots and Gaelic: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Languages of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1994), 81-95.
- 46 Filppula, op. cit., 150ff. reports that this verbal concord operates to a limited extent in the south of Ireland.
- 47 *Were* was used categorically with pronoun subjects in letters written by Ulster emigrants to America in the 18th century; see Montgomery, Michael, op. cit. (*JEL* 25 [1997]); and Montgomery, Michael, 'A Tale of Two Georges: The Language of Irish Indian Traders in Colonial North America', in Kallen, Jeffrey (ed.), *Focus on Ireland* (Amsterdam, 1997), 227-254.
- 48 Robinson, op. cit., 127, also has examples like 'Yous is tae cum hame noo'.
- 49 Henry, op. cit., 16.
- 50 For example, Harris, op. cit., 156, states that yes-no questions represent 'the most favourable context for a verbal -s ending to occur' in Irish English, based on data from three large sociolinguistic studies, two of which were in Belfast; see also Finlay, Cathy, 'Syntactic Variation in the Speech of Belfast Schoolchildren,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ulster at Jordanstown, 263-264.
- 51 For example, 'Isn't his clothes and boots all here?', from Murphy, Michael J., *Culprit of the Shadows* (Belfast, 1955), 24; 'Is there no hares at all here?', from Murphy, Michael J., *Sieve Gullion's Foot* (Dundalk, 1975), 61.
- 52 Henry, op. cit., 26.
- 53 Macafee, op. cit., §6.1.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 Macafee, op. cit., §1.6, reports that it can now be found in Glasgow, but 'only in reversed polarity tag [questions], as the present tense of *be* + enclitic negative particle (not as a form of *have*)', presumably as an influence from English.
- 56 Miller, op. cit., 114; Miller, Jim, and Keith Brown, 'Aspects of Scottish English Syntax', *English World-Wide* 2 (1980), 3-17.
- 57 This agrees with data from the Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of English, as reported in Montgomery, Michael, and John Kirk, 'The Origin of the Habitual Verb *be* in American Black English: Irish or English or What?' *Belfast Working Papers in Linguistics* 11 (1996), 308-333.
- 58 Robinson, op. cit., 117.
- 59 Filppula, op. cit., 107ff.
- 60 Cf. Robinson, op. cit., 66, 92-93.
- 61 Montgomery, Michael, 'Solving Kurath's Puzzle: Establishing the Antecedents of the American Midland Dialect Region', in Hickey, Raymond (ed.), *The Legacy of Colonial English: The Study of Transported Dialects* (Cambridge, 2004), 410-425; Thomas, Erik R., 'The Use of *all the* + Comparative Structure', in Frazer, Timothy C. (ed.), '*Hearland English*: Variation and Transition in the American Midwest' (Tuscaloosa, 1993), 257-265.
- 62 Henry, Alison, 'The Syntax of Belfast English' in Kallen, Jeffrey (ed.), *Focus on Ireland* (Amsterdam, 1997), 98, states that this broad use of *for to* is now confined to Belfast and a few other areas such as parts of County Armagh', an assessment that would seem to need revised. The general construction for *ti* is also found in Lowland Scots, according to Macafee, op. cit., §10.2.

‘Religious Language’ as a Register of Ulster-Scots: A Consideration of the Case for an Ulster-Scots Bible

Philip S. Robinson

All written language has nature, meaning and purpose that can be interpreted from its text. These features can manifest in different levels of formality and style within the same standardised language such as English in different ‘registers’ which are appropriate to particular contexts. Sociolinguists acknowledge that the language used in official documents (such as in job advertisements and tax forms) is not the same as that used in, for example, a love letter. Formal and informal registers apply to both spoken and written language. In the spoken form, speakers of a stigmatised or low-prestige language such as Ulster-Scots are notoriously reluctant to use their ‘hamely tongue’ in public or formal situations. Its use in church or in the religious context is widely regarded as even more inappropriate. ‘Talking polite’, i.e. using the telephone voice, is invariable when talking to outsiders or ‘professional’ people. This switch is an involuntary one, and occurs even when a native-speaking field collector produces a tape-recorder! The development of a formal, written register for Ulster-Scots is a somewhat risible, if not controversial, aspect of current language planning. However, anyone contemplating an Ulster-Scots Bible translation must engage positively in this process while at the same time retaining the confidence of the language-user community.

The Language Development Case

The language development programme of the Ulster-Scots Academy has included the provision of an Ulster-Scots translation of the Bible as an integral feature since the earliest years, when Professor R. J. Gregg was the first and founding Rector of the Academy¹. The reason for this was not ‘religious’ *per se*, but rather an early understanding that, for all European lesser-used languages, there were certain significant landmarks required for status building, which included the availability of a Bible in the language. Other requirements include a comprehensive, two-way dictionary and some measure of ‘standardisation’ for its teaching and modern official use. Only when the language development programme was being planned in detail did another dimension become clear: the interdependent nature of the various elements within the larger development programme.

In 2003, ten years after the genesis of the Ulster-Scots language development programme, Bob Gregg’s successor as Rector of the Ulster-Scots Academy (Professor M. Montgomery) produced two progress reports on behalf of the Academy². Five programmes were separately described: the

Tape-Recorded Survey of Ulster-Scots; the Electronic Text Base; the Dictionary Programme; the Translation Service; and the Bible Translation. One of these papers describes the current situation relating to Bible Translation as follows:

‘A fifth project of the Ulster-Scots Academy on which recent progress has been made is a collective translation exercise by native speakers themselves. With the support of the Ulster-Scots Agency, the Academy has initiated a series of workshops chaired by professional translators to begin the process of Bible translation into authentic Ulster-Scots. While this project has great status-building potential for Ulster-Scots, it has merit on many other accounts as well. As community representatives take part in an extended translation exercise, they and those they represent will find an increasing sense of ownership of the language and will create bonds with and within the native speaking community. The dynamics of the process will suggest alternative ways of expressing ideas or points and thus provide further raw material and insights for the dictionary programme. Development of more authoritative translation and spelling standards or guidelines will be a natural outcome as well. Substantial progress on the related programmes of spelling standardisation and the dictionary will be made even in the early stages of, say, translation of a single gospel. This process of translation is not simply an end in itself, but will be harmonised with the process of developing spelling standards and the requirement for a comprehensive two-way dictionary. The great virtue of the Academy’s Bible-translation programme lies not only in its native-speaker involvement, but also in the fact that it is led by translators with twenty years experience in Bible translation who have knowledge of Greek and Hebrew’.

Every Bible translation programme undertaken by established Bible translators (such as at Wycliffe Bible Translators) builds up a working glossary as part of the process. Because of the nature of the exercise, a glossary compiled during the production of an Ulster-Scots Bible would be ‘comprehensive’ (i.e. covering the whole language, including words and usages shared with English and not just those non-standard English features which are featured in our existing dictionaries). It would also deliver a glossary in the (currently missing) English-to-Ulster-Scots mode (existing dictionaries are only in the Ulster-Scots-to-English mode).

The need for an English-to-Ulster-Scots dictionary is critical for teaching the language to non-speakers. At present, one has to already know or have encountered a particular Ulster-Scots word in order to look it up!

Another important element in the language development programme is the delivery of agreed standard spellings for the modern register of the language. The process of standardising spelling must involve the practitioners of the language if it is to carry ‘street credibility’. It is envisaged that this process (and the process is almost as important as the product) would also be integrated with the Bible translation project. Providing that the completed Ulster-Scots Bible used the same spellings as were agreed in the standardisation process, and as ‘recommended’ in the two-way Ulster-Scots dictionary, the final product would be the best possible agent to promote these new agreed standards.

The text of the Bible has been used for language learning in many parts of the world. Indeed, it was used for the teaching of Irish in Ulster schools 150 years ago. It made sense to use a text whose meaning in the reader’s first language of literacy would be already known, especially if religious motivations could be satisfied at the same time. In the Ulster Presbyterian tradition, the high priority given to universal education over the past 300+ years was largely due to the desire to ensure that all could read the Bible and ‘search the Scriptures’ for themselves.

For any European regional language, the possession of a Bible translation in that tongue is an important symbol of its status. It is unfortunate that a full translation of the complete Bible into Scots was not completed at the time of the Reformation in the mid-16th century. The New Testament was translated from the original Greek into Scots by W. L. Lorimer relatively recently and was published by his son in 1983³. Ulster-Scots readers can have some difficulty with the Scottish-Scots of Lorimer’s work, but it is widely acknowledged as a masterpiece of Scots literary translation, and has had enormous influence in improving the status of Scots.

Because Ulster-Scots is a highly stigmatised language which survives mostly as a spoken tongue among ‘insiders’, there is widespread internal prejudice against its use in a formal register, and in formal situations. This reserve applies even more strongly to its use in the special formality of church.

With all translation projects in underdeveloped languages, international standards of methodology must be applied. ‘Search and Replace’, or ‘word-for word’ translations are simply doomed to rejection by native speakers and linguists alike. There is, however, one potential area of tension between Ulster-Scots academics and the language enthusiasts on the one hand, and the potential Bible users on the other. This is the choice of linguistic style or register. The case for the use of archaic words and spellings rests mainly on the language development motivation – creating as big a difference as possible with English and thereby justifying (or reinstating) the language’s historic status. From a religious and Bible-user perspective, such a register might also have the advantage of appearing more dignified and ‘appropriate’. The downside is, of course, that the use of a formal or archaic register of Ulster-Scots can defeat the purpose of providing an accurate translation in the ‘living tongue’ of the native speaker.

The Philosophical and Religious Case

Philosophers have taken a slightly different slant on the language ‘register’ model with regard to religious language⁴. Some philosophers, in considering the philosophy of religion, have developed a concept of an autonomous religious ‘language’ which doesn’t need justification in terms of other types of language. According to this school, a particular linguistic system arises out of a particular ‘form of life’, and the insider’s perspective is the only acceptable starting point for an analysis of religious language⁵.

According to Ramsey⁶, God is revealed via disclosure models which provide moments of insight. Disclosure models are the means by which the universe reveals itself to man. They are to be judged primarily on their ability to point to mystery, not on their ability to picture it. Language about God is evocative rather than declarative in this view, so that Ramsey holds that by the use of non-descriptive, evocative language, one can avoid being literalistic or purely anthropomorphic about God⁷.

Wittgenstein agrees that ‘language games’ are particular linguistic systems that arise out of particular ‘forms of life’. These language games are meaningful to the persons in the form of life under consideration, and external criteria are neither possible nor useful. Thus, a person who is not religious cannot pass judgement on the meaningfulness of the religious language game⁸. Evans comments that, after Wittgenstein, the insider’s perspective is the only acceptable starting point for an analysis of religious language⁹.

To this philosophical school, religious language is the language of the believer and is primarily metaphorical and evocative. Gill regarded it as an imperative that religious language be grounded in the concrete expressions actually used by those who speak religiously and theologically¹⁰. Each language game has rules or social understanding within its sphere. These rules for language games are not written, but are followed somewhat unconsciously by members of the linguistic communities involved and are ‘there for philosophers to uncover’¹¹. If this is so, any Bible translation must be more than a linguistic exercise.

If religious language is a recognisable and distinctive formal register, in the local (Ulster-Scots/Presbyterian) context this linguistic register has been virtually synonymous with the religious language of the King James I (Authorised) Version since the early 1600s. This English translation was completed in 1611, contemporaneously with the first plantation settlements in Ulster. The impact of the KJV on the Scots-speaking Calvinists of north Britain cannot be overestimated. Indeed, the erosive impact of the KJV on the Scots language itself over four centuries (a process that began with John Knox’s use of the Geneva Bible a half-century earlier) cannot be overestimated either. Without a Scots Bible (or more properly, a Bible in Scots), ‘religious language’ for all Scots-speaking Protestants has been closely identified with the otherwise archaic English of the KJV for four centuries. The extent to which this phenomenon is true is perhaps reflected in the usage of the same archaic language register in contemporary rituals, creeds, sacraments, worship and prayer.

Resistance to modernised language and modern English translations might be dismissed as ‘verbal idolatry’ – a ‘Thou-and-Thee’ God created and worshipped in an image of words (rather than in the conventional form of a wood or stone idol). Religious texts painted in this language on countryside barns are suggestive, at least to an outsider, of an anachronistic

linguistic (as much as religious) sub-culture. Does such an Ulster-Scots sub-culture cling to words and neglect the reality they represent? If the Bible were translated into Ulster-Scots, such a 'dismissal' of the KJV could also be a denial of the scholarship, tradition, beauty, accuracy, inspiration, historical impact and (most importantly) spiritual impact of those who translated this version of the Holy Bible 'out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised', as stated in the dedicatory preface to the King James Version. The purpose of the translators as set out there could not be faulted. Indeed, some would argue today that their divinely-inspired work could not be equalled¹². The objective of the translators was

that there should be one more exact Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue... out of the Original Sacred Tongues, together with comparing of the labours, both in our own, and in other foreign languages, of many worthy men who went before us.

Their purpose was religious rather than linguistic, reflecting a concern to express and communicate the meaning of God. By such a measure the religious language of any translation can be judged adequate, but only if it is an accurate expression of faith using symbolic language to convey meaning and truth about God. The proof of the KJV 'pudding' has been in its avid spiritual consumption and consummation over four centuries.

The Bible, from a Christian perspective, is the 'Word of God', a statement which can itself be interpreted in a number of ways. To some it is the infallible, literal, univocal message of God to mankind; to others it is the mystical 'Word' of John 1 that existed with God as the pre-incarnate Christ since creation. Yet again for others it is the divinely inspired (i.e. Holy Spirit generated) revelation of God; or perhaps simply an account or 'word' of mankind's unfolding experiences, understandings and encounters with God. In this context the meaning of 'Word' is at once a philosophical, a theological and a linguistic question.

Religious language (as a sub-set of English) is used in our culture beyond the Bible, in ritual, worship and prayer. However, these texts frequently derive their distinctive vocabularies and interpretations of meaning from the narrower context of the Bible itself. There is not necessarily any inconsistency in deriving an 'infallible' Holy Bible from a particular English translation of 'original' Greek or Hebrew texts, if one accepts the premise that the translation process was itself divinely governed. Indeed, one cannot argue that even the Greek or Hebrew texts on which translations are based are the 'original' word of God, for no such original(s) have survived. While Jesus could read, interpret and quote the scriptures and he considered them authoritative, he is recorded as writing only once – in the dust of the ground when the woman was taken in adultery. What God wrote 'in his own hand', then, we do not know. It would appear that his plan for the dissemination of his Word involved leaving the writing of scriptures to a chosen few human agents. At least some of the various transcriptions and translations of God's Word should therefore be included as part and parcel of the divine revelation. Linguistically, theologically and philosophically the nature and meaning of the religious language of an English translation of the Bible is 'true' only so far as the translation is 'true' to the nature, meaning and purpose of the 'received'

previous text.

What purpose then is there in an Ulster-Scots translation from a religious perspective? As discussed above, there are some justifications that are secular, having to do with status-building for the language itself. In the context of the contemporary peace process (the pluralism and the equality agenda) and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, these agendas have a considerable political dynamic in Northern Ireland. In one similar European context, the Frisian Academy in the Netherlands published the first Frisian Bible in the 1970s as part of its language development programme¹³. The use of Dutch in church in Calvinist Friesland almost exactly parallels the use of English in Scottish church life. Frisian is not regarded as 'respectful', and is stigmatised as 'uneducated', 'dialect' or 'slang'. So a Bible translation was undertaken by secular linguists in an overtly status-building exercise. Although the Frisian Bible was given a sort of inter-church (including Roman Catholic) 'committee' blessing, this approval was given to the translation project itself, rather than to the detail of the translation. The resultant Frisian Bible also contains the Apocryphal books, and perhaps has had little success beyond the context of its secular purpose. It has been argued, however, that in an increasingly secular Europe, the alienation between traditional regional identities and the 'official' or dominant languages of the nation-state can be part of the increasing alienation felt by such groups to the 'church'. Wycliffe Bible Translators have an obvious priority in providing translations to non-European communities with no previous access to the Scriptures. In the modern 'Europe of the Regions' and its 'Lesser-Used Languages' context, there is an increasing recognition of a need for new and effective communication of the Gospel to these minority constituencies. Wycliffe consultants are currently examining this 'European question', and in this context are advising the Ulster-Scots Academy on translation principles and practices towards an Ulster-Scots Bible.

Of course, the primary religious purpose in Bible translation work is that of reaching out to those who are beyond the existing linguistic Pale (and providing them meaningful access to the message of Scripture). Is there such a need in the Ulster-Scots community? Certainly among the broader sections of society such terms as 'justification', 'redemption', 'grace' etc. (the peculiar vocabulary items of our religious language) are without meaning to many, if not most. Modern English translations still employ such terms, although Eugene Peterson's *The Message* is a notable exception in idiomatic American English. For example, in Romans 3:24 the KJV refers to 'being justified freely by his grace'. In the New International Version this is 'and are justified freely by his grace', but Peterson has 'God did it for us. Out of sheer generosity he put us in right standing with himself'. Arguably, this is more understandable to the great unwashed among the Ulster-Scots than Rev. Lorimer's Scottish-Scots version: 'But believers is justified bi his grace'¹⁴.

Any translation in the everyday language of the people can be a mechanism for more effective communication, and this is certainly true of those who are 'native speakers' of European Minority languages. So, if a phrase like 'justified through grace' is translated into Ulster-Scots as something like 'noo pit in the richt, oot o the guidness o God's ha'it', we can consider its validity in linguistic, theological or philosophical

terms. Such a translation might be effective linguistically, or even as a means of fresh outreach in religious terms. But is it an ‘accurate’ translation? If religious language is not univocal, but rather uses analogy, metaphor and symbolism to point beyond the finite limitations of our understanding towards the infinite reality, how do we measure accuracy of translation? Even the English language is ‘finite’, and therefore incapable of describing the infinite adequately, so how much more ‘finite’ and inappropriate is an under-developed language like Ulster-Scots? And would a vernacular translation de-sanctify the text by avoiding specifically ‘religious language’?

The close linguistic relationship of Ulster-Scots to English (like that of Frisian to Dutch) gives rise to particular problems for the translator. While there is a distinctive Ulster-Scots vocabulary and grammar, much is also shared with English. Those English idioms and lexical items which are not shared with Ulster-Scots represent the greatest unknown to the outsider (non-speaker) linguist. A word like *perhaps* is not used in Ulster-Scots, while *maybe* or *mebbe* is (along with the rarer but distinctive *aiblins*). When religious language is considered, the ‘shared’ vocabulary may prove to be more extensive than in other registers.

The distinctive grammar of Ulster-Scots may prove an asset in some translation situations involving religious language. For example, there is a ‘habitual’ or ‘continuous’ present tense in Ulster-Scots (as in Irish) that is absent in English. This manifests in variants of *I am* as *A'm* (not habitual) or *A be, A bes, A dae be, A wud (aye) be* (habitual). If the Greek and Hebrew senses of the biblical *I am* pronouncements of God have a continuous present tense meaning, perhaps the Ulster-Scots rendering of John 8:58, when Jesus said ‘I tell you the truth, before Abraham was born, I am!’, could make better grammatical sense than the English.

Of course, the art of translation is more than a simplistic ‘search and replace’ exercise on vocabulary and grammar items. Good translation involves a holistic approach to the contextual meaning as well. Philosophers have been concerned to explore the meaning behind religious language as well as its nature. Since the medieval period, much debate has flowed from the groundwork of Thomas Aquinas in articulating the concept of religious language being analogous when using finite concepts to express the infinite. Literal, especially univocal, interpretations of meaning from Scripture have long given way in philosophical circles to increasingly sophisticated theories about the meaning of religious language. Beyond the Thomasian ‘analogy’ concept, philosophers such as Wittgenstein, Jaspers, Gill, Ramsey and Tillich have introduced metaphorical concepts of symbolism, qualified and disclosure ‘models’ evocative of religious insight, ‘true’ myths, codes and ciphers¹⁵. According to Wittgenstein, religious language does not define reality, but declares it. It can point without picturing. Tillich sees religious language as symbolic: ‘nothing less than symbols and myths can express our ultimate concern’¹⁶. He even goes further, declaring that the only literal (non-symbolic) statement that can be made about God is that ‘He is being itself’. But even the *I am* statements of the Bible require careful philosophical and theological consideration (in translation and otherwise).

In the New Testament, there is a marked contrast between the obviously non-literal ‘parable’ teaching style of Jesus

(where the truth is in the ‘moral’ of the story and the descriptions of God and the Kingdom of Heaven are overtly analogous) and the complex expository style of the Apostle Paul. Throughout the Bible, some passages are dominantly narrative, and therefore the question of metaphor may be generalised. On the other hand, other passages appear to be largely symbolic, and so the meaning of the religious language employed is not necessarily the same from one book of the Bible to the next. Because the three synoptic Gospels are mostly ‘narrative’ in style, the starting point for many Bible translation projects undertaken by the Wycliffe Bible Translators is the Gospel of Luke (or one of the other synoptic Gospels), Luke being in the ‘best’ (or most standard) Greek. In contrast, the Gospel of John is highly symbolic and presumably presents more problems for translation.

In the absence of an existing standardised, formal, written register for Ulster-Scots, or of any specifically Ulster-Scots ‘religious language’ idiom other than that of the KJV, an Ulster-Scots Bible translation will inevitably be at the cutting edge of the current dynamic of Ulster-Scots language development. This is reminiscent of the 19th century Irish language revival, and the leading role of the Protestant churches in using a new Irish Bible 150 years ago to teach and preserve Irish in some of their schools. There are certainly translation strategies for an Ulster-Scots Bible which are undesirable from a linguistic and religious perspective. Only if the approach is informed by a thorough understanding of the theological and philosophical issues surrounding the religious language question will the exercise be justified linguistically.

Indeed, from a practical point of view, only if the purpose is religious will the secular objective of ‘promoting the language’s use in public life’ be achieved.

Notes

- 1 A multi-dimensional but integrated Ulster-Scots language development programme was first proposed in 'The Ulster-Scots Academy: A Development Plan' prepared by the Ulster-Scots Language Society for the Central Community Relations Unit of the Northern Ireland Office in 1993. This 27-page report has formed the basis for every subsequent Ulster-Scots language development proposal by the Ulster-Scots language movement, including (1) a consultant's report (the 'Edmund Report') titled 'The Development of the Ulster-Scots Language', commissioned by the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure of the Northern Ireland Government for the Ulster-Scots Language Society in 1998-89; (2) the Ulster-Scots Agency Corporate Plan, 2000-2003, published by the North/South Language Body in 2000; and (3) the 'Ulster-Scots Academy / Ullans Academie: A Draft Proposal and Development Plan for Start-up Funding', submitted to Government in April 2003 as an outcome of the 'Joint Declaration' Agreement between the British and Irish Governments, when the Academy's submission to the Weston Park talks was accepted.
- 2 Montgomery, Michael, 'The Ulster-Scots Academy: In the Ulster-Scots Community, For the Ulster-Scots Community', and 'An Academy Established and the Task Begun: A Report on Work in Progress', unpublished reports of the Ulster-Scots Academy, 2003.
- 3 Lorimer, W. L. (trans.) *The New Testament in Scots* (Edinburgh, 1983).
- 4 Geisler, Norman L., and Winfried Corduan, *Philosophy of Religion* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1988).
- 5 Wittgenstein, Ludwig, translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, *Philosophical Investigations*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1967).
- 6 Ramsey, Ian T., *Models and Mystery* (London, 1964).
- 7 Ibid., 7, 12-13, 19-20, 60-71.
- 8 Wittgenstein, op. cit., 5.
- 9 Evans, C. Stewart, *Philosophical Religions: Thinking about Faith* (Downers Grove, 1985), 152.
- 10 Gill, Jerry H., *On Knowing God: New Directions for the Future of Theology* (Philadelphia, 1981), 31.
- 11 Peterson, Michael, et al., *Reason and Religious Belief: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* (Oxford, 1998), 177.
- 12 For example, Riplinger, Gail, *The Language of the King James Bible: An Introduction* (Ararat, 1998).
- 13 Bibel (Bible in Frisian), (Haarlem, 1977).
- 14 Lorimer, op. cit.
- 15 Wittgenstein, op. cit.; Jaspers, Karl, and Rudolf Bultmann, *Myths and Christianity* (Amherst, N.Y., 1958); Gill, op. cit.; Ramsey, op. cit.; Tillich, Paul, *The Dynamics of Faith* (New York, 1957).
- 16 Tillich, Paul, *Ultimate Concern*, D. McKenzie Brown (ed.), (London, 1965), 53, 96.

One Old Stripper, An Old Churn, and Hanovers: Irish and Other Dialect in Blue Ridge Mountain Vocabulary

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In the whimsical view of Samuel Johnson, a lexicographer may be defined as ‘a harmless drudge’. Since one who collects and disseminates groups of words indicates something about the culture he purports to represent, as well as himself or herself, however, the word ‘harmless’ cannot be totally accurate. Even ignoring the concept of political correctness, what one assumes to be the truth, whole truth, and nothing but the truth may simply be a bias or a series of biases. Still, while one may describe efforts in lexicography as labors of love, there is less doubt that some drudgery is involved. For me, that drudgery appears in the act of writing, which also demonstrates my point of view. Even when I remind myself to avoid what one historian calls ‘historians’ fallacies’¹ (one of which is to select and make use of only the evidence that supports one’s own case), I may well be guilty of doing so. But isn’t everyone? Perhaps all Irish, Scots, Scots-Irish/Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and Border English should simply adopt, as working philosophy, the old Protestant revival hymn’s opening line, ‘Just As I Am, Without One Plea’, and go on from there. In this spirit, I am pleased to offer a brief essay in honor of Ulster linguist R. J. Gregg. While he used the term *Scotch-Irish* in a strict linguistic sense to refer to a speaker of the Ulster-Scots dialect represented most heavily in Antrim and Down², and I must use it in the American sense of any emigrant from Ulster to the North American colonies, both of us use language as a means of making our points. His effort is the more rigorous, while mine, lexical/cultural only, represents the older approach. In an appendix, American historian James G. Leyburn traces *Scotch-Irish* to Elizabeth I and her state papers³. Therein she applied it to the McDonalds/O’Donnells because they could elude her troops by skipping from the western isles of Scotland (outside her dominion) to Ulster and back. Histories of Clan Donald, which held the ‘Lordship of the Isles’, support her claim. If we ignore the concept of the Dalriada, what do we do with a Highland clan which connected western Scotland to northern Ireland? Gregg was correct in identifying the Ulster-Scots dialect with the Scottish Lowlands, but that is only one of several dialects and accents present in old Ulster. These include, as identified by one scholar or another, Ulster English (for the Gaeltacht areas of Donegal), Mid-Ulster English (especially in Fermanagh and Tyrone), Irish-English (especially in South Ulster), and a variety that approaches Received Pronunciation (especially among the landed gentry), as well as Ulster-Scots in Antrim and Down⁴. In fact, Ulster has more and more varied dialects than any other area of the

British Isles! Whether one relates these to ‘cultural traditions in Northern Ireland’, as did a series of conferences in 1989, 1990 and 1996, sponsored by the Queen’s University Institute of Irish Studies and the Cultural Traditions Groups, or ‘styles of belonging’ (1991), there are diverse cultures (i.e. Irish, Scottish, English, and Continental European) to be found which parallel the dialects and surely were reflected in the emigrants to North America whom Americans call ‘Scotch-Irish’⁵. As nearly as I can judge, our *Scotch-Irish* also included individuals of Irish, Scottish, English, and Continental European origin. Because of this mix, I prefer to think of my part of America more as Caesar Salad than as melting pot.

I must indicate clearly that my knowledge of dialect was arrived at by growing up in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Ashe County, North Carolina, not by specializing in linguistics. In furthering that knowledge, I have consulted lexical archival collections in Northern Ireland and Eire, in Yorkshire, at the offices of the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*) in Madison, Wisconsin, and various other libraries, as well as representative dictionaries and selected published word lists. The first two phrases in my title are drawn from the collection of Quaker wills and inventories at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and are a reminder to me of the ways in which early American material culture duplicates that of 18th-century Ireland⁶. As far as I can judge, both also duplicate much that is merely rural British and is extant in museums in Scotland, Wales, and at least six counties of northern England. While there are individual differences in vocabulary from region to region, that which relates to tools, planting and harvesting, and rural superstitions is largely the same. In North America, I have found it in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada (i.e. Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island), as well as my part of Appalachia. Though our respective geographic areas have some lexical differences, I have seen it also in a dictionary of southern Appalachian English⁷ and in the numerous articles of Montgomery on Scotch-Irish linguistics and vocabulary⁸. While it is linguistically correct to define this collective dialect (i.e. the shared dialect of these New World varieties) as Hiberno-English, the culture which furnished the vocabulary could just as accurately be called rural Celtic, rural British, or simply vernacular. As Ulsterman James Fenton and I have independently concluded, it is the horse/oxen/mules-with-harness-collars-yokes-sleds-and-plows culture we are speaking of. It began to disappear with the dominance of

tractor and combine after World War II, but is still remembered by those of us born before 1940. Fenton's 'hamely tongue' from rural north Antrim is often my tongue too, differing only in his larger number of pure Scots expressions⁹. And, as the rest of my title suggests, the Blue Ridge Mountain culture had settlers other than from Ulster. A number of these were German and, while they anglicized their names and otherwise joined in the stronger culture, they also left evidence of their roots. As with my Weavers, some may have been Flemish (from Flanders, Belgium). It is interesting to note that the name *Fleming*, Gaelicized as *Pleamonn*, can be associated with Slane as early as the 12th century and is now common in all four provinces in Ireland¹⁰. Apparently not only 17th-century Huguenots entered Ireland to help with the manufacturing of textiles.

According to information on vernacular architecture in writings of Henry Glassie, the house I grew up in had a 'simplified Georgian roofline (i.e. four triangles coming to an apex at the roof's center)'¹¹. My father told me it was designed and built by our cousin Ransom Johnson. His surname goes back to the village of St. Johnstown in Donegal and possibly Clan MacFarlane of Iona, if not Clan Johnstone on the Scottish Border. Given the European roof-line, Johnson must have learned his carpentry from Germans in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, where his family settled. Because of Bauers, Shoafs, and Liddles in Ashe County, however, one of our villages was called Little Berlin, until World War I made German names unpopular. At that time, it was rechristened Bina(h), a name I have traced to the Jewish Kabbala(h), and seen otherwise used as a given name for women of the mountains. I found it as a character's name in a story by the Irish writer Mary Lavin and learned it was also the name of one of her neighbors in Boston¹². Unless it appears, as well, in W. B. Yeats's writings about the Irish Kabbala, the Order of the Golden Dawn, I would be surprised if it has any other Irish connection.

More German is our Ashe County, N.C., habit of referring to rutabagas as *Hanovers*. While some readers may not recognize the term, it is listed in *DARE* with citations from 1942 on¹³. It is obviously much older than that in its American presence. Identification of this vegetable with a German locale was explained in two ways by a colleague of mine who consulted relatives in Germany to support her recollections¹⁴. In the first, the word was used as a town joke against country people, i.e. the accusation that those from Hanover or Hannover had heads shaped like turnips or rutabagas. The second identified the vegetable with the Hanover Rhinos, the fine horses, who would be spoiled by being fed this vegetable. I have found no evidence of either connotation in my American sources, but such might have been lost with time. Lexicography is not an exact science, especially when one deals with oral materials. Since the term is known to a number of Ashe Country families, however, I suspect it was used for some time and became a staple of the local culture. In this respect, it parallels a German word which permeates U.S. culture as a whole – the word *doodle* in our song 'Yankee Doodle'. In strictest definition, it means a poor musician, one who plays out of tune, and, thus in context, one who is out of tune with his surroundings. The Yankee Doodle is a country bumpkin and one who is being laughed at for his rusticity by the more sophisticated British.

Because most of the settlers in the North Carolina Blue Ridge mountains came from Pennsylvania by way of Virginia,

ours is a younger, more derivative culture than that of either of those states. I am told that the Blue Ridge mountain culture of northern Virginia is more German than Scotch-Irish, but this is only second-hand information. It has been common to say that the Scotch-Irish learned to fight the Shawnees and Cherokees in northern Virginia, spent a generation there growing crops and raising families, and then came up (i.e. south in) the Shenandoah Valley. This probably oversimplifies. It is more true to note that the northern Blue Ridge chain was settled before the southern and, more than likely, the North Carolina Blue Ridge were settled before the Smoky Mountains were. The latter had to await pacification of the Cherokees before Scotch-Irish and others could move in. The difference is about forty years, or a generation, though the Scotch-Irish culture would dominate both areas. With words added or lost, some changes in vocabulary occurred. The Irish word *dornog* 'stone for throwing', also rendered as *dornick*, *dernick*, and *donnick* 'a brick or brickbat', was commonly used in Pennsylvania, according to *DARE*, but also can be traced through West Virginia and Kentucky. If it appears in either Carolina or Tennessee (and one of Montgomery's consultants attested it for western North Carolina), it must have had minimal usage. The fact of time equaling geography may be reflected in another example. Allowing for changes in pronunciation, note the difference in the form of the following word. Fenton's *Hamely Tongue* (*HT*) identifies an Ulster expression, *peely-wally*, which is echoic/imitative of Scots *palie* (see also the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (*CSD*) and the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (*CUD*))¹⁵. The *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English* (*DSME*) and *DARE* identify the American version as *pindling*¹⁶. My Blue Ridge informant, Virginia Lewis Weaver, used *peedly* 'pale, anemic'. Since either *peely-wally* or *palie* can be pronounced *peely*, *peedly* is closer to the original than is *pindling*. The surname Lewis is from Ulster and the Scottish isle by the name, so we may have a direct family transmission in this example. In most other cases there is considerable agreement between the Blue Ridge and the Smokies.

Another term, *slob* 'mud' (therefore 'disorderly', from Hiberno-English), appears in *CUD* but not *CSD* and is designated informal by the *American Heritage Dictionary* (*AHD*). *Smithereens* 'small bits' (from Gaelic) also appears in *CUD* but not *CSD* and is designated by *AHD* as informal. Not present in the Blue Ridge but to be found in Newfoundland are the more obscure *boneen* 'young pig', *bostoon* 'clumsy fellow', and *caubeen* 'hat'¹⁷. Both *galore* and *smithereens* were used in the Blue Ridge Mountains in my time. So was *slob* 'a messy person', possibly derived from the earlier sense 'mud', but not necessarily another Newfoundland term, *floating ice*. Of two dozen other Newfoundland expressions, only *What book are you in?* 'What is your grade in school?' is one I am familiar with. It is found in *HT*, but not the *CSD* or *CUD*. The *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* contains some 130 listings I recognize, but the Irish influence on American English needs much further work¹⁸.

For lexical purposes, just how does Anglo-Irish differ from Hiberno-English? Items from the old dialect of Forth and Bargy in county Wexford, a variety that survived into the 18th century from a 12th- or 13th-century English settlement, may furnish guidance for Americans¹⁹. They include a number of English words, phrases and pronunciations which I knew in the Blue Ridge Mountains and Montgomery

encountered in his study of the Smoky Mountains, but which seem to have vanished from major British sources. Here I can furnish only representative examples: *beasthes* (pronounced ‘beast-es’ in the mountains) for ‘beasts’, a pronunciation not recognized by *CSD*, *CUD*, *HT*, or the *AHD*; *bile* ‘boil’, in the *EDD*, *CUD*, *CSD*, and *HT*; *brover* ‘brother’, not in British sources but a non-standard American pronunciation (*AHD*); *cote* ‘quote’, not in British sources but a non-standard American usage; *coome* (from Middle English *cuman* ‘to come’, not identified in this sense by British sources); *faut* ‘fault’, in *CSD*, *CUD* and *DARE*; *keow* ‘cow’ (from palatalization of vowels), probably from old Scots, but a non-standard American usage not in *CSD* or *CUD*; *naatur* ‘nature’, in *CSD* and *DARE* as a variant of *nature* and non-standard American; *neel* ‘needle’, not in *CSD* or *CUD*, but probably old Scots; *pint*, not in *CUD*, but *CSD* offers it as alternative to *point*; *vice*, which *CSD* offers as a variant to *voice*; *waal* ‘well’, which *CUD* identifies as Scots, and northern and western English; *yowe* ‘ewe’, which *CUD* identifies as pronunciations in Southern Britain and in Ulster; and *yellow* ‘yellow’, a form not found in Irish or Scots sources. Because some of these, or words similar to them, appear also in Ulster dialect collections, does this mean that the expressions came to North America directly from Wessex, England, from Wexford, Ireland, or from the Belfast area? Since the largest number of 18th-century settlers, the initial source for the Blue Ridge, came from Ulster, logic dictates the Belfast roots. However, some ships originated in Ulster and apparently stopped at Dublin, Waterford, or Cork to take on final provisions and possibly to add passengers. The Bartons of Rock Hill, South Carolina, may be one such family which took advantage of this opportunity, as did the Lane/Laney family from Cork, which was in North Carolina before 1775. On the other hand, one must remember that there were Ulster English settlers in Londonderry, Armagh city, parts of Antrim, and Downpatrick. In fact, settlement maps for several of these designate an Irish street, a Scotch [sic] street, and an English street. Given these facts, it is unlikely that all Scotch-Irish who came to the American colonies were of just Scottish extraction. Because of the mix and for Americans, the term Anglo-Irish could easily be construed as a branch of Hiberno English.

Some usages in Ireland had an origin in England, especially pronunciations: *varmint* ‘vermin’, *stim* ‘stem (of a pipe)’, *venter* ‘venture’, *pikter* ‘picture’, *apern* ‘apron’, *axe* ‘ask’, *nummer* ‘number’, *orphants* ‘orphans’, *clifts* ‘cliffs’, *huntin’*, *shootin’*, and *fishin’²⁰*. These word forms and others, such as *lep* (a past-tense form of *leap*), *driv*, and *catched* are not uncommon in the Blue Ridge Mountains today²¹. An older sister also remembers one example Braidwood does not include: our maternal grandmother, Laura Campbell Elliott, used the word *spore* as the past tense of *spare*. With such examples, it would seem that early American linguists who labeled mountain speech as Elizabethan were not totally wrong, just wrong in not knowing that most of it came by way of Ireland.

Braidwood also suggests a Yorkshire connection for some of his expressions, and these could have come to the American colonies by way of Ireland, too, though it is likely we had emigrants directly from Yorkshire as well. According to the curator of the Downpatrick Museum, all Turners originated in Yorkshire²². A considerable number ended up in southwest Virginia and northwest North Carolina, where their

descendents still live. Two Turner brothers married Campbell sisters and became part of my ancestry. Some expressions I know are documented in Yorkshire, but I do not find them in Scots and Irish sources: *balk* ‘unplowed land beside that plowed’, *jay legged* ‘knocked knee’ (compare Blue Ridge mountain *jake leg*, a likely corruption of *jay legged*, from the shape of the bird’s legs), *stob* ‘sharpened piece of wood’, *whittle* ‘a knife, especially a pocket knife’ (thus to carve pieces of wood with one), and *queer (or tight) as Dick’s hatband* (a comparative whose origin is unknown)²³. Others such as *yonder* ‘over there’ are still common in Ireland and North America.

Perhaps by now I should feel like Moliere’s hero M. Jourdain of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, who discovered in his mid years that he had been speaking prose all of his life. Have I now proved what some never doubted, that Blue Ridge Mountain speech came primarily from Ireland but also had roots in parts of Britain, too? I suspect that not only the Blue Ridge Mountains had a culture that was well mixed. For an initial collection of some 400 words and phrases compiled entirely from Irish archives in 1994, I was able to clearly identify sources for 120. Of these, forty were native to Ireland, forty to Scotland, and forty to England. Of course, this collection depended upon my recognizing the words and phrases the Irish had used and this is not the most scientific of procedures. On the other hand, I did qualify as moderately experienced, in that I came from the culture I was trying to describe. I also collated my findings with a number of American lists and checked all with Carolinians at least twenty years older than I. Even if my results are labeled impressionistic, they appear to parallel conclusions I have also arrived at about Ulster settlements.

In an attempt to achieve some validation for my collections, I worked in the Folklife Collection at University College Dublin (now at Belfield), the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum in county Down and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland in Belfast, and visited Hezlett House in county Londonderry. In all parts of Ireland, I found records of the same tools and farming customs I had known from the Blue Ridge Mountains. Usually the Irish and Southern American names were the same, too. Suspecting a possible ‘politics of commemoration’²⁴, I turned to a comparable American source, Joseph Doddridge’s *Notes on Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia ... 1763-83*²⁵. As well as similarities, there were some interesting differences. In the Ballyhagan Inventories (Quaker wills and registers at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland), residents of the Ballyhagan communities in county Armagh mention no firearms and, despite the numbers of other kinds of livestock, Quaker documents make no mention of pigs or chickens²⁶. Might these be construed as female possessions and not suitable to be mentioned in property lists of males? Inventories do list flat irons, household linens, and other objects associated with females, if not necessarily their legal possessions. Again, and despite the presence of many horses, cows and sheep, Quakers seem to have had few scythes, flails and rakes. Did bovine animals have to survive on potatoes, too? These disagreements with my mountain culture are noteworthy.

Hezlett House did contain and Quaker inventories did mention numerous objects I grew up with: wash stands, bedsteads, goose-irons, dash churns, butter prints and pats, pot handles, washboards, shoemakers’ lasts, chill plows, whipple

trees, double trees and single trees (properly, swingle trees), sickles, scythes, rakes, pitchforks, crosscut saws, wedges, froes and hammers. A typical inventory also specified oak and rush chairs, ladles, warming pans, pastry pans, lanterns, brass candlesticks, tubs, noggins, cans, wheeled cars, wheel barrows, a grinding stone, cheese press, a spade, shovels, oak chests, iron pots, a cradle, bolster, harrow, plows, men's and women's saddles, chisels, and an auger. The Quakers lived well, however, in the 18th century, and I knew these items only from the 20th. As Doddridge notes, in colonial America bowls and trenchers would have been carved from the abundant trees and used in early mountain cabins for eating. In tanning leather, mountain people used ashes, instead of lime, to take hair off the skins they used for shoes and clothing, and, instead of fish oil for softening, they used bear grease, hog lard and beef tallow. In both countries, plants and shrubs furnished medicines, as did vegetables and spices such as anise, cucumbers, garlic, onions, radishes, plantain, and turnips. A cure for burns, for example, was a poultice made of scraped potatoes, roasted turnips, or slippery elm bark. Potatoes, onions, or whisky and sugar were used to aid sufferers from croup. Born in 1932 and a farm child plagued by croup, I had to endure some of these practices. My father, born in 1892, wore an asafetida (pronounced *asofetidy*) bag to ward off colds and had to take a spring tonic of sulphur and molasses to help thin blood presumed to have thickened by winter inactivity. Comparable superstitions were present in Ireland and the rest of Appalachia, too, if not all of Eastern Canada.

Many speech patterns are shared between Ulster and the Smoky Mountains, a sister chain for the Blue Ridge²⁷. These include double helping verbs as *might could*, quite common in the Blue Ridge, the pronoun combination *you-uns* 'you ones' (i.e. 'you' plural), and such vocabulary as *airish, backset, beal/bealing, bonny clabber, bottom* 'low-lying land', *chancy, contrary* 'to vex', *creel* 'to twist or give way' (is this the same as Blue Ridge *keel over?*), *discomfit* 'to inconvenience', *fireboard* 'mantelpiece', *hull* 'to shell (beans)', *ill* 'bad-tempered', *kindling* 'wood scraps to start a fire', *let on* 'to pretend', *mend* 'to improve physically', *muley* 'hornless cow', *nicker* 'horse's whinny', *palings* 'pickets (of a fence)', *piece* 'distance', *redd up* 'to tidy up', *soon* 'early', *swan/swanny* 'mild swear words', and *take up* 'to begin'. All of these but *bonny clabber, redd up*, and perhaps *creel* are also common to the Blue Ridge. *Muley*, noted earlier, is from Irish *moiley* 'a hornless cow' and Scottish Gaelic *mull* 'bald or tonsured' (noun or adjective) and still survives in place names (e.g. *Mull of Kintyre*) and family names (*Mulholland and Moloney*).

One of the most important archival collections in Northern Ireland is that of Belfast medical doctor John Byers, who began collecting words and phrases in the 1880s and ceased only in 1920²⁸. Some entries are more suited to the culture of the U.S. tidewater than the mountains, and African American culture more than white, however. For the latter, the present tense usage of *be* in the construction *Hurry before it bes dark* is identified by Byers as Ulster speech and could just as easily be American Ebonics (i.e. African American English). Byers also lists forms which appear in American mountain speech: *afeared* 'scared' and *ahind* 'behind', as well as words common to most southeast American dialects: *favor* 'to look like', *gumption* 'common sense', *egged on* 'urged', *gander* 'to take a look at', *abide* 'to endure, put up with', *gadding about* 'wandering aimlessly', and *spanking new* 'brand new'

(probably derived from delivery of an infant). A new Ulster word for me was *juke* or *duke*, but it is much used by U.S. sportscasters to describe the evasive actions of basketball or football players, who feint one way and go the other. I don't recall seeing or hearing it in any other context.

A number of Byers' words and phrases also were changed in America, if my ear has recorded them correctly. His *dressed to the ninety-nines* became *dressed to the nines* in American simplification. His *neither money, marvels, nor check* became *neither money, marbles, nor chalk* in my lifetime and appeared so stated in a country song. *Truckle under* became Southern America's *knuckle under*, with a possible suggestion of force or constraint. Irish *hilt nor hair* became *hide nor hair, clever* 'open and honest', became 'thrifty' and 'successful' in mountain parlance. *Founder*, a bad effect of influenza in humans, became bovine indigestion from eating too much early Spring grass, and *cow's lick* 'a widow's peak', became any lock of hair which insisted on lying the wrong way. Such lexical changes are inevitable and probably say more about current users than those who used them first.

Byers furnishes an even longer list of words that may be different only because of pronunciations, if Ulster spelling accurately signals that difference. Phrases such as *hum and ha* (our *hem and haw*) and *debbling* (our *dabbling*) may not be different²⁹. Ulster pronunciations make a cat say *meow* instead of the English *mew* and a female sheep be a *yow* instead of a *ewe*. The Ulsterman also drops the *-d* in words such as *blind* and the *-t* in words such as *respect*. Like American mountaineers, also, he sometimes makes a single-syllable word into two (*car* becomes *cy-ar*) or he reduces two syllables to one (*tower* becomes *tare*). Probably many apparent lexical differences could be detected by secretly recording the everyday speech of Appalachia and that of rural Ulster and comparing them.

The work of Brendan Adams furnishes other words and phrases I am familiar with³⁰. These include *bat* to mean not only a wooden object, a flying mammal, or an old woman, but also 'a mentally unbalanced person'. In a notable article, he furnishes examples of haymaking language largely differing from what I knew from the horse and sled culture of the Blue Ridge Mountains, though the practice was precisely the same³¹. Of interest might be terms such as *buggies* 'a low vehicle for moving hay', *handsticks* (perhaps equivalent to our haypoles, a means for carrying hay from place to place), *win* (our winnowing 'tossing the hay so that it could air-dry'), and *needle*. The last, an iron bar pushed under a pile of hay with rope attachments to draw a hay-heap to a storage place, looks like a possible origin for the American expression, *needle in a haystack*. Another expression, *snig*, has been lost totally, but the practice was duplicated: i.e. the drawing of a hay-heap along the ground by passing a tow-rope, wire or chain around its base and attaching it to a horse or tractor. What Adams does is furnish documentary evidence for what Estyn Evans offered as pronouncements, but both can shed light upon the Irishness of my mountain culture³².

As may be surmised, many things British which were lexical, linguistic, or merely cultural can clarify early American culture, but the Irish sources tend to repeat each other. The work of Braidwood shows knowledge of Adams' writing, as well as that of Evans, and no doubt is even more indebted to the John Byers collection. In speaking of the Ulster-American connection, he identifies *granny* 'midwife',

sook/sookie ‘a call for calves’, *I want in* ‘I want to get in’, *I want out* ‘I want to get out’, and *I want off* ‘I want to get off’³³. By now, most of these are probably just American dialect usages. It is possible even that some were lost in Ireland but brought back by disillusioned Irish emigrants from the America which made them unhappy.

The *Concise Ulster Dictionary* adds some words also found in others. These include *aish* (in Ireland, probably the mountain ash or rowan tree), *allow* ‘to be of the opinion that’, *beholden* ‘indebted to’, *boot* (from Scots *buit* ‘money given to equalize a trade’), *brachin/breachin* (‘straw pad protecting a horse or donkey’s back’; in the U.S. ‘the leather straps of a harness from the collar to the horse’s tail’), *crupper* (Irish ‘hind-end of a horse’; in the U.S. ‘the leather strap which goes under the horse’s tail’), *disremember* ‘forget’, and many others. The *CUD* also omitted terms which the editor found too common, producing what she felt to be just Ulster dialect. Her omitted terms include many prevalent in America, but all makers of dictionaries must decide what to omit as well as what to include.

Share has a few more terms that exist in Blue Ridge speech: *hind tit* (i.e. the one containing less milk, offered to the weakest or runt), *rip* (‘slovenly dressed girl or coarse, ill-conditioned woman with a bad tongue’; in the Blue Ridge Mountains, ‘a slut’), *scrab/sraub/scrawb* (from Dutch *schrabban* ‘to scratch or scrape’; in the Blue Ridge, *drabble* ‘to scratch for new potatoes’), *white-headed boy* ‘pet, favorite’ (based on the Celtic preference for fair hair; in the U.S. *fair-haired boy?*), and *whyfor* ‘why’ (as an intensifier)³⁴.

A glance at an English/Scottish Gaelic dictionary suggests that an important number of Scots words in the Blue Ridge were likely brought by Ulster emigrants, even as was any residue of Elizabethan English³⁵. That dictionary, however, only offers some 40 words I recognize, and most of these are not unique to Scotland. Perhaps *sluig* ‘to swallow’ (in America, also a drink), *pack/pac/poca* ‘sack’ (in America, a *poke*), and *crosda* (from *Nas Crosda*, ‘cross, bad-tempered’) are the most interesting to me.

As one can see, Blue Ridge Mountain dialect is eclectic, a combination of words from several languages and places, and not all of these words exist today in the form in which they were originally brought to the mountains. To paraphrase Bob Dylan’s song-title, the times they have changed. I assume I have also, so I must content myself with this progress report in honor of R. J. Gregg. Perhaps someone else can update it sometime in the future.

Notes

- 1 Fischer, David Hackett, *Historians' Fallacies* (New York, 1970).
- 2 See, inter alia, his ‘The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster’ in Wakelin, Martyn F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, 1972), 109-139.
- 3 Leyburn, James G., *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), 329.
- 4 See especially Barry, Michael V., ‘Historical Introduction to the Dialects of Ulster’ in Macafee, C. I. (ed.), *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (Oxford, 1996) and entries in McArthur, Tom (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (Oxford, 1992).
- 5 Lundy, Jean, and Aodán Mac Póilín (eds.), *Styles of Belonging: The Cultural Traditions of Ulster* (Belfast, 1993); Crozier, Maurna (ed.), *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland: Varieties of Irishness* (Belfast, 1989) and subsequent volumes.
- 6 Gailey, Alan, ‘The Ballyhagan Inventories, 1716-1740’, *Folk Life: A Journal of Ethnological Studies* 15 (1977), 36-64.
- 7 Montgomery, Michael, and Joseph S. Hall (eds.), *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English* (Knoxville, 2004).
- 8 Montgomery, Michael, ‘Exploring the Roots of Appalachian English’, *English World-Wide* 10 (1989), 227-78; ‘How Scotch-Irish Is Your English?’ *Journal of East Tennessee History* 67 (1995), 1-33; ‘The Scotch-Irish Influence on Appalachian English: How Broad? How Deep?’ in Blethen, H. Tyler, and Curtis W. Wood Jr. (eds.), *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish* (Tuscaloosa, 1997), 189-212.
- 9 Fenton, James, *The Hamely Tongue: A Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim*, 2nd ed. (Belfast, 2000).
- 10 MacLysaght, Edward, *Surnames of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978).
- 11 Glassie, Henry, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), 111.
- 12 Lavin, Mary, personal communication, 1978.
- 13 Cassidy, Frederic G., and Joan Houston Hall (eds.), *Dictionary of American Regional English*, volume 3 (Cambridge, 1996).
- 14 Heinemann, Barbara, personal communication, 1994.
- 15 Robinson, Mairi, et al. (eds.), *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen, 1985); Macafee, op. cit.
- 16 Montgomery and Hall, op. cit.; Cassidy, Frederic G., and Joan Houston Hall (eds.), *Dictionary of American Regional English*, volume 4 (Cambridge, 2002).
- 17 Kirwin, William J., ‘The Planting of Anglo-Irish in Newfoundland’, in Clarke, Sandra (ed.), *Focus on Canada* (Philadelphia, 1993), 65-84.
- 18 Dolan, T. P. (ed.), *Dictionary of Hiberno-English* (Dublin, 1998).
- 19 Dolan, T. P., and Diarmaid Ó Muirithe, *The Dialect of Forth and Bargy Co. Wexford, Ireland* (Dublin, 1996); Montgomery, Michael, ‘The Celtic Element in American English’, in Tristram, Hildegard (ed.), *Celtic Englishes II* (Heidelberg, 2000), 231-264.
- 20 Braidwood, John, ‘The Brogue On the Tongue (Poor English – Good Irish)’, *Queen's University Association Annual Record* (1977), 72.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Turner, Brian, personal communication, 1988.
- 23 Kellett, Arnold (ed.), *Yorkshire Dictionary of Dialect, Tradition and Folklore* (Otley, 1994).
- 24 McCormack, W.J., in a speech at the Hewitt Summer School, 1998.
- 25 Doddridge, Joseph, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783* (Wellsville, 1824; expanded and reprinted, 1976).
- 26 Gailey, Alan, personal communication, 1995.
- 27 Montgomery, op. cit. (1995).
- 28 This collection is deposited in the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, Cultra, Northern Ireland.
- 29 Russell, Charles, *People and Language of Ulster* (Belfast, 1910).
- 30 Adams, G. B., *The English Dialects of Ulster: An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech* (Cultra, 1986).
- 31 Adams, G. B., ‘The Work and Words of Haymaking’, *Ulster Folklife* 12-13 (1966-67), 66-91.
- 32 Evans, E. Estyn, *Irish Folkways* (London, 1957).
- 33 Braidwood, John, *Ulster Dialect Lexicon* (Belfast, 1969).
- 34 Share, Bernard, *Slanguage: A Dictionary of Irish Slang* (Dublin, 1997).
- 35 Renton, R. W., and J. A. MacDonald (eds.), *Scottish-Gaelic/English Dictionary* (New York, 1999).

Annotated Bibliography of Ulster-Scots Language and Literature

John G. W. Erskine and Michael Montgomery

This bibliography identifies and comments briefly on published scholarly and popular writings on Ulster-Scots. Most items deal with either Ulster-Scots as a language variety or closely related issues pertaining to Ulster English. With regard to language we have endeavoured to be as comprehensive as possible, recognizing that much of the literature is little known, even in Northern Ireland, and that this bibliography can make it accessible for the first time. Items on Scots produced in Scotland, such as dictionaries and linguistic atlases, are included when they contain material from Ulster. However, with the exception of one or two lexicographical works, general works on Scots are excluded.

Items about writers in Ulster-Scots or their work (usually poetry) are also included, but published original writing in Ulster-Scots is so voluminous (especially in recent years, with the advent of *Ullans*, the annual magazine of the Ulster-Scots Language Society) that this can, and should, be documented fully in a separate bibliography. This compilation can include only major works, such as collections of the Rhyming Weavers (especially those with a modern critical introduction), and recent critical or biographical works about these writers. An extensive list of poetry and fiction through 1900 that contain Ulster-Scots or Ulster English can be found in J. R. R. Adams' 'A Preliminary Checklist of Works Containing Ulster Dialect, 1700-1900' (see below).

Internet documents and databases on Ulster-Scots are included when their author is known or they are deemed particularly valuable. However, such sources are often transient and anonymous and draw largely on published sources included here. Because they are proliferating rapidly and can be found with a typical internet search engine, this compilation does not generally attempt to cite them.

Adair, Mark, 'Boundaries, Diversity and Inter-culturalism: The Case of Ulster-Scots', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language and Politics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 1), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2000), 143-147. Argues that Ulster-Scots should be recognised as part of the 'diverse and shared future' of Northern Ireland and that the influence of Ulster-Scots tradition on and from other traditions be acknowledged.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'The Dialects of Ulster', in Diarmaid Ó Muirithe (ed.), *The English Language in Ireland* (Dublin, Mercier, 1977), 56-70, map. Introduction to the subject, with features and examples; shows how settlement history of English and Scots produced modern dialects.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Glossary of Lower Bann Fishery Terms' in N. C. Mitchel, 'The Lower Bann Fisheries', *Ulster Folklife* 11 (1965), 30-32. Glossary of 22 terms, including some of Scottish derivation (Mitchel's article appears in the same issue).

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Language and Man in Ireland', *Ulster Folklife* 15/16 (1970), 140-171, maps. Reprinted in Michael Barry and Philip Tilling (eds.), *The English Dialects of Ulster: An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech by G. B. Adams* (Holywood, Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, 1986), 1-32. Traces the languages and linguistic influences of settlers in Ireland from the mesolithic age to the 18th century and argues that 'north of a line from Drogheda to Bundoran, Ulster is linguistically a zone of transition from Scotland to the rest of Ireland' for both Scots and Gaelic.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Materials for a Language Map of 17th Century Ireland', *Ulster Dialect Archives Bulletin* 4 (1965), 15-30. Summarises Petty's 1659 Census of Ireland and discusses problems of interpreting it for language groups; notes that English and Scottish residents were distinguished for many Ulster baronies.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Northern England as a Source of Ulster Dialects', *Ulster Folklife* 13 (1967), 69-74. Reprinted in Michael Barry and Philip Tilling (eds.), *The English Dialects of Ulster: An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech by G. B. Adams* (Holywood, Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, 1986), 33-36. Review article of Eduard Kolb, *Linguistic Atlas*

of England: *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Region*; adduces positive and negative evidence for influence from northern England, by both northern and southern routes, on Ulster dialect, and argues that some phonological features of Ulster-Scots and Ulster English came from northern England at least in part.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Patterns of Word Distribution', *Ulster Folklife* 2 (1956), 6-13. Uses distribution maps for variant terms for four items (*earwig*, *one*, *heifer* and *up/down to Belfast/Dublin*) to show existence of a 'Northeastern Crescent' dialect sub-region that is explained in part by Scottish settlement in the 17th century.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Phonological Notes on the English of South Donegal', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 53C4 (1950), 299-310. Reprinted in Michael Barry and Philip Tilling (eds.), *The English Dialects of Ulster: An Anthology of Articles on Ulster Speech by G. B. Adams* (Holywood, Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, 1986), 97-104. Notes that the Scottish Vowel Length Rule, whereby vowels are long only at the end of a word, before [r] and before voiced fricative consonants, is preserved in the English of South Donegal, although this has been overlaid by later phonological developments.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'The Phonology of the Antrim Dialect: Historical Introduction with Special Reference to the Problem of Vowel Length', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 57C3 (1956), 69-152. Detailed phonological study of county Antrim speech.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'A Register of Phonological Research on Ulster Dialects' in G. Brendan Adams (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: an Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, Ulster Folk Museum, 1964), 193-201. Annotated list of published and unpublished research on pronunciation for the nine counties of Ulster as well as Counties Louth and Leitrim.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Report on Dialect Work in Ulster', *Scottish Language* 1 (1982), 6-12. Concise chronological survey and assessment of a century of research.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Shakespeare in Cullybackey', *Ulster Folklife* 17 (1971), 97-98. Rendering of 'All the World's a Stage' soliloquy from *As You Like It* into the dialect of Craigs, near Cullybackey, county Antrim, as recorded by John Wright.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Shakespeare in Kilwaughter', *Ulster Folklife* 19 (1973), 77-78. Rendering of 'All the World's a Stage' soliloquy from *As You Like It* into the dialect of Kilwaughter, county Antrim, recorded by John Clifford.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'The Study of Ulster Dialects, 1860 to the Present Day' in *Aspects of English Dialects in Ireland* 1 (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1981), 5-17. History and narrative bibliography of principal dialect work in Ulster, 1860-1980, including on Ulster-Scots.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Ulster Dialect Origins', *Ulster Folklife* 17 (1971), 99-102, maps. Presents and discusses maps of Ulster showing the presumed areas of origin in Britain and settlement of 17th-century English planters and areas of Irish

and Scottish settlement and speech.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'Ulster Dialects', in *Belfast in Its Regional Setting: a Scientific Survey* (Belfast, British Association, 1952), 195-200, map. Reprinted as 'Introduction: Ulster Dialects', in G. Brendan Adams (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: an Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, Ulster Folk Museum, 1964), 1-4, map. Concise introduction to the two primary constituents of Ulster dialect (Ulster-Scots and Mid-Ulster English) and the regional standard found in urban areas that usually results from a blending of the two.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'The Ulster "egh" Sound', *Ulster Folk and Transport Museum Yearbook* (1974/75), 10-11. Examines the classes of words and names in which the velar fricative /x/ is maintained in modern Ulster speech.

Adams, G. Brendan, 'The Voiceless Velar Fricative in Northern Hiberno-English', in *Aspects of English Dialects in Ireland* 1 (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1980), 106-117, maps. On the origin (frequently Scots), use and loss of the consonant phoneme /x/ as in *licht*; includes distribution maps.

Adams, J. R. R., 'Jack Stewart, Jamie Boyd – and Friends: Subscribers to Ulster-Scots Poetry, 1793-1824, a Name Survey', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 1 (1993), 26-27. Categorises and analyses names of people who took out subscriptions to finance the publication of volumes by rural Ulster-Scots poets in the late 18th and early 19th century.

Adams, J. R. R., 'A Preliminary Checklist of Works Containing Ulster Dialect, 1700-1900', *Linen Hall Review* 6, 3 (1989), 10-12. A list of works, chiefly literary, containing or commenting on Ulster dialect; includes, but does not specifically identify, Ulster-Scots items.

Adams, J. R. R., *The Printed Word and the Common Man: Popular Culture in Ulster, 1700-1900* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1987), vii + 218 pp. Seminal work on publishing, reading habits, education and literacy in 18th- and 19th-century Ulster; provides an informative background for study of these aspects of the Ulster-Scots community.

Adams, J. R. R., 'Reading Societies in Ulster', *Ulster Folklife* 26 (1980), 55-64. Overview of 18th-century clubs that purchased books for members to borrow and often discuss and debate; many of these societies were in Ulster-Scots areas.

Adams, J. R. R., 'A Rural Bard, His Printers and His Public: Robert Huddleston of Moneyrea', *Linen Hall Review* 9, 3/4 (Winter 1992), 9-11. Based on material in the Huddleston Archive at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum.

Adams, J. R. R., "'Scotch Poems' from East Donegal in 1753", *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 1 (1993), 24-25. Reprints and discusses one poem in Scots written in the Laggan area of east Donegal and published in the early anthology *Ulster Miscellany*.

Adams, Jack (ed.), *Bab McKeen: The Wit and Wisdom of an Ulster Scot* (Ballymena, Mid-Antrim Ulster-Scots Society, 2002), ii + 106 pp. A compilation of three decades of newspaper columns from the *Ballymena Observer* from the

late 19th and early 20th century, with a 'Forethocht' by Philip Robinson.

Adamson, Ian, 'The Language of Ulster' in his *The Identity of Ulster: the Land, the Language and the People* (Bangor, Pretani, 1982), 73-81, map. Surveys two millennia of linguistic history of the province, focusing on the affinities of Ulster Gaelic and 'Ulster Lallans' to other varieties; argues that concerted action should be taken for the preservation of both along the lines of the Fryske Akademy for Frisian in the Netherlands.

Akenson, Donald Harman, 'Listening to Rural Language: Ballycarry Co. Antrim, 1798-1817', in Donald H. Akenson (ed.), *Canadian Papers in Rural History* (Ganacoche, Langdale, 1980), 155-172. Argues that the verse of Ulster-Scots folk poets such as James Orr offers a museum of Ulster speech of an earlier day.

Akenson, Donald Harman, and W. H. Crawford, *Local Poets and Social History: James Orr, Bard of Ballycarry* (Belfast, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 1977), viii + 130 pp. Reproduces and examines selected poems from Orr and contemporary documents and discusses their social background; glossary, pp. 122-124.

'Animals and Insects', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 2 (1994), 14-17. A glossary of ninety terms for insects and domestic and farm animals.

Avery, Hilary, 'Ulster Scots in Education in Northern Ireland', in Dónall Ó Riagáin (ed.), *Language and Law in Northern Ireland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 9), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2003), 65-77. Outlines background, rationale and methodology of the Ulster-Scots Primary School Project to develop materials on Ulster-Scots language, history and culture and provides samples of its materials.

Baraniuk, Carol, 'James Orr: Ulster-Scot and Poet of the 1798 Rebellion', *Scottish Studies Review* 6:1 (May/June 2005), 22-32.

Barnes, Elspeth, Will McAvoy and Philip Robinson, 'More Place Names around Greyabbey', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 2 (1994), 25-27. Supplements McAvoy et al., 'Some Field Names in the Greyabbey District', by identifying local names for roads, townlands, etc. and their origins.

Barry, Michael V., 'The English Language in Ireland', in Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach (eds.), *English around the World* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1982), 84-133. Includes a summary (pp. 110-15) of Ulster-Scots pronunciation, based on the work of Gregg.

Barry, Michael V., 'Historical Introduction to the Dialects of Ulster', in C. I. Macafee (ed.), *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), ix-xii. Chronicles the coming of English and Scots to Ireland and how they contributed to the present-day dialect diversity of Ulster.

Barry, Michael V., 'The Southern Boundaries of Northern Hiberno-English Speech', in *Aspects of English Dialects in*

Ireland 1 (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1981), 52-95. Describes the methodology adopted to identify the southern limits of Northern Hiberno English, with its distinctive English and Scottish features; includes maps.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, 'Andrew McKenzie, the Bard of Dunover', *Irish Book Lover* 3, 12 (July 1912), 197-199. Biographical sketch of Andrew McKenzie, 1780-1839.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, 'Doagh Book-Club County Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 15 (1909), 158-160. Reproduces a then-extant account of the Doagh Book Club (established 1770) from the *Larne Literary & Agricultural Journal* of 1838.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, 'Robert Anderson, the Cumberland Bard: Some Notes on His Connection with Belfast and Carnmoney, 1808-1818', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 5 (1899), 100-104. On the poet Robert Anderson (d. 1833), a cotton print designer, and his association with weaver poets in Antrim and Down during his employment at Carnmoney.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, 'Rural Libraries in Antrim', *Irish Book Lover* 13, 4 (November 1921), 47-52. Chiefly on the Four Towns Book Club, its influence and members, many of whom were weaver poets; expanded as part of next entry.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, 'Thomas Beggs, an Antrim Poet, and the Four Towns Book Club', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 8 (1902), 119-127. Reproduces Fullarton's biographical sketch of Beggs (see previous entry), with notes on the Four Towns Book Club and a list of Beggs' published works.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, 'Ulster Dialect', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 10 (1904), 66-68. Introduces and reproduces the glossary of Scots words from Hugh Porter's *Poetical Attempts* (1813).

Black, Gladys, 'Educational Drama, Regional Dialect and Spoken Standard English', Coleraine, 1997 (University of Ulster Ph.D. thesis). Develops a curriculum to help primary-school students appreciate local dialect by having them write and perform drama with dialect-speaking characters.

Blaney, Jim, 'Upper Ards Folk and Glossary of Words', *Journal of the Upper Ards Historical Society* 9 (1985), 6-7. Comments on the heritage and flavour of local speech and compiles a glossary of a hundred terms, many of Irish and Scots ancestry.

Boyd, James R., 'The Bard of Moneyrea: Robert Huddleston (1814-1887)', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 1 (1993), 30-33; 2 (1994), 32-34. Introduction to and appreciation of the work of the county Down poet Robert Huddleston.

Braidwood, John, 'The Brogue on the Tongue (Poor English – Good Irish)', *Queen's University Association Annual Report* (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 1977), 67-74. Overview of dialects in Ulster and their representation in literature; cautions that 'the Scots tradition is so much the dominant one

that many erroneously equate it with the Ulster Dialect'.

Braidwood, John, 'Crowls and Runts: Ulster Dialect Terms for the Weakling of the Litter', *Ulster Folklife* 20 (1974), 70-84, 2 maps. Includes terms such as *crowl/crile* and *dorby*, which he traces to Lowland Scots.

Braidwood, John, 'Local Bird Names in Ulster: a Glossary', *Ulster Folklife* 11 (1965), 98-135. Records in this and four succeeding articles (see below) the local name, the standard English name and the place and date of their usage; does not seek to stipulate English, Irish or Scots origins.

Braidwood, John, 'Local Bird Names in Ulster: Part 2', *Ulster Folklife* 12 (1966), 104-107. Supplements the author's 1965 compilation.

Braidwood, John, 'Local Bird Names in Ulster: Some Additions', *Ulster Folklife* 17 (1971), 81-84. Further supplements the author's 1965 compilation.

Braidwood, John, 'Local Bird Names in Ulster: Further Additions', *Ulster Folklife* 24 (1978), 83-87. Further supplements the author's 1965 compilation.

Braidwood, John, 'Local Bird Names in Ulster: Some Additions', *Ulster Folklife* 33 (1987), 83-85. Further supplements the author's 1965 compilation.

Braidwood, John, 'Towards an Ulster Dialect Dictionary', *Ulster Dialect Archives Bulletin* 5 (1965), 3-14. Progress report on the first decade and a half of the compilation of a dictionary of Ulster dialect, with a synopsis of editorial considerations for the project initiated by the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club in 1951 and later put under the editorship of the author.

Braidwood, John, 'Ulster and Elizabethan English', in G. Brendan Adams (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: an Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, Ulster Folk Museum, 1964), 5-109. Contents: 1. Historical introduction: the planters; 2. Phonology; 3. Usage and vocabulary. Detailed study of the introduction by English and Scottish settlers of Elizabethan and Jacobean English into Ulster and of its subsequent influence on Ulster speech.

Braidwood, John, *The Ulster Dialect Lexicon*, New Lecture Series no. 51 (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 1969, reprinted 1975), 33 pp., maps. Wide-ranging discussion of the origins and usage of lexical items in Ulster dialects; includes Ulster-Scots material.

Braidwood, John, 'The Ulster Dialect: the Distinctive Speech of a Distinctive People', in *Ulster: an Ethnic Nation?* (Lurgan, Ulster Society, 1986), 24-40. Examines influences on the development of Ulster English, with a particular study of Ulster-Scots.

Burke, Tim, "Yet Though I'm Irish All Without, I'm Every Item Scotch Within": Poetry and Self-fashioning in 1790's Ulster', *John Clare Society Journal* 22 (July, 2003), 35-49.

Carpenter, Andrew, 'From Ulster to Delaware: Two Poems by James Orr about an Eighteenth-Century Emigrant Voyage', in Charles Fanning (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 65-74. Contrasts and appraises the language of Orr's 'Song Composed on the Banks of Newfoundland' (in English) and 'The Passengers' (in Ulster-Scots).

Carpenter, Andrew, 'Ulster-Scots Words and Expressions' in Andrew Carpenter (ed.), *Verse in English from Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1998), 600-604. Glossary to anthology of 18th-century poetic texts.

Centre for Ulster-Scottish Studies: Exploring the Relationship between Ulster and Scotland: an Outline Proposal (Belfast, Ulster-Scots Heritage Council, 2000). 8 pp. Argues for establishment of a university-level centre on connections between Ulster and Scotland.

Connolly, [Rosalind] Isabel, 'An Analysis of Some Linguistic Information Obtained from Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Ulster Poetry', Belfast, 1981 (Queen's University Belfast Ph.D. thesis). Examines the poetry of the Rhyming Weavers for what it reveals about the speech of the period.

Connolly, Linde, 'Attitudes to Life and Death in the Poetry of James Orr, an Eighteenth-Century Ulster Weaver', *Ulster Folklife* 31 (1985), 1-12. Through Orr's writings, examines his attitudes and those of his community; includes some social and religious background.

Connolly, Linde, 'Spoken English in Ulster in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Ulster Folklife* 28 (1982), 33-39. Examines period accounts of local speech, especially Ulster-Scots, and the move to a more 'correct' usage.

Connolly, S. J., 'Ulster Scots', *Oxford Book of Irish History*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), 592. A brief note.

Corrigan, Karen P., 'Northern Hiberno-English: the State of the Art', *Irish University Review* 20, 1 (1990), 91-119. Surveys research on Northern Hiberno-English from the 19th century to the present and includes Ulster-Scots; bibliography, pp. 114-119.

Crozier, Alan, 'The Scotch-Irish Influence on American English', *American Speech* 59 (1984), 310-331. Introduces and discusses thirty Ulster words and phrases brought to the United States and found in 20th-century speech there, focusing mainly on connections to Pennsylvania.

Delargy, Mary, 'Linguistic Diversity Education Project', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 61-65. Outlines the activities and goals of one constituent of the Linen Hall Library's Languages in Ulster Project and how the library sought to foster greater awareness of Ulster-Scots through it.

Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue. See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*.

Dictionary of the Scots Language, <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>>, 2003. Incorporates the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and the *Scottish National Dictionary* and thus documents over the course of six centuries thousands of terms in Scots and its constituent varieties, including Ulster-Scots.

Docherty, Jason, 'Imagining Ulster: Northern Ireland Protestants and Ulster Identity', Belfast, 2002 (Queen's University Belfast Ph.D. thesis). Chapter 5, 'Ulster-Scots and Northern Ireland Politics' (pp. 174-203), discusses the Ulster-Scots revival movement and the early history of the Ulster-Scots Language Society, founded in 1992.

Doherty, Gavan. 'A Word Atlas of Northern Ireland', Belfast, 2001 (Queen's University Belfast M.Sc. dissertation).

Dornan, Stephen, 'Beyond the Milesian Pale: Ulster-Scots Literature and Irish Studies', *Études Irlandaises* (2004). On the marginalisation of Ulster-Scots literature within the field of Irish Studies; includes discussion of the work of James Orr, arguing that its scope and literary merit are greater than generally acknowledged.

Douglas, Ellen, 'A Sociolinguistic Study of Articlave', *Ulster Folklife* 21 (1975), 55-67. Condensed in *Northern Ireland Speech and Language Journal* 2 (1976), 25-28. From an investigation in east county Londonderry, emphasises that speech even in a small village is heterogeneous socially and situationally.

Douglas-Cowie, Ellen, 'Linguistic Code-Switching in a Northern Ireland Village: Social Interaction and Social Ambition', in Peter Trudgill (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* (London, Arnold, 1978), 37-51. Studies bialectalism in Standard English and local English in the village of Articlave, county Londonderry.

Douglas-Cowie, Ellen, 'The Sociolinguistic Situation in Northern Ireland', in Peter Trudgill (ed.), *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), 533-545. Identifies four types of accents (local vernacular, careful vernacular, localised standard and RP-influenced speech) that cut across regional boundaries of speech, are found in the repertoire of individual speakers and have different social significance and perceptual evaluation.

Eagle, Andy, 'A Phonological Comparison of Scots Dialects'. <www.scots-online.org/articles/phonology.pdf>, 2000, 15 pp. Tabular comparison of vowels and consonants of Ulster-Scots and eight varieties of Scots in Scotland and the spellings used for them.

Eagle, Andy, 'Reinventing the Wheel?: or Maun Ulster Scots be Spelt Ither Nor Mainland Scots?' <www.scots-online.org/articles/ulster.pdf>, 2000, 31 pp. Reconstructs vowel and consonant phonemes of Ulster-Scots from published studies, compares these to varieties of Scots in Scotland and considers whether a separate orthography for Ulster-Scots is justified.

Eagle, Andy, 'Ulster Scots'. <www.scot.co.uk/language/scots/leidwabsteid/uscots.htm>, n.d. Identifies vowels and consonants of Ulster-Scots and cites typical words in which they occur.

Edmund, John, 'Ulster-Scots Language and Culture', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language Planning and Education: Linguistic Issues in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 6), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2002), 175-182. Surveys the background, demand (based on surveys) and prospects for future development of Ulster-Scots culture and language.

Eirug, Aled, 'Towards the BBC's Minority Languages Policy' in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Towards our Goals in Broadcasting, the Press, the Performing Arts and the Economy: Minority Languages in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 10), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2003), 33-35. Outlines BBC Northern Ireland's development of programming on Ulster-Scots culture and language and explains basis of its policy on this programming.

Erskine, John, 'The Auld Sinner: a Forgotten Novel of the Ulster-Scots Community', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 7 (1999), 32-35. Summary and appreciation of *The Auld Sinner* by Samuel Angus (1881-?), a novel written in Australia but set in the Ulster-Scots community of the author's county Antrim boyhood and including some dialogue in Ulster-Scots.

Erskine, John, 'Maggie Picken and Katie Bairdie', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 8 (2001), 70-73. Compares two stanzas of the county Down rhyme 'Maggie Picken' with versions of the rhyme 'Katie Bairdie/Beardie'.

Falconer, Gavin, 'Commercial Scots Translation – A Northern Ireland Perspective' in J. Derrick McClure (ed.), *Doonsin' Emrauds: New Scrieves anent Scots and Gaelic / New Studies in Scots and Gaelic* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 11), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2004), 68-79. Identifies political, orthographic, methodological and other dilemmas and challenges faced, especially in Northern Ireland, in translating governmental documents and the Bible into modern Scots.

Falconer, Gavin, 'The Scots Leid in the New Political Institutions', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 135-158. Considers the frequency and character of the Scots used in the Scottish Parliament and the Northern Ireland Assembly in relation to the health of the language in each jurisdiction and evaluates developing terminology in Ulster-Scots for political institutions [written in Scots].

Falconer, Gavin, 'Sort out What You Mean by Ulster-Scots', *Fortnight* 409 (December 2002), 2. Argues that Ulster-Scots is a dialect of Lowland Scots and that it does not have separate linguistic status from it.

Falconer, Gavin, 'The Ulster-Scots Dignity Battalion', *Black Mountain Review* 10 (2004), 100-106. Argues that promoters of modern written Ulster-Scots advocate a version of Scots artificially different from that found in Scotland.

Falconer, Gavin, 'Ulster-Scots or Scots in Ulster', *Fortnight* 424 (March 2004), 12. Says that the development of a modern written form of Ulster-Scots has created an artificial divide between Scots speakers in Northern Ireland and those in Scotland.

Falconer, Gavin, 'Ulster-Scots/Ulster-Scotch', in D. Melvin (ed.), *Language and Politics/Teanga agus Polaitócht: Proceedings of a Weekend Conference, 15-16 June 2001, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin* (Glenageary, Cultures of Ireland, 2001), 44-47. Discusses and compares political currents affecting Ulster-Scots and Irish in Northern Ireland.

Fenton, James, *The Hamely Tongue: a Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim*, 1st edn. (Newtownards, Ulster-Scots Academic Press for the Ulster-Scots Language Society, 1995), xiii + 198 pp.; 2nd edn. (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2000), 240 pp. The first dictionary of Ulster-Scots, based on the author's lifetime of observation and collection from native speakers; while drawn from county Antrim, it has obvious relevance to all Ulster-Scots speech.

Fenton, James, 'The Hamely Tongue: the Story so Far', *Ulster Local Studies* 16, 2 (1994), 22-28. Reprinted as 'The Hamely Tongue: the Making of an Ulster-Scots Dictionary' in *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 3 (1995), 25-30. On the background to, and the nature, procedures and purposes of the author's projected dictionary.

Fullarton, John, 'Sketches of Ulster Poets: Andrew MacKenzie', *Ulster Magazine* 2, 21 (September 1861), 374-378. Biographical sketch and appreciation of MacKenzie.

Fullarton, John, 'Sketches of Ulster Poets: David Herbison, the Bard of Dunclug', *Ulster Magazine* 2, 23 (November 1861), 457-464. Biographical sketch and appreciation of Herbison.

Fullarton, John, 'Sketches of Ulster Poets: James Orr', *Ulster Magazine* 2, 17 (May 1861), 217-225. Biographical sketch and appreciation drawing on extensive excerpts from Orr's poems.

Fullarton, John, 'Sketches of Ulster Poets: Life and Writings of Thomas Beggs', *Ulster Magazine* 2, 18 (June 1861), 243-249. Biographical sketch and appreciation of Beggs.

Gailey, Alan, 'The Scots Element in North Irish Popular Culture', *Ethnologia Europaea* 8 (1975), 2-22. Examines range of Scottish influences on Ulster – religious, linguistic and cultural.

Gailey, Alan, 'The Ulster Poets and Local Life, 1790-1870', in John Gray and Wesley McCann (eds.), *An Uncommon Bookman: Essays in Memory of J. R. R. Adams* (Belfast, Linen Hall Library, 1996), 159-174. Examines the work of poets as a source of local social history.

Gilbert, Andrea, 'Ulster-Scots in Education in Northern Ireland: the History of the Language', in Dónall Ó Riagáin (ed.), *Language and Law in Northern Ireland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 9), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2003), 78-87. Outlines the history of Scots and Ulster-Scots and their relationships with other languages in Europe.

Gillespie, Conal, 'Towards an Index of Ulster-Scots Place Names in Donegal and the North West', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 8 (2001), 32-33. Presents an indicative selection of place names.

Gillespie, Conal, 'Ulster-Scots: View from Donegal', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 7 (1999), 12-13. Essay on the revival of Ulster-Scots language and culture from a commentator in Donegal.

Gilmore, Peter (ed.), 'Scots-Irish' Words from the Pennsylvania Mountains Taken from the Shoemaker Collection (Bruceton Mills, Scotpress, 1999), ii + 98 pp. Glossary of words from Pennsylvania mountains of the early 20th century probably or possibly brought by Ulster emigrants; cross-references terms to dictionaries and other sources from Scotland and Ulster.

Gilpin, Sandra, 'And the Muse Went Weaving Free: the Story of Robert Huddleston, Bard of Moneyrea', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 7 (1999), 58-72. Biographical sketch and appreciation of the county Down poet by a local historian, based largely on local records such as ones kept by the Moneyreagh Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church.

Gilpin, Sandra, 'Gilnahirk's Lost Poets', *East Belfast Historical Society Journal* 4:1 (2002), 60-76. Chiefly on Francis Boyle (Boal) and John Meharg, three of whose poems she identifies within Boyle's *Miscellaneous Poems* of 1811.

Gilpin, Sandra, "O Moneyrea, Thy Bard is Gone": Robert Huddleston, 1814-1887', *Non-Subscribing Presbyterian*, Part 1, 1134 (May 2003), 2-3; Part 2, 1135 (June 2000), 3-4; Part 3, 1136, (July 2000), 6, 13; Part 4, 1138 (September 2000), 2-5; Part 5, 1139 (October 2000), 7-10. Examines Huddleston within the context of his community and his congregation and the denominational controversies of his day.

Görlach, Manfred, *A Textual History of Scots* (Heidelberg, Winter, 2002), 324 pp. Brief discussion of modern written Ulster-Scots, mainly with regard to issues of language planning.

Görlach, Manfred, 'Ulster-Scots – a Language?', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language and Politics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 1), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2000), 13-31. Reprinted in Manfred Görlach, *Still More Englishes* (Amsterdam, Benjamins, 2002), 69-86. Examines the status of Ulster-Scots in comparative perspective to language varieties in Northern Germany, Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Jamaica and assesses problems facing its modern development.

Grant, William and David Murison (eds.), *The Scottish National Dictionary*, 10 vols. (Edinburgh, Scottish National Dictionary Association, 1931-1976). Definitive dictionary of Scots words in use from 1700 to the present, primarily from published material; includes Ulster in its coverage. Volume I introduction has brief overview (p. xli) of Ulster-Scots, which it calls ‘in the main a variant of w[est-]m[id] Scots’.

Gray, Jane, ‘Folk Poetry and Working Class Identity in Ulster: an Analysis of James Orr’s “The Penitent”’, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 6 (1993), 249-275. Shows that Orr’s poem reveals how some members of the rural working class in late-19th-century Ulster responded to the social and economic upheavals of the time by emphasising values of sobriety, responsibility and dignity.

Gray, John, ‘Burns and His Visitors from Ulster: from Adulation to Disaccord’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 33-34 (2004), 320-334.

Gregg, R. J., ‘Dialect Detective: On the Trail of “a Desperate Couliffe Crater”’, *Ireland’s Saturday Night* (1953), June 13. Announces and calls for readers to contribute material to the Belfast Naturalists’ Field Club project to compile an Ulster Dialect Dictionary.

Gregg, R. J., ‘Dialect Mixture in Scotch-Irish Urban Speech’, *Northern Ireland Speech and Language Forum Journal* 2 (1976), 35-37. Illustrates how, when moving into even a small urban area, rural speakers modify their Ulster-Scots pronunciation and vocabulary in the direction of urban Ulster-Scots and sometimes adopt forms from Ulster English rather than the national standard.

Gregg, R. J., ‘The Diphthongs [əɪ] and [aɪ] in Scottish, Scotch-Irish and Canadian English’, *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 18 (1973), 136-145. Explores the abstract rules that govern pronunciation of diphthongs in words like *price* and *prize* in five varieties of English and Scots.

Gregg, R. J., ‘The Distribution of Raised and Lowered Diphthongs as Reflexes in Two Scotch-Irish Dialects’, in Wolfgang U. Dressler and F. V. Mareš (eds.), *Phonologica: Akten der 2 Internationalen Phonologie-Tagung* (Vienna/Munich, Fink, 1972), 101-105. Explores how pronunciation of the diphthong in words like *wife* and *by* differs in rural and urban Ulster-Scots.

Gregg, R. J., ‘The Muttonburrn [sic] Stream’, *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 4 (1996), 37-38. Transcription of the song using the author’s own spelling system for Ulster-Scots.

Gregg, R. J., ‘Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect’, *Orbis* 7 (1958), 392-406. Detailed phonological description of the vowels, diphthongs and consonants of the contemporary Ulster-Scots of Glenoe.

Gregg, R. J., ‘The Phonology of the Antrim Dialect. II: Historical Phonology’, *Orbis* 8 (1959), 400-424. Detailed description of the vowels, diphthongs and consonants of the Ulster-Scots of Glenoe as they developed from Middle English.

Gregg, R. J., ‘The Phonology of an East Antrim Dialect’, Belfast, 1953 (Queen’s University Belfast M.A. dissertation). Comprehensive account, exhaustively exemplified, of the vowels, diphthongs and consonants of the Ulster-Scots of Glenoe and Larne as they developed from Middle English and older varieties of English, Norse, French, etc.

Gregg, R. J., *The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in the Province of Ulster* CFH/FCEH no. 6. ([Port Credit, Ontario, Canadian Federation for the Humanities], 1985), [xv] + 290 pp., 91 pp. of plates. Revision of ‘The Boundaries of the Scotch-Irish Dialects in Ulster’, Edinburgh, 1963 (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis). Based on phonological survey of 660 words and phrases; includes over 90 maps and represents the foundational study in the modern demarcation of the Ulster-Scots speech territory, especially for pronunciation.

Gregg, R. J., ‘The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster’, in Martyn F. Wakelin (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, Athlone, 1972), 109-139, map. Detailed phonological study of dialect areas based on fourteen sets of features that distinguish Ulster Anglo-Irish (Ulster English) from Ulster-Scots; describes the fieldwork and development of the questionnaire used in his research.

Gregg, R. J., ‘Scotch-Irish Urban Speech in Ulster’, in G. Brendan Adams (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: an Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, Ulster Folk Museum, 1964), 163-192. Phonological description of the Ulster-Scots dialect of the Larne urban area.

Gregg, R. J., ‘The Ulster Dialect Dictionary’, *Ulster Education* (September 1951), 24-25. Describes the aims and organisation of a newly-launched project undertaken by the Belfast Naturalists’ Field Club.

Gribben, Crawford, ‘Ulster-Scots and the Scottish Vernacular Revival’, *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 9/10 (2004), 58-61. Argues that the recovery of Ulster-Scots language and culture is proceeding apace and that the language is now enjoying a revival similar to the one in Scotland in the 1920s and 1930s with the writing of Hugh MacDairmid and others.

Harris, John, ‘English in the North of Ireland’, in Peter Trudgill (ed.), *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), 115-134. Examines the vowel systems of three types of northern Hiberno-English (Ulster-Scots, south Ulster, Belfast), with comments on consonants, morphology and syntax.

Harris, John, *Phonological Variation and Change: Studies in Hiberno-English* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), [xii] + 379 pp. Detailed study of vowel mergers and other features of pronunciation in Ulster; distinguishes between the phonological systems of Ulster-Scots, Mid-Ulster English and South Ulster English.

Henry, Alison, *Belfast English and Standard English: Dialect Variation and Parameter Setting* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995), x + 150 pp. Analyses subject-verb agreement, relative clauses, and other syntactic patterns from a theoretical point of view and finds that the English of Belfast has abstract differences from Standard English.

Henry, Alison, 'Infinitives in a *for-to* Dialect', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10 (1992), 279-301. Finds that infinitives in Belfast English are often introduced with *for to*, in contrast with *to* in Standard English and explores the theoretical implications of this.

Henry, Alison, 'Singular Concord in Belfast English', *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 12 (1994), 134-176. Examines grammatical constraints on subject-verb concord patterns in Belfast English inherited from Scots.

Henry, Alison, 'The Syntax of Belfast English', in Jeffrey Kallen (ed.), *Focus on Ireland* (Amsterdam, Benjamins, 1997), 89-107. Surveys major grammatical patterns in Belfast English, including inversion in embedded questions, inverted imperatives, subject-verb concord, verb principal parts, multiple negatives, *for to* infinitives and others.

Henry, Alison and John Wilson, 'Parameter Setting within a Socially Realistic Linguistics', *Language in Society* 27 (1998), 1-21. Argues that sociolinguistics and theoretical syntax can be integrated through the 'principles and parameters' model to analysis of two grammatical constructions, inverted imperatives and verbal concord.

Henry, P. L. 'A Linguistic Survey of Ireland—Preliminary Report', *Lochlann: A Review of Celtic Studies* 1 (1958), 49-208. Includes data from two speakers from the Braid Valley, east county Antrim.

Herbison, David, 'John Smith – "Magowan"', *Ulster Magazine* 2, 23 (November 1861), 441-444. Biographical sketch and appreciation.

Herbison, David, *My Ain Native Toon*, Ivan Herbison (ed.), (Ballymena, Dunclug, 2000), 24 pp. Reproduces and discusses the themes, significance and mixed reception of Herbison's nostalgic poem about Ballymena.

Herbison, David (edited and with an introduction by Ivan Herbison), *Webs of Fancy: Poems of David Herbison, the Bard of Dunclug* (Ballymena, Dunclug, 1980), 52 pp. Selection and appreciation of the mid-Antrim poet's work by a descendant on the centenary of the poet's death.

Herbison, Ivan, 'A Bard in His Literary Context: David Herbison and Poetry in Nineteenth-Century Ballymena', *Mid-Antrim Part 2: Further Articles on Ballymena and District*, Eull Dunlop (ed.), (Ballymena, Mid-Antrim Historical Group, 1991), 99-112. Discusses David Herbison's fellow poets John Getty and John Smyth.

Herbison, Ivan, *David Herbison's Religious Affiliations: Some Preliminary Notes on the Bard of Dunclug and Presbyterianism* (Ballymena, Dunclug, 1993), 8 pp. Examines the poet's affiliation with the Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church.

Herbison, Ivan, 'David Herbison, the Bard of Dunclug: a Poet and His Community, 1800-1880', in Eull Dunlop (ed.), *Mid-Antrim: Articles on the History of Ballymena and District* (Ballymena, Mid-Antrim Historical Group 1983), 102-130. Reprinted Ballymena, Dunclug, 1980, ii + 30 pp. Profiles the

author's mid-Antrim ancestor, the last of the Rhyming Weaver poets.

Herbison, Ivan, *Language, Literature and Cultural Identity: an Ulster-Scots Perspective* (Ballymena, Dunclug, 1989), 9 pp. Reprinted in Joan Lundy and Aodán Mac Póilin (eds.), *Styles of Belonging: the Cultural Identities of Ulster* (Belfast, Lagan Press, 1992), 54-62. Revised edition (Ballymena, Dunclug, 1999). Places the Rhyming Weaver poets within a larger historical, cultural and political perspective in which Presbyterianism was a crucial influence, and argues that the poets represented a tradition common to that found in Scotland, not a derivative one; calls for a renewed appreciation of the poets to understand cultural diversity in present-day Northern Ireland.

Herbison, Ivan, 'Oor Ain Native Tung', in *Talking Scots*, supplement to *Fortnight* 318 (June 1993), 13-17. Examines the Ulster-Scots literary tradition and its marginalisation, past and present.

Herbison, Ivan, 'Presbyterianism, Politics and Poetry: Some Aspects of an Ulster-Scots Literary Tradition', *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland* 25 (1996), 1-21. Revised, with additional bibliographical material, as *Presbyterianism, Politics and Poetry in Nineteenth-Century Ulster: Some Aspects of an Ulster-Scots Literary Tradition* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 2000), [v] + 26 pp. On the role of language, linen, place, education, self-improvement, book clubs, reading societies, politics and literary currents in the ethos of the Rhyming Weaver poets of the 19th century.

Herbison, Ivan, "'The Rest is Silence': Some Remarks on the Disappearance of Ulster-Scots Poetry", in John Erskine and Gordon Lucy (eds.), *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland. Varieties of Scottishness: Exploring the Ulster-Scottish Connection* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1997), 129-145. Examines the Rhyming Weavers and their poetry and discusses its exclusion from the accepted canon of Irish literature.

Herbison, Ivan, 'A Sense of Place: Landscape and Locality in the Work of the Rhyming Weavers', in Gerald Dawe and John Wilson Foster (eds.), *The Poet's Place: Ulster Literature and Society: Essays in Honour of John Hewitt, 1907-1987* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1991), 63-75. On the poets' sense of place and community, notably as in the works of Orr, Beggs and Herbison.

Herron, Stephen, 'Bab M'Keen: the McKeenstown (Ballymena) Scotch Chronicler', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 6 (1998), 48-49. Note on the writing of 'Bab M'Keen', editor of, and contributor to, the *Ballymena Observer*, c1878-c1910.

Hewitt, John, *Rhyming Weavers and Other Country Poets of Antrim and Down* (Belfast, Blackstaff, 1974), viii + 135 pp. Reprinted with a new introduction by Tom Paulin (Belfast, Blackstaff, 2004). The pioneering study introducing and discussing the poets, their background, and their political and social ethos (the role of book clubs, reading societies, etc.), pp. 1-80; anthology of the poems, pp. 82-129; glossary, pp. 130-133.

Hewitt, John, 'Ulster Poets, 1800-1850' (Belfast, 1950), 27 pp. Lecture delivered to the Belfast Literary Society, 2 January 1950; includes the Rhyming Weaver poets.

Hickey, Raymond, 'Ireland as a Linguistic Area', *Ulster Folklife* 45 (1999), 36-53. Argues the number of shared features (especially of pronunciation) and their lack of clear geographical boundaries across Ireland makes the island as a whole a distinct speech area, but does not consider ways in which Ulster-Scots differs from Mid-Ulster English and Southern Irish English and what it shares with Lowland Scotland.

Horsbroch, Dauvit, 'Mair as a Sheuch atween Scotland an Ulster: Twa Policie for the Scots Leid?', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language and Politics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 1), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2000), 133-141. Contrasts developments in official policy and support for Scots in Northern Ireland and Scotland between 1997 and 2000 [written in Scots].

Horsbroch, Dauvit, 'A Twalmonth an a Wee Tait Forder', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 123-133. Cites Scots-language developments in Northern Ireland and Scotland from the previous year and concludes that they represent very little progress; critiques the Ulster-Scots used in publications from the Ulster-Scots Agency and the Linen Hall Library [written in Scots].

Hughes, A. J., 'Ulster Scots *gowk storm*, Ulster Gaelic (*s*)*gairbhshion na cuaiche*', *Ulster Folklife* 37 (1991), 107-108. Says that the term *gowk storm* 'cuckoo storm' (for a brief storm in early spring, when the bird is heard), previously thought to be brought from Scotland, also reflects Gaelic tradition in Ireland.

Hume, David, 'The Bard of Ballycarry', *New Ulster* 10 (Spring 1990), 11-12. Brief account of James Orr, the weaver poet.

Joyce, Patrick W., *English as We Speak It in Ireland* (London, Longmans, Green, 1910). Reprinted by Wolfhound, Dublin, with a new introduction by Terence Dolan, Dublin, 1979. Author's glossary (pp. 209-351) contains items from Ulster supplied by correspondents.

Kallen, Jeffrey L., 'Irish English and the Ulster-Scots Controversy' *Ulster Folklife* 45 (1999), 70-85. Argues that the status of Ulster-Scots and its relationship with Irish English cannot be ascertained before three 'controversies' are resolved: the Origins Controversy (whether language varieties consist mainly of features attributable to contact in Ireland or retention from British varieties brought to Ireland); the Category Controversy (the extent to which varieties are consistently defined and distinct from one another); and the Variation Controversy (the extent to which differences between varieties are quantitative or qualitative).

Kay, Billy, *Scots: the Mither Tongue*, 2nd edn. (Darvel, Alloway, 1993), 199 pp. Popular, authoritative account of Scots, its origins, its literature, its spoken varieties and its future; includes section on Ulster-Scots (pp 162-165).

Kay, Billy, 'The Scots ower the Sheugh', in Ian S. Wood (ed.), *Scotland and Ulster* (Edinburgh, Mercat, 1994), 88-96. Argues that Ulster-Scots language and culture are ignored and misunderstood in Scotland and that Scots on both sides of the channel have much to learn from one another.

Kingsmore, Rona R., 'Status, Stigma and Sex in Ulster-Scots Speech', *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 13 (1996), 223-237. Examines different pronunciations of *t* in Coleraine according to age, sex, social class and rural vs. urban origin; finds, contrary to prevailing tendencies elsewhere, that women are sometimes more non-standard than men.

Kingsmore, Rona R. (edited by Michael B. Montgomery, and with a foreword by James Milroy and Lesley Milroy), *Ulster-Scots Speech: a Sociolinguistic Study* (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1995), xxv + 244 pp. Shows that the pronunciation of three consonants varies systematically within the Protestant community in Coleraine according to such stylistic and social factors as attention to speech, age, sex, social class, type of housing and rural vs. urban origin.

Kirk, John M., 'Archipelagic Glotto-Politics: The Scotstacht', in Hildegarde L. C. Tristram (ed.), *Celtic Englishes III* (Heidelberg, Winter, 2003), 339-356. Surveys and assesses recent views and developments in the political, legal and terminological status of Ulster-Scots and discusses challenges facing it.

Kirk, John M., 'The Dialect Vocabulary of Ulster', *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa* 8 (1999), 305-334. Examines a sample of the dialect vocabulary in *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (Macafee, 1996) and analyses it in terms of subject areas and affinities with varieties in Scotland and England.

Kirk, John, 'Language, Culture and Division', *Fortnight* 396 (June 2001), 18-19. Contrasts the traditional spoken and modern written versions of Ulster-Scots and argues that the latter is an artificial form created by political motivations seeking to divide rather than harmonise cultural groups in Northern Ireland.

Kirk, John M., 'The New Written Scots Dialect in Present-Day Northern Ireland', in M. Ljung (ed.), *Language Structure and Variation: A Festschrift for Gunnar Melchers* (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 2000), 121-138. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis XCII. Revised and expanded as the following item.

Kirk, John M., 'Two Ullans Texts', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language and Politics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 1), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2000), 33-44. Reproduces and analyses two recent texts in modern written Ulster-Scots: a booklet on employment opportunity produced by Belfast City Council and a newspaper advertisement for a Civil Service post.

Kirk, John M., 'Ulster English: The State of the Art', in Hildegard L. C. Tristram (ed.), *Celtic Englishes* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1997), 135-179. Surveys and categorises scholarship on Ulster English published through 1995; includes some works on Ulster-Scots.

Kirk, John M., 'Ulster Scots: Realities and Myths', *Ulster Folklife* 44 (1998), 69-93, seven maps. Chronicles the evolution of Lowland Scots and the merger of its written form with English in Scotland, concluding that 'there is no present-day Scots language'; on this basis and using criteria such as vitality, standardisation and autonomy, concludes that Ulster-Scots today is only a perceived variety and does not qualify as a 'fully-fledged language'.

Kirk, John M., 'Ulster-Scots/Ulster-Scotch', in D. Melvin (ed.), *Language and Politics/Teanga agus Polaitócht: Proceedings of a Weekend Conference, 15-16 June 2001, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin* (Glenageary, Cultures of Ireland, 2001), 38-43. Argues that a political dynamic has driven the 'invention' of Ullans, a written variety of Ulster-Scots which the author says has little basis in speech; asserts that Ulster-Scots is found throughout the nine historical counties of Ulster.

Kirk, John M., and Georgina Millar, 'Verbal Aspect in the Scots and English of Ulster', *Scottish Language* 17 (1998), 82-107. Argues that the use of *do(es) be* and *be(s)* in Ulster speech to express habitual actions and realities is dominant, but that the verbs are also used to express durative and punctual aspects; suggests that the latter uses can be traced to Older Scots.

Laird, John, 'Carrying Scots to Scotland', *Fortnight* 408 (November 2002), 15. Argues that historical, cultural and linguistic ties bind Scotland and Ulster despite differences in the present-day political landscape.

Laird, John, 'Language Policy and the Ulster-Scots Agency', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 37-41. Outlines the mission of the Ulster-Scots Agency and its policies for language planning and development for Ulster-Scots.

Lambkin, Brian, 'The Return of Hugh Campbell in 1835 from the United States to Ulster and the Issue of Linguistic Diversity', *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* 1, 1 (2000), 61-71. Cites evidence of tolerance of linguistic diversity and good community relations from county Tyrone in the early 19th century and suggests this should be a model for the present day.

Languages of Ulster Pocket Guide (Belfast, Linen Hall Library, 2000), 12 pp. Identifies support groups and key phrases for six languages, including Ulster-Scots.

Lucy, Gordon, 'Linguistic Bigotry', *Fortnight* 396 (June 2001), 16. Argues that languages like Irish and Ulster-Scots can survive only if people have a positive reason to embrace them rather than their becoming a tool of political struggle and domination.

Lunney, Linde. See also Linde Connolly.

Lunney, Linde, 'The Nature of the Ulster-Scots Language Community', in John Erskine and Gordon Lucy (eds.), *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland. Varieties of Scottishness: Exploring the Ulster-Scottish Connection* (Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1997), 113-127. Examines the inter-relationship of language, culture and identity within the Ulster-Scots community in the late 18th and early 19th century, with many citations of period documents.

Lunney, Linde, 'Ulster Attitudes to Scottishness: the Eighteenth Century and After', in Ian S. Wood (ed.), *Scotland and Ulster* (Edinburgh, Mercat, 1994), 56-70. Advances psychological explanations for amnesia on both sides of the North Channel with regard to the large emigration from Scotland to Ulster in the 17th century and explores how and why a sense of connectedness to Scotland was rekindled in Ulster in the latter half of the 18th century.

Macafee, Caroline (ed.), *A Concise Ulster Dictionary* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), xli + 405 pp. A dictionary of Ulster dialect, prepared mainly for use in secondary schools, that includes many items of Ulster-Scots speech from the published literature and collections on deposit at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum.

Macafee, Caroline, 'A History of Scots to 1700', in Margaret Dareau et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, vol. 12 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002). Note (p. xlix) on the coming of Scots to Ulster, placed within the larger context of spread of Scots and the retraction of Gaelic.

Macafee, Caroline, 'Lowland Sources of Ulster-Scots: Some Comparisons between Robert Gregg's Data and *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (volume 3)', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language Links: the Languages of Scotland and Ireland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 2), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 119-132. Says that intensive data collected by Gregg complements the paucity of Ulster data in third volume of *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (Mather and Speitel 1986), thereby providing information on the development of Scots at critical earlier periods.

Macafee, Caroline, 'The Ulster Dictionary Project', *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 12 (1994), 177-193. Discusses background and rationale for the *Concise Ulster Dictionary*, which includes much Ulster-Scots material.

McAlister, Patricia, 'The Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure's Language Diversity and Broadcasting Policy' in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Towards our Goals in Broadcasting, the Press, the Performing Arts and the Economy: Minority Languages in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 10), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2003), 29-32. Overview and background of the Department's policies with regard to Irish and Ulster-Scots.

McAlister, Patricia, 'Implementing the European Charter in Northern Ireland: The Role of the Public Service', in Dónall Ó Riagáin (ed.), *Language and Law in Northern Ireland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 9), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2003), 45-51. Outlines the work of the Linguistic Diversity Branch, a civil service unit given the task of implementing Northern Ireland government policy in the wake of the Belfast Good Friday Agreement.

McAvoy, Will, Elspeth Barnes and Philip Robinson, 'Some Field Names in the Greyabbey District', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 1 (1993), 16-21. Combined with Elspeth Barnes, Will McAvoy and Philip Robinson, 'More Place Names around Greyabbey' and reprinted as 'Some Names in the Greyabbey District', in Michael Montgomery and Anne Smyth (eds.), *A Blad o Ulstèr-Scotch fræ Ullans: Ulster-Scots Culture, Language and Literature* (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2003), 77-86. Surveys field names in the county Down village and categorises them according to their designation as a *field, hill, bog, knowe, acre, garden, land*, etc.

McBride, Doreen, *Ulster Scots as She Tummels* (Banbridge, Adare, 2000), 48 pp. Popular introduction, including lists of phrases, words with two meanings, words with a different meaning in English and a basic vocabulary.

McBride, Terry (ed.), *In Other Words: the Languages of Europe, Celebrating the Launch of the European Year of Languages in Northern Ireland with the Linenhall Library's Languages of Ulster Project* (Belfast, Community Relations Council and the Linen Hall Library, 2001), 40 pp. Produced in connection with the *Languages in Ulster* project and the European Year of Languages; features phrases in 26 languages, contact addresses and information on European languages. Another printing of cover also reads 'pocket guide'.

McCafferty, Kevin, 'Frae "Wile Norn Aksents" tae Our Ain National Leid', *Causeway* Part I, 3, 1 (Spring 1996), 39-44; Part II, 3, 2 (Summer 1996), 48-53. Questions the status of Ulster-Scots and the motivations behind its resurgence.

McCafferty, Kevin, 'The Northern Subject Rule in Ulster: How Scots, How English?', *Language Variation and Change* 15 (2003), 105-139. Argues that patterns of subject-verb concord found throughout Ulster in the mid-19th century were produced by early-17th-century settlement from northern England as well as Scotland.

McCafferty, Kevin, 'Plural Verbal -s in Nineteenth-Century Ulster: Scots and English Influences on Ulster Dialects', *Ulster Folklife* 48 (2002), 62-86. Argues that the system of subject-verb concord found in Ulster speech came to Ulster from all parts of Britain in the 17th century, not only Scotland, based on mid-19th-century emigrant letters and traces of the pattern in southern and western England.

McCall, Cathal, 'Political Transformation and the Reinvention of the Ulster-Scots Identity and Culture', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 9 (2002), 197-218. Argues that the rise of Ulster-Scots identity in the past decade within the Unionist community has many manifestations: as a myth of origin, a language and culture, a

communal consciousness, a reaction against Irish nationalist cultural assertiveness in Northern Ireland, an embryonic nationalism and a component part of the British identity, all designed to counter Irish nationalism and alleviate Unionist doubt and insecurity.

McCausland, Nelson, 'Ulster-Scots: a Proud Heritage', *Fortnight* 390 (December 2000), 19. Defends Ulster-Scots language and culture as one of three historical cultural traditions and argues that many in Northern Ireland have multiple identities.

McCausland, Nelson, 'Ulster-Scots and the BBC: the Current Situation', in Dónall Ó Riagáin (ed.), *Language and Law in Northern Ireland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 9), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2003), 113-121. Castigates BBC Northern Ireland and Radio Ulster for their lack of Ulster-Scots programming and for having a policy to marginalise and disparage Ulster-Scots.

McCoy, Gordon, and Camille O'Reilly, 'Essentializing Ulster?: The Ulster-Scots Language Movement', in Maria Tymoczko and Colin Ireland (eds.), *Language and Tradition in Ireland: Continuities and Displacements* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 156-171. Explores the political context in which the Ulster-Scots revival has taken place and examines cultural factors, such as rivalry with Irish, that have given momentum to the Ulster-Scots language movement.

McCrumb, Robert, William Cran and Robert MacNeil (eds.), 'The Guid Scots Tongue', *The Story of English* (New York, Viking, 1986), 127-161. Chronicles the transplantation of Scottish culture and language to Ulster in the 17th century and to America in the 18th, where it can still be documented especially in Appalachia.

McIlvanney, Liam, 'Across the Narrow Sea: the Language, Literature and Politics of Ulster Scots' in Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2005), 203-226.

McIlvanney, Liam, "'On Irish Ground": Burns and the Ulster-Scots Radical Poets' in his *Burns the Radical: Poetry and Politics in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton, Tuckwell, 2002), 220-240. Shows how Rhyming Weaver poets (especially Orr and Thompson) drew on Burns and a popular and intellectual culture shared with Scotland, and examines how the reputation of Burns in Ulster shifted from idolatry to disappointment; says 'the neglect of Ulster vernacular poetry is unfortunate, depriving us of an important window onto the cultural life of the period, and skewing of perception of Ulster-Scottish cultural connections'.

McIlvanney, Liam, 'Robert Burns and the Ulster-Scots Literary Revival of the 1790s', *Bullán* 4, 2 (Winter/Spring 1999/2000), 125-143. Studies attitudes of Ulster-Scots poets to Burns and his influence on them.

McIntosh, John S., 'Ulster Proverbs and Provincialisms', in *The Scotch-Irish in America: Proceedings and Addresses of the Ninth Conference, Knoxville, Tenn., June 7-10, 1900* (Nashville, 1900), 193-199. Examines pithiness and colour of

popular sayings, with many examples in Scots.

McIntyre, John, 'Hoo's Things, Bifawst?', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 6 (1998), 42-45. Popular introduction to a range of Ulster-Scots features present in Belfast speech.

McIntyre, John, 'Minority Languages – Why They are so Important', *The Ulster-Scot* 5 (October 2004). Says that Ulster-Scots and more than fifty other European minority or regional languages contribute to the diversity of the continent and are important expressions of the identity of their speakers.

McIntyre, John, 'Ulster-Scots in the Classroom', *Integrated News* (March 2000), [2]. On the need to include the Ulster-Scots tradition within the schools curriculum.

McIntyre, John, 'Ulster-Scots – the European Charter/Belfast Agreement', *Contact Bulletin* 15, 1 (1998), 2. Welcomes the announcement that the United Kingdom Government intends to sign the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages and expresses hope that the European context which this action will provide can enable both Irish and Ulster-Scots to progress in a depoliticised fashion.

McIntyre, Rae (ed.), *Some Handlin': the Dialect Heritage of North Ulster, Collected by Pupils and Friends of Ballyrashane Primary School* 2nd edn. (Limavady, North-West Books, 1990), 79 pp. Dictionary of words and phrases with examples of usage, quotations and drawings (by pupils), particularly useful for Ulster-Scots. Foreword by John Braidwood.

McKinney, Jack, 'The Ulster-Scots Language Society', *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland* 22 (1993), 28-30. Brief account of the establishment and aims of the Society.

McLaughlin, Brian, 'Sober Man Grasps Thistle', *Fortnight* 404 (May 2002). 17-18. Argues that the Ulster-Scots language revival movement is misguided and counterproductive.

McMaster, Johnston, 'Ulster-Scots Identity: Fact or Fiction', *Search: a Church of Ireland Journal* 27:1 (Spring 2004), 21-32. Examines the current 'Ulster-Scots identity enterprise' and its 'myth', and includes a discussion of Ulster-Scots language which he uses with his own father.

MacLeod, Iseabail and Pauline Cairns (eds.), *The Scots School Dictionary: Scots-English, English-Scots* (Edinburgh, 1996), xii + 370 pp. First two-way dictionary; designed for schools but of wider application; includes many Scots forms used in Ulster, but does not cite Ulster forms.

MacLeod, Iseabail, Ruth Martin and Pauline Cairns (eds.), *The Pocket Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen, 1988), xxiv + 360 pp. Reissued by Chambers, 1992. Abbreviated version of the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (Mairi Robinson, ed.); includes many Scots forms used in Ulster, but does not cite Ulster forms.

Mac Póilin, Aodán, 'Language, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland', *Ulster Folklife* 45 (1999), 108-132. Says

that Irish and especially Ulster-Scots have become destructive tools of polarisation and rival political aspirations; provides ideological critique of myths tracing the origin of Ulster-Scots people to the Cruthin (the Pretani or Ulster Picts), a remnant people sometimes said to have returned to Ulster from Scotland in 17th-century plantations, or to the Lost Tribes of Israel, the latter view popularised since the 19th century by British Israelism.

Mac Póilin, Aodán, 'Politics Suffocates Language Debate', *Fortnight* 396 (June 2001), 17. Argues that in Northern Ireland 'language activists are ideologues, who actively promote cultural apartheid to underpin political polarisation, sometimes covertly, sometimes overtly'.

Marshall, John J., 'The Dialect of Ulster. [Part 1]', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 10 (1904), 121-130. Introduces and presents a 'Glossary of words in the Ulster dialect chiefly used in the midland and north-western counties', which contributes to the study of Ulster dialect outside the area dominated by the 'Lowland Scotch spoken in County Antrim, parts of County Derry and the Ards' and which ranges from 'Scottish speech to the broken English of the bilingual native of Donegal'. First glossary, A – Y.

Marshall, John J., 'The Dialect of Ulster. [Part 2]', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 11 (1905), 64-70. Second glossary, A – F.

Marshall, John J., 'The Dialect of Ulster. [Part 3]', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 11 (1905), 122-125. Second glossary, F – P.

Marshall, John J., 'The Dialect of Ulster. [Part 4]', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 11 (1905), 175-179. Second glossary, P – Y.

Marshall, John J., 'The Dialect of Ulster. [Part 5]', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series 12 (1906), 18-22. Third glossary, A – Y. Says 'the great number of lowland Scottish words and phrases occurring is due in a large measure to County Derry ... and are a standing record of how deeply the Scottish colonists impressed their speech in the northern province'.

Marshall, W. F., *Ulster Speaks* (London, BBC, 1936), 37 pp. Published transcripts of six radio broadcast talks on Ulster dialect and its sources from English, Irish, and Scots; chapter 4, 'The Brand of the Thistle' (pp 21-26) deals with the Scottish imprint on Ulster English.

Mather, J. Y., and H. H. Speitel, *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland. Scots Section*, 3 volumes (London, Croom Helm, 1975, 1977, 1986). Lists, locates and maps variant terms for some 180 selected items in Scotland, Ulster, Cumberland and Northumberland.

Milroy, James, *Regional Accents of English: Belfast* (Belfast, Blackstaff, 1981). States that 'in these Scots areas there are a great many rural speakers who speak a dialect of Scots rather than English; in its strongest forms it is also indistinguishable from the Scots dialects of West and Central Scotland'.

Milroy, James, 'Some Connections between Galloway and Ulster Speech', *Scottish Language* 1 (1982), 23-29. Examines several characteristics and concludes that both areas retain features now obsolete in central Scots.

Montgomery, Michael, 'An Academy Established and the Task Begun', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 9/10 (2004), 102-11. Discusses the background and the main projects of the Ulster-Scots Academy, founded in 1994.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Anglicization of Scots in Early Seventeenth Century Ulster', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26 (1992), 50-64. Quantitative study examining the replacement of Scots forms by English forms for five grammatical features in the writing of Lowland Scots who settled in Ulster during the Plantation period.

Montgomery, Michael, 'British and Irish Antecedents', in John Algeo (ed.), *Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume 6: North America* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), 86-153. Comprehensive essay tracing the transplantation of English and Scots to the United States and exploring the influence of their vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar on the constituent dialects of American English; finds Ulster influence strongest in Pennsylvania and Appalachia.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Celtic Element in American English', in Hildegard L. C. Tristram (ed.), *Celtic Englishes II* (Heidelberg, Winter, 2000), 231-264. Argues that few of the vocabulary and grammatical features brought by Ulster emigrants to America were derived from or based on Gaelic, including the habitual use of the verb *be* and the *a-* prefix on verbs, but calls for more research into the question.

Montgomery, Michael, 'David Bruce: Ulster-Scot-American Poet', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 4 (1996), 23-27. Reprinted in Michael Montgomery and Anne Smyth (eds.), *A Blad o Ulstèr-Scotch frae Ullans: Ulster-Scots Culture, Language and Literature* (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2003), 111-117. Essay on an early Pennsylvania poet of Ulster ancestry who wrote verse in Scots in the 1790s under the name 'the Scots-Irishman', with excerpts of his work.

Montgomery, Michael, 'An Early Letter in Ulster Scots', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster Scots* 2 (1994), 45-51. Reprinted in Michael Montgomery and Anne Smyth (eds.), *A Blad o Ulstèr-Scotch frae Ullans: Ulster-Scots Culture, Language and Literature* (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2003), 97-104. Provides historical background for and analyses the text of a spoof emigrant letter published in 1737 in American newspapers and a 1767 revision of the same document that apparently circulated in manuscript in Ulster for some time.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Emigrants from Ulster Meet the Observer's Paradox: A Typology of Emigrant Letter Writers', *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* 1, 4 (2003), 10-18. Argues that linguists and social historians can contribute to one another's understanding of Ulster emigration and the language patterns it brought and exemplifies this through reproduction and analysis of 18th-century documents.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Etymology of *y'all*', in Joan H. Hall et al. (eds.), *Old English and New: Studies in Language and Linguistics in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy* (New York, Garland, 1992), 356-369. Relying on attestation in a period document (see Montgomery, 'An Early Letter in Ulster Scots'), argues that the well-known form in Southern American English was brought by Ulster emigrants in the 18th century.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Exploring the Roots of Appalachian English', *English World-Wide* 10 (1989), 227-278. Examines influence of the grammar of 'the language of the Scotch-Irish'; programmatic essay outlining the historical background and the methodological requirements to reconstructing the linguistic influence from Scotland and Ireland on varieties of American English, especially that of southern Appalachia.

Montgomery, Michael, 'How Scotch-Irish is Your English?', *Journal of East Tennessee History* 67 (1995), 1-33. Assesses influence of Ulster-Scots speech on that of East Tennessee.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Lexicography of Hiberno-English', *Irish Studies Working Papers* 93-3 (1993), 19-35. Surveys and provides a comparative evaluation of glossaries and dictionaries of Ulster English and Ulster-Scots.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Linguistic History of Ulster'. <www.bbc.co/history/war/plantation/ulsterscots/index.shtml> 2002. Examines the coming of Lowland Scots speech to Ulster during the plantation of the early 17th century and its roles in the province over the past four centuries.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Linguistic Value of Ulster Emigrant Letters', *Ulster Folklife* 41 (1995), 26-41. Shows how letters from less literate emigrants to America can not only help researchers reconstruct the Ulster influence on American English but also provide valuable insights to Ulster speech in the 18th and 19th century.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Making the Trans-Atlantic Link between Varieties of English: the Case of Plural Verbal *-s*', *Journal of English Linguistics* 25 (1997), 122-141. Examines constraints on the concord of subjects and verbs to trace the transplantation of grammar from Scotland to Ulster to Appalachia.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Many Faces of the Scotch-Irish', *Familia* 16 (2000), 24-40. Examines six Ulster and American views of the history and culture of Ulster emigrants and their descendants found in popular and scholarly literature; says that linguistic evidence may explain and resolve why these views differ so dramatically.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Multiple Modals in LAGS and LAMSAS', in Michael B. Montgomery and Thomas E. Nunnally (eds.), *From the Gulf States and Beyond: The Legacy of Lee Pederson and LAGS* (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1998), 90-122. Finds that parts of the United States where constructions like *might could* occur are predominantly those settled heavily by emigrants from Ulster and infers a historical linguistic connection between the two regions.

Montgomery, Michael, 'On the Trail of Early Ulster Emigrant Letters', in Patrick Fitzgerald and Steve Ickringill (eds.), *Atlantic Crossroads: Historical Connections between Scotland, Ulster and North America* (Newtownards, Colourpoint, 2001), 13-26, 133-137. Recounts the author's quest for colloquial documents from the 18th century useful to reconstruct the speech patterns brought by Ulster emigrants to America; presents the results of his search, especially two versions of a spoof emigrant letter whose authorship, historical context and language patterns he discusses.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Position of Ulster Scots', *Ulster Folklife* 45 (1999), 86-107. Places Ulster-Scots within the broad historical and demographic context of languages in Ireland and surveys increasing interest in it over the past decade, especially with regard to the debate on its status; sets out research needs and prospects.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Problem of Persistence: Ulster-American Missing Links', *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* 1, 1 (2000), 105-119. Examines continuity of cultural patterns and studies persistence of language as evidenced in the Ulster-Scots poems of David Bruce of Pennsylvania (c1760-1830) and Robert Dinsmoor of New Hampshire (1757-1836) written in America.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Rediscovery of the Ulster-Scots Language', in Edgar W. Schneider (ed.), *Englishes around the World, Volume 1: General Studies, British Isles, North America: Studies in Honour of Manfred Görlach* (Amsterdam, Benjamins, 1997), 211-226. Presents background to Ulster-Scots and its literature and discusses the recent revival of interest in them.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Robert Dinsmoor: Another Ulster-Scots-American Poet', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 6 (1998), 50-54. On a New Hampshire poet of Ulster ancestry who wrote verse in Scots in the latter half of the 18th century, with excerpts of his work.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Roots of Appalachian English', in Alan R. Thomas (ed.), *Methods in Dialectology: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference Held at the University College of North Wales, 3rd-7th August 1987* (Multilingual Matters 48), (Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, 1988), 480-491. Outlines a systematic investigation to determine the influence of Scottish and Ulster emigrants on 'the language of the Scotch-Irish'.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Roots of Appalachian English: Scotch-Irish or British Southern?', *Journal of the Appalachian Studies Association* 3 (1991), 177-191. Cites research by folklorists and historians into the antecedents of Appalachian culture and posits reasons why research by linguists has by contrast lagged; outlines a major project to redress this issue and presents preliminary findings for features of grammar that compare the input to American English from England as opposed to that from Scotland and Ulster.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Scotch-Irish Influence on Appalachian English: How Broad? How Deep?', in H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood Jr. (eds.), *Ulster and North*

America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1997), 189-212. Reviews commentary on Scottish and Irish elements in Appalachian speech and presents results of the author's research on grammar that shows it has more Scotch-Irish than Elizabethan influence; classifies these elements according to whether they represent retentions, modifications, or other processes.

Montgomery, Michael, 'The Scots Language Abroad', in John Corbett et al. (eds.), *Edinburgh Companion to Scots* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 233-250. Summarises the linguistic elements of Scots taken by settlers to Ulster, the United States, Canada and Australasia and contributed to regional and national varieties there.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Solving Kurath's Puzzle: Establishing the Antecedents of the American Midland Dialect Region', in Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The Legacy of Colonial English: The Study of Transported Dialects* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), 410-425. Argues that Kurath's failure to confirm a significant Ulster element in American English, which he posited in 1928 and pursued for two decades, was due to the type of material used by Kurath, who focused on pronunciation and vocabulary rather than grammar.

Montgomery, Michael, 'A Tale of Two Georges: the Language of Irish Indian Traders in Colonial North America', in Jeffrey Kallen (ed.), *Focus on Ireland* (Amsterdam, Benjamins, 1997), 227-254. Discusses the documentary and analytical challenges facing the tracing of features of colonial American English to Ireland and develops a typology of three kinds of semi-literate writers to meet these challenges; analyses five features in the letters of two emigrants from Ireland who became traders with American Indians in the colonial interior in the mid-18th century.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Trans-Atlantic Connections for Variable Grammatical Features', *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 7 (2001), 205-224. Identifies caveats and principles for reconstructing the transplantation of language varieties across the Atlantic and the appropriate historical data for doing so, with application to the language of Scottish and Ulster emigrants in the 18th century; focuses in particular on variation in the use of *was* and *were* with plural subjects.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Ulster Scots: a Language of Scotch-Irish Emigrants', *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* 1, 2 (2001), 125-137. Sets out five areas of scholarly consensus on Ulster-Scots within the context of the language of early Ulster emigrants.

Montgomery, Michael, 'Ulster Scots: Lost or Submerged?', in William Kelly and John R. Young (eds.), *Ulster and Scotland 1600-2000: History, Language and Identity* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2004), 121-132. Argues that the disappearance of Scots from early-17th-century documents in Ulster implies little, if anything, about its loss of vitality as a spoken medium, as evidenced by popular literature written in Ulster-Scots in succeeding centuries.

Montgomery, Michael, 'What is Ulster-Scots?', *Ullans: The*

Magazine for Ulster-Scots 8 (2001), 15-23. Reprinted in Michael Montgomery and Anne Smyth (eds.), *A Blad o Ulster-Scot frae Ullans: Ulster-Scots Culture, Language and Literature* (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2003), 121-130. Abbreviated at <www.ulsterscotsagency.com/WhatisUlster-Scots.asp>. Presents five areas of scholarly consensus on the present condition of Ulster-Scots.

Montgomery, Michael, and Janet M. Fuller, 'What was Verbal -s in 19th-Century African-American English?' in Edgar W. Schneider (ed.), *Focus on the USA* (Amsterdam, Benjamins, 1997), 211-30. Examines four non-standard uses of the -s suffix on verbs in Scotland and Ulster and posits that Ulster emigrants brought at least three of them to America and contributed them to African American English.

Montgomery, Michael, Janet M. Fuller and Sharon DeMarse, 'The Black Men has Wives and Sweet Harts [and Third Person Plural -s] jest like the White Men': Evidence for Verbal -s from Written Documents on Nineteenth-Century African American Speech', *Language Variation and Change* 5 (1993), 335-354. Finds detailed parallels in subject-verb concord between the language of Ulster emigrants and African Americans in the American South in the mid-19th century and concludes that the latter must have learned them through contact with the former.

Montgomery, Michael, and Robert J. Gregg, 'The Scots Language in Ulster', in Charles Jones (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 569-622. Systematic study of the history of Ulster-Scots, including coverage of its demography, documentary history from the 17th to the 19th century, poetic traditions, affiliations and influences, relationship to Lowland Scots and to Ulster English, influence of Irish Gaelic, regional and social variation, pronunciation, grammar, recent developments and needs for research.

Montgomery, Michael, and John M. Kirk, 'The Origin of the Habitual Verb *be* in American Black English: Irish or English or What?' *Belfast Working Papers in Linguistics* 11 (1996), 308-333. Argues that the striking parallels in the habitual use of the verb *be* (and *bes*) in Ulster-Scots and Ulster English on the one hand and African American English on the other is the result of independent development rather than historical inheritance, in contrast to what has been proposed by other researchers.

Montgomery, Michael, and John M. Kirk, "My Mother, Whenever She Passed Away, She had Pneumonia": the History and Function of Punctual *whenever*', *Journal of English Linguistics* 29 (2001), 234-249. Examines the uses of *whenever* (especially to express a single event that took place in the past) in Ulster and America and argues for a direct historical connection between them.

Montgomery, Michael, and Margaret Mishoe, 'The Pragmatics of Multiple Modals in North and South Carolina', *American Speech* 69 (1994), 3-29. Identifies similar verbal constructions like *might could* in Scotland, Ulster, and the American South and postulates a historical connection between them.

Montgomery, Michael, and Stephen J. Nagle, 'Double Modals in Scotland and the Southern United States: Trans-Atlantic Inheritance or Independent Development?' *Folia Linguistica Historica* 14 (1994), 91-107. Examines and assesses arguments for whether constructions like *might could* were brought from Ulster and Scotland or developed independently in the United States.

Montgomery, Michael, and Philip Robinson, 'Ulster: a Linguistic Bridge to North America', *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* 1, 1 (2000), 40-60. Revised as the following item.

Montgomery, Michael, and Philip Robinson, 'Ulster English as Janus: Language Contact across the Irish Sea and across the North Atlantic', in P. Sture Ureland and Iain Clarkson (eds.), *Language Contact across the North Atlantic: Proceedings of the Working Groups Held at University College, Galway (Ireland), August 29-September 3, 1992 and the University of Göteborg (Sweden), August 16-21, 1993* (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1996), 411-426. Revised as Montgomery and Robinson 2000. Examines features of English and Scots speech in Ulster in the 17th century and studies in detail two features which later entered American speech.

Montgomery, Michael, and Anne Smyth (eds.), *A Blad o Ulster-Scot frae Ullans: Ulster-Scots Culture, Language and Literature* (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2003). Revision of items from *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots*, published in anthology format.

Mooney, Martin, 'Up to His Neck in the World', *Fortnight* 401 (February 2002), 24-26. Reviews new edition of Burns' collected poetry and argues that in spirit it is the opposite of that being produced by the modern Ulster-Scots movement, which claims him as an inspiration.

Morgan, Michael, 'Dinosaurs and Frankensteins', *Fortnight* 388 (November 2000), 14-15. Argues that the recognition of Ulster Scots is the result of political correctness.

Muhr, Kay, 'Ulster Place-Name Links between Gaelic, English and Scots, Starting with *Kill*', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language Links: the Languages of Scotland and Ireland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 2), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 257-272. Includes names with the initial elements *Kil-* and *Kirk-* in Ulster-Scots areas.

Newlin, Claude, 'Dialects on the Western Pennsylvania Frontier', *American Speech* 4 (1928), 104-110. Cites evidence that Ulster speech patterns were brought to Pennsylvania and preserved in the late 18th and early 19th century.

Nic Craith, Máiread, 'Contested Identities and the Quest for Legitimacy', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21 (2000), 399-413. Examines how supporters of Ulster-Scots (pp. 408-411) and other minority European languages seek 'vertical' legitimacy or affirmation (i.e. status) and 'horizontal' legitimacy or affirmation (i.e. usage) for them; claims that supporters of Ulster-Scots 'are generally contained within the cultural wing of Northern Ireland loyalism'.

Nic Craith, Máiread, 'Politised Linguistic Consciousness: the Case of Ulster-Scots', *Nations and Nationalism* 7 (2001), 21-37. Claims that 'promoters of Ulster-Scots are contained almost entirely within the cultural wing of loyalism' and that efforts to assert its status as a language are divisive and motivated by rivalry with the Irish-language movement and ultimately by aspirations for political independence for Northern Ireland.

Nic Craith, Máiread, 'The Process of "Cruthinitude"' in her *Plural Identities, Singular Narratives: the Case of Northern Ireland* (Oxford, Berghahn, 2002), 93-113. Examines the use of myth and ideology in the promotion of an Ulster-Scots cultural and linguistic identity.

Nic Craith, Máiread, *Culture and Identity Politics in Northern Ireland* (Hounds Mills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), x + 232 pp. Says that Ulster-Scots has been used to construct an ethnic identity to rival that of Irish and has become a tool in the identity politics of Northern Ireland.

O'Farrell, John, 'The Language Game', *Fortnight* 393 (March 1999), 15-16. Details political negotiations that created the North/South Language Implementation Body (as a result of the Belfast Agreement) and says that its establishment means that the Irish Government has formally acknowledged Ulster-Scots as the third official language of the Republic and that this move endangers the future of support for Irish by creating a funding formula for Irish that is subject to the whims of Unionist politicians in Northern Ireland.

O'Kane, William, *You don't Say?: the Tyrone Crystal Book of Ulster Dialect* (Dungannon, Irish World, 1991), xiii + 161 pp. Offers 'a selection of words used throughout the northern part of Ireland, together with examples of their meanings, usage and, where possible, their derivation'; many items have Lowland Scots ancestry.

Ó Muirithe, Diarmaid, 'Ulster-Scots Dialect', in Brian Lalor and Frank McCourt (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), 1092. A brief note.

'One Who Listens' (Rev. McMordie), *Our Ulster Accent and Ulster Provincialisms* (Belfast, 1897), 77 pp. Manual of local usages and solecisms to be avoided in educated use of language.

'On the Road', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 3 (1995), 22-24. A 'speculative' new vocabulary on the theme of travel, towns and traffic.

Ó Riagáin, Dónall, 'Language Rights/Human Rights in Northern Ireland and the Role of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 43-54. Says that the United Kingdom's signing of the Charter 'necessitates a dramatic shift in public perception in linguistic diversity in Northern Ireland'.

Orr, James, *The Country Rhymes of James Orr, the Bard of Ballycarry, 1770-1816* (Folk Poets of Ulster Series 2, with an introduction by Philip Robinson), (Bangor, Pretani, 1992), xxxi + 119 pp. Compilation of the Ulster-Scots verse by the southeast Antrim poet.

'The Oul Leid', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 5 (1997), 51-52. Transcription of a 1627 letter by James Hamilton of Bangor to Archibald Edmonstone of Ballycarry that displays many elements of Scots grammar and orthography.

Parsley, Ian J., 'Authenticity of Scots', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 181-185. Argues that the main issues for standardising Scots are acceptability and authenticity, rather than correctness, and shows how these are embodied in different ways and to different degrees in five sample translations of a short English text into Ulster-Scots.

[Parsley, Ian James] 'An Introduction to Ulster Scots Speech and Literature'. <www.ianjamesparsley.net/ullans_int.html>. Overview of Ulster-Scots in form of questions and answers (e.g. 'What is Ulster-Scots?', 'Where does Ulster-Scots Come from?', etc.)

Parsley, Ian J., 'Language, Discrimination and the Good Friday Agreement: the Case of Ulster-Scots', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language and Politics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 1), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2000), 89-90. Brief comment on issues of language discrimination in relation to the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement.

Parsley, Ian J., 'Towards a Strategy for Scots', *Black Mountain Review* 10 (2004), 85-87. Criticises the contemporary Ulster-Scots language movement for claiming discrimination and lack of funding rather than asking realistic questions or providing 'honest answers' about Ulster-Scots and its development.

Parsley, Ian J., 'Twa Ulster-Scotses: Authentic versus Synthetic' in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Language Planning and Education: Linguistic Issues in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 6), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2002), 183-185. Cites pros and cons of two models for translating Ulster-Scots.

Parsley, Ian J., 'Ulster-Scots: Politicisation or Survival', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2001), 177-180. Argues that activists in the Ulster-Scots movement advocate a written version that is counter-productive to the survival of the language [written in Scots].

Parsley, Ian J, 'Wad the Ulster-Scots Tongue Richtlie be Gan Foreairt?', in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Towards Our Goals in Broadcasting, the Press, the Performing Arts and the Economy: Minority Languages in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 10), (Belfast, Queen's University Belfast, 2003), 211-212. Editorial expressing pessimism over the future of Ulster-Scots and efforts to assist its development [written in Scots].

Patterson, David, *The Provincialisms of Belfast and the Surrounding Districts Pointed Out and Corrected; to Which is Added an Essay on Mutual Improvement Societies* (Belfast, Mayne, 1860), 28 pp. Shows that in some respects the pronunciation of vowels in Belfast was closer to Antrim Ulster-Scots in the mid-19th century than it was a century later.

Patterson, William Hugh, *A Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim and Down* (London, Trübner for the English Dialect Society, 1880), xi + 118 pp. Comprehensive early glossary of local speech, with many quotations illustrating use and a brief essay on settlement history of the two counties; the foundational study of Ulster-Scots vocabulary.

Pepper, John, *Catch Yourself on!* (Belfast, Blackstaff, 1980), 39-41. Comments on Ballymena usages.

Pepper, John, *Ulster-English Dictionary* (Belfast, Blackstaff, 1981), 88 pp. Popular dictionary of Ulster colloquialisms containing some terms of Scots extraction.

'Place-Name Scraps', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 3 (1995), 30. On the origin of 'Gregstown', a townland near Newtownards in the Ards Peninsula.

Policansky, Linda, 'Grammatical Variation in Belfast English', *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 6 (1981), 37-66. Examines variation in verbal concord, relative pronouns, and *whenever* vs. *when* in Belfast English for four groups of speakers having different levels of education.

Polley, David, 'Ulster-Scots as Manifest in Place Names', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 7 (1999), 80-81. Reprinted in Michael Montgomery and Anne Smyth (eds.), *A Blad o Ulstèr-Scotch frae Ullans: Ulster-Scots Culture, Language and Literature* (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2003), 93-95. Brief introduction to the different types of official and popular Ulster-Scots place names; stresses the value of such names for understanding traditions in Northern Ireland.

Polley, David, 'Ulster Scots: Naming Places', Dublin, 2000 (University of Dublin M.Litt. dissertation).

Porter, Hugh (edited and with an introduction by Amber Adams and J. R. R. Adams), *The Country Rhymes of Hugh Porter, the Bard of Moneyslane, Born c. 1780*, Folk Poets of Ulster Series 1 (Bangor: Pretani, 1992), xxx + 132 pp. Compilation of the Ulster-Scots verse by the county Down poet (c1780-?).

Porter, Tom, 'Mourne View', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 2 (1994), 54. Narrative presentation of vocabulary items from fishing and farming.

Pritchard, Rosalind, 'Protestants and the Irish Identity: Historical Heritage and Current Attitudes', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 25 (2004). Says that one way to counteract the increasing polarisation in Northern Ireland society is for Protestants to recognise the Irish language as part of their heritage, but that this has been made difficult both by the co-opting of the language revival movement by Irish nationalism and Catholicism and, paradoxically, by the recognition of Ulster-Scots by the Good Friday Agreement.

Radford, Katie, 'Creating an Ulster-Scots Revival', *Peace Review* 13, 1 (2001), 51-57. Discusses the dynamics and challenges facing the ideological development of the Ulster-Scots movement since the peace accords of 1998.

Reynolds, Lee, 'Licht no Keech', *Fortnight* 402 (2002), 22-23. Presents the tenets of the modern Ulster-Scots revival movement, which advocates the rights to cultural self-definition and multiple identities, and the validity of the three-tradition model that recognises three cultural traditions.

'Robert Huddleston and the Ulster-Scots Tongue', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 1 (1993), 10-11. On Huddleston's own view of his use of Ulster-Scots, from the county Down poet's unpublished papers.

Robinson, Mairi, et al., *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1985), xli + 820 pp., maps. Reissued by Chambers, Edinburgh, 1992, and by Polygon, Edinburgh, 1999. Comprehensive dictionary of Scots, based mainly on the *Scottish National Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*; gives meanings, pronunciation, etymology, dating and distribution; includes Ulster.

Robinson, Philip, 'Germanic Place-Names in East Ulster' in Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty and Mark Hennessy (eds.), *Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary Essays in Honour of Annret Simms* (Dublin, 2004), 281-296. Surveys place-names originating from Germanic languages up to and including Ulster-Scots.

Robinson, Philip, 'The Historical Presence of Ulster-Scots in Ireland', in Michael Cronin and Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (eds.), *The Languages of Ireland* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2004), 112-126. Surveys documentary record for Ulster-Scots since the early 17th century.

Robinson, Philip, 'Jonathan Swift: His Early Writings in Ulster-Scots?', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 3 (1995), 37-48. Reproduces and comments on a letter in Ulster-Scots that appeared in American newspapers in the 1730s; speculates that the author 'J.S.' may in fact have been Jonathan Swift.

[Robinson, Philip], 'The Oul Leid: Quhat?', *Kintra Sennicht* 2 (Summer 1993), [3]. On the use of *quh-* in place of *wh-*, e.g. *quhat* for *what*.

[Robinson, Philip], ‘The Oul Leid: Why no Y’s?’, *Kintra Sennicht* 3 (Winter 1993), [3-4]. On the letters thorn, yogh (surviving as y and z) and the Scots preference for final -ie rather than -y.

Robinson, Philip, ‘The Scots Language in Seventeenth-Century Ulster’, *Ulster Folklife* 35 (1989), 86-99. From period documents finds that written Scots as a medium declined in Ulster in the 17th century, but infers that it continued as a spoken language.

Robinson, Philip, ‘Some Belfast Place Names, 1712-1736’, *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 4 (1996), 32-36. Extracts and lists the names (along with their variant spellings) of streets, buildings, etc. from the Funeral Register of First Belfast Presbyterian Church of the early 18th century.

Robinson, Philip, ‘A Test for Ulster-Scots’, *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 6 (1998), 46-47. Reprinted in Michael Montgomery and Anne Smyth (eds.), *A Blad o Ulster-Scot frae Ullans: Ulster-Scots Culture, Language and Literature* (Belfast, Ullans Press, 2003), 87-90. List of 67 vocabulary items (in standard English, Ulster English dialect and Ulster-Scots) useful for identifying the ‘markers’ of Ulster-Scots speech.

Robinson, Philip, *Ulster-Scots: A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language* (Belfast, Ullans, 1997), x + 229 pp. The first grammar of Ulster-Scots, a comprehensive and systematic study with numerous examples from literary sources from four centuries.

Robinson, Philip, ‘The Use of the Term “Clachan” in Ulster’, *Ulster Folklife* 37 (1991), 30-35. Concludes that the term had ‘been introduced into Ulster by seventeenth-century Scots settlers who had already absorbed the word from Scots Gaelic’.

Robinson, Philip, ‘William Starrat of Strabane: the First Ulster-Scots Poet’, *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 5 (1997), 30-39. Discusses and reproduces the verse of a Tyrone schoolmaster who engaged in a poetic exchange with Allan Ramsay in Scots.

Rooney, Edward, ‘Language Policy Implementation: a DCAL Civil Servant’s Perspective’, in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Linguistic Politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 3), (Belfast, Queen’s University Belfast, 2001), 55-60. Surveys developments in official language policies for Irish and Ulster-Scots in Northern Ireland and key issues in implementing such policies.

Scottish National Dictionary. See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*.

Skea, Margaret, ‘Change and Variation in the Lexicon of a Non-Standard Dialect: a Sociolinguistic Study of Dialect Semantics in North Down’, Jordanstown, 1982 (Ulster Polytechnic Ph.D. thesis). Examines traditional Ulster-Scots

vocabulary in five north county Down communities across four generations of speakers and finds that general diminution in the comprehension of this vocabulary has been taking place and that denotations of individual items have changed or been lost.

Skillen, Joseph, ‘Notes, Archaeological and Otherwise, from the Poems of David Herbison, 1800-1880’, *Irish Naturalists’ Journal* 1 (1926), 162-163. Brief note, largely on the absence of references to folklore in Herbison’s poems.

Smyth, Anne, ‘Daein Redactor fur Ullans/Editing Ullans Magazine’, *Black Mountain Review* 10 (2004), 93-99. Discusses the policies and practice of editing *Ullans*, the annual magazine of the Ulster-Scots Language Society.

Smyth, Anne, ‘Swimming against the Tide’, *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 9/10 (2004), 71-73. Discusses words that originated in Scots and Ulster-Scots and then entered Standard English.

Smyth, Anne, and Michael Montgomery, ‘The Ulster-Scots Academy’ in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Legislation, Literature and Sociolinguistics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 13), (Belfast, Queen’s University Belfast, 2005), 60-64. Reprinted in *Review of Scottish Culture* 2004/05. Discusses the background and the main projects of the Ulster-Scots Academy, founded in 1994.

Spurr, Chris, ‘The BBC Northern Ireland Ulster-Scots Unit’, in John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (eds.), *Towards our Goals in Broadcasting, the Press, the Performing Arts and the Economy: Minority Languages in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland* (Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 10), (Belfast, Queen’s University Belfast, 2003), 40-46. Discusses the radio service’s policies toward broadcasting in Ulster-Scots and development of programming in Ulster-Scots since 2002, especially with reference to *A Kist o Wurds*, a radio magazine.

Stapleton, Karyn and John Wilson, ‘A Discursive Approach to Cultural Identity: The Case of Ulster Scots’, *Belfast Working Papers in Language and Linguistics* 16 (2003), 57-71. Proposes a framework for exploring how self-identified Ulster-Scots use stories and opinions to articulate their communal identity.

Stapleton, Karyn and John Wilson, ‘Ulster Scots Identity and Culture: The Missing Voice(s)’, *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 11 (2004), 563-591. Based on interviews with grassroots-level people who self-identify as Ulster-Scots, analyses how they use historical and other narratives to construct personal and communal identity as Ulster-Scots.

Tagliamonte, Sali, and Jennifer Smith, ‘“Either It isn’t or It’s not”: Neg/Aux Contraction in British Dialects’, *English World-Wide* 23 (2001), 251-281. Examines patterns of contraction in eight varieties in the United Kingdom, including Cullybackey in county Antrim; finds no significant difference from north to south.

Tagliamonte, Sali, Jennifer Smith and Helen Lawrence, 'No Taming the Vernacular! Insights from the Relatives in Northern Britain', *Language Variation and Change* 17 (2005), 75-112. Compares patterning of relative pronouns in four communities in northwestern England, southwestern Scotland, and Northern Ireland, including Cullybackey and Portavogie; finds fundamental similarities between all four in their avoidance of *who* and *which* and the prevalence of *that* and zero ('There were a boy in Ballyclare told me this').

Thompson, Mark, 'Signs of Encouragement: Ulster-Scots Street Signs in the Ards', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 7 (1999), 17-21. Photographs and brief essay on bilingual Ulster-Scots/English signage in east county Down.

Thomson, Samuel, *The Country Rhymes of Samuel Thomson, the Bard of Carngranny, 1766-1816* (Folk Poets of Ulster Series 3), with an introduction by Ernest McA. Scott and Philip Robinson (Bangor, Pretani, 1992), xxxi + 123 pp. Compilation of the Ulster-Scots verse by the southeast Antrim poet.

Todd, J. Andrew. 'The Life and Work of Rev W. F. Marshall', *Ullans: The Magazine for Ulster-Scots* 4 (1996), 51-56. Biographical appreciation of the county Tyrone minister and poet.

Todd, Loreto, *Green English: Ireland's Influence on the English Language* (Dublin, O'Brien, 1999), 176 pp. Contains short sections on the pronunciation and grammar of Ulster-Scots and its use in literature by such writers as W. G. Lyttle and G. Savage-Armstrong.

Todd, Loreto, *The Language of Irish Literature* (New York, St. Martin's, 1989), xvi + 193 pp. Summarises features of Ulster-Scots (pp. 29-32) and makes occasional reference to its use in literary texts.

Todd, Loreto, 'Ulster Scots', in Tom McArthur (ed.), *Oxford Companion to the English Language* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992), 1087-1088. Capsule account of major features of Ulster-Scots, with comments on its affiliation with Lowland Scots and its social variation.

Todd, Loreto, *Words Apart: a Dictionary of Northern Ireland English* (Gerrards Cross, Smythe, 1990), xv + 260 pp. Bilingual dictionary of 'Northern Ireland English' and English, with many forms cross-referenced to Scotland; includes introductory comments on Ulster-Scots and selected texts by Savage-Armstrong, Lynn and Lyttle.

Traynor, Michael (ed.), *The English Dialect of Donegal: a Glossary Incorporating the Collections of H. C. Hart, etc.* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1953), xxiv + 335 pp. Comprehensive dictionary based on citations from local literature and correspondents as well as the collections of Hart; for most items uses broad phonetic transcription and cross-references material to the *Oxford English Dictionary, English Dialect Dictionary* and other sources.

Ulster-Scots Language Society, *The Ulster-Scots Language: a Submission to the Forum by the Ulster-Scots Language Society and the Ulster-Scots Academy* (Belfast, 1996). Quasi-published report to the Political Forum setting out the history, status, resources and needs of the language, with proposals for its support at the level of tertiary education.

Walker, Brian M., 'Country Letters: Some Correspondence of Ulster Poets of the Nineteenth Century', in John Gray and Wesley McCann (eds.), *An Uncommon Bookman: Essays in Memory of J. R. R. Adams* (Belfast, Linen Hall Library, 1996), 119-139. Transcribes and discusses letters by Rhyming Weaver poets, many to John Rea Semple, now in the Sentry Hill archive in the Linen Hall Library.

Walsh, Patrick, 'In Search of the Rhyming Weavers', *Causeway* 3, 4 (Winter 1996), 40-44. Argues that John Hewitt's Presbyterian and Ulster-Scots circumscription of the Rhyming Weavers presents a limited and distorted view of the poetry of the time.

Weaver, Jack, 'Robert Huddleston: Ulster Example of (American) Scotch-Irish Mountaineer?', *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies* 1, 1 (2000), 98-104. Identifies similarities between the life and poetic work of the county Down poet and the Appalachian culture in which the author was reared.

Wilson, John, and Karyn Stapleton, 'Nation-State, Devolution and the Parliamentary Discourse of Minority Languages', *Journal of Language and Politics* 2 (2004), 5-30. Considers the status and rights claimed for and assigned to Ulster-Scots and Irish in the Northern Ireland Assembly; explores how Unionists are conflicted between supporting English and Ulster-Scots and how they advocate Ulster-Scots as a counter-protest to Irish, thus arguing that the debate over the status of Ulster-Scots is a political rather than a linguistic one.

The Orthography of Ulster-Scots

I. Editorial Preface

Michael Montgomery

The modification of spelling to approximate pronunciation has a long tradition in the British Isles, by literary artists, lexicographers and linguists alike. In Scotland the literary revival of the early eighteenth century, which arose after the orthography of written Scots had almost completely converged with English c1700, was fostered by Allan Ramsay, who introduced into popular verse numerous forms from that nation's literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

In Ulster, although the revival of Scots took place on a smaller scale it was a genuine local upsurge in interest not simply imported from Scotland. In many ways the revival and the practices that emerged from within the ranks of practitioners and audience were shared broadly on both sides of the Irish Sea¹. Distinctively Scots spelling conventions used in the early 1600s by Scots planters in Ulster disappeared from their correspondence within a few decades, but these leave no doubt about the rooting of the language in parts of the province or that its use in speech was uninterrupted and was later to bear fruit in popular literature in succeeding generations².

The migration of Scots speakers to Ulster in the 17th century also provided precedents (e.g. *sic*, *richt*, *frae*, *auld*, *stane*, *sae*, and others) for 18th-century verse. Such forms showed up as early as 1722 in a poem by William Starratt, a 'Teacher of Mathematicks at Straban[e]' in county Tyrone³. Many of Starratt's usages (*wud*, *auld*, *sae*, *sang*, *frae*, *sic*) also featured in seven 'Scotch Poems', by an anonymous Donegal poet three decades later⁴. In addition to this tradition of writing Ulster-Scots (or Scots in Ulster), which was exemplified most prominently in the Rhyming Weaver poets beginning in the late-eighteenth century⁵, a different tradition was to emerge for writing Ulster English (or Northern Hiberno English). The nineteenth century is replete with writers of both schools who portrayed aspects of pronunciation by manipulating spelling in poetry and prose, the best known of whom was William Carleton of west Tyrone, an exemplar of the second tradition⁶.

Recent writing and thinking on the orthography of Ulster-Scots and Ulster English by linguists and language planners, albeit built on a more thorough and objective consideration of speech patterns, was foreshadowed by and has been grounded in well over a century of practice by the creative writers who

often had already explored the orthographic options available. Linguists have, after all, the same limited set of symbols at their disposal, with only the addition perhaps of diacritical marks or an occasional symbol borrowed from a phonetic alphabet. The aims of literary artists often differ, of course, from those of linguists. Their interest in developing characters by representing speech sometimes leads them to convey comedy, folksiness, or lack of education through 'eye dialect', phonetic spellings (e.g. *cum* for *come*, *sez* for *says*) that indicate the general pronunciations of words, rather than pronunciations limited to a given language variety⁷. However, such writers faced, or face, the same struggle to capture speech as the more systematic efforts undertaken by linguists and thus offer many precedents for solving the same problems.

The history of such orthographic conventions deserves detailed treatment and is beyond the scope of this chapter, which seeks to comment only briefly on the work of two linguists, G. Brendan Adams and Robert J. Gregg, and to present previously unpublished work of theirs pertinent to the subject. These men gave much thought and attention to formulating speech-based systems of orthography from many years of observation, experimentation, and in Gregg's case, extensive fieldwork in the province. Their ideas have been known and discussed informally within the sphere of the Ulster-Scots revival movement in recent years and have thus been considered by native-speaking writers in the movement, the primary drivers of the on-going debate about spelling practices in Ulster-Scots. Their ideas have in one way or another formed input to the collective thinking on the subject of Ulster-Scots orthography for forty years. Though they have often been rejected as too radical, usually because of the resistance of practitioners to unfamiliar spellings not having historical precedent, these ideas nonetheless have not been as widely disseminated as they deserve to be and so are published here⁸.

Adams and Gregg were not working in a vacuum. Among other things, they were aware of proposals to give Lowland Scots a more consistent system, as in the work of James A. H. Murray⁹, James Wilson¹⁰, and other prestigious models. The documents below show their interest in an accurate and practical orthography for Ulster-Scots, one that drew from Scottish practice but that logically and effectively handled speech patterns not found in Scotland.

Adams' essay 'Orthography' was a mid-1960s working document that proposed orthographic conventions to serve as

a practical, consistent pronunciation guide for headwords for the *Ulster Dialect Dictionary*¹¹, sited at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. It did not intend explicitly to provide a model for writers. The project had accumulated large amounts of oral material (mainly from a Belfast Naturalists' Field Club survey of the 1950s¹²) having either no conventional written form or in many cases no single dominant form from which to choose. Adams sought to devise a phonemically-based system to bring order to the extensive variation in a principled way. Whether because the dictionary, under the editorship of John Braidwood, soon went into abeyance or for some other reason, Adams' essay was never known beyond a small circle. It was subsequently filed in the Museum's records, a typescript unknown to all but one or two staff members.

While the text is certainly Adams' own, other unpublished documents suggest that his ideas grew in part from discussions with John Braidwood, Robert Gregg, and others around the time. It presents a carefully reasoned, systematic way to spell both consonants and vowels, following a nuanced approach that gives due allowance to historical precedent and transparency as countervailing factors to phonemic consistency. The introductory paragraphs indicate that Adams' goal was to codify a system that could encompass both Ulster-Scots and Ulster English under the broad rubric of 'Ulster dialect'. As shown by both Gregg's and Adams' linguistic work, the phonology of the two overlapped in some particulars, but far from all, especially in the incidence of phonemes. However, the reader who concludes that Adams does not thoroughly recognize geographically-based differences and incorporate these into his design and that thus he only partially realized his goal would be greatly mistaken. In the document he does not employ the term 'Ulster-Scots', but he refers to features of 'north Ulster' dialect (which he says 'is derived from Scots', §28) no fewer than 28 times. Even when the pronunciation of 'north Ulster' dialect is identical to that of Lowland Scots, Adams does not always defer to common spellings in the latter, like Gregg preferring *staen* to *stane*, for instance (§11). Nor was Adams unalterably wedded to his views. For example, recognizing the distinctiveness of the lowered and retracted pronunciation of the front vowel in *big* and *hill* in parts of the province, he later proposed the character ä for this sound (see below)¹⁴.

As a life-long student of Ulster-Scots, Robert Gregg over the course of many years turned his energies not only to linguistic analysis, but also to the practical application of his research. He was devising an orthography for Ulster-Scots, based on his fieldwork, as early as the 1960s. In this process he produced transcriptions of local Ulster-Scots texts, or in some cases Ulster-Scots versions of English texts, to test and demonstrate various conventions. Presented here are seven of those he prepared (five poems, one anecdote, and one dialogue). Since the texts are undated, their sequence is unknown. Each is internally consistent, but in the intriguing minor variation across the seven documents one can sense a degree of experimentation (e.g. he has *ruim* in 'The Rhymers', but *ruim* in 'A Ballymena Legend'). While Gregg apparently never prepared a document comparable to Adams' essay that formally codified his system, much of one can be inferred from his carefully crafted transcriptions.

Toward the end of his life Gregg became increasingly interested in sharing his work and in seeing that his

scholarship on Ulster-Scots contributed to the work of others. He provided copies of hundreds of citation slips to the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum's *Concise Ulster Dictionary* project (1989-96) and had his personal papers relating to Ulster-Scots deposited in the Museum's archives. Gregg was especially keen that his transcriptions assist the language development work of the nascent Ulster-Scots Language Society and Ulster-Scots Academy¹⁵ by demonstrating suitable spelling conventions that sometimes drew from ones for Lowland Scots, but differed from the latter in being more phonetic in a number of respects. A thorough study of Gregg's spelling conventions and their precedents would be valuable, but space forbids discussion of Adams' and Gregg's proposed practices except for three sample features of interest because of the diverse practices that writers have advocated for them and because of the attention they have received from Adams and Gregg.

In Ulster the orthographic issue that has been the most conspicuous and also the most frequently addressed (rivalled perhaps only by the spelling of *ea*, as in *tay* for *tea*) is the respelling in both Ulster-Scots and Ulster English of the alveolar stops *t* and *d* dentalized before vowels colored by /r/ (as in *water*) or before consonantal /r/ (as in *truth*). The two sounds remain stops and therefore distinct from interdental /θ/ and /ð/ (although, according to Adams §4, a third set of consonants, viz. interdental stops, exists for some speakers). The same process of dentalization variably affects the continuants /n/ and /l/, but these are rarely respelled. (Gregg is apparently the only one to do so, and only for /n/.) Although the dentalized variants are predictable phonologically, writers in Ulster have respelled *t* and *d*, especially as *th* and *dh* (more often before vowels than before consonants). At least one instance occurs in the verse of a Rhyming Weaver poet more than two centuries ago (*thortur'd*)¹⁶, but in general dentalized consonants are not represented in Ulster-Scots writers of the 19th century¹⁷. By contrast, this feature is virtually universal in Ulster-English writings from Carleton forward, and a brief register of sample forms from Ulster-English writers includes the following:

- Carleton (1843): *better, afther, thruth, counthry, tindher, dhrownded*¹⁸
 Hume (1861): *winther, watther, counthry, sthride, undther, dhunk, dhirt*¹⁹
 McFadyen and Hepburn (1884): *craythur, polthroon, instruictions, shartred*²⁰
 O'Neill (1921): *better, deludhered, thry, dhrink*²¹
 McCallin (1938): *winther, Sathurday, squandtherin*²²
 Mulcaghey (1950): *sharted, wondherful, thruth, dhrap*²³

While this list indicates that the most common practice has been to respell *t* and *d* simply as *th* and *dh*, many others have been followed. Hume and McCallin sometimes use *tth* and *dth*, for example. Adams argues for *t* (§4d) and *dh* (§4c), while Gregg's practice is the radical one of using capital letters, which he states is borrowed from Celticists²⁴. He first used these symbols in phonetically transcribing Ulster-Scots and subsequently imported them into his orthography, writing forms such as the following:

*beTTer, yungsTers, ecTers, UlsTer, waATer, TRies, TRevled, STReem
 DReekh, DResst, faarDer*

wuNNered, eNTRance, oNDER (showing that more than one consonant may be affected simultaneously)

Other writers have proposed alternatives: 1) underlining the consonant (advocated but later rejected by James Fenton); 2) doubling *t* when between vowels and using *th* for *d* in similar contexts (now advocated by Fenton: thus *watter*, *wunther*, *shoother*, but *efer*, *trak²⁵*); and 3) placing a grave accent over the following vowel, a practice devised in workshops held by the Ulster-Scots Language Society in the early 1990s and exemplified especially in Philip Robinson's work (thus *watèr*, *Ulstèr*, *tréè*, *dandèr*, etc.²⁶)

A second issue concerns the vowel in *big* and *hill*. One of fourteen features on which Gregg concentrated in his doctoral fieldwork, this feature included 'items of diverse origin which characteristically exhibit a short, half open (or lower), somewhat retracted vowel [ɛ] or [æ] ... the usual equivalent for the vowel in [Standard Southern British] *bit*' (Gregg found that the latter pronunciation usually characterized Ulster English)²⁷. In his orthographic transcriptions of Ulster-Scots Gregg represents this sound by *ä*, thus producing *yänst*, *näkht*, *thäs*, *näck*, *Chräsmas*, *chälly*, *whünävver*, etc. This practice was followed by Robinson²⁸, but not by Fenton (who uses *i*, the conventional English spelling). Adams recognized the vowel pronunciation as distinctive to 'north Ulster' speech and grappled extensively with its spelling in his essay on orthography (§9, §13, §17, §28), stating in summary that

The *pit*-vowel is written *I* in south Ulster and general word-forms, and is always short. In genuine north Ulster dialect forms the vowel which most commonly corresponds to this *phonemically* differs from it to such an extent *phonetically* that we prefer to write *A*. (§13)

In his essay Adams thus recommends *bag* for *big* and *hal* for *hill*. Although he does not espouse, or even mention, it in his essay on orthography, it was he who apparently first introduced *ä*:

When transcribing the mid-Antrim dialect for literary purposes one slight problem of orthography arises. There is a clear short *i* but this occurs in shortening and unrounding in some, but not all, of the words in which Scots has the front rounded *ui* for English *oo*, whereas the original short *i*, when not rounded to *u* by a preceding *w*, has a much lower sound that approaches the English short *a*, though it is not lengthened by certain consonants as the latter now is in certain parts of Ulster. The original short *a*, in turn, is broadened and usually lengthened. One might, of course, continue to write the historical *ui*, *i*, *a*, but this offers no guidance to the general reader to what their shifted sounds have become.

I have sought to meet this problem by using *i* for the first, by borrowing the umlaut letter *ä* from Swedish and German orthography for the second, and by doubling the *a* for the third of these phonetically shifted phonemes. Thus *loom*, *limb*, *lamb* would appear in the mid-Antrim dialect as *lim*, *läm*, *laam*. In a few monosyllables, however, that are usually unstressed in the sentence, such as *and*, *is*, *his*, the historical spelling is retained²⁹.

Contrary to the belief in some quarters, the adoption of *ä* is thus not simply a practice followed by modern enthusiasts³⁰.

Among creative writers there is more consensus on how to spell the consonant sound /x/. Like the previous feature, this is primarily an issue for Ulster-Scots rather than for Ulster English. The spelling *ch* defers to long-standing Scottish practice and has been all but universal in the writing of Ulster-Scots for two centuries. For practising writers of Ulster-Scots today the issue may be settled (they write *ch* in *nicht*, *wecht*, etc.³¹), but Adams and Gregg have other preferences. In contrast to Scotland, Adams (§6) argues that *ch* is less suited for Ulster (where, for example, *lough* traditionally corresponds to Scottish *loch*); Adams considers the possibility of *h* before deciding on *gh*. He then adds the provocative postscript that: 'Though retaining GH on account of its widespread present use in Ulster we think there is a good case for writing this sound with KH in any general reform of spelling'. As seen in Gregg's transcriptions, Gregg in fact adopts this last practice (thus *näkht*, *laukh*, *STRekten*) and presumably opposed using *ch* because of its possible ambiguity with the sounds it represents in *church* and *chemist*. The practice of *kh* has found few, if any, advocates beyond Gregg himself, however.

The documents published here show that Adams and Gregg invested much labor and thought into a linguistically valid spelling system for Ulster-Scots. Far more than a linguistic salvage operation, this publication of their original work shows how thoroughly they laid the groundwork for those who would come after to consider and indicates how vigorous the debate has been on the orthography of Ulster-Scots for four decades.

II. Orthography

G. Brendan Adams

The existing printed glossaries of Ulster words often show a great variety of spelling for one and the same word, and this was true to an even greater extent of the lists of words sent in to us³². One object of this Dictionary has therefore been to establish some standard of orthography. Apart from variations in local pronunciation this is rendered somewhat difficult both by the varied origins of the words and by the notorious inconsistency of English spelling conventions. It might be thought that the Scottish origin of many forms would justify the use of spellings familiar in the literary use of Scots, but Scottish spelling conventions are no more consistent than those of standard literary English and are sometimes at variance with them, so that to follow them too strictly would only add to the confusion. The same is even more true of loanwords from Irish, for although the Gaelic system of orthography is basically superior to and more consistent than the English, especially for representing fine distinctions of sound which English lacks but which have largely been carried over into the Ulster dialects, it is so much at variance with the English system in many ways that to retain it would complicate even more our dialect orthography.

At first sight it might seem that some simplified system of spelling based on the most common English values of the letters and letter groups might be chosen and applied systematically to the whole dialect vocabulary. This was done by Sir James Wilson in his grammars of the dialects of Perthshire and Ayrshire in which he used an orthography not very different from the *Nu Speling* proposed some years ago as a system of spelling reform for English³³. Our use of the international phonetic alphabet, however, for recording

exactly local pronunciations wherever possible makes a very strict system of orthography for ordinary purposes less necessary, and there are some objections to adopting spellings which would disguise too much the connection between dialect and general vocabulary where such a connection exists. We are not after all seeking to create a new language which will look as different as possible from standard English just for the sake of doing so, but rather to provide a consistent means of representing local speech when the occasion to do so arises and of giving local words a written form which will allow them to pass easily into general use if they can usefully add to the store of English vocabulary as a whole.

The problem of devising a satisfactory orthography for any dialect of English is largely bound up with that of devising a satisfactory reform of English spelling. No ordinary orthography can hope to represent the minutiae of every type of local pronunciation; that belongs to the domain of a strictly applied phonetic alphabet. Neither can a reformed spelling of the standard language allow for the variations of every local dialect, but whatever is necessary to represent the main features common to a group of dialects on which a well-defined regional modified standard of pronunciation rests, is an indication of what it is essential to retain or introduce in any system of reformed standard orthography which may in future be devised for English. Where general words have special dialect senses and therefore appear in this Dictionary we have not attempted to reform the spelling unless the local pronunciation requires it. We have, however, indicated in this section some reforms which the nature of our task has prompted us to suggest, and as recorders of a regional form of speech – including many examples of a regional modified standard of pronunciation as well as of pure dialect – we hope that this Dictionary may serve as a regional contribution to the problem of English spelling reform, as well as a storehouse of local dialect material.

Consonants

There are some shades of pronunciation which cannot conveniently be represented in an orthography for ordinary purposes.

(1) We see no reason for distinguishing certain Ulster consonants where they differ consistently in quality from the corresponding sounds in other forms of English, e.g. the ‘clear’ sound of /l/ after, as well as before, vowels; the more palatalized sound of SH, CH, J, without the lip-rounding of standard southern English; the NSH sound of NCH (not NTSH as commonly in England); the voiceless quality of WH distinguishing it from W; and the full sound of R where it has dropped out of English speech. (On the other hand, the rolled sound of R before a consonant in some Ulster dialects could be distinguished from the fricative sound in others by inserting a vowel after the R or doubling it).

(2) We do not think it necessary to distinguish the single sound of NG (as in *singer*) from its double sound (as in *singer*) by writing NGG for the latter. It so happens that those dialects which substitute the single for the double sound before and following L or R also reduce ND to NN and MB to MM in the same position, so that the use of the latter in any dialect text may be taken as implying the single sound of NG in the same dialect. For dictionary purposes of course the exact sound is here recorded in phonetic script at well.

(3) There is no convenient way of indicating the various articulations of P, T, K between vowels in different parts of Ulster. The long voiceless sound of the west could be indicated by doubling these consonants where they are normally single, implying also the long sound where they are written double according to the ordinary spelling rules (see below); the partly voiced sound of the Belfast region and other parts of east Ulster could be indicated by writing PB, TD, CG, or even simply B, D, G; and the glottalized sound of parts of the north [will be indicated] by an apostrophe before the consonant or the replacement of T by ' in those districts where this occurs. These, however, are localisms of which no account need be taken when considering Ulster dialects together as a regional form of language for which a standard form of orthography has to be devised, and no notice is taken of them in the spelling adopted in this dictionary.

(4) The case of the dental pronunciation of the alveolar consonants T, D, and sometimes N and L is, however, rather different and more complicated:

(a) In the representation of southern Irish dialects it is quite feasible to write TH or T for both T and voiceless TH and D or DH for both D and voiced TH, because the alveolar stops [t, d] and interdental fricatives [θ, ð] fall together as interdental stops [T, D]. In Ulster not only are the original sounds kept apart but in certain cases the interdental stops exist as well, so that there are three sets of sounds and we are faced with the problem of a shortage of convenient spellings for so many sounds.

(b) In ordinary English spelling TH represents both a voiceless [θ] and a voiced [ð] sound. The Ulster dialects agree with the standard language in the distribution of the two sounds except that TH is voiceless in *with* and remains voiceless, contrary to standard usage in a few nouns when the plural -s is added. Consequently we write TH for both, following the ordinary spelling rule and notwithstanding the example of Wilson’s orthography for the Scottish dialects and of *Nu Speling*, in both of which TH is restricted to the voiceless sound and DH used for the voiced.

(c) This leaves DH free to represent the voiced interdental stop when necessary. For types of Ulster pronunciation in which D has always the ordinary English sound it is not needed; for types in which D is always interdental it is also not needed, though DH might be substituted for D to indicate this type of speech provided it is done in every case. The proper function of DH, and the only one recognised in this dictionary, is to distinguish the two stops D [d] and DH [D] where both are used, as is widely the case in Ulster dialects, DH generally occurring when R follows and sometimes in loanwords from Irish in other positions, while D is used in other cases.

(d) Two values of T likewise exist, under similar conditions, but as the spelling TH is required to make the ordinary distinction between T and the two TH sounds described above, there is no way of distinguishing these unless we resort to TTH for the interdental stop. While this is permissible when the consonant is doubled between vowels, it is perhaps liable to be misinterpreted as meaning [tθ] rather than [T], and in any case is a clumsy spelling initially and after another consonant, so we have preferred in almost all cases to leave the distinction unmarked and simply write T. Similarly no special means has been adopted of writing interdental N or L (though analogy suggests NH and LH). In the orthographical representation of Ulster dialect for ordinary

purposes the presence of spellings with DH, according to the above rule, must be taken as implying that the related sounds are of the same type when occurring in similar phonetic contexts.

(e) The above may be summarised as follows: –

T = [t]	T = [T]	TH = [θ]
D = [d]	DH = [D]	TH = [ð]

(5) Palatalized K, G, T, D, N, L, which occur partly by sound-change in English words and partly by survival from Irish, can most easily be represented initially before any vowel and medially before a long vowel by KY, GY, TY, DY, NY, LY; medially before a short back vowel, however, I might be used instead of Y on the model of English words ending in -ION, -IAN, -IAL, and where the following vowel can be represented by EW, EU or ‘long’ (diphthongal) U, the Y might be omitted and the ordinary English spelling convention followed. It is, however, advisable to write TY, DY, where the palatal nature of these sounds has to be emphasized, as we have not thought it necessary, before U/EU/EW, to replace T by CH and D by J, though this is the common pronunciation in most parts of Ulster; on the other hand, the more localised change of T to K (i.e. KY) and of D to G (i.e. GY) in such cases is recorded, as giving rise to distinctive dialect word-forms. Neither have we thought it necessary to write NY, LY in place of every N or L before U/EU/EW or every NI or LI plus unstressed A or O, in order to emphasize the very palatal quality which many speakers give these sounds rather than pronounce them as ordinary N or L plus Y. When these palatal sounds occur finally we have had to leave them undifferentiated from ordinary K, G, T, D, N, L, as it is not feasible to distinguish them either by writing Y after them, which would normally be read as another syllable, or by writing I before them as in Irish, as this would cut across our ordinary spelling conventions and produce unusual or ambiguous vowel groups before the final consonant. The pronunciation given in phonetic script must be used to interpret the ordinary spelling in such cases, but it may be noted that final K and G after A, E, I, are more commonly palatalized in south than in north Ulster.

(6) For the voiceless open velar sound [x] the problem is to decide between CH as in *loch* and GH as in *lough*. This sound occurs partly in loanwords from Irish which have CH in the original spelling (the Gaelic GH being a different sound which rarely if ever survives in loanwords), and partly in the Scots forms of English words where CH is more commonly written than the GH of standard English spelling because in English the sound has either become F or silent. On the other hand, from the time when the English GH was still pronounced in this manner, the tradition has arisen of using GH for this sound in Irish place-names and personal names, despite the proper Irish spelling and the subsequent English loss of GH. The objection to using CH is that it clashes with ordinary English CH [tʃ], and the spelling of too many words with the latter sound would have to be changed from CH to TCH to avoid confusion. Against this the use of GH is open to the objection that many words with GH have their ordinary English pronunciation and have not preserved the Scots sound in many parts of Ulster, so that the consistent use of GH for [x] would mean changing the spelling of ordinary words where the GH has become silent. In the case of the group IGH we might set

a good example in spelling reform by writing *myht*, *ryht*, *nyht*, *knyht*, *playwryht*, reserving the present spelling of these words for the dialect pronunciation in which the old GH is preserved, but other GH words might not be so easily dealt with, while as it happens this particular group of words is better written with AGH to indicate the lower vowel which accompanies the GH in the dialects which preserve it, so that no confusion with the normal form arises in any case. This last point provides the clue to our decision to adopt GH in preference to CH, and also in preference to the KH of Wilson’s Scottish dialect orthography and of *Nu Speling*, which, though unambiguous, has not the traditional connection with this sound which GH has acquired in Ulster. It so happens that in ordinary English spelling GH is always preceded by I or U either as the sole vowel of the syllable or as the second part of one of the digraphs AI, EI, AU, OU. As the sole vowel of the syllable U alone occurs only in the proper names *Hugh*, *Pugh*, so that short U can be used before GH = [x] where necessary without much risk of ambiguity. For the rest the GH sound only occurs after vowels which can be written with A, O, E, or some digraph other than those occurring in normal English spelling, so that GH can be used with the convention that it follows the standard English rule after I, EI, AI, AU, OU, but represents the Ulster dialect sound after all other vowels. The word *lough*, however, in which an Irish pronunciation is already associated with an English spelling, is perhaps too well established to be changed to *logh*. Though retaining GH on account of its widespread present use in Ulster we think there is a good case for writing this sound with KH in any general reform of spelling.

(7) The bilabial broad F of some loanwords from Irish may conveniently be written FW before vowels. In most cases where the use of such words becomes widespread they acquire the ordinary English labio-dental F or labio-velar WH and are so written, but we have found it convenient to use FW in a few cases where a word was noted only in a district where the original sound survives or as an orthographical compromise where some speakers use F and others WH.

(8) We write the silent initial consonant in words beginning with GN, KN, WR, where they are connected with standard forms beginning with these groups, even where other changes in the spelling are made. We retain the ambiguous use of S as either [s] or [z] only in [noun] plural and verbal endings or where the dialect word does not otherwise deviate in form from the standard spelling, but where there is any other change in the word S is replaced by SS (sometimes -CE) or Z, as the case may be. We follow the ordinary spelling conventions in writing J, G, or DG for the J sound, extending the use of J, however, at the beginning of a syllable wherever necessary or possible; also in writing C or S for the S sound except where a dialect back vowel in place of a standard front vowel makes the use of C impossible; also generally in writing the K sound with K (before front vowels and finally) or C (before back vowels and consonants) or Q (before consonantal or silent U) or X for KS (where the S is not a suffix), but K is retained even before a back vowel in some cases of dialect vowel change to indicate a connection with standard forms (for example, *kaay* because of Scots *kye* and literary *kine*). Dialect change from a back to a front vowel makes it necessary to change C to K, and palatalization before A changes C to KY.

(9) We retain the usual English spelling convention of doubling consonants after short stressed vowels when another syllable is added (also finally in the case of CK, FF, LL, TCH), and this is extended to English words which form exceptions to the rule in those cases where the Ulster pronunciation makes some other change in the spelling necessary and to loanwords from Irish (even though this rule does not apply in the original spelling). We also make use of doubled consonants not only medially, but also finally to indicate in certain cases that the stress falls on a different syllable from standard English, also to help out the writing of the vowel sounds where a digraph normally used for a long vowel has to represent a short sound, or where a single vowel letter has to represent a different short sound from that normally implied by the spelling. In the case of finals such as CK and LL, which are always doubled after single vowel letters, the latter object is secured by reversing the usual convention and writing them single. For example, if A is used for the lowered north Ulster sound of I, *hamm* is written for *him* since *ham* implies a lengthened vowel in most parts of Ulster and the vowel differs slightly in quality, while *hal* would have to be written for *hill* to avoid confusion with the standard word-form *hall*. The dialect GH representing an open consonant, like the standard TH and SH, does not lend itself to doubling, but the first part of DH, DY and the other similar digraphs may be doubled.

(10) We have used the apostrophe only where it is used in standard spelling, viz. to make the genitive case of nouns and the elision of an auxiliary verb with a pronoun or the negative particle -n't, in o' for of in stereotyped phrases, and where the verbal inflections -ing and -ed are added to words with unusual final vowels. We cannot see that any useful purpose is served by cluttering up the spelling of certain words with apostrophes to mark the dialect change of -ing to -in (there being hardly any words with this ending in normal spelling, ambiguity is not likely to arise in such cases anyway), or the loss of a consonant such as final L in some words and D after N or L in others, or the loss of a consonant already silent when some other change in the spelling allows us to omit it. Only where a consonant such as T is replaced by the glottal stop, a sound for which our ordinary alphabet has no letter, is the use of the apostrophe necessary. (See 3 above).

The following classified summary of consonant spellings (with alternatives arising from the usual English spelling rules in brackets) should be compared with the table of consonant sounds in the section of the Introduction dealing with *Phonology*:

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palato-Alv.</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Stop	P B	T DH	T D	TY (T) DY (D)	KY(K) GY (G)	K (C, Q) G	'
Affricate				CH (T) J (G, D)			
Open	F; FW V	TH	S (C) Z (S)	SH (S, C) Z (S)		GH	
Semivowel	WH	W					H
Nasal	M	N	N	NY (N)	Y	NG	
Liquid		L	L; R	LY (L)	NG		

Vowels

In dealing with the consonants our main problem has been to make provision for a much wider range of sounds than most other types of English possess. With the vowels, however, the nature of the problem is different and even more complex. Firstly, since such differences affect the vowels more than the consonants, we have had to make provision for the divergent vowel systems of the two major dialects or dialect groups which for convenience, though not with complete geographical accuracy, we call the northern and southern dialects of Ulster speech, together with some compromise spellings for certain word-forms common to both. Secondly, from the chronic combination of polyphony (the use of one letter or digraph for several sounds) and polygraphy (the writing of different letters or digraphs for the same sound) which affects the spelling of English, we have had to make a choice of letters and digraphs in such a way that they could be applied more or less phonetically to the spelling of words which do not exist or are pronounced quite differently in standard English, while at the same time they might be allowed to remain in cases where the Ulster pronunciation does not differ enough for a change of spelling to be necessary but where the standard spelling itself is inconsistent. Each of the single vowel letters and many of the digraphs have therefore, besides the phonetic value which we assign them, one or more graphic values which are tolerated just as, among the consonants, GH has partly a phonetic and partly a purely graphic value. The vocabulary listed in the Dictionary therefore consists of words spelt more or less 'phonetically' (on the unphonetic basis which our ordinary spelling conventions allow us to adopt) together with a certain number in which divergences from this system are tolerated if they agree with standard spelling. It could be relieved of these anomalies by substituting letters with phonetic values for those used graphically where these occur, but pending a general reform of English spelling we have preferred not to disguise the connection of dialect words with words in general use which in many cases this would mean. It may be added that some of the digraphs we use for the traditionally long vowels and diphthongs are not necessarily those we would recommend for a general spelling reform as we are to some extent tied by the graphic values which have to be allowed to stand for the present.

(11) The minimum number of vowels which a consistent orthography of English, based on what Professor Daniel Jones calls 'received pronunciation' (RP), would need to distinguish is made up of the six short vowels in *pat, pet, pit, pot, putt,*

put; the three wide long vowels in *far; fur; for* or *fall*; the two almost diphthongal long vowels in *feel, fool*; and the five diphthongs in *fail, foal, file, foul, foil*; to which for practical purposes may be added the rising diphthong in *feud* (though phonetically it is simply the vowel in *food, fool*, preceded by the semi-vowel *y*-sound), making a total of 17. The remaining four centring diphthongs and two triphthongs in *peer, poor, pair, pour, pyre, power*, need not be distinguished from the vowels of *feel, fool, fail, foal, file, foul*, respectively since they are either variants of these which occur before *r*, or else they arise where the two vowels of originally separate syllables which are still written as such stand in hiatus. The sound of *fur* also occurs only before *r* but as it replaces three separate short vowels from all of which it is distinct it deserves a special notation. For the Ulster regional standard the distinction between the *pat*-vowel and the *far*-vowel would not in a simplified orthography be absolutely necessary since the latter can only occur before *R* not followed by a vowel, and with most speakers there is no difference between the *put*-vowel and the *fool*-vowel (e.g. *full* and *fool* sound alike). But apart from these two points a simplified spelling devised for RP would do *phonemically* for the Ulster regional standard of pronunciation despite the great *phonetic* differences between them in the formation of some of the vowels. Actual differences in vowel quality and such Ulster features as the lengthening of the *pat-, pet-, pot*-vowels and the shortening of the *feel-, fool-, foal-, feud*-vowels in certain specific cases according to the nature of the following consonant need not find expression in a simplified standard orthography since they are regulated automatically in this way. Given a simplified spelling of English (such as, for example, *Nu Speling* or some compromise between it and our present orthography) and assuming the Ulster regional standard of pronunciation for that orthography, the problem of devising a dialect orthography consists therefore in finding ways to represent dialect sounds not occurring in the regional standard and standard sounds which occur in unfamiliar phonetic contexts. To this may be added that so long as certain existing spellings are allowed to stand in words which differ in meaning but not in pronunciation, there is the additional problem of avoiding misinterpretation by false association with certain standard spellings which happen to clash with whatever semi-phonetic system is devised.

In what follows, partly for the convenience of users of the Dictionary who are not accustomed to phonetic script and partly because certain phonetically distinct vowels are united under one spelling in certain cases, we refer to the vowel sounds usually by means of the key-words just mentioned rather than by phonetic symbols. The part of the Introduction dealing with Phonology will make clear exactly the phonetic basis on which the spelling rests. The terms ‘short’ and ‘long’ in quotes refer to the traditional vowel lengths as preserved from Middle English or developed in RP, while the same terms without quotes refer to the actual length as occurring in Ulster dialects today. The orthography used in this Dictionary does not normally distinguish between such shorts and longs having a common origin and the same quality of sound; for the phonetic conditions under which such variations of length occur see the section on Phonology and the phonetic spellings of each word. The general principle of using single vowel letters for ‘short’ vowels and digraphs or trigraphs for ‘long’ vowels and diphthongs is followed wherever possible, and for this reason we prefer, for example, *staen* to *stane* as the

northern dialect form of *stone*. We see no particular objection to having two ways of writing one sound – provided one of these spellings does not also represent a second and quite different sound – if they are used where the sound arises from different etymological sources. We may now consider each vowel in detail.

(12) The *pet*-vowel is written E, even when lengthened in Ulster, and E is not used phonetically for any other vowel though retained graphically in many cases where standard orthography provides a precedent, especially as a silent final letter and in the past tense ending -ED.

(13) The *pit*-vowel is written I in south Ulster and general word-forms, and is always short. In genuine north Ulster dialect forms the vowel which most commonly corresponds to this *phonemically* differs from it to such an extent *phonetically* that we prefer to write A (see 17 below), but on the other hand I seems the best way to write the advanced, shortened and unrounded vowel which in north Ulster often replaces the *fool*-vowel (28) and sometimes the *put*-vowel.

(14) For the *fail*-vowel, Wilson’s Scottish dialect orthography has AI or AY, no doubt on account of the frequent occurrence of this spelling in our present orthography, while in *Nu Speling* AE – a compromise between AI and A followed by final silent E – is used. Many words now spelt with AI (AY) had EI (EY) in Chaucer’s time, as some still have (e.g. *veil, grey*) and we think that the latter spelling should be adopted generally in place of AI or AY, which should be allowed to fall out of use with this sound. EI is to be preferred because it re-establishes the connection between sound and spelling with the short vowel E, of which EI (i.e. the *fail*-sound) is now the nearest corresponding ‘long’ vowel. This vowel sound has, however, so many different origins in Ulster dialect use that we have found it convenient to use AE in some cases as an alternative to EI, especially where the standard language has the *foal-* or *fool*-vowels (e.g. *caem = comb, haem = home, dae = do*), and in some cases where EI, on account of an exceptional use in standard orthography, would be ambiguous (e.g. *desaet = deceit*). In addition the use of C and G with both hard and soft values according to what follows make it desirable to have the choice between EI and AE and may lead to departures from the etymological basis of the spelling in some cases. When this vowel occurs before R it usually has the sound of the *pet*-vowel lengthened, but no account is taken of this in the ordinary spelling. There are districts, however, where the normal *fail*-sound is preserved even before R; again no account of this is taken in the ordinary spelling of words in the Dictionary, but pronunciations of this type could be shown (1) by writing the digraph EI in its final form EY (and by analogy AEY), or (2) by writing -ER after the digraph, as if a separate syllable, or (3) by inserting H between the digraph and the R. We also do not give spellings to represent two variant types of pronunciation of the *fail*-vowel, the first a more open sound like the *pet*-vowel but always long, and the second like ea in *real*, which could best be written EEA.

(15) For the *feel*-vowel *Nu Speling* and Wilson both adopt and extend the use of EE, presumably because it rarely has any other sound in our present orthography. Though we have allowed it to stand in general words which have developed dialect meanings and in the Irish diminutive suffix -een

(despite the Gaelic spelling *-in*), which has established itself through some loanwords even in the standard language, we prefer IE, which is already well established with this sound in many words (e.g. *field, chief, mien, shriek, pier*). It may be noted that IE is used with this value in Dutch and German, and for English it has the advantage of being the link between recent loanwords from French and other languages where I, retaining its traditional value, has this sound (e.g. *pique, suite, machine*) and the large body of words in which an older long *e* (written *e, ea, ee*) has shifted its pronunciation. In any general reform of spelling IE can therefore receive recruits from both sides as it were without undue distortion of the visual character of many words, and in addition it links up with the simple short I, of which in the present state of the language it is phonetically the nearest 'long' equivalent. Except in a few exceptional cases like *dee* for *die* where the standard language uses this digraph irregularly and yet the dialect has the *feel*-vowel, we have written IE wherever we had to provide a new spelling for a word containing this sound, therefore: *hied* (= north Ulster *head*), *driegh* (*tedious*) despite Wilson's and *Nu Speling* *heid, dreekh*, and despite the traditional Scots *heid, dreich*. We have not attempted to distinguish in the Dictionary spellings the south Ulster shortening of this vowel before voiceless consonants or its north Ulster shortening before all consonants other than *r*, voiced fricatives and the past tense suffix *-d*, though this could have been done in most cases by doubling the following consonant.

(16) The digraph EA of standard orthography has so many different sounds that it presents several special problems. Apart from cases where the two letters belong to different syllables it has five sounds: (1) the old long sound as in *break, bear*; (2) the new long sound as in *freak, fear*; (3) the old sound shortened as in *threat, dread*; (4) the same [sound] re-lengthened before *r* plus consonant at an early stage to the *far*-vowel; and (5) at a later stage to the *fur*-vowel, as in *heart* and *learn* respectively. In reformed spelling nos. 2, 3 and 4 would obviously be replaced by IE (e.g. *friek, fier* like *shriek, pier*), E and AA (see 17) respectively, while for no. 5 there would seem to be a good case for reviving the Old English spelling *leorn*, which would pave the way to using EO in many other words with this sound, which at present has no distinctive spelling. Where EA retains its old long sound (e.g. *great, break, bear, wear*) it should be allowed to remain as a second way of writing this sound beside the EI suggested in 14, and it could later be extended to such words as *name, late, fare, rare*. In this way there would be preserved in the language a means of indicating the older pronunciation of certain dialects and older literature; the orthographical distinction, for what it is worth, could be preserved between the two main groups of words which have the *fail*-vowel now, viz. those which go back to a Chaucerian diphthong being written with EI (or EY finally) and those going back to an old long vowel of whatever sort being written with EA; and in addition the E element common to both digraphs associates them with the E of the short *pet*-vowel, of which they are now the nearest 'long' sound phonetically. None of these advantages attends so well the use of AE as applied in *Nu Speling*, and still less the AI of Wilson's orthography. In dealing with this group of words for dialect purposes we have not been able, however, to apply these reforms consistently, partly since we have to take account of present spelling conventions and partly because the

distribution of sounds in words spelt with EA does not always accord with standard usage nor do the dialects always agree with each other. On the one hand, especially in north Ulster, the new long sound occurs instead of the shortened vowel and these we have written with IE (15), e.g. *dief* for *deaf* (like *thief*); on the other hand, the old sound often survives especially in south Ulster, and here we have retained EA only where it survives also in standard usage, writing elsewhere EI as being less ambiguous in the present state of English orthography, e.g. *meil, deith*, for *meal, death*. For the later re-lengthened sound before *r* plus consonant the use of EO suggested above does not arise, as in genuine dialect forms the *fair-* (*fail-*) vowel and not the *fur*-vowel occurs. Here again we write EI, as also in many cases where standard spelling has E or I before *r*, e.g. *leirn, geirl* for *learn, girl*, also *heirt* for *heart* in north Ulster.

(17) Traditional orthography fails to distinguish between the *pat*-vowel and the *far*-vowel, although the difference is clearly marked and important in RP, and the *Nu Speling* use of A for the short front *pat*-vowel and AA for the long back *far*-vowel is an admirable way of separating the two sounds in spelling (though A continues to be written before R in that system). Unlike most spelling reforms, however, this one involves recognition of regional differences of pronunciation and might prove unacceptable unless as a compromise the A was doubled only in words where a silent L or U was at the same time omitted until such time as we got used to the idea that the standard orthography might allow variant spellings for major regional differences. As remarked above the graphic distinction is hardly necessary for Ulster standard pronunciation, as the *far*-sound is only associated with *r* and the *fat*-sound may be short or long according to the following consonant but without difference of quality (e.g. *ant/aunt* and *cam/calm* all have the same vowel short in the first pair, long in the second), while for Scottish and northern English pronunciations it is also generally unnecessary. Despite this, however, it does remain essential to be able to distinguish in ordinary spelling between a back *a* and a more advanced *a* in the Ulster dialects, and though both sounds are usually pronounced further back than the corresponding sounds in RP, and north and south Ulster differ from RP and from each other in their distribution, the use of single A for the front sound and double AA for the back sounds as in *Nu Speling* and in Wilson's orthography, but irrespective of the actual length of the vowel in either case, seems to be the neatest way of achieving this. In the first place AA is used in both north and south Ulster for the long back unrounded vowel which usually replaces the *fall*-vowel of standard English. Secondly, for south Ulster, AA is a common though not universal substitute for 'short' O, while A remains as the normal sound of historic 'short' A. Both these vowels, A and AA or O, are short or long according to the following consonant like the *pet*-vowel (see Phonology), but no attempt has been made to distinguish these variable quantities except that where AA is substituted for O final TCH and CK following it are retained and P and T are doubled to distinguish it from long AA, representing the *fall*-vowel, after which these consonants are written single. The other consonants are only doubled when another syllable is added, just as after O. Thirdly, for north Ulster, AA is written for historic 'short' a, to indicate the more back quality of the sound, but not for historic 'short' o except where, as in Scots, the two sounds fell together near certain consonants. In this

case final P and T are not generally doubled unless the vowel is really short (i.e. in this dialect length is phonemic, not simply phonetic). This leaves single A free to represent the sound which in this dialect replaces historic 'short' i, and as this is invariably short the following consonant is always doubled where possible, even in the case of P and T, before which A would be short in any case in south Ulster and the regional standard, but final LL is written single to avoid confusion with the *fall*-sound and final FF, SS are written single to avoid confusion with the *fall*-sound of RP. It should be noted that the two sounds represented by A and AA in south Ulster are broader than the two north Ulster sounds for which these spellings are used, the latter being nearer to RP at least in the case of the back vowel. The acoustic sequence is (1) south Ulster AA, (2) north Ulster AA, (3) south Ulster A, (4) north Ulster A. The use of A in one dialect and AA in the other for historic 'short' a is governed as much by the necessity of distinguishing two a-sounds in each dialect as by the difference between the dialects in this particular case. One final problem remains in view of the standard Ulster use of the AA sound before nonintervocalic R: as in *Nu Speling* single A could have been retained, but in some south Ulster pronunciations the *fat*-vowel is used even in this position. The only way of making this clear seems to be by doubling the R finally and before another consonant. Where the back sound occurs before R double AA is used even though A would suffice according to standard pronunciation. Single A followed by single R would serve as a compromise spelling for both dialects.

(18) The *file*-vowel is a diphthong beginning near the *pat*-vowel and moving towards the *pit*-vowel, so that AI (as in *aisle*) or AY (as in *aye*) is the ideal way to write it, but such spellings are rare and until these digraphs in their more common use are replaced by EI or EY as suggested above and their present sound forgotten, the use of AI or AY for this diphthong would be impracticable. On the other hand, the digraph IE suggested for this sound in *Nu Speling* is probably the most inept of all the digraphs proposed in that system, as it perpetuates in a flagrant manner the divorce from traditional international vowel values caused by the English Great Vowel Shift. In any case IE in our present spelling has far more frequently the *feel*-sound, in which its use should be extended as explained above (15), than the *file*-sound, which occurs only finally in a few verbs and before the grammatical endings -S and -D, being replaced by Y finally in nouns and some of the verbs and always before the ending -ing. In the words where IE does occur at present with this sound therefore it is always interchangeable with Y, and Y – not IE – is the choice that should be made for the *file*-vowel, especially as Y is so pronounced in many other words. In some cases it has the *pit*-sound and here I would ultimately be substituted. In Chaucer's time Y was frequently used for the long vowel from which the present diphthong is descended, I being restricted to the short sound, and a return to this older orthographic tradition would sort out the two values shared by I and Y and provide a consistent way of writing both. This does not clash with the use of Y initially as a consonant (since this sound is never followed by the *file*-vowel) or as second part of a diphthong such as OY. It is true that Y is usually an orthographic variant of I in other languages, except the Scandinavian group where, as in the International Phonetic Alphabet, it represents the front rounded vowel (French u and

German ü), and Welsh where it represents two central vowels, but as it is not one of the five basic vowel letters its special use with this diphthongal value would not be so serious a departure from general usage. It was in fact so used in older Dutch spelling where ij is now used for the same sound, and it still remains in Afrikaans with this value. In representing the *file*-vowel in all words for which we have to devise a spelling we have used Y consistently in this way. We have not thought it necessary to show that the starting point of the diphthong is more advanced than in RP. In parts of south Ulster, however, it starts with a more centralized vowel, which in 18th century English was also used for the *foil*-vowel and this is the origin of the stage Irishman's OI for the *file*-vowel. Beside the present sound of OI, however, this is an entirely misleading spelling, and a much better way to write this sound is UY (but not UI, which might imply other quite different sounds), already familiar, though with no implication of a difference in sound, in such spellings as *buy*, *Guy*; cf. also the short sound of U, which is near the starting point of UY. We have not thought it necessary to add to the bulk of the Dictionary by quoting forms with UY, which can be consistently substituted for Y to indicate a certain type of pronunciation.

(19) There is, however, another diphthong of this type, longer, with a back starting point, which, being distinguished phonemically from Y, requires a separate spelling. Except in so far as it occasionally arises locally from lengthened A before palatal G, NG, in which case of course it has no historical connection with Y, this is a north Ulster sound which replaces Y in certain words. The same distinction is found in Scots where Wilson uses EI for our Y sound (18) and II for the sound here in question. This latter spelling is open to the same kind of objections as *Nu Speling* IE, as well as being graphically inconvenient, and as we are free to invent a new graphy to represent a distinction not found in the standard language we prefer AAY, which shows clearly the long back starting point and the connection with the next nearest sound, viz. simple Y. The RP *file*-vowel lies between Ulster Y and AAY (though nearer the latter) and in their starting points the two Ulster sounds stand in more or less the same relation to each other as the north Ulster simple A and AA vowels. On the analogy of the usual practice with the AI/AY, EI/EY, OI/OY digraphs of standard orthography it might be argued that AAY should be used only finally and before vowels and AAI before consonants (cf. also Dutch AAI for the same sound), especially as it will replace standard I in many words, or again that AAI should be used on the grounds that the second part of the diphthong rarely passes beyond the sound of the E- or AE-vowel, but all things considered we have preferred to use AAY and to write this in all positions as with Y (and its local variant UY).

(20) The *foil*-vowel is written OI or OY as in standard spelling, being one of the few diphthongs there logically represented. No account is taken of variations in the starting point of the sound in Ulster, as they do not appear to be phonemic.

(21) The *pot*-vowel, which with its RP value occurs only in standard and some south Ulster dialect pronunciations, is written O in so far as it is not replaced by AA (see 17 above), and like A and E it is subject to lengthening before certain

consonants, but this is not shown in the ordinary spelling (see Phonology). The use of O for the *putt*-vowel is avoided except where standard spellings are allowed to stand unchanged and likewise the use of A for the *pot*-sound after W because the original A has remained as A or AA in sound.

(22) The *for*- or *fall*-vowel has two separate origins: (1) historic 'short' *o* (in RP usually also 'long' *o*) before *r*, and (2) the earlier diphthong arising from an old short vowel, usually *a* (rarely *o*), combining with a following consonant now usually silent. Even in *Nu Speling* they are distinguished, the former being written O (like the *pot*-vowel) and the latter AU. Wilson uses AU or AW, but this vowel is not of frequent occurrence in the Scottish dialect which he records. Before R we follow *Nu Speling* in retaining O – in so far as the dialect does not call for the substitution of the *foal*- or even the *fool*-vowel – though outside of north Ulster at least this differs in quality from the *pot*-vowel (21). For the *fall*-sound when not followed by R we are guided by three considerations. First, we do not think that AU is the best choice for the reformed spelling of words containing this sound as it perpetuates the divorce between sound and symbol caused by the Great Vowel Shift. The most usual ways of spelling the sound at present are A (*fall*, *water*), AL (*talk*), AU (*haul*), AUL (*baulk*), AUGH (*caught*), AW (*paw*, *crawl*), the L and GH being silent, while OU occasionally occurs before the latter (*bought*). Common to almost all of these is A, while the sound is the same as that given to O before R, so that AO would have the advantage of being neutral as between the present spellings and of linking up with them through its first part and with the other chief source of this sound through its second part, thus paving the way perhaps for the ultimate use of AO or simple O in all cases, while AU and its variant AW should be allowed to fall into disuse in standard orthography as in the case of AI and AY (see 14 above). Second, in north Ulster this sound with more or less its RP value usually replaces the *pot*-vowel of standard and south Ulster, and while O might be used with the convention that it represents the *pot*-vowel in one dialect and the *fall*-vowel in the other, it is perhaps better to separate them in spelling, and for this purpose the AO digraph suggested above is used in north Ulster forms, except before R where O has this value anyway. Third, in south Ulster in so far as it survives at all and is not replaced by AA, and in most types of standard Ulster pronunciation the *fall*-vowel agrees in quality though not always in length with the *pot*-vowel, so that, for example, *Claud* and *clod* sound alike because the former sound is lowered and the latter is lengthened, while *taut* and *tot* differ in length (as in RP) but not in quality (contrary to RP). We are therefore dealing with a special case of the *pot*-vowel rather than of the *fall*-vowel and it seems best to leave A, AU, AW as graphic variants of the former in so far as they are not replaced by the more genuine dialect AA.

(23) Before dealing with the *foal*-, *foul*- and *fool*-vowels, we must consider the position of the digraph OU in relation to the simplification of spelling, since like EA (16) it has an exceptionally large number of sounds, viz.: (1) the *foul*-sound from an old long vowel; (2) the *fool*-sound (as in *youth*, *route*), being the old sound exceptionally preserved or more often a recent loanword from French; (3) the *putt*-sound (as in *double*), being the old sound shortened; (4) the *fur*-sound (as in *journal*), being the same re-lengthened before R; (5) the *foal*-sound (as in *soul*, *shoulder*), from an old diphthong; (6)

the *fall*-sound (as in *bought*), being a special development of the old diphthong before GH; and (7) the *pot*-sound (as in *cough*), being the same shortened. Of these, nos. 3, 4, 6 and 7 could be written with whatever letters are chosen for these sounds in simplified spelling. This leaves three claimants to the digraph OU (OW), and both *Nu Speling* (OU only) and Wilson (OU and OW) use it for the *foul*-vowel presumably on the grounds that this sound is rarely written in any other way, whereas the *foal*- and *fool*-vowels (for which Wilson writes OA and OO and *Nu Speling* uses OE and UU respectively) have common alternative spellings. We do not think, however, that this is the best way to write the *foul*-vowel or the best use to which to put the OU digraph. The *foul*-vowel is a diphthong which begins near the *pat*-sound and moves towards the *put*-sound, but until such times as the present sound of AU is forgotten that digraph – which had this value in Middle English and still has it in German, Italian and Spanish – cannot be used for this sound (cf. the parallel case of AI, 18). We therefore suggest that the insertion of A before OU (or OW) when it has the *foul*-sound is a reform which would re-establish the connection between the spelling and the present sound by showing the starting-point of the diphthong, and at the same time would distinguish this group of words from others in which OU/OW has a different value (e.g. *faoul* beside *soul*). It may be noted that AOU is already used for the *foul*-vowel in the two rather uncommon words *giaour* and *caoutchouc*. This still leaves two sounds where OU could be written, but the only point in favour of the use of this digraph for the *fool*-vowel is that additional borrowings from French may increase the number of words where OU has this sound. On the other hand, OU (as in *soul*) would seem to be the ideal compromise between the various diphthongal pronunciations of the *foal*-sound in RP and southern English generally, and the pure long close vowel (between the O in *pot* and the U in *put* in quality) which is used in Scottish, Irish and northern English pronunciations. It is exactly parallel graphically and phonetically with EI (14) and is superior orthographically to *Nu Speling* OE and Wilson's OA since the two parts of the digraph are chosen with regard to their basic values and it can be applied without ambiguity to words where simple O now has this sound, especially when followed immediately by A or E in another syllable, once OU has ceased to be used for other purposes. Where now used for the *fool*-vowel OU would be replaced by some other digraph. In the light of this discussion we may now proceed to consider the dialect spelling of the remaining vowels.

(24) The *foul*-vowel often replaces the *foal*-vowel in both north and south Ulster, but otherwise is not very common in north Ulster, where it is usually replaced by the *fool*-vowel. When O or OU is written in the standard form its replacement by OW might meet the case, though the latter is itself ambiguous, especially at the end of a word, while the opposite change of OW to OU (e.g. to show that *grow* rhymes with standard *cow*) is even more ambiguous, as it could be taken as implying either the *foul*-sound or the *fool*-sound. Despite precedents in existing dialect spellings for using OW, we have preferred to write AOU (as suggested above, 23) in all cases where we have to invent a spelling to indicate this sound, leaving OU and OW only where the dialect word differs in meaning but not in sound from the standard language. When it replaces the *feud*-vowel, Y is generally written before it, e.g. north Ulster *yaou* for *ewe*. It will be seen that AOU is parallel

with AAY in indicating the starting-point of the diphthong, the former being more advanced than the latter, wherefore single instead of double A is used in this case.

(25) For the *foal*-vowel we have had to use O at the end of a word and OA in other cases, as in Wilson's orthography as being the least ambiguous way of writing this sound in the present state of English orthography, and despite what is said above. Just as we cannot use EA in the spelling of dialect words, as suggested for the reform of spelling because confusion might at present be caused with old existing spellings (see 16), so likewise with OU and OW, which are used for the *foal*-vowel only where occurring also in standard spelling with this value. This, however, will help to show the difference in quality between the Ulster *foal*-vowel and the RP diphthong. We have not attempted to distinguish in the Dictionary spellings (except where different words are so distinguished phonemically) the south Ulster shortening of this vowel before voiceless consonants or its north Ulster shortening before all consonants other than *r*, voiced fricatives and the past tense suffix *-d*, though this could have been done in most cases by doubling the following consonant (cf. the parallel case of IE).

(26) The *putt*-vowel is written U, even though it generally has a more *o*-like quality than the English and Scottish vowels, from which however there is no simple means of distinguishing it. Where the dialects have this vowel instead of the *put*-sound the following consonant is doubled, where possible, as in the key-word itself, or in the case of L and S written single when not followed by another vowel, but there is no convenient way of dealing with SH in such circumstances unless one departs from ordinary usage and writes SSH. We have however simply left the distinction unmarked in this case and the phonetic script will show where -USH has the *putt*-vowel instead of the *put*-vowel.

(27) The *put*-vowel need not be specially distinguished in genuine dialect forms. Where it comes from historic short *u* the *putt*-vowel generally takes its place, and in so far as it occasionally survives where the standard language has the *putt*-vowel it may be written with one of the spellings of the *fool*-vowel. Where it represents in RP a recent shortening of the *fool*-vowel it is not normally distinguished from the latter in Ulster, so that the *Nu Speling* use of OO for the shortened vowel and UU for the long sound need not be followed.

(28) The *fool*-vowel is always long in RP, but in Ulster speech both dialect and standard it is always short except finally and before certain consonants, as explained in the section on Phonology and shown in the phonetic spellings of each word. We have not however considered it necessary to show this general shortening by doubling the following consonant any more than we have shown that which affects IE (15) and OA (25) or the lengthening which affects A, E, O, before certain consonants. The north Ulster dialect is derived from Scots, which has two vowels of this type (or really three, one varying in quality according as it remained long or became short). These are: (1) the *fool*-vowel proper, a back vowel as in RP but usually short, occurring where RP has the *foul*-diphthong and written traditionally with OU, but with OO in Wilson's orthography; and (2) a rounded front vowel (like French *eu*, German *ö* when long or French *u*, German *ü* when

shortened) traditionally written UI in both cases, so also by Wilson, and occurring usually where RP has the *fool*-vowel. But in some Scots dialects this last in both its long and short forms has become unrounded, and this is the normal development in north Ulster in so far as the original distinctions have been preserved phonemically, the long sound becoming the *fail*-vowel which we write with AE and the short vowel becoming almost the sound of I in *pit*. Since in north Ulster historic short *i* has become the sound which we write as A (17), this leaves I free to use for this fronted, unrounded and shortened vowel, which in certain dialect forms replaces the *fool*-vowel of RP (13). In this sense therefore we do not need the UI of traditional Scots orthography. The original back vowel, however, in almost all types of Ulster speech, and not only in north Ulster, has moved forward till it is nearer this UI-sound than to the original *fool*-vowel, and in north Ulster this sound has sometimes replaced the original front UI instead of the latter, being unrounded to AE or I. The question then arises whether a special digraph is required to show that the sound differs from its RP value; in accordance however with the principle set out above that we apply the spellings of standard orthography according to the Ulster standard of pronunciation we have let the various ordinary spellings of this sound (O, OE, OO, OU, U, UI, UE, EW) remain in cases where no other change is made in the word, with the convention that phonetically they represent a more advanced vowel than the *fool*- and *put*-sounds of RP, just as OA is used with the convention that it represents a pure close vowel and not the diphthong of RP. A question of a different order arises where this sound replaces phonemically another sound normally written in the same way, e.g. the *fool*-vowel in its Ulster form takes the place of the *for-* or *foal*-vowel in the dialect forms of *floor*, *door*. To write these with U, UE or UI might pass in the first case but in the second would certainly imply the *feud*-vowel. We therefore adopt the UU digraph used in *Nu Speling* for the *fool*-vowel as an alternative to all the established ways of spelling this sound where the latter would be ambiguous, and we extend this to cases where this sound replaces any other, such as the *foul*-vowel in north Ulster forms and words which have no English equivalent. The use of UU is therefore introduced primarily to avoid confusion between words phonemically or etymologically distinct, and that it represents a sound which is phonetically distinct from the *fool*-vowel of RP is only incidental to the case. In so far as a genuine back vowel may survive in some south Ulster border dialects this type of pronunciation could be indicated by writing OO for UU in most of such cases, but we have not quoted such forms in the Dictionary.

(29) The *feud*-vowel is written UE in *Nu Speling*, but we consider EU preferable because it indicates the order of the actual sounds of the diphthong. IU would be even more accurate but we allow EU to stand, as it is more commonly used. We also allow EW to stand finally in accordance with ordinary spelling conventions, but U, UE, UI are left only where no other change is made in the word and are not used with this value in purely dialect forms. The U part of this sound is even more advanced than the UU-sound just discussed (28), but we have not thought it necessary to indicate this phonetic difference from the RP value of the vowel in any way.

(30) The *fur*-vowel is not common in genuine dialect forms. Either the original short vowels from which it is derived remain or it is replaced by other long vowels, in some cases an open front vowel, which for the reasons explained above (16) we write with EI, in others a back rounded vowel, either O (22) or OA (25). In the cases where the *fur*-vowel does occur we have written simply U, the presence of nonintervocalic R following it being the only indication that this U differs slightly in quality as well as in length from the *putt*-vowel (26), the difference being in any case less than in RP. Where the original short sounds survive instead of the *fur*-vowel, the R should be doubled to show this.

(31) For the vowels of unstressed syllables we have generally avoided digraphs, unless they are actually long or distinct in sound, and have allowed ourselves considerable freedom in the choice of which simple vowel letter to use for the short indeterminate vowel according to its derivation. Short unstressed I is usually so written, but some explanation is required of our treatment of the sound usually written Y finally and before *-ing*, but changed to IE before consonantal suffixes (though other spellings of it occur). Since the normal sound of this in most parts of Ulster is a shortened form of EY in *they*, we have used this digraph in all words for which we have had to devise a spelling, leaving Y/IE only in words whose spelling is not otherwise changed. This, already familiar from a few words like *donkey*, *money*, has the advantage also that it need not be changed when inflections are added. In some parts however such words are pronounced with a shortened form of the IE in *field*, and EY may be changed to IE, even when final, to show this, but we did not consider it necessary to swell the Dictionary by quoting such variant forms. AE is used instead of EY however in the unstressed north Ulster negative suffix *-nae*.

(32) It should be noted that when the diphthongs Y, AAY, AOU (and also OI, though this is rare) occur before R, there are two types of pronunciation. Either the diphthong remains with a tendency to be flattened out into a centralized type of long vowel (the latter being the standard type of Ulster pronunciation), or else the diphthongs are converted into triphthongs which may be indicated by writing -ER after them as if forming a separate syllable, which in some places is actually the case.

(33) Apart from unstressed syllables of long words it should be noted that some words such as pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs by their nature often occupy an unstressed position in the sentence and consequently develop two (or more) forms according as they are stressed or unstressed. The standard orthography of such words normally represents the stressed sound and in most cases is written also where they are unstressed. The substitution of unstressed for stressed forms in such words is not a matter of dialect but of idiom, and there is no more reason why we should attempt to spell the unstressed forms phonetically when writing in dialect than when writing in the standard literary language. It may happen however that the dialect unstressed form itself may differ from the standard unstressed form and only in a few cases such as this have we given special spellings for these. In the case of the pronouns *he*, *she*, *we*, *me*, the traditional spelling is sufficiently ambiguous to serve as both the stressed sound *hee*, *shee*, *wee*, *mee*, and the unstressed

sound *hey*, *wey*, *mey*, for any difference in spelling between the stressed and unstressed forms to be necessary.

The whole range of necessary vowel spellings has now been covered, and they are here summarized first alphabetically and then phonetically:

Alphabetical summary of vowels:

A	- the <i>pat</i> -vowel, short or lengthened in south Ulster, always short in north Ulster
AA	- the <i>far</i> -vowel, long or short
AAY	- the long back <i>file</i> -vowel
AE	- the <i>fail</i> -vowel, usually long, and usually more open before R
AO	- the <i>fall</i> - or <i>for</i> -vowel, long or short
AOU	- the <i>foul</i> -vowel
E	- the <i>pet</i> -vowel, short or lengthened
EI (EY)	- the <i>fail</i> -vowel, usually long, except when unstressed, and usually more open before R
EU (EW)	- the <i>feud</i> -vowel, advanced and long or short
I	- the <i>pit</i> -vowel, always short
IE	- the <i>feel</i> -vowel, long or shortened
O	- (1) the <i>pot</i> -vowel, short or lengthened (2) before R, the <i>for</i> -vowel, long or short (3) the pure close <i>foal</i> -vowel, long or shortened
OA	- the pure close <i>foal</i> -vowel, long or shortened
OI (OY)	- the <i>foil</i> -vowel
U	- (1) the <i>putt</i> -vowel, always short (2) the <i>fur</i> -vowel, long or short, before R
UU	- the advanced <i>fool</i> -/putt-vowel, short or long
Y	- the short front <i>file</i> -vowel

As in standard spelling, EY, EW, O and OY are allowed as positional variants of EI, EU, OA and OI when final, but in the case of the specially devised groups AAY and AOU only the one form is used. The groups AA, AE, AOU, EI, EU, IE, OA and OI all occur already in standard spelling with the values here assigned to them, the first three however being uncommon, and only AAY, AO and UU are completely new, though suggested by existing spellings. Of the numerous groups beginning with A, this letter indicates phonetically the starting-point of a diphthong in the case of the trigraphs, while in the case of the digraphs it points in most cases to their derivation, and the second letter indicates the pronunciation. The single letters other than Y normally represent the historic short vowels, which may however be lengthened in Ulster, or reduced unstressed vowels; the digraphs other than EU and OI represent the historic long vowels, which may however be shortened in Ulster; while the trigraphs with EU, OI and Y represent diphthongs. Apart from positional variants in four cases already mentioned and phonemic variants in a few cases governed by a following R, there is only a choice of spellings in one case, that between EI and AE for the *fail*-vowel, for the etymological reasons given above.

Phonetic summary of vowels:

The following table shows the vowel spellings arranged phonetically in the first column with the I.P.A. symbols for the

range of sounds which each represents (see Phonology) in the second column, and other variant spellings which are allowed to survive from standard orthography in the case of dialect words which differ in meaning but not in form from standard use in the third column:

IE	i: i	E, EA, EE, EI, EO, I
I	i	Y, E, U, UI
EI (EY), AE	e: e ε: (+r)	A, AI, AY, E, EA
E	ε ε:	A, EA, EI, EO
A	a a: ä	-
AA	ä: ä ä: ä	A, EA, E
O	o o: ö ö: (+ r) o: (finally)	A, AU, AW, OU
AO	ɔ: ɔ	A, AU, AW, OA, OU
OA (O)	o: o	O, OE, OU, OW
U	ø	O, OO, OU
UU	ə: ə (+ r)	I, E, EA, O, OU, Y
Y	ü ü: y y: u u:	O, OO, OU, U, UE, UI, EU, EW, OE
AAY	æi ei əi ai	I, EI, EY, AI, AY, UI, UY
OI (OY)	ai ði ae ðe	I, Y, UY
AOU	ɔi ɔi oi	-
EU (EW)	əü əu au æu	OU, OW
	jü: jü jy: jy	U, UE, UI

If the words which differ in meaning but not in pronunciation were spelt as in the first column the orthography of the whole body of words in the Dictionary could be made even more consistent but for the reasons already given we prefer to leave these unchanged as there would still remain the numerous words not included in the Dictionary which are common to dialect and standard speech in both meaning and sound, and to change these also would be taking us beyond the realm of dialect into an orthographical reform of the whole language. We can point the way to that road but it must be left to others to follow it in easy stages. It should also be realised that certain sound changes such as the north Ulster shift of I to A are applied to the whole range of vocabulary in which the original sounds occur so that we have had to draw the line somewhere in regulating the number of such forms which are admitted. The general principle followed for this purpose is that in words of one or two syllables where the change might cause the word to coincide with some other word in the same or another dialect the special form is given, while in the case of multisyllabic words which have no special dialect meaning and are such as the dialects would borrow from the literary language they are omitted.

We have discussed the basis of our orthography at considerable length largely for the benefit of those users of the Dictionary, whether natives of Ulster or not, for whom the section on Phonology would be too advanced and who are not conversant with phonetic script, but we would recommend the latter to the attention of all who use the Dictionary as it gives much information especially about the articulation of certain consonants and about the length of vowels which cannot be conveyed in the ordinary spelling.

III. Transcriptions by Robert Gregg

1. Haaleve, by John Clifford

(reprinted from *Ullans* 2 [1994], 12-13)

Haaleve cums but yänst a year
 The oul foaks yooce tae say.
 So Wully aakst me tae his hooce
 Tae dränk a cup o tae.
 Weel! ower Aa goes an – Boys o Dear!
 We haad a wile guid time.
 At the enn o the galrevitch
 We could haarly see a stime.
 On Haaleve Nähkt.

The table – sure it nyaerly groaned
 Wae ävrythin ye'd name.
 If onnythin wuz left avaw,
 It wuznae usyans' blame!
 The table claeth wuz then rouled up
 Tae let the fun begän.
 Aa hope the träcks the youngsters played
 Wud no be cawed a sän.
 Thaun Haaleve Nähkt.

'Gawney!' says Wul, hwaw could thaat be
 At's dunnerin on the duir?
 It maan be aw the neybour's waens
 Up tae their träcks Aa'm sure.
 Juist then we aw begun tae sneeze
 No yän o uz could speak:
 The hooce wuz fälled fae ruif tae fluir
 Wae pepper an tow reek –
 Thaun Haaleve Nähkt.

Whunävver thäs had cleared awaw,
 The bág tub wuz braukht än,
 An fur the räd-cheekt epples
 Suin the dookin could begän.
 Another yan swung fae the ruif
 Beside a läkhtet splät
 An munny a bluidy mooth wuz gawt
 Bae haanshin fur a bät
 Thaun Haaleve Nähkt.

A turnip peelin wuz hung up
 Withoot a brek ur flaw,
 An yän young laad he ett a haern –
 The heid, an baens an aw.
 Some wraukht at TRäcks wae a luckin gless
 An ithers wae a plate.
 The hael idea wuz tae fän
 Hwaw'd likely be their mate,
 Some Haaleve Nähkt.

But naethin baet the burrnin näts
 An hoo they bleezed thegither.
 It wuznae aafen, Aa wud think,
 They seemed tae faancy ither.
 But is the cause no at the haert?
 Fur some o them hiz nane,
 An some hiz baad, an some hiz guid
 An wuz usyins no the same,
 Thaun Haaleve näkt?

John Clifford, Raloo
 (Ed. R. J. Gregg)

2. A Ballamaena Legend (source unknown - incomplete)

Weel, yän daark näkt thro the Dauctor's duir,
 Mefästo, the bág blaak dug, släpt än.
 The dävil hiszel wuz aat 'iz heels,
 Shoor, withoot a doot, that thäs game he'd wän.
 Oul Nick then putt the dug ootside,
 Turrned roon an saed, quo he:
 'Noo! Doctor Colvin, we maun hae
 a talk aboot ma fee,
 Furr ye kno räkht weel ma aid man be repaid
 when it comes tae the reckonin day:
 Whaat wull ye taak – an ghee yer sowl
 Fur ävvermaer tae me?'

'It's a räsky jaab' the Doctor saed,
 'An munny yoo hae fooled,
 but Aa'll agree if you fäl me
 this buit wae guinea goold'.

The buit wuz saut on the fluir o the laaft
 Whaur a hole had bin cut räkht thro.
 So the deil had tae fäl the riüm doonstairs
 Afore the buit wuz foo!

Fur thäs he had ta rubb a baank
 An nyuck the Laanlord's rent
 Fur ye kno oul Hoarny Clüitty: –
 He wuz nävver wurrth a cent,
 'iz richest day.

The wurrk went aun – mile efrer mile –
 They bægged the famous waw.
 Guïd masons wraukht fae moarn tae näkt:
 They haarly staapt avaw.
 But nooadays they wudnae wurrk
 Lik thaat fur aukht, aa'd swaer!
 An af they däd, they'd waant sae much
 An ey bae aaskin maer
 Fae day tae day.

The hooce wuz bægged, the gerrden bluimed,
 The goold nävver staapt its flow,
 But the dävil cum baak tae claim iz aen,
 an tae lugg 'im doon below.

The Dauctor wuz readin bae caanel-läkht
 Fae the Guïd Buïk praapt on 'iz knees
 When the notion cum äntae 'iz twustit brain
 At hae'd chaet oul Næk, if ye please!
 Thaun fearsome day.

He saed tae Oul Næk: 'Aa'll go wae ye ma freen –
 An thaat withoot a doot –
 Whunävver thäs wee caanel dowp
 Hiz burrnt itsel räkht oot.'

Then he caulfit aw the goold in an errn käst
 An sleekitly oot he stole.
 An he throwed it äntae a waal they know
 As 'Dauctor Colvin's hole'
 Tae thäs very day!

NOTE: To my knowledge the first reference to this tale and to 'Colvin's Well' was made by the late Dr Richard Hayward when acting as guide to a group of Belfast Naturalists Field Club members on a bus trip to the area north west of Ballymena to study items of historical and traditional interest. Subsequently, Dr Hayward's nephew – the late Brendan Adams – was able to record and transcribe (phonetically) the whole text of the 'Legend' during an interview with an elderly man who had grown up in the neighbourhood of Cullybackey and was familiar with the topography of the area involved as the background to the tale.

(Ed. R. J. Gregg)

3. The Källin o the Soo, by Thomas Hugh Robinson (reprinted from *Ullans* 2 [1994], 11)

TRUE Byoo wuz cummin fae Raloo
 The näkt he källt McCaamont's soo.
 He hut her fair between the een –
 The cleanest clout ye ävver seen.
 Whun doon she went without a squeal
 The oul colie dug wuz at her heel.

He turrnd aboot an laut a yell
 an än the gate he run lik hell.
 McCamont heerd the noise an fuss,
 Lukkt ower the waw an seen the bus.
 Then oot he cum tae hae a squaat.
 Says he: 'Boy! Whut made ye dae thaat?'
 TRUE Byoo says: 'Maan, can ye no see?

Yer pág run oot in frunt o me.
 Fur on ma brake an clutch Aa stuid
 But thaat aw prooved tae be nae guid'.
 Then the poaliss cum up fae oot the toon
 An they mäzhured the road baith up an doon.
 Yän poalissman tae the ither saes:
 'Nae maer on this road-side she'll graze'.
 The owner's sän – Ah heerd a whäd –
 allooed the soo wuz wurrh fäfteen quäd.
 But his brither says: 'Ye'r maakin fun,
 that soo was weel wurrh thurryt pun!'
 Then the soo wuz tukk tae the abatwaur
 An buttshers cum fae the Lord knows whaur.
 Each hopin there in his greedy sowl
 Tae buy the pág chaep that wuz noo staen-coul.
 Weel! the buttsher at baukht the soo, they say,
 He wunnered whut he'd better dae,
 Fur the clout she got, the soo t'would spoil.
 'Whut diznae dae tae fry' says he, 't'wull mebby dae tae
 boil'.
 So, he made some intae sausage meat:
 Her heid, her lugs, an aw her feet.
 Whut wudnae sell as saussage meat,
 he sore he'd caw it veal.
 Aa'll tell ye hoo he ended up – he only loast
 THE SQUEAL!

Thomas Hugh Robinson, Larne

(Ed. R. J. Gregg)

4. Thrawen Oul Jone an' his Nebby Nybour (reprinted from *Ullans* 2 [1994], 13). (For source, see below.)

N.N.: Thaat's a graan' moarnin, Jone.
 Jone: Weel, ye hae yer share o't!

N.N.: Did ye git aw thon rain yästeday, Jone?
 Jone: Aa got whut fell on me.

N.N.: Irr ye taakin thon wee coo tae the fair, Jone?
 Jone: Aa'm shoor she's no fur taakin me!

N.N.: Irr ye fur sellin 'er Jone?
 Jone: Aa'm shoor Aa'm no fur bestowin 'er.

N.N.: Is thaat yer sän ye hae wae ye, Jone?
 Jone: Weel, Aa raired 'im onnywey.

N.N.: Ye'r gey an' shoart the day, Jone.
 Jone: Aa'm jist as laang as ävver Aa wuz!

N.N.: Ärr ye awaw, Jone?
 Jone: Aa'm nether a waw nur a stane dyke!

NOTE: This duologue is part of Glenoe's oral tradition. I have never seen it nor heard of it in print. It was often quoted by people from the area. When, at the end of a visit, someone rose to leave the host might say 'Ärr ye awaw, X?' and X would reply: 'Aa'm nether a waw nur a stane dyke', evoking laughter. In our family, growing up in Larne, we heard it so often from my mother that we knew it all by heart.
 Back in the fifties, while waiting in a Belfast bus depot I was

chatting with a man from the Laggan district in Donegal. I was naturally interested in his dialect, and found to my surprise that he was familiar with the above duologue. He had only one variant. His reply to: 'Ye'r gey an' shoart' had the word 'e'er' (pronounced like *air*, and not 'ävver').

(Ed. R. J. Gregg)

5. The Rhymers, by John Clifford (reprinted from *Ullans* 3 [1995], 62-63)³⁰

Whun days iz chälly, DREEKH an DREER,
 An Chräsmas Time iz DRAWIN near,
 The laang foresupper wull provide
 Contentment roon the haem fireside.

A kinely neybour daanners än,
 A freelyn yaarn ur twaw tae spän
 The weary waens iz waasht an fed
 An suin'll be snugly haapt in bed.

The baarns, the byres, the stable dorr,
 Iz safely closed wae bolts an baars.
 Peace noo reigns – a haapy peace
 Comes doon alike on maan an beece.
 The kätchen dorr iz on the laatch,
 Whaur the oul coalie keeps his waatch.
 His bärses rise wae waarnin baark,
 As oot he waadles throo the daark.

He tries his best tae keep at bae,
 A score o Chräsmas Rhymers gay,
 They know him weel, they caw his name,
 An in the enn he leads them haem.
 Lord knows the places they hae been,
 They're dung an gutters tae the een,
 Rhymin their wey fur miles an miles
 Throo shukhs an loanins, slaaps and stiles.

DRESST up lik lords an knights of yore
 They claatter roon the faerm-hooce dorr,
 STREKHTEN their wägs, an maasks, an swords,
 An check their ENTRANCE cues an wurrs,
 Then flängin wide the kätchen dorr:
 'Ruum! ruim! ma gaalant boys!' they roar.

Feard, the wee weans in terror flee
 Fur safety tae their paerents' knee.

An then begäns the age-oul tale
 Hoo 'George' weel-claad in coat o mail
 Sae forceful raamed his degger throo
 That he the DREDDED DREGGON slew.
 The kätchen fluir is suin a stage

On which these rustic ecters rage.
 The audience, getherd roon the haerth,
 Enjoy this chaance o haemly maerth.
 Whiles the scaared wee waens 'll squeal
 Whun throo the kätchen jumps the Deil,
 Wae twaw laang hoarns an a hairy mane
 An fae his mäddle hängs a chain.
 Fae ootside, waetin in the coul
 Impatient täl the story's toul,

Comes rushin än Wee Jonnie Funny,
He's the boy at caaries the money.

The Waens bae noo hae loast their fears
Whun än Wee Jonnie Funny teers,
An roon the hooce wae deevin dän
Seeks caupers fur his wee oul tän.
So än the enn weel saatisfied
They säng a saang o Chräsmas Tide,
A verse ur twaw o local lore
And then they claaTTER oot the dorr.

They'r gone; their noisy fraulics cease,
The hooce goes baack tae quaet an peace,
Täl by-an-by 'John Naud' appears
Tae coax the youngsters up the steers.
The laamps iz snubbed, an very suin
The waenin, lonely, mädnäkht muin
Wull enn her coarse – hide her laast rae:

'Waak up! waak up! It's Chräsmas Dae!'

John Clifford, Raloo
(Ed. R. J. Gregg)

6. Muttonburrn Stream (traditional song), reprinted from *Ullans* 4 (1996), 37-38.

Aa hae mine o ma yung days,
- Fur yung Aa hae been -
Aa hae mine o ma yung days,
Bae the Muttonburrn STREEM.
It's no maarkt on the wurrl'ds maap,
Nae place tae be seen,
Thon wee ráver in Ulster:
The Muttonburrn STREEM.

It flows ONDER staen an stäck brägs -
Ticks munny's the turrn.
Shoor it turrs roon the mäl-wheel
that grines the folk's coarn.
An it träkels throo meedas
An keeps the laan clean.
Belfast Laukh it suin reaches -
Thäs Muttonburrn STREEM.

Shoor the jucks likes tae sweem in it
Fae moarnin til een.
They may durrty the waater,
But, they maak theirsels clean.
Aa hae whiles seen them divin
Tae their tails wuznae seen,
Wuddelin doon on the bauottom
O the Muttonburrn STREEM.

Noo the weemen o 'Caary
Aaft-times Aa hae seen
Tickin doon their fine waashin
Tae the Muttonburrn STREEM,
An nae poother nur saep used –
A wee dunt maaks it aw clean.
It hiz great cleansin pooers:

Thon Muttonburrn STREEM!

An it cures aw diseases,
Chronic though they hae been.
It'll redd ye o faatness
Ur cure ye o lean.
Shoor the Jaandies itsel, ur
Waek haert, ur STRONG spleen:
Aw ghee wey tae the pooers
O the Muttonburrn STREEM.

Efter a paarty yän näkht-tim
Aa wuznae fat tae be seen.
- They ey hae guid galrevitches:
The folk at leeves roon the STREEM.
Comin haem, late, the näxt moarnin
Tänged! foo! but serene –
Shoor Aa cowpt an fell äntae
The Muttonburrn STREEM!

7. The Boany Wee Bunch o Blaakberries (transcription in Gregg's personal papers, source unknown)

Thae wur yänst a wee gerrl wuz sweepin the fläer whun
she fun a säxpenz. So whünävver she had redd up she went
äntae the toon tae buy hersel a wee käd at the maarket. She
seen a daeler wae a querr nice wee blaak yän laangelt
fornenham so she baukht it an cum strekht haem wae't.
She trevled alaang the road a wee while an then turned up
a loanin, clämmmed throo a slaap, an crausssed ower a feil tae
she cum tae a sudden bräg ower a wee burrn. At the ither
enn o the stäk bräg she seen a wheen o breear bushes grouin
on the burrn broo, an at the taap o them thae wur a nice wee
bunsh o blaakberries. So she saez tae the käd shashee:

'Käd! käd! go haem an mine the hooce tae aa go ower
the bräg and poo thaun boany wee bunsh o blaakberries'.

But the käd saed: 'Deed aa'll dae nithin o the soart.
Shoor thaun blaakberries nävver duin me auny herrm'.

So she daanerd aun a wee bät faarder ower the meidaz
tae she met a dug, an she saed: 'Dug! dug! bite Käd! Käd
wudnae go haem an mine the hooce tae aa wud ga ower the
bräg an poo thaun boany wee bunsh o blaakberries'.

But the dug saed: 'Deed aa'll dae nithin o the soart.
Shoor the käd nävver duin me auny herrm'.

So she daanerd aun a bät faarder tae she cum aun a stäck,
an she saed: 'Stäck! stäck! baet dug! Dug wudnae bite käd,
an käd wudnae ga haem an mine the hooce tae aa wud ga
ower the bräg an poo thaun boany wee bunsh o
blaakberries'.

But the stäck saed: 'Deed aa'll dae nithin o the soart!
Shoor the dug nävver duin me auny haerm'.

Notes

- 1 For the universality of this factor in 18th-century Ulster, see Adams, J. R. R., *The Printed Word and the Common Man: Popular Culture in Ulster, 1700-1900* (Belfast, 1987).
- 2 Montgomery, Michael, 'The Anglicization of Scots in Early Seventeenth Century Ulster', in Roy, Ross, and Patrick G. Scott (eds.), *The Language and Literature of Early Scotland* (Columbia, 1992), 50-64; Montgomery, Michael, 'Ulster Scots: Lost or Submerged?', in Kelly, William, and John R. Young (eds.), *Ulster and Scotland 1600-2000: History, Language and Identity* (Dublin, 2004), 121-132.
- 3 Burns, Oliver, and John W. Ramsay (eds.), *The Works of Allan Ramsay* (Edinburgh, 1953), 70-71.
- 4 'Scotch Poems', *The Ulster Miscellany* ([Dublin?], 1753), 369-386.
- 5 The standard treatment of this school is John Hewitt, *Rhyming Weavers and Other Country Poets of Antrim and Down* (Belfast, 1974).
- 6 Carleton, William, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 2 Volumes (Dublin, 1843; reprint Savage, 1990).
- 7 Not all forms that appear to be eye dialect do not have a precedent in older forms of Scots or English, and thus care must be taken not to assess some forms as inauthentic.
- 8 In particular, see the work of Robinson, Philip S., 'Spelling and Pronunciation', *Ulster-Scots: A Grammar of the Traditional Written and Spoken Language* (Belfast, 1997), 19-48 (also at <www.ulsterscotsagency.com/spellingandpronunciation>); and Fenton, James, *The Hamely Tongue: A Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim* (Belfast, 2000), x-xiii (also at <www.ulsterscotsagency.com/spellingandpronunciation>).
- 9 Murray, James A. H., *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland: Its Pronunciation, Grammar, and Historical Relations* (London, 1873).
- 10 Wilson, James, *The Dialects of Central Scotland* (Oxford, 1926). In addition to laying out his own system, in his chapter 'The Spelling of Scotch', Wilson reviews in detail the spelling practices of Ramsay, Fergusson, Burns, Scott, and other writers.
- 11 For a progress report on the first decade and a half of the dictionary, see Braidwood, John, 'Towards an Ulster Dialect Dictionary', *Ulster Dialect Archive Bulletin* 4 (1965), 3-14; Braidwood, John, *The Ulster Dialect Lexicon* (Belfast, 1969).
- 12 For the BNFC survey, see Gregg, Robert J., 'The Ulster Dialect Survey' (published in the present volume).
- 13 Adams used the term as early as 1952 in his essay 'Ulster Dialects', in *Belfast in Its Regional Setting: A Scientific Survey* (Belfast, 1952), 195; see also his essay 'A Brief Guide to Ulster-Scots' (c1967), published in the present volume.
- 14 Adams, G. Brendan, 'Shakespeare in Cullybackey', *Ulster Folklife* 17 (1971), 97-98.
- 15 For background on the Academy and a ten-year summary of its work, see Montgomery, Michael, and Anne Smyth, 'The Ulster-Scots Academy', *Review of Scottish Culture* 17 (2004/05), 106-110.
- 16 Orr, James, 'Donegore Hill', *Poems, on Various Subjects* (Belfast, 1804), 33-37; reprinted in Philip Robinson (ed.), *The Country Rhymes of James Orr, the Bard of Ballycarry*, Folk Poets of Ulster Series, Vol. 2 (Bangor, 1992), 115-119.
- 17 'McIlwham, Thomas', *The McIlwham Papers: In Two Letters from Thomas McIlwham, Weaver, to His Friend, Mr. James McNeight* (Belfast, 1838); Lyttle, Wesley Guard, *Sons of the Sod: A Tale of County Down* (Bangor, 1886); McIlroy, Archibald, *When Lint was in the Bell* (Belfast, 1897).
- 18 Carleton, op. cit., 8-11, 22-23.
- 19 Hume, Abraham ['Billy McCart'], *Poor Rabbin's Ollminick for the Town o' Bilfawst: Containing Various Different Things Which Ivvery Parson Ought t'be Acquentit with* (Belfast, 1861), 4-11.
- 20 McFadyen, Dugald ['Cruck-a-Leaghan'] and David Hepburn ['Slieve Gallion'], *Lays and Legends of the North of Ireland* (London, 1884), 46-47.
- 21 O'Neill, Moira, *More Songs of the Glens of Antrim* (Edinburgh, 1921), 32-33.
- 22 McCallin, William, *The Braes o' Killywhapple and Other Tales* (Belfast, 1938), 60-61.
- 23 Mulcaghey, Matt, 'John Harbison's Wake', *Brave Crack! An Anthology of Ulster Wit and Humour* (Belfast, 1950), 68.
- 24 See Gregg, Robert J., 'The Feature "Dentality" in Ulster-Scots Dialects and Its Role as a Sociolinguistic Marker', published in the present volume; Quiggin, E. C., *A Dialect of Donegal* (Cambridge, 1906); Evans, Emrys, 'The Irish Dialect of Urris, Inishowen, Co. Donegal', *Lochlann* 4 (1970), 1-130.
- 25 Fenton, James, *Thonner and Thon: An Ulster-Scots Collection* (Belfast, 2000). In his dictionary *The Hamely Tongue*, Fenton recognizes the interdental pronunciation of the stop consonants in all these words, as well as in *tartles*, *dirt*, etc.
- 26 Robinson, op. cit., 35-36.
- 27 Gregg, Robert J., 'The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries of Ulster', in Martyn F. Wakelin (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, 1972), 109-139.
- 28 Robinson, op. cit., 32.
- 29 Adams, op. cit. (1971), 97-99.
- 30 For example, 'In Ulster-Scots, the English vowel "i" is sometimes written by enthusiasts as a-umlaut, which they feel more fully expresses the Ulster pronunciation', in <members.aol.com/rossarthur/ullans/ullans.html>, consulted 16 July 2005.
- 31 Robinson, op. cit.; Fenton, *Thonner and Thon*.
- 32 The reference is to G. Brendan Adams, Richard Hayward and others who in 1951 initiated the Ulster Dialect Survey under the auspices of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. They did not pursue their initial objective, the publication of a dictionary incorporating the material thus obtained, but instead deposited it in 1959 in the newly-established Ulster Folk Museum where Adams became Curator of Language and where it formed the basis of the Ulster Dialect Archive. The idea of a dictionary was revived and work was carried out to this end by Professor John Braidwood on a one-year sabbatical at the museum in 1964, but it was not until 1996, with the publication of the *Concise Ulster Dictionary*, that the aim was realised.
- 33 Wilson, James, *Lowland Scotch as Spoken in the Lower Strathearn District of Perthshire* (London, 1915); Wilson, James, *The Dialect of Robert Burns as Spoken in Central Ayrshire* (London, 1923).

SECTION II:
EARLIER SCHOLARSHIP ON
ULSTER-SCOTS BY ROBERT J. GREGG
AND G. BRENDAN ADAMS

The Ulster Dialect Dictionary – Belfast Field Club's New Project*

Robert J. Gregg

An Ulster Dialect Dictionary? Why should anyone go to the trouble of making a dictionary of dialect? Some teachers may well wonder – one has already protested to us! – when they think of the strenuous hours they spend trying to ‘insense’ our Ulster children into the niceties of Standard or Literary English. Let me explain some of the ideas behind this recently announced project of the new Dialect Section of the Belfast Naturalists’ Field Club.

There is first of all the impetus of regionalism, that newly-awakened and, I hope, enlightened interest in our own area of Britain, its landscapes as scenery to delight our eyes or as inspiration for the artist, its traditional music and dances, its folklore and, of course, its own rich varieties of speech which, far from being corrupted or degenerate forms of English, as many people think, have an honourable lineage, being survivals from the Elizabethan English or Lowland and Highland Scots, influenced in varying degrees by local versions of Irish Gaelic. The study of this unique and kaleidoscopic mixture is of tremendous interest. Nowhere else have we such an intimate blend of the three principal ingredients – English, Scots and Irish – as in our own Province, this Kolonisationsgebeit (colonisation district) as the German dialect experts call it, where the three races have met and mingled, especially in the last three or four hundred years.

Then we have the spur of competition, for it happens that ‘across the water’ a large-scale survey of Scottish dialects is being carried out by the Educational Institute of Scotland and Edinburgh University, while Professor H. Orton, of Leeds University, and Professor Dieth, of Zurich, are organising a similar survey in England. As good Ulstermen we must not allow ourselves to lag behind.

Furthermore, ever since dialect enthusiasts began collecting and publishing word-lists in the last century, the cry has constantly gone up that dialect is rapidly dying out. This we feel to be truer to-day than ever before, although (as Professor E. E. Evans stresses in his introduction to *Irish Heritage*) as far as Ireland is concerned it is very unwise to forecast the decay or disappearance of ancient traditional ways, for always when they are pronounced dead, evidence comes from somewhere to prove an unsuspected survival¹. All the same it is to be feared that the combined onslaught of radio, cinema, travel and education will soon reduce the

sphere of genuine dialect speech to very narrow limits. Some may view this situation with no regrets and actually welcome the advent of a form of English completely standardised both in vocabulary and pronunciation, but it is noteworthy that an erstwhile ardent supporter of Standard English – Professor D. Jones, former Professor of Phonetics at London University – has, in his new edition of *The Pronunciation of English*, voiced his mature conclusion that it can no longer be said that any standard exists. He adds: ‘Nor do I think it desirable to attempt to establish one’².

The Field Club Dialect Section have spent some time in elaborating plans for collecting material for the Dictionary, a task which will take about five years. Briefly the organisation is as follows: a centre was taken at Carrickmore (county Tyrone), which is almost at the mid-point of Ulster’s nine counties, and from there the whole area was divided into eight wedge-shaped sectors reaching out about 70 miles – North, North-east, East, etc. – each sector being allocated to a chief collector. The collectors pass on to the editorial board all the material gathered. The twelve members of this board share the work of copying and arranging it and also the task of checking and utilising the lists of words from the older glossaries by our well-known predecessors – Patterson, Lutton, Marshall and others³.

Quite recently our first Questionnaire was produced and is now being sent out to teachers all over the Province as well as lighthouse-keepers, fishery inspectors and other people interested. This Questionnaire asks such questions as the following:

- (1) What is the local name for the UNCUT TOP OF A BOG?
- (2) AN EARWIG?
- (3) THE THING OUT OF WHICH HORSES DRINK?
- (4) THE THING INTO WHICH WATER IS RUN TO WASH CLOTHES OR DISHES?
- (5) THE LAST SHEAF AT HARVESTING?
- (6) Do the local people say YIN, YEN, YAN, WAAN, or WON (for ONE)?
- (7) Do they say UP or DOWN to Belfast, Dublin, the nearest town?
- (8) What names are given to the domestic or farm animals (DOG, CAT, HORSE, COW, PIG, etc.) at the different stages of their life?
- (9) What is the local verb TO UPSET or TO KNOCK OVER something?

Some very interesting results are already apparent from the first returns we have received. There is, for example, a great variety of names for an earwig, ranging from the very common version *eariwig* to variants of *gellick* or *gellock* and

* Originally published in *Ulster Education*, September 1951, 24-25.

dheel. This last word apparently represents the Irish word *daol*, which normally means a beetle. We are now wondering what a beetle is called in places where *dheel* is said for *earwig*! Would it be *clock* or some other word? The dishes and clothes are washed in the *sink*, the *dish*, the *jaw-box* or the *jaw-tub*. By the way, could anyone inform me if the expression *a wee jaw o' milk, water, etc.* (meaning a small quantity thrown into a bucket or trough) is still used in many districts?

We are interested in finding out not only the local words themselves but also the local pronunciation, and we have suggested the use of rhyming words to show the latter clearly, e.g. the bog-top in some parts is called *flow* to rhyme with *now*, in others *flo* (rhyme *go*) and in still others *floo* (to rhyme with *too*). Similarly, to knock over may be to *cwop* (*ow* as in *now*), to *cope* (*rope*) or to *coop* (*hoop*). *Dog* may be *dawg*, *dug*, *doag* (*oa* as in *coal*) or *dowg* (*ow* as in *now*). *Trough* in many parts rhymes with *lough* rather than with *cough*, i.e. the *gh* has kept its original guttural sound instead of changing it to an *f*-sound. We are interested to know where all these variants and others are to be heard.

In concluding I should like to make a special appeal to teachers all over Ulster to help us by observing and making lists of the dialect words and phrases they hear around them. We feel that no one is quite so well placed as they are (especially those in the rural areas) to record reliably and in scholarly fashion these interesting features of our local speech, and we are anxious that this survey should be as thorough and complete as possible. Lists of dialect names for birds, insects, fish, plants, trees, etc., would be of tremendous value, as would specialised lists relating to farming: the farm-house and out-houses with their contents; the implements, vehicles and harness; the crops and cultivation generally; turf-cutting; flax-retting and scutching, and so on.

We should like to get in touch with teachers who have already made such collections of dialect words, and if they wish to help us they could write to me at the address given below. I should also be very pleased to have copies of the above-mentioned Questionnaire sent to anyone who is interested.

Notes

- 1 Evans, E. Estyn, *Irish Heritage: The Landscape, the People, and Their Work* (Dundalk, 1942).
- 2 Jones, Daniel, *The Pronunciation of English*, 3rd edition (Cambridge, 1950), v.
- 3 Patterson, William Hugh, *A Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim and Down* (London, 1880); Lutton, William, *Montiaghisms - Ulster Words and Phrases*, F. J. Bigger (ed.), (Armagh, 1923); Marshall, John J. 'The Dialect of Ulster' (in five parts), *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* new series, 10, 3 (July 1904), 121 - 130; 11, 2 (April 1905), 64 - 70; 11, 3 (July 1905), 122-125; 11, 4 (October 1905), 175-179; 12, 1 (January 1906), 18-22.

Dialect Detective*

Robert J. Gregg

Readers of 'Franc's' column during the last month or two must have been struck by the keenness of the controversy over a few good old Ulster words such as *whammel*, *whutrick* and *stiaghy*.

Nobody has been more delighted to see such enthusiasm for the niceties of our local forms of speech than the recently-formed Dialect Section of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. In this Section we have been collecting Ulster dialect words for nearly two years and in another few we hope to be able to publish a book such as has never been attempted before – an Ulster Dialect Dictionary.

What would such a dictionary contain? We aim to give in it the fullest possible list of all the Ulsterisms we can gather: that is to say, all the special local dialect words which are still to be found in our towns and countryside, but which do not exist in normal or (as some people prefer to call it) 'standard' English.

Is it really worth while going to a lot of bother to compile such a dictionary at all? Some folk may be dubious. One teacher was very doubtful about the whole business when he saw our first list of questions asking for information about local words. He protested that he had already enough trouble getting his pupils to master 'proper' English and he had no wish to encourage the use or study of dialect in any way.

But surely it is interesting to find that in Ulster we use about 20 or 30 different words for 'earwig'? First there's *eariwig* (used very widely), then dozens of variations of the word *gellick*, lovely words like *gullion-eel*, *geelybug*, *gullyglean*, *deegal*, *deelog* and many others.

The kitchen sink is, of course, generally known as the *jaw-box* or occasionally *jaw-tub*, but *jaw* here has nothing to do with any friendly gossip that may take place over the washing-up. It comes from an old Scandinavian word meaning 'to pour out a liquid'. In some parts of Ulster they still talk about a *wee jaw* of water or buttermilk. Most Ulster folk pronounce *trough* to rhyme with *ough* (with a good throaty *gh*) and not to rhyme with *cough*, as it does in 'proper' English. There is a clear division between the people who say 'I'm going "up" to Belfast' and those who say 'I'm going "down" to Belfast', and the same for going 'up' to Dublin and going 'down' to Dublin. It seems to depend on where you start from!

It seems to me then that the attitude of this teacher who had no interest in our inquiries is a mistaken one. We have really no reason to be ashamed of genuine Ulster dialect speech, which any fair observer would admit to be rich, varied, and, above all, expressive. Try to translate into ordinary English phrases like *He got a quare gunk* or *She's a desperate cowlife crater* or *Ye're quare an' saft* or *It wud skunner a pig*.

Queen Anne and Queen Elizabeth I probably pronounced *tea* as *tay* and Queen Anne would certainly have referred to her servants as *sarvants* and to the clergy as *clargy*. So our dialects have an honourable ancestry, going back to Elizabethan English and the Lowland Scots of the Stuart period.

Compiling a dialect dictionary on the lines described is a heavy task and naturally enough the success of the whole project will depend on the amount of co-operation which is forthcoming from the people who really know or who have accurately observed the many hundreds of dialect words peculiar to different parts of Ulster.

So, what about it, all you experts who have written to 'Franc', and all you others who so far have remained silent? Could we encourage you to take up a new hobby – word-collecting?

Get a few sheets of paper and a pencil and start writing down a list of all the real old Ulster words you can remember (with their meaning of course!). As soon as you have a good collection send them on to me so that I can hand them over to the editors. Then when the Dictionary appears you will be proud to know that you have made your contribution to its success.

* Originally published in *Ireland's Saturday Night*, 13 June 1953.

The Phonology of an East Antrim Dialect*

Robert J. Gregg

1 Foreword

In this thesis an attempt is made to analyse phonetically the living dialect of the Glenoe district in East Antrim and on this basis to sketch the phonological development of the Middle English sounds which have given rise to the phonemes of the present day speech.

By way of introduction the physical setting and ethnic background of the dialect have been outlined so as to give some idea of its original sources and the influences that have been brought to bear on it since its establishment in the early 17th century¹.

The conclusion sums up the salient features, phonetic and phonological, which would be most likely to establish the external affinities and relationships of the dialect with respect to other areas in Ulster and Great Britain.

The more immediate stimulus to the writing of this thesis was the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club Survey, which will lead to the publication of an Ulster Dialect Dictionary. It is hoped that this first attempt at an historical phonology of an Ulster rural dialect will be a help to those engaged in the Survey and may perhaps encourage similar studies for other districts. In a wider field it may be of interest to those researching at the present time on Scottish and English dialects, for conservative Ulster is in many ways a linguistic museum of 17th-century English and Scottish speech.

In the absence of historical documents no use could be made of 'occasional spellings' to help in the dating of sound changes and thus great stress is placed on direct observation of the dialect. My claim to speak with authority on the speech of the Glenoe district is based on a life-long familiarity with it. My mother was born in the village itself and till her marriage spent the greater part of her life on Glenford farm at the Glynn end of the valley where my aunt Mrs. M. McDowell still lives. My grandmother was born and brought up immediately above the village at Carneal, where my great-aunt Miss M. Craig (aged 94 years) is still resident. My aunt Mrs. E. Paisley, formerly of Craiganee on the eastern rim of the valley, now lives at Templecorran House between Beltoe and Ballycarry. These contacts give me a complete conspectus of the whole area. As a child I heard the dialect spoken during frequent visits of relatives from the country and myself learned to understand and speak it when staying with my grandparents at Glenford every summer over a period of many years. My linguistic curiosity was early aroused by the sharp contrasts between the Local Modified Standard English² of my native town of Larne and the speech of the countryside.

These bilingual comparisons have always been discussed with interest in my own family, and with the help in particular of my mother and my brother, Mr. T. F. Gregg, I have been collecting systematically a great deal of phonological and lexical material since my student days almost 25 years ago, when I first attempted to apply my knowledge of phonetic theory to the problems of representing Ulster dialect sounds.

In connection with the time factor I have observed that there has been little or no phonetic change between the generation of my grandmother, who died last year at the age of 96, and that of the youngest speakers to-day. On occasions, however, I have cited forms now obsolete, but clearly remembered by my mother and my aunts as having been used by their old Uncle Alexander McDowell, who was born some 120 or 130 years ago. His speech seems on the whole to have been identical with that now current, but it had evidently a few distinctive features in vocabulary and pronunciation³ now totally lost but representative of the dialect as it was spoken in his youth. This extends my range to the early years of the 19th century. During the 17th century, when Scottish and English planters were settling in county Antrim in new communities alongside the native Irish who remained, it seems likely that each group would have spoken its own language or dialect for a considerable time in a relatively pure, unmixed form⁴. Thus the 18th century is left as the probable period when the blending and levelling took place of Irish, English and Scottish features which is apparent at the present day.

2 Introduction

The dialect under consideration in these studies is that of Glenoe and the neighbouring district, an area which has a clearly defined geographical unity and whose population constitutes a reasonably homogeneous ethnic and social group, conditions both highly favourable to the fixing of dialect norms.

2.1 Topographical

To-day a village of some hundred inhabitants, Glenoe is situated near the centre of an L-shaped valley⁵ whose elbow faces west, with the short arm running north-east to Glynn (population 216), two miles south of Larne, and the long arm south-east towards Beltoe and Ballycarry (population 444 [as of 1951]). This wide, flat-bottomed valley lying about 200 feet above sea-level is bounded by a rim of low hills and owes its structural unity to the fact that it was formerly a large glacier lake⁶, dammed up by a re-advance of Scottish ice

* Presented for the degree of Master of Arts by Robert John Gregg, Bachelor of Arts in the Queen's University of Belfast (May, 1953).

during the last phases of the most recent Glacial Period⁷. The hilly rim marking the ancient lake shores is only broken to the north-east where the glacial melt-waters, pouring out, eroded the deep, steep-sided gorge through which the Glynn River now flows towards Larne Lough.

Access to the valley from the nearest urban centres, Larne and Carrickfergus, has always been difficult. Leading in from Larne four miles away is the old hill-top Inver Road as well as the road via Glynn which winds steeply up the gorge from the coast. The approach from Carrickfergus some seven miles away is up over the hilly Commons and down precipitous braes into the valley⁸. Up till three generations ago Carrickfergus exercised a strong pull, but it has now been eclipsed by Larne as a marketing and educational centre. Through their schools and other institutions both towns have acted as centres of diffusion for closely similar types of Local Modified Standard English, whose influence must be looked for in the Glenoe neighbourhood.

It must be stressed, however, that Glenoe is not on the direct way to anywhere and its relative isolation is undoubtedly a prime factor contributing to the conservatism of the local dialect in comparison with that of other near-by rural areas which lie athwart the principal coastal and inland routes.

It should not be imagined, however, that the Glenoe dialect is sharply differentiated from the speech of contiguous areas. On the contrary it forms a link in an arc-shaped chain of closely related dialects stretching from the Ards Peninsula in East Down, through East, Mid and North-West Antrim to North Derry and beyond⁹. These are all dialects which have largely been established in the first instance by the thousands of immigrants¹⁰ from Central and South-West Scotland just across the North Channel during the course of the 17th century.

In contrast with these Scottish influences it is noteworthy that the place names of the Glenoe area are, as in Ulster generally, of Irish Gaelic origin¹¹. Glenoe stands for Gleann Eó, 'the valley of the Yews', Glynn, known locally as 'the Glen', is shortened from Gleann Finneachta, and Ballycarry is for Baile Caradh, the 'Town of the Weir'¹².

The ubiquity of these names indicates that Irish must have been the language of the valley¹³ at one time, but it is difficult to establish any direct local Gaelic influence on the present-day English dialect. Many obviously Celtic words such as: *greeshugh* [grɪʃəx], 'the glowing embers of a fire', and *gelluck* [gelək], 'an earwig', prove on closer inspection to be importations from Scottish Gaelic probably via Lowland Scots or else recent borrowings from Southern Irish literary sources, e.g. *smithereens* (fragments).

2.2 Ethnographical and social

The village of Glenoe is in the parish of Raloo and the valley lies partly in the same parish and partly in that of Glynn, both in the barony of Lower Belfast¹⁴. The Census figures show the following population for these two areas:

	<u>1841</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>1937</u>
Glynn	1892	1798	1621	1391	1369 (1497)	1705	1535
Raloo	2179	1374	1252	1063	987 (1212)	1119	1151

Note 1: The 1841 figures are for the two parishes; all others relate to the District Electoral Divisions of the same names.

Note 2: The figures in brackets for 1911 are those given in retrospect in the 1926 Census and probably represent a slightly modified area under the new Northern Ireland government.

By discounting the 216 people who live in Glynn village and striking a rough average for the two remaining totals we may arrive at an approximate figure of one thousand as the population whose speech is the subject of these studies.

The majority of the valley's people are concerned with farming, and in contrast with the place-names, which are predominantly Irish Gaelic, the family-names are almost exclusively of Scottish origin and, although many suggest ultimately a Highland (i.e. Celtic) background, it is most likely that the ancestors of those who bear such Highland names had, before migrating here, settled in the Central or Western Lowlands and were thus not Gaelic- but Lallans-speaking on arriving in county Antrim. It is worth noting, however, that some Gaelic was spoken in Galloway till the 18th century¹⁵, so that the possibility of bi-lingual individuals among the immigrants must not be overlooked.

In Glenoe, as often happens in a relatively isolated community, one particular family name has become predominant, viz. *McDowell* [mə'do:l], my mother's maiden name. In origin a Highland name, it is found commonly in many parts of South-West Scotland¹⁶. Out of a list of 45 families from the village and its immediate neighbourhood, 10 bear the name of McDowell and a generation ago the proportion was even greater. The remaining families have surnames which are also typical of South-West Scotland and Ayrshire in particular (e.g. Graham, Robinson, McWilliam, Crawford, Hamilton, McWhirter, McAlister, Hall, Blair, Cameron, Elliott, Baird, Craig, Burns, etc.), with the exception of about half a dozen who prove to be new-comers to the district, or *interlopers* ['æntərləüpərz], to use the local word. In religion the overwhelming majority are Presbyterian or Unitarian, although the village church is Church of Ireland. To it only some half-dozen families belong, and even three of these have Scottish names. There are nowadays no Roman Catholics in the district although there are a few surnames of Irish type: McGoukin, McConkey, McNeilly.

In the village there are only a few tradesmen: a miller, a carpenter and a shopkeeper of the general store. The Glenoe Creamery about a mile below the village at the clachan of houses known as *Crooked Row* [krə:kət rə:] is a thriving concern. The parson whose Rectory is near Glynn has always been a stranger to the valley, as has the teacher in the village school which nowadays only caters for children up to the age of 11 years. The older ones must go elsewhere to school. For secondary education the nearest centre is Larne, where the Glenoe folk must also go for medical treatment, legal advice and other such services. A few itinerant merchants visit the district – butcher, baker, oil-man and a general dealer known as the *packman* ['pæk:mən]. The baker usually distributes the local newspaper – the *Larne Times* – in addition to his own wares, and further information is peddled by the postman along with the letters. Another more serious source of

enlightenment and the spread of Standard English was the Carnal Book Club, an early type of lending library founded at his home just above the village by my great-great-grandfather Craig and still functioning in the same place till the old homestead was burnt to the ground in 1946. I still have two very bulky volumes on Geography dating from about the early 1800s.

All these factors have a direct bearing on the current speech of the district, especially those involving contacts with the Local Modified Standard English of Larne, which is phonetically similar but phonologically very different, and those determining whether a particular word has been preserved from the earliest (17th-century) horizon or has been recently borrowed into the dialect from outside.

Some negative environmental features are of importance. There is no bog-land, which means the virtual absence of a whole highly-developed vocabulary group found in most Irish dialects. Oats is the common cereal crop locally called *corn* /ko:rn/. The word *oats* is never heard. Few sheep are reared, little flax or wheat is grown and among the local fauna certain creatures are missing. These factors mean that in certain phonological series some items are completely absent (e.g. *toad*, *adder*, *viper*) or perhaps borrowed from Received Speech (R.S.), usually through the medium of Local Modified Standard English. For example, /fle:ks/ is the only pronunciation for *flax*. Compare the proper dialect form /wa:ks/ *wax*.

The general attitude to Standard English is bound up with the social structure of the valley's population, which is not complicated, for although there are degrees of prestige varying largely with the size of the farms, snobbishness is at a discount. The farmer and his family sit at the same table with the farm labourer and all speak much the same language. The general philosophy is that 'a man's a man for a' that', and Anglo-Norman feudal ideas of a hierarchical social pyramid have not penetrated here. The well-to-do, however, are virtually bi-lingual, having had, in most cases, Grammar School and even University education. In the outside world they use a Local Modified Standard English with reasonably high proficiency, but generally speak the dialect when at home.

It is an invidious task to generalise on the character of a community of people one has known intimately for a lifetime, but it might safely be said that the Glenoe folk share in large measure the qualities of the Ulsterman generally. According to W. R. Rodgers, the Ulster Protestant is a 'cautious, logical and far-seeing person in speech and action, and he distrusts eloquence'¹⁷. To Hugh Shearman the Ulsterman seems 'pushful, sceptical, unceremonious and individualistic' and has 'a mild disillusioned sense of humour'¹⁸. For Glenoe we might add these qualities: hospitality, thrift, tenacity, pride in work well-done, an occasional 'dourness', a tendency to pessimism relieved by a capacity for hilarious enjoyment when the occasion arises, and a positive genius for hard-hitting invective.

3 Phonetics

3.1 Phonetic Symbols

Where possible the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has been used, but owing to the limitations of the type-writer keyboard the following substitutions have had to be made for the normal IPA symbols:

3.1.1*

í	stands for	IPA	i
é	stands for	IPA	ɛ
í	stands for	IPA	ĩ
ü	stands for	IPA	ö
ä	stands for	IPA	æ or iᵣ (a very much lowered and centred i)
é	stands for	IPA	ə
a	stands for	IPA	ɑ
×	stands for	IPA	ʌ
ø	stands for	IPA	ɔ

T, D, N, L represent interdental t, d, n, l

R represents a single-flap r

r represents fricative r (i.e. ɾ)

Ń, Ð, Ñ, Í, represent palatalised t, d, n, l

š, ž, tš, dž, stand for Ulster 'thin': ſ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ

? stands for ? (the glottal stop)

đ stands for đ

ŋ stands for ŋ

3.2 Vowels

No. 1	í	between close and half-close, front
No. 2	ä	open, front-centred
No. 3	í	between close and half-close, central
No. 4	×	half-open, back
No. 5	é	half-close, central
No. 6	ü:	close, central, rounded
No. 7	ë:	half-close, central, slightly lowered and fronted
No. 8	i	close, front
No. 9	ü	between close and half-close, central, rounded
No. 10	e	half-close, front
No. 11	ɛ	half-open, front
No. 12	a	open, back
No. 13	ø	half-open, back, rounded
No. 14	ɔ	between close and half-close, back, over-rounded

3.2.1 Diphthongs

No. 15	é
No. 16	ae
No. 17	œ
No. 18	ëü
No. 19	ee(ié)

3.2.2 Triphthongs

No. 20	éié
No. 21	aeé
No. 22	œé
No. 23	ëüé

* The editors have retained Gregg's original symbols, although it should be noted that whereas he lists, for example, ĩ, ē, ñ, (etc.), such symbols are often rendered ĩ, ē, ñ (etc.) in this chapter to reflect their appearance in the original document.

¹⁹ Conventionalised Diagram showing Glenoe Vowels in relation to Cardinal Vowels

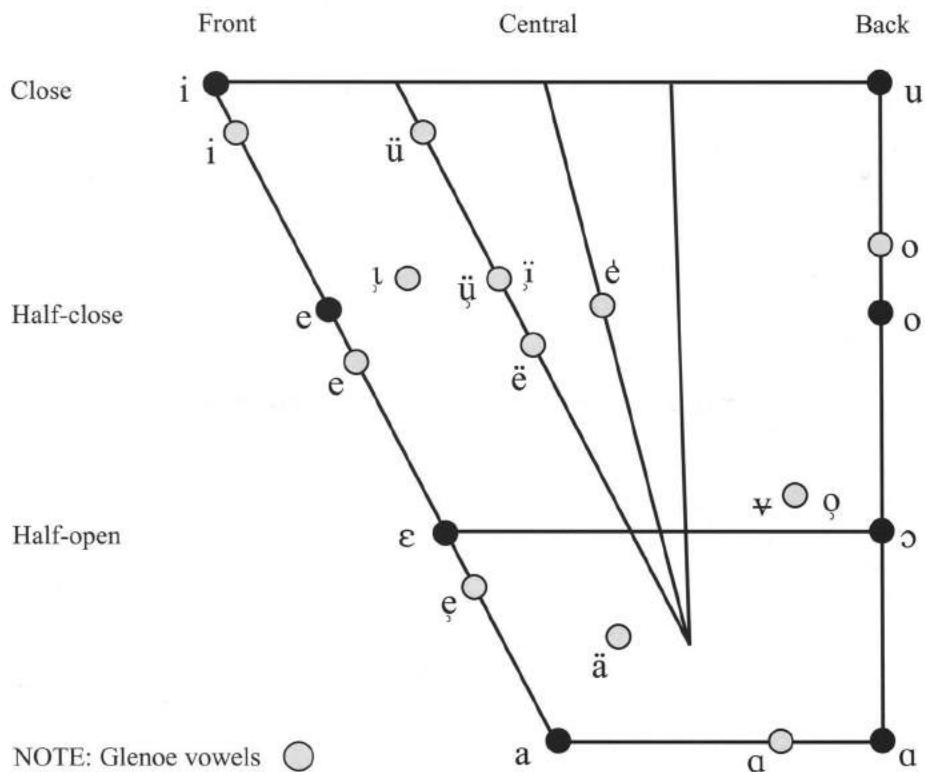


Table of Glenoe Consonants

	Labial and Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Palatalised	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Plosive	p b	t d	t d	t̪ d̪		k g	?
Nasal	m	n	n	ń		n̄	
Fricative	w f	θ v	ð z	s z	ś ż	c̪ j	x h
Affricate				tś	dź		
Point-open			r				
Flapped			r				
Lateral		l	l	ł			

3.3 The Sounds of the Glenoe Dialect

3.3.1 In the dialect of the Glenoe district as it is spoken to-day the following vowel sounds occur:

Short Vowels (stressed): /i/, ä, ü, y/; (unstressed): /e/.

Long Vowels: /ü:/, e:/.

Vowels which may be long or short: /i(:), ü(:), e(:), y(:), a(:), o(:), ɔ(:)/,

Diphthongs: /eɪ, ae, ɔe, eü, ee(iɛ)/.

Triphthongs: /eíé, aeé, ɔeé, eüé/.

In contrast with types of speech like German or Northern English, but in common with Scottish speech, many of the vowels in this dialect show no relationship between length and quality²⁰. It is further extremely difficult to establish absolute criteria for quantity in these vowels. The dialect speaker is often inclined to drawl them, so that to an outsider some of the short ones appear lengthened and the long ones over-long. This drawling tendency is reinforced by a characteristic two-tone falling intonation pattern which has almost the effect of splitting a long or lengthened vowel so that it is articulated with two peaks of intensity, the first with a high tone and the second with a low, e.g. *man/mà:n* or *maan*²¹. It may even be that the lengthening in the example given, and in other similar cases where the vowel is traditionally short, is due to the exaggeration of this falling intonation pattern. We can therefore attempt to distinguish only relative length and shortness, marking only the long and leaving short and half-long unmarked.

It should be observed that the five vowels listed as short are short by nature and are incapable of lengthening, whereas the two listed as long are inherently long and the length of the rest varies according to their phonetic environment.

3.3.2 Short Vowels (stressed)

No. 1 /i/ is between close and half-close, front²², very near the Received Pronunciation (R.P.) vowel in *hit* or *din*. It is of rare occurrence in the Glenoe dialect, arising in stressed syllables as a phonetic variant of /e:/, which is thus shortened and raised in certain fused verbal forms: e.g. /he:/ ‘have’ becomes /hjtē/ ‘have to’, and /de:/ ‘do’ becomes /dñe/ ‘do not, don’t’. Otherwise it occurs unstressed, in words like /po:ljs/ ‘polish’.

No. 2 /ä/ open, front-centred, is extremely difficult to classify²³. It is the normal Glenoe equivalent of R.P. short *i* in *hill*, *bit* and the first syllable of *finish*: /häl/, /bät/, /fänis/. Compared with R.P. it is a very much lowered and centred sound more akin to /æ/ than to /j/. Hence it is represented by /ä/ to show the extreme lowering of the jaw accompanied by the retraction of the tongue back and slightly up into the central vowel area²⁴. Further Glenoe examples: /här/ ‘her’, /häz/ ‘his’, /gäv/ ‘give’. Note the absence of lengthening before /r/ and voiced fricatives.

No. 3 /y/ is between close and half-close, central. This vowel has resulted historically from the fronting, unrounding and raising of OE ó. It occurs in words like /gjs/ ‘goose’, /spjn/ ‘spoon’, /sjn/ ‘soon’, /ebjn/ ‘above’. It is thus phonemically as well as phonetically distinct from /i/ and /ä/, e.g. /sjn/ ‘soon’ does not rhyme with /sän/ ‘sin’ nor /säte/ ‘city’ with /hjtē/ ‘have to’. This /y/ is very similar to a common Slavonic vowel represented in Russian by й /i/ or ѿ /i/, but is rather

wider²⁵. It has also close counterparts in the Celtic languages²⁶, e.g. Irish *tuile* /t̪ilə/, *im* /im/, and Welsh *yn* /j̪n/. Before /r/, /y/ is replaced by its phonemic variant /ë:/²⁷.

No. 4 /y/ is half-open, back. This vowel differs from its R.P. counterpart /ʌ/ in tongue position, but it has similar acoustic qualities. It probably corresponds to the ‘backer’ variety, which Jones says is generally heard in the North²⁸. This ‘backer’ sound also seems to occur in parts of Scotland, e.g. in Ayrshire, although in other parts the Scots sound is identical with R.P. In Northern Ireland this characteristic Antrim sound is marked off from its Belfast and South Ulster equivalent, which is pronounced further forward and usually has noticeable lip-rounding²⁹. The tongue position of /y/ seems to be very near that of /ø(:)/ for, being itself incapable of lengthening, it is liable to go over to /ø:/ before a lengthening consonant, e.g. /r/ or /z/, not in Glenoe but some neighbouring dialects which have /dø:z/ for /dʒz/ (Glenoe /djz/) and /hø:r/ for /hvr/ (Glenoe /här/). Examples from Glenoe: /skvñér/ ‘to sicken’, /spvlpén/ ‘rascal’, /kvr/ ‘cur’. Note that /r/ and the voiced fricatives have no lengthening effect on this vowel.

No. 5 /e/ The unstressed vowel /e/ is usually half-close, central, near the German final ‘-e’ in words like *Gabe* /ga:bé/ and with a decided /j/ quality. Examples: /qlbé/ ‘elbow’; /pête:té/ ‘potato’. This /e/ occurs stressed as the first element in certain diphthongs and triphthongs. Examples: /eí/ ‘always’, /jéü/ ‘ewe’, /kwéiér/ ‘choir’, /fëüér/ ‘four’.

3.3.3 Long Vowels

There are only two vowels which are invariably long, viz. /ü:/ and /ë:/.

No. 6 /ü:/ is close, central, rounded. This characteristic Ulster sound is a very advanced type of /u:/ produced at the front of the central area and therefore phonetically approaching /y:/.³⁰ Similar fronted /ü:/ sounds occur in Scots speech, and the dialects of south-west England and parts of East Anglia³¹ as well as further afield in Scandinavia, e.g. in Swedish *hus*³² or Norwegian *sluke*³³. It is also noteworthy that this same fronted /ü:/ occurs in Rathlin and Glens of Antrim Gaelic³⁴ and in Scottish Gaelic³⁵.

In Glenoe the /ü:/ sound occurs only in final open syllables: /kü:/ ‘cow’, /pü:/ ‘pull’; and in final syllables ending with the voiced fricatives /v z ž ð/: /prü:v/, /brü:z/, /rü:ž/, /smü:ð/, with which compare the short, opener /ü/ in front of the unvoiced fricatives /prüf/, /brüs/ ‘Bruce’, /drüθ/ ‘thirst, drought’. These vowels are of course maintained unchanged in derivatives and inflected forms, e.g. /brü:zd/, /smü:dd/. In hiatus /ü:/ also occurs: /rü:én/ ‘ruin’, and medially before /z/ as in /bü:zém/³⁶, /rü:zldvnt/ (a type of bread made from potatoes and oat-meal), but not before /v, ð/, where the short, wide /ü/ is substituted: /ménüvér/ ‘manoeuvre’, /šüdér/ ‘shoulder’. By exception /ü:/ occurs medially in /bjü:te/ ‘beauty’ and /džü:te/ ‘duty’, with which compare /bjüt/ ‘Bute’, /džüt/ ‘jute’. Directly before final /r/ we find /ü:/ to the exclusion of /ü:/ e.g. /dü:r/ ‘door’, /ü:r/ ‘our’, whereas *hour* is /ü:ér/.

No. 7 /ɛ:/ half-close, central, slightly lowered and fronted, is of rare occurrence in the dialect. It arises historically from the unrounding of the vowels in /flē:r/ ‘floor’, /bē:rd/ ‘board’, /pē:/ ‘poor’. It is really not an independent vowel but a phonemic variant of No. 3 above, which it replaces in front of /r/.

3.3.4 Vowels which may be either long or short

This class of vowels may be further sub-divided into those which are normally short but can be lengthened, viz. /i/ and /ü/, and those normally long but liable to shortening in certain phonetic contexts, viz. /e:/, /ɛ:/, /a:/, /o:/ and /ɔ:/.

No. 8 /i(:)/ is close, front, slightly below French /i/, which is about cardinal /i/. Even where we would expect historically /i:/ the Glenoe vowel (as in Ulster and Scotland generally) is very short, e.g. /sɪp/ ‘sheep’, /hid/ ‘heed’, /sin/ ‘seen’³⁶. These vowels are no longer than R.P. short /i/ in /sɪp/ ‘ship’, /hid/ ‘hid’, /sin/ ‘sin’.

Before /r/ we occasionally find Glenoe /i:/ lowered to /e:/ as a phonemic variant, e.g. /pe:re/ ‘a peerie, or peg-top’, /mékle:re/ ‘McCleery’. In some cases, e.g. /se:reés/ ‘serious’, the /e:/ represents an older pronunciation which has been retained. Lengthening takes place in final open syllables and before voiced fricatives, including /r/: e.g. /li:/ ‘lie, falsehood’, /li:v/ ‘live’, /bli:z/ ‘blaze’, /ti:d/ ‘teethe’, /wi:r/ ‘wear’.

No. 9 /ü/ is between close and half-close, central, rounded³⁷. It is the rounded form of /j/ (No. 3) and arises from the shortening and lowering of /ü:/ (No. 6), of which it is really a phonemic variant whose use can be determined by an analysis of the phonetic environment, if we note the two exceptions listed under No. 6. In contrast with the latter (which occurs in final open syllables and before medial /z/, final voiced fricatives /v, z, ž, ð/, and in hiatus), the sound of /ü/ occurs in all closed syllables even where historically long vowels occur in R.P., e.g. /fȳd/ ‘food’, /kȳt/ ‘suit’, /kȳrs/ ‘course, coarse’. It also occurs medially even before the voiced fricatives /v, ð/, e.g. /fȳtér/ ‘a clumsy person’, /pȳdér/ ‘powder’. It must be noted that a lengthened form of /ü/ is used before final /r/, e.g. /stȳ:r/ ‘dust’, /mȳ:r/ ‘moor’, /sȳ:r/ ‘sure’.

The remaining vowels in this group /e, ɛ, a, o, ɔ/ are essentially long, although there is usually some shortening before two consonants, one of which is voiceless. The general impression, however, is that there are no absolute criteria for quantity here, for the absolute short is rarely attained and, with a drawling speaker, even the half-long reduced vowels may seem fully long to the outsider.

No. 10 /e(:)/ is half-close, front, slightly lower and less tense than French, German or Scots /e(:)/. Examples: /se:/ ‘say’, /se:n/ ‘sane’, /sent/ ‘saint’, /enént/ ‘ancient’.

When long before a consonant in the same syllable, /e:/ with some speakers is replaced by a centring fracture diphthong³⁸, viz. /eē/ or /iē/, thus /geēt/ or /giēt/ ‘gate’, /neēm/ or /niēm/ ‘name’. This pronunciation is felt to be rather vulgar by those who say /ge:t/ and /ne:m/.

In addition to this /e(:)/, which occurs only in syllables bearing some stress, there is also an unstressed short /e/ which replaces R.P. /i/ in unemphatic positions, e.g. the prefix *be-*

and the endings -y and -ie. Examples from Glenoe: /begän/ ‘begin’, /plēnte & plēn?e/ ‘plenty’.

No. 11 is half-open, front. Its general value is that of R.P. /ɛ:/ in /dɛ:é/ ‘there’, i.e. slightly more open than the *e* in English *bed*, French *terre* or German *Bett*. It is often found in place of R.P. *a*- sounds. Examples: /sɛ:n/ ‘send’, /sɛnt/ ‘sent’, /brɛnš/ ‘branch’, /hɛmér/ ‘hammer’, /grɛ:s/ ‘grass’, /ɛ:ks/ ‘axe’.

No. 12 /a(:)/ open, back, generally represents a well retracted variety of *a* nearer to the vowel in R.P. *grass* than that in French *pas*. Examples: /ha:n/ ‘hand’, /ganš/ ‘to stutter’, /ska:t/ ‘to scare’, /skart/ vb. ‘to scratch’; sb. ‘a cormorant’.

No. 13 /o(:)/ is half-open, back, rounded, with tongue position near that of German short *o* and further back than French open *o*. It is quite distinct from R.P. or South Ulster /ɒ/, being higher, fronter, and more strongly rounded. Examples: /dɔ:l/ ‘doll’, /go:l/ ‘gall’, /fɔlt/ ‘fault’.

No. 14 /o(:)/ is between close and half-close, back, over-rounded, near in quality and articulation to the Swedish and Norwegian over-rounded *o*³⁹. These very narrow *o*- sounds, which acoustically approach /u/, are paralleled also in Rathlin and Scottish Gaelic⁴⁰. Examples: /go:/ ‘go’, /bo:s/ ‘hollow’, /to:v/ ‘boast’, /gonte/ ‘going to’.

With some speakers there is an exceptional shortening which distinguishes /spok/ ‘spoke (of a bicycle)’ from /spo:k/ ‘spoke’, pret. of *speak*, and /pok/ ‘poke, bag’ from /po:k/ ‘to poke’. Similarly /pokét/ ‘pocket’ is distinct from /po:k ét/ ‘poke it’.

3.3.5 The Diphthongs

In place of R.P. /ai/ two diphthongs occur in Glenoe just as in Scots speech⁴¹: a narrow closing diphthong /e:i/ and a wide closing one /ae/.

No. 15 /e:i/ consists of the stressed element /e/ (No. 5) and the unstressed glide /i/ (No. 8), both elements being short before an unvoiced consonant but the second being somewhat lengthened when a voiced sound follows it.

No. 16 /ae/ is a combination of No. 12 (stressed and long) with No. 10 (unstressed and short).

These two diphthongs (15 and 16) might safely be regarded as belonging to the same phoneme, /e:i/ being the principal member and /ae/ a variant, although several exceptions must be admitted to the rules which limit the domain of each sound. The variant /ae/ occurs always in a final open syllable and in hiatus, e.g. /bae/ ‘buy, by’, /dae/ ‘dye’, /kae/ ‘cows’, /ae/ ‘yes’; ‘I’, /mae/ ‘my’, /daeél/ ‘dial’. Exceptions: /séi/ ‘shy’, /hwéi/ ‘why’. Note also /ae/ ‘I’ and /mae/ ‘my’ when emphatic normally lose the second element /e/, at the same time lengthening the first: /a:/, /ma:/.

Also before the voiced fricatives /v, z, ð/ the variant /ae/ occurs, e.g. /fae/ ‘five’, /præz/ ‘prize’, /saed/ ‘scythe’. Exceptions: /STRÉIV/ ‘strive’, /DRÉIV/ ‘drive’, /réiz/ ‘rise’, /wéiz/ ‘wise’. *Thrive* seems to fluctuate between /θraev/ and /θréiv/. In the case of *strive, drive, rise*, analogy with other verbs may have helped to maintain /e:i/, which is historically

the older sound: cp. /rēid/ 'ride', /STRĒID/ 'stride'. The /ēi/ of /wēiz/ has undoubtedly been determined by the older form /wēis/, which still survives in Glenoe in the phrase /no: ha:f wēis/, lit. 'not half wise'.

In all other cases the sound /ēi/ is found, except in /maen/ 'mine (belonging to me)', which has taken over the /ae/ diphthong from /mae/, and thus contrasts with /mēin/ 'mine (coal, etc.)'.

Before /r/ a glide /e/ has developed, giving triphthongs /aeē/ and /ēiē/ instead of diphthongs (see below).

No. 17 /qe/ combines long stressed /q/ (No. 13) with unstressed /e/ (No. 10). Examples: /bœ/ 'boy, buoy', /bœl/ 'to boil'. Sometimes the first element is so long that the diphthong is split into separate syllables, e.g. /tō-e/ 'toy'.

No. 18 /ēü/ follows the pattern of /ēi/, i.e. beginning with a short central /ē/ it passes rapidly on to the fronted /ü/, which is slightly lengthened before voiced consonants. Examples: /kēül/ 'cold', /nēü/ 'knoll, hillock', /kēüp/ 'overturn', /mjeüt/ 'a faint sound'.

This sound is not common in the dialect, for, although the Local Modified Standard speech of Larne uses it for R.P. /au/, words containing the latter diphthong have usually the pure vowels /ü:/ or /ü/ in Glenoe (see 3.3.3 No. 6 and 3.3.4 No. 9 above).

3.3.6 The Triphthongs

From these four diphthongs combined with a following /e/ we have a parallel series of triphthongs: /ēiē/, /aeē/, /qeē/ and /ēüē/.

No. 19 /ēiē/ occurs by exception in front of /r/ in /kwēiér/ 'choir, quire', /rekwēiér/ 'require', /ēnkwēiér/ 'enquire', /weiér/ 'wire'.

No. 20 /aeē/ is the normal triphthong occurring before /r/ /baeér/ 'byre, buyer', /faeér/ 'fire', /taeér/ 'tire, tyre'; it also represents *i* + vowel in hiatus: /traeél/ 'trial'.

No. 21 /qeē/ occurs in /émploéér/ 'employer', /déstRöéér/ 'destroyer' etc.

No. 22 /ēüē/ occurs in /tréüél/ 'trowel', /réüén/ 'rowan', /éüér/ 'over', /fëüér/ 'four', etc.

3.4 The Consonants

In the Glenoe dialect the consonantal system is rather more complex than that of R.P. It has, for example, a very full set of interdental and alveolar-palatalised consonants, and the unvoiced velar fricative /x/ still thrives in words both of OE and Gaelic origin.

3.4.1 The Plosives: /pb, td, tD, kg, ?/

Of these, the voiced /b, d, g/ are identical with R.P. but the unvoiced /p, t, k/ when initial are much more strongly aspirated than their R.P. counterparts and would be rendered in narrow transcription by /p^h, t^h, k^h/ . This aspiration, however, is less marked than in Southern Irish (brogue) pronunciation, where in the case of /t/ it almost produces the effect of an affricate /t^h/ . Medially and finally /p, t, k/ are generally

pronounced in Glenoe with a simultaneous glottal stop. In some neighbouring dialects especially towards Mid Antrim the oral element is lost, leaving a simple glottal stop for /p, t, k/ medial and final. This is particularly the case with /t/^h and even in Glenoe, medial /t/ followed by syllabic /n/ is usually replaced by /?/ e.g. /i?ēn/ 'eating', /fa?ēn/ 'fatten'. In Glenoe final /d/ tends to become /t/, e.g. /de:vēt/ 'David'.

3.4.2 The Labials

Apart from the aspiration of /p/ as just described, the Glenoe labials are identical with R.P. /pb, m, fv, hw, w/. Although R.P. has generally allowed the last two to fall together under /w/, they are kept quite distinct in Glenoe, and /hw/ is pronounced for orthographic *wh* except where the latter is not historical, e.g. /wlk/ 'whelk' from OE *wiocol*, *weoloc*, /hü:ér/ 'whore' from late OE *hóre* (cp. ON *hóra*). With /v/ there is a tendency to unvoicing e.g. /fätš/ is the normal pronunciation for *vetch*.

3.4.3 The Interdentals: /t, d, n, l, θd/

Of this series only /θd/ occur normally in R.P., although the others may crop up in assimilation. In Glenoe interdental /t, d, n/ occur in the body of a word as phonemic variants of /t, d, n/ when followed directly by -r- and a vowel, by -er- and a vowel or by -er in absolute final positions; likewise interdental /l/ replaces /l/ when followed by /t, d/. Examples: /TRAe/ 'try', /DRAe/ 'dry', /küTér/ 'coulters, nose', /bëdERél/ 'bed-ridden invalid', /skvnér/ 'to sicken', /hëLTér/ 'halter'. It should be observed that with all interdentals, including /θd/, a single-flap type of *r* is used if the *r* follows immediately (e.g. /TRI:/ 'tree', /θRI:/ 'three'), or in the sequence interdental + *er* + vowel (e.g. /fütéRE/ 'clumsy', /gyL DÉRén/ 'shouting', /sänéRE/ 'apart, asunder', /bladéRE/ 'riff-raff, canaille'. In absolute Auslaut, of course, such an /r/ reverts to the normal fricative /r/ e.g. /fütér/ 'to work clumsily', /gvt. dér/ 'to shout'.

The articulation of interdental /t, d, n, l/ is as follows: the tongue-tip is usually visibly protruded between the top and bottom rows of teeth, and the area of contact between the tip and blade of the tongue on the one hand and the teeth and gums on the other extends well back on to the fringe of the hard palate. The release of this contact gives a characteristic 'thick' sound, very different acoustically from the corresponding alveolar or palatal sounds. There is a decided impression of a /d/ off-glide, voiced even after the unvoiced /t/, but the impact is in any case that of a single sound.

The interdental fricatives /θ, d/ are identical with R.P.

3.4.4 The Alveolars

The alveolar consonants /t, d, s, z, n, r, l/ are all identical in articulation with R.P., except for the stronger aspiration in the case of /t/ (see above). It should, however, be noted that Glenoe /l/ has a very 'light' resonance in most phonetic contexts even where R.P. /l/ is velarised. The velar resonance is so slight even after vowels like /ä, a, ʌ, ɔ, o/ that there seems little need of a special symbol e.g. /t/ (or t̪ if interdental) to mark what is only a minor phonemic adjustment. It never approaches the English, Scots or American velarised /t̪/, whose 'dark' quality is extremely marked.

The alveolar fricative /r/ must be considered as the central

member of the *r*-phoneme and is closely similar to R.P. with perhaps just a shade less retraction. In Glenoe, unlike R.P., the /r/ sound is fully sounded when in final positions or before other consonants. The variant, single-flap /ɾ/, has already been mentioned in connexion with the Interdentals (see 3.4.3 above). After consonants other than these, when initial in a syllable, the /r/ remains slightly ‘open’, but is articulated with a flap effect, acoustically intermediate between single-flap /ɾ/ and true fricative /r/, e.g. in words like /brv̥s/ ‘brush’, /frin/ ‘friend’.

Orthographic *r* may be omitted by dissimilation, e.g. /katr̥jd̥z/ & /kētr̥jd̥z/ ‘cartridge’, and in rapid speech generally in the group interdental + *er* + alveolar /t, d, n/ e.g. /jästē(r)de/ ‘yesterday’, /çfrē(r)n̥n/ ‘afternoon’.

3.4.5 The Alveolar-Palatalised Consonants

This series of sounds /h, ɿ, ʂ, ʐ/ is characterised by a dual articulation: the tongue-tip is in contact with the upper gum-ridge and simultaneously the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. Thus /h, ɿ/ are distinct from the true palatals of the Romance languages, e.g. French and Italian -gn-, Italian -gl- and Spanish -ll-, in which the tongue tip is behind the lower front teeth and the middle part of the tongue is in broad contact with the back part of the hard palate. The Glenoe sounds are much nearer to the Russian palatalised *n* and *l*, although these have a primary dental articulation. In Glenoe there is a distinct /j/ off-glide, which in the case of /ɿ/ has in many cases swallowed up the /ɿ/ itself, leaving only the /j/⁴³. Examples: /hjvk/ ‘to steal’, ‘pinch’, /hjäp/ ‘a small quantity’ /béɿjɔ:r/ ‘to bellow, shout’, /ɿjüge/ ‘a fool’; but /bjü:/ ‘blue’ from */bljü:/, /fjvge/ ‘left-handed, clumsy’ from */fljvge/, /pjü:/ ‘plough’ from */pljü:/ (cf. 4.5(C)5 below).

The Glenoe /ʂ, ʐ/ contrast with their R.P. counterparts /š, ž/ in that the secondary movement of the tongue is towards the velum in the latter sounds and towards the hard palate in the former. This gives the Glenoe consonants the typical Ulster ‘thin’ quality⁴⁴ very similar to the Irish Gaelic slender *s*⁴⁵ and to the corresponding sibilant in Scots Gaelic⁴⁶. A further difference is that the R.P. sounds are accompanied by marked lip-rounding, while in Glenoe the lips are spread. Examples are /ʂü:/ ‘shoe’, /re:nz/ ‘rinse’.

Alveolar /t, d/ combine closely with /ʂ, ʐ/ to form the affricates /tʂ, dʐ/ corresponding to R.P. /tʂ, dʐ/. It should be noted here that the original palatalised /t, d/ have now disappeared from Glenoe, having fallen together with these affricates /tʂ, dʐ/⁴⁷. Examples: /tʂvrtʂ/ ‘church’, /dʐv̥dʐ/ ‘judge’, /tʂün/ ‘tune’, /dʐýk/ ‘duke’.

In final positions, Glenoe /dʐ/ is liable to become unvoiced: e.g. /ka:betʂ/ ‘cabbage’, /pa:retʂ/ ‘porridge’.

3.4.6 The Palatals

The Glenoe /ç, j/ are true palatals, in contrast with the palatalised sounds just described, i.e. the tongue-tip is anchored behind the lower front teeth and the middle part of the tongue is raised vertically towards the back part of the hard palate. The /ç/ sound may arise by assimilation, as when /h/ causes the unvoicing of a /j/ immediately following it, e.g. /hjü:/ or /çü:/ ‘Hugh’, /hjüdʐ/ or /çüdʐ/ ‘huge’; but it usually represents a phonemic variant of the velar fricative /χ/ in

words like /hiç/ ‘high’, /Driç/ ‘wet and miserable (day etc.)’, although this /ç/ is never so far fronted as the similar variant in German (the so-called ‘ich-Laut’). The fronted variant /ç/ in Glenoe is never accompanied by the considerable uvular scrape which occurs with many speakers in the case of /χ/ (see below).

The /j/ sound in Glenoe is not strictly the true voiced counterpart of /ç/. It is vocalic or semi-vocalic rather than consonantal, as it lacks the audible friction of French, German or Spanish /j/. Examples: /jëü/ ‘ewe’, /jäter/ ‘to complain’.

3.4.7 The Velars

Velar /k, g, ŋ/ in Glenoe are identical with R.P. except for the aspiration of /k/ described above (3.4.1). The velar fricative /χ/ occurs with considerable frequency both in words which had this sound in OE and ME and in loan words from Gaelic sources. The sound itself is similar to the German ‘ach-Laut’ but somewhat further back, and as a result, generally accompanied by a certain amount of uvular scrape. The phonemic limits between /χ/ in /la:x/ ‘laugh’ and /hix/ ‘high’ are so wide that it may seem desirable to show it by using /ç/ in the latter word: /hiç/.

Note that in Glenoe palatalised /k, g, ŋ/ do not occur although they are frequently met in other Ulster dialects.

3.4.8 The Laryngials

The use of the glottal stop has already been described above (3.4.1) in connexion with the plosives. In Glenoe the laryngial fricative /h/ is used as in R.P., i.e. it is not dropped except in the unemphatic form of words like *he, him, her*, e.g. /e:ginémizte:/ ‘he gave him his tea’. It is also absent where R.P. has it as a ‘spelling’ pronunciation, e.g. in /q:spätl/ ‘hospital’, /jümér/ ‘humour’.

The Vowels of Stressed Syllables

4.1 The Short Vowels

4.1.1 ME *a*

Short *a* in ME usually gives /a/ in Glenoe but also /ɛ/ in a number of cases. There is no rounding after /w/ or before /ŋ/. The group -ar often becomes /ər/ and -al followed by *d* becomes /eül/ with loss of *d*, while -al final becomes /ɔ:/ with loss of *l*. The shift of /a/ to /ɛ/ often takes place before /d/ and -ss and also in contact with the velars, in words borrowed from or influenced by Larne. Lengthening is determined by phonetic context (see above, 3.3.4).

4.1.2 ME *a*

(A) from Anglian *æ, a* (West Germanic *a*)

1. becomes Glenoe /a/.

/ansér/ ‘answer’, /ant/ ‘ant’, /ba:d/ ‘bad, sick’, /bra:n/ ‘brand’, /galèséz/ ‘braces’, /ha:n/ ‘hand’, /hanfl/ ‘handful’, /kla:p/ ‘clap, cow-dung’, /klatér/ ‘clatter, large quantity’, /la:m/ ‘lamb’, /ma:n/ ‘man, husband’, /ma:t/ ‘mat’, /θa:tʂ/ ‘thatch’, etc.

Note: Beside the normal /ba:g/ ‘bag’, /ba:k/ ‘back’, /bla:k/ ‘black’, /ka:n/ sb. ‘can’, /ka:nl/ ‘candle’, /ka:p/ ‘cap’, /ka:t/ ‘cat’, /sla:k/ ‘slack’, forms with /ɛ/ for the true dialect /a/ in contact with velars have occasionally intruded from Larne, viz. /bɛ:g/, /bɛ:k/, /ble:k/, /kɛ:n/, /kɛ:t/, /kɛndl/, /kɛ:p/, /slep:k/.

In the case of *axe*, *flax*, and *sack* no /a/-forms exist, an indication that these are also probably borrowings from Larne.

2. becomes Glenoe /e/.

/ɛ:ks/ ‘axe’, /ɛpl/ ‘apple’, /fɛdér/ ‘father’, /flɛ:ks/ ‘flax’, /gɛdér/ ‘gather’, /gle:d/ ‘glad’, /hɛLTÉt/ ‘halter’, /hɛmér/ ‘hammer’, /krɛdl/ ‘cradle’, /rɛdér/ ‘rather’, /sɛ:k/ sb. ‘sack’, vb. ‘dismiss’, /sɛtē(r)de/ ‘Saturday’.

(B) from Scandinavian *a*

1. becomes Glenoe /a/.

/hansl/ ‘handsel’, /ra:g & rɛ:g/ ‘rag’, /ransɛ:k/ ‘ransack’, /stagér & stęgér/ ‘stagger’, /sta:k & stę:k/ ‘stack’.

2. becomes Glenoe /e/.

/brɛkn/ ‘bracken’, /Dre:g/ ‘drag’, /flɛ:gz/ ‘flagstones’, /flɛ:t/ ‘flat’, /nɛ:g/ ‘scold’, /skrɛge/ ‘thin’, /snɛ:g/ ‘impediment, obstacle’, i.e. mostly in contact with velars.

(C) from Old French *a* (in closed syllables and syllables originally unaccented)

1. becomes Glenoe /a/.

/bagetš/ ‘baggage’, /džakét & džékét/ ‘jacket’, /galép/ ‘gallop’, /gra:n/ ‘grand’, /ka:tš & kę:tš/ ‘catch’, /matér (sb.) & mętér (vb.)/ ‘matter’, /ra:t/ ‘rat’, /šame/ ‘chamois’, /ta:p/ vb. & sb. ‘tap’, /tšapl/ ‘chapel’, /valje/ ‘value’, /valjébl/ ‘valuable’, etc.

2. becomes Glenoe /e/.

/brěnš/ ‘branch’, /hěnš/ ‘haunch’ (from Old French *hanche*), /stěnšl/ ‘stanchion (of a window)’, with *n-l* interchange; in Mid-North Antrim: /stěnsér/, /trěvl/ ‘travel, walk’. Note the vowel in /tɔ:sl/ *tassel* (from Old French *tas(s)el*; ? confusion with *tassel* (sb 2) in *Survey of English Dialects* with alternative form *torsel*).

(D) Other words with /a/ of obscure origin, in some cases undoubtedly Gaelic

/bra:t/ ‘brat’, /bratl/ ‘peal of thunder’, /dra:b/ ‘dew’, /dža:x/ ‘clumsy person’, /dža:g & džę:g/ vb. ‘prick’, sb. ‘thorn’, /dža:p/ ‘splash’, /fla:m/ ‘flatter, humbug’, /ga:m & ga:m(f)érl/ ‘a fool’, /ha:p/ ‘tuck up’, /kane/ ‘cautious’, /paxl/ ‘small quantity, clumsy person’, /šaněx/ vb. ‘gossip’, /ra:msta:m/ ‘headlong’, /skra:b/ ‘scratch viciously’, /spraxl/ ‘sprawl’.

4.1.3 ME *a* before *s, f, th*

(A) from Anglian *ae, a*

1. becomes Glenoe /a/.

/ba:θ/ ‘bath’, /da:ft/ ‘daft’, /fasn/ ‘fasten’, /ka:f/ ‘chaff’, /la:st/ sb. & adj. ‘last’, /pa:d/ ‘path’ (cp. a local road known as the *Paith* /pe:θ/), /wa:s/ ‘wash’. Also in the following words which shortened OE *áe* to *a* in ME: /a:ks & ɛ:ks & a:st/ ‘ask’, /bla:st/ ‘blast’.

2. becomes Glenoe /e/.

/brę:s/ ‘brass’, /gle:s/ ‘glass’, /grę:s/ ‘grass’, /hę:sp/ ‘hasp’, /plęstér/ ‘plaster’.

Note: /e:s/ ‘ash (tree)’.

(B) from Scandinavian *a*

1. becomes Glenoe /a/: /a:s/ ‘ash’, /ka:st & kę:st/ ‘cast’.

2. becomes Glenoe /e/: /bledér/ ‘talk nonsense’ (but cp. /bladére/ ‘riff-raff’).

(C) from Old French *a*, becomes Glenoe /a/.

/baskét/ ‘basket’, /fašn/ ‘fashion’, /kasl & kęsl/ ‘castle’, /pa:s/ ‘pass’, /pa:sedž/ ‘passage’, /pastśér/ ‘pasture’, /raskél/ ‘rascal’, /sa:s/ ‘sash (of a window)’.

(D) in words of doubtful origin, becomes Glenoe /a/.

/ba:š/ ‘bash’, /da:š/ ‘dash’, /la:s/ ‘lass’, /laśér/ ‘eye-lash’, /ma:š/ ‘mash’.

4.1.4 ME *a* after *w, wh, qu, squ*, always remains Glenoe /a/

(A) from Anglian *ae, a*

/hwa:t & hwyt/ ‘what’, /swalé/ sb. ‘swallow’, /swa:n/ ‘swan’, /swa:p/ ‘exchange’, /swa:rd/ ‘row of mown grass’ (? confusion between OE *swaeth* and *swaerd*), /wa:ks & wę:ks/ ‘wax’, /wa:sp/ ‘wasp’, /wa:tér/ ‘water’, /wa:ts/ ‘watch’, /wa:z & wvz/ ‘was’.

(/hwyt/, /wvz/ perhaps from weak /é/ in unemphatic positions).

(B) from Scandinavian *a*

/wa:l (& wę:l & we:l)/ ‘choose, select’, /wa:nt/ ‘lack’.

(C) from Old French *a*

/kwäléte/ ‘quality’, /kwa:re/ ‘quarry’, /skwa:š/ ‘squash’, /walep/ ‘wallop’.

(D) in words of doubtful origin

/skwandér/ ‘squander’, /swamp/ ‘swamp’.

4.1.5 ME *a* followed by *ng* remains Glenoe /a/

(A) from OE *a*

/bela:n/ ‘belong’, /éla:n/ ‘along’, /ga:n/ ‘gang’, /hwa:n/ ‘thong’ (from OE *thwang* with loss of *th*, leaving unvoiced w⁴⁸).

Except /stro:n/ ‘strong’.

(B) from Scandinavian *a*

/ba:n & bę:n/ ‘bang’, /ba:nk/ ‘hill-slope’, /ra:n/ ‘wrong’, /taŋkl/ ‘tangle, type of sea-weed’ (cp. Norwegian *taangel*).

(C) from Old French *a*

/blankét/ ‘blanket’; but note: /lęnwedž/ ‘language’.

(D) in words of doubtful origin

/kaŋl/ ‘to quarrel, bicker’, /laŋl/ ‘tie fore and hind leg of goat together’, /sa:n & sę:n/ ‘a mild oath’ (from French *sang*?), /spa:n/ ‘jump’.

4.1.6 ME *ar* followed by a consonant gives Glenoe /ar/.

(A) from Anglian *ear, ar*

/hardn & harn/ ‘harden’, /ark/ ‘meal bin’, /harp/ sb. & vb. ‘harp’, /sward/ ‘swath’, /swa:rm/ ‘swarm’, /wardér/ ‘warder’, /wa:rm/ ‘warm’, /wa:m/ ‘warn’, /wart/ ‘wart’.

(B) from Scandinavian *ar*

/bark/ ‘bark (of a tree)’, /harś/ ‘harsh’, /ja:rn/ ‘thread’, /warp/ ‘warp’.

(C) from Old French *ar*

/argemént/ ‘argument’, /barbér/ ‘barber’, /ba:r/ ‘bar’, /džá:r/ ‘jar’, /ka:t/ ‘car’, /kwart/ ‘quart’, /kwartrér/ ‘quarter’, /la:rd/ ‘lard’, /park/ ‘park’, /parlemént/ ‘parliament’, /parsl/ ‘parcel’, /rewa:rd/ ‘reward’, /tša:rdz/ ‘charge’, /wardro:b/ ‘wardrobe’, /warn/ ‘warrant’.

(D) in words of doubtful origin

/klart/ ‘slovenly woman’, /klarte/ ‘dirty’, /mart/ ‘(auction) mart’, /skarf/ ‘scarf’, /skart/ ‘scratch’ (by metathesis from Early ME *scrat*, of doubtful etymology).

4.1.7 But *ar* followed by a consonant gives Glenoe /ər/.(A) from Anglian *ear*, *ar*⁴⁹

/ erm/ ‘arm’, / əm/ ‘earn’, / ərs/ ‘arse’, / herm/ ‘harm’, /jerd/ ‘yard’, /kert/ ‘cart’, /sərp/ ‘sharp’, /tərt/ ‘sour’.

(B) from Old French *ar*

/ ərme/ ‘army’, /gərd/ ‘guard’, /gərdn/ ‘garden’, /gərdnər/ ‘gardener’, /gərtér/ ‘garter’, /kərd/ ‘card’, /pərt(e)/ ‘part(y)’.

(C) in words of doubtful origin

/dern/ ‘darn’.

4.1.8 ME *-al(-)*(A) from Anglian *-al(-)* gives 1. / ə:(l)/, 2. /a:/, 3. / əül/

1. /bɔ:ld/ ‘bald’, /fɔ:/ ‘fall’, /go:l/ ‘gall’, /hɔ:l/ ‘hall’, /kɔ:/ ‘call’, /mɛskɔ:/ ‘to abuse’, / ə: & a:l/ ‘all’, /tɔ:k/ ‘talk’, /tɔ:l/ ‘tall’, /wɔ:k/ ‘walk’. The forms with /l/ are probably from Larne.
2. /ha:d/ sb. ‘hold’ (cp. phrase /he: je' ne: 'ha:d èn jér 'ha:n?/), /ha:f/ ‘half’, /ka:v/ ‘calf’, /pa:m/ ‘palm (tree)’, /sa:t/ ‘salt’, /sa:v/ ‘salve’. Also the surnames: /ga:t/ ‘Gault’, /meka:mént/ ‘McCalmont’.
3. /bəül/ ‘bold’, / əül/ ‘old’, /həül/ vb. ‘hold’, sb. ‘hold’ (e.g. phrase /tik dè héül o ét/ ‘take hold of it’), /kəül/ ‘cold’, /səül/ ‘sold’, /təül & təlt/ ‘told’.

N.B.: A diphthongal pronunciation was probably widespread in such words during Elizabethan times and the early 17th century; cp. the southern Irish pronunciation /béuld/, /éuld/ etc., also for the North of England⁵⁰, /bauld/, /auld/ etc., and for Scotland, Campbeltown (Kintyre)⁵¹: *howld*, *owld*, *sowld*; Black Isle and Easter Ross⁵²: *bowl*, *cowld*, *sowld*; Caithness⁵³: *bowl*, where *ow* represents /au/.

Note the vowels in /he:pne/ ‘halfpenny’, /he:pérθ/ ‘halfpennyworth’, /fo:ld/ ‘fold’.

(B) from Scandinavian *-al-* gives Glenoe /al/.

/skalp/ ‘scalp’.

(C) from Old French *-al-* gives /a:/.

/sa:m/ ‘psalm’, /ska:d/ ‘scald, tea’.

4.1.9 ME medial *a + r + vowel*(A) from Anglian *ea* gives /a/.

/are/ ‘arrow’, /haré/ ‘harrow’, /sparé/ ‘sparrow’.

But note the vowels in /är/ *are* (OE Northumbrian type *aron*), /boré/ ‘wheel-barrow’, /néré/ ‘narrow’.

(B) from Old French *a* gives /a/ and / ə/.

1. /ba:rl/ (monosyllabic): ‘barrel’, /kare & kéré/ ‘carry’, /karét/ ‘carrot’, /kware/ ‘quarry’, /pareš/ ‘parish’.
2. /mère/ ‘marry’.

4.1.10 ME *e*(A) from Anglian *e*, *eo* and *e* (the i-mutation of *ae*) gives 1. Glenoe / ə/ but 2. mostly /a/ after *w*⁵⁴.

1. /bə:d/ ‘bed’, /bèle/ ‘belly’, /bəlez/ ‘bellows’, /fəfrér/ ‘after’ (from OE *efter*, variant of *æfter*, perhaps due to Scandinavian influence), /fə:l/ ‘to fell’, /məsə:l/ ‘myself’, /jəlp/ ‘yelp’, /lədər/ ‘leather’, /nə:b/ ‘beak’, /stə:p/ ‘step’, /θRə:s/ ‘thresh, thrash’.

2. /hwalp/ ‘whelp; term of abuse’, /hwaml/ ‘overturn’ (from OE *hwelman*, ME *whelmen*, with metathesis of -lm⁵⁵), /ra:n/ ‘wren’, /rasl/ ‘wrestle’ (from OE *wráestlian, with shortening and mutation), /swa:l/ ‘to swell’, /twa:l/ ‘twelve’, /twalθ/ ‘twelfth’, /wa:b/ ‘web’, /wadēt/ ‘weather’, /wa:dn/ ‘wedding’, /wa:dz/ ‘wedge’, /wa:l sb. ‘well’, /wa:l-karsèz/ ‘water-cress’, /wa:t/ adj. ‘wet’ (late ME *wet*, *wett*, p.p. of vb. *wéten*, OE wáetan, with shortening).

(B) from Scandinavian *e* in closed syllables gives Glenoe / ə/. /gəld/ ‘geld’ (without lengthening), /skəle/ ‘squint’ (from ON *skjelga*). Also before /g/ in / ə:g/ ‘egg’, /kłę:g/ ‘horse-fly’, /lę:g(nz)/ ‘leg(gings)’.

(C) from Old French *e* in closed syllables and open unaccented syllables gives Glenoe / ə/.

/dəpjéte/ ‘deputy’, /də:t/ ‘debt’, /dżelés/ ‘jealous’, /lętēs/ ‘lettuce’, /mędl/ ‘meddle’; ‘medal’, /mę:s/ ‘mess’, /nęfje/ ‘nephew’, /regjélér/ ‘regular’, /ręndér/ ‘to melt fat’, /tręsl & Өrəsl/ ‘trestle’.

(D) in words of obscure origin we find Glenoe / ə/.

/dżelger/ ‘large needle’, /kłęlp/ ‘sea-weed ash’ (a source of iodine), /kę:p/ ‘to prevent cattle from straying’, e.g. up a side road, /mę:l/ vb. & sb. ‘(to hit with) a large mallet’, /skęlét/ ‘skillet’, /skęlf/ ‘wood-splinter’, /skęlp/ ‘smack’.

4.1.11 Raising of ME *e* to *i* before nasals gives Glenoe /ä/, which represents a subsequent lowering and retraction.(A) from Anglian *e* and *e* (the *i*-mutation of *æ*)

/äplén/ ‘England’, /änljís/ ‘English’, /bänś/ ‘bench’, /hänz/ ‘hinge’, /ränś/ sb. ‘wrench’, /sträp/ ‘string’.

Note 1: /gärn/ ‘to complain’ etc., from OE *grennian* (to grin) > *grin-* > *girn-*, raising *e* to *i* before the nasal *n* and with metathesis.

Note 2: / ə/ remains in /bę:n/ ‘bend’, / ə:n/ ‘end’, /lęmpét/ ‘limpet’ (from OE *lempediū*), /sę:n/ ‘send’, /spe:n/ ‘spend’, /stę:m/ ‘stem’, /węnt/ pret. & p.p. ‘went’.

(B) from Scandinavian *e*

/dän/ ‘beat’ (cp. phrase /he wéz goén ljk dän dvst/ or /goén è dänér/, i.e. very quickly), /häŋ/ ‘hang’, /wän/ ‘wing’.

(C) from Old French *e*

/änżen/ ‘engine’, /sämę/ ‘chemise’, /träml/ ‘tremble’, /tśamle/ ‘chimney’. But / ə/ remains in /étemp(t)/ ‘attempt’,

/mɛ:mre/ ‘memory’, /mɛ:n/ ‘mend’, /rɛnt/ ‘rent’, /vɛntsɛr/ ‘venture’.

4.1.12 ME *e* raised to *i* before other consonants gives Glenoe /ä/.

(A) from OE *e*, é, eo, éo

/bäzm/ ‘besom’, /bläs/ ‘bless’, /dégädder/ ‘together’, /jästé(r)de/ ‘yesterday’, /näkst/ ‘next’.

(B) from Scandinavian *e*

/kätlen/ ‘kitten’ (? from ON *ketlinger*).

(C) from Old French *e*

/fätš/ ‘vetch’.

4.1.13 ME *e + r + vowel* gives Glenoe /ɛ/.

(A) from OE sources (*e*, Anglian é from West Saxon æ, Anglian áe from West Saxon æ).

/bëre/ ‘berry’, /ɛrn/ ‘errand’, /hërn/ ‘herring’.

(B) from Scandinavian *e*

/fëre/ ‘ferry’, (Old West Scandinavian *ferja*, or possibly OE **ferie*).

(C) from Old French *e, i*

/mërekli/ ‘miracle’, (ë from *e* from *i*), /përes/ ‘perish’, /tëreér/ ‘terrier’, /vëre/ ‘very’.

4.1.14 ME *er + consonant*

(A) from OE *er, eor*

1. gives Glenoe /ar/.

/bark/ vb. ‘bark’, /ba:rm/ ‘barm’, /ba:rmbrek/ ‘a large currant bun’, /ba:rn/ ‘barn’, /dark(en)/ ‘dark(en)’, /da:rlén/ ‘darling’, /fa:r, fardér, farest/ ‘far’, etc., /fardn/ ‘farthing’, /hart/ ‘heart’, /ka:rv/ ‘carve’, /sark/ ‘chemise’, /sta:r/ ‘star’, /ta:t/ ‘tar’.

2. But note these with Glenoe /er/:

/hërbér/ ‘harbour’, /hërvést/ ‘harvest’, /jë:rd/ ‘yard’, /lë:rn/ ‘learn, teach’, /stë:rv/ ‘starve (with hunger or cold)’.

(B) from Anglian *er* (West Saxon *ear*) gives Glenoe /ar/.

/mark/ ‘mark’, /spark/ ‘spark’, /stark/ ‘stark’.

(C) from Scandinavian *er* gives Glenoe /ar/.

/a:r/ ‘a scar’, (Old West Scandinavian *err, ørr*), /ska:r/ ‘scare’ (ME *skerre*, ON *skirra*, formed on *skjarr* from the base **skerro-*).

(D) from Old French *er* gives mostly /er/, occasionally /ar/⁵⁶.

1. /dëzë:rv/ ‘deserve’, /džë:rmén/ ‘German’, /fërm(er)/ ‘farm(er)’, /kënsë:rn/ ‘concern’, /mërsé/ ‘mercy’, /në:rv/ ‘nerve’, /përsén/ ‘person’, /sërmén/ ‘sermon’, /sërpént/ ‘serpent’, /sërtén(t)/ ‘certain’, /sërtís/ ‘search’, /së:rv(ént)/ ‘serve (servant)’, /vë:rdž/ ‘verge’, /vërs/ ‘verse’.

Note: /gë:nse/ ‘jersey’ (from *Guernsey* with loss of /r/).

2. /klark/ ‘clerk’, /pardn/ ‘pardon’, /parsle/ ‘parsley’, /parsn/ ‘parson’, /wa:r/ ‘war’.

4.1.15 ME *i*

In Glenoe, the ME *i* (from older *i*, *y* and *i*, *ý* through shortening) normally appears as the very open and somewhat

centred /ä/-sound described in section 3.3.2, but occasionally as a tense (i) before velars and after /w/, although in the latter case the development to /u/ is apparently the normal one (cp. /u/ in similar positions in Northern English dialects⁵⁷).

(A) from OE *i*

1. gives Glenoe /ä/.

/bän/ ‘bin’, /bäts/ ‘bitch’, /brän/ ‘bring’, /fänjer/ ‘finger’, /fås/ ‘fish’, /jät/ ‘yet’, /kränkl/ ‘to wrinkle’ (ultimately from OE *crincan* ‘to wrinkle’, cp. /kränkle pe:pér/ ‘crêpe paper’), /kräsp/ ‘crisp’, /läd/ ‘lid’, /läp/ ‘lip’, /läθ/ ‘section of an orange’ (OE *lith*, ‘a limb’), /mädjen/ ‘mediocre’, /mäks/ ‘mix’, /mäst/ ‘mist’, /nät/ ‘nit, louse’s egg’, /pätsförk/ ‘pitch-fork’, /sänk/ ‘sink’, /säft/ vb. ‘move (trans), move at speed (intrans.)’; sb. ‘undergarment’, /täk/ ‘an insect’, /θäk/ ‘thick’; ‘stupid’; ‘friendly’, /tsäl dér/ ‘children’ (rare, usually *weans* /we:nz/).

2. gives Glenoe /i/.

/kiñks/ ‘hysterical fit of laughing’; cp. phrase: ‘in keenks’, /li:v/ ‘live’, /swil/ ‘swivel’, /swim/ ‘swim’, /widé(wymén)/ ‘widow’, /widéma:n/ ‘widower’, /wi:znd/ ‘wizened’.

Also in these words of uncertain origin: /hwif/ ‘whiff, unpleasant odour’ (probably onomatopoeic), /kwil/ ‘quill’, /kwilrq:dz/ ‘reeds’.

3. gives Glenoe /u/.

/hwvsl/ ‘whistle’, /hwvspér/ ‘whisper’, /twvnz/ ‘twins’, /twvst/ ‘twist’, /wvl/ ‘will’, /wvn/ ‘to wind’; ‘to winnow’, /wvnlstRE: & -STRO:/ ‘windlestraw’, /wvnrq:/ ‘windrow’, /wvntrér/ ‘winter’, /wvt/ ‘wit’, /wvtš/ ‘witch’.

Also in /hwvtl/ vb. ‘whittle, pare’; sb. ‘whitlow’, ? /hwvTRét/ ‘weasel’, where ME *i* is from OE *i* by shortening.

Note 1: /twvnte/ ‘twenty’ (probably *e* was first raised to *i* before the nasal *n*, and then **twin-* became /twvn-/ as above).

Note 2: OE *risc* gives Glenoe /ra:s/ sb. ‘rush’.

(B) from Scandinavian *i*

1. gives Glenoe /ä/.

/äl/ ‘ill’, /äl-twñd/ ‘abusive’, /bän/ ‘heap’, /hät/ ‘hit’, /käst/ ‘chest, box’, /kläp/ ‘to clip’, /skäl/ ‘skill’, /skätér/ ‘diarrhoea’; a term of abuse, /skätére/ ‘insignificant’, /smäde/ ‘smithy’, /täl/ ‘till’; ‘slightly ajar’ (of a door).

2. gives Glenoe /u/ after w.

/swvder/ ‘hesitate’, /wvndé(sol)/ ‘window(-sill)’.

(C) from Old French *i*

1. gives Glenoe /ä/.

/ägnérénz/ ‘ignorance, uncouthness’, /ämpedént/ ‘impudent’, /délavér/ ‘deliver’, /fänjs/ ‘finish’, /lämet/ ‘limit’, /mäts/ ‘play truant’, /mäkstés/ ‘mixture’, /pästén/ ‘piston’, /rävet/ ‘rivet’, /sänli/ ‘single’, /säzérz/ ‘scissors’, /täse/ ‘tissue’.

2. gives Glenoe /i/.

/brik/ ‘brick’, /pértiklé/ ‘particular’, /pite(fé)/ ‘pity (pitiful)’, also possibly /džig/ ‘jig’ (? from Old French *gigue*⁵⁸).

These may represent direct Scottish borrowings from French, whereas the first series with /ä/ are adaptations of Larne.

Note: Glenoe /ë/: /dënér/ ‘dinner’, /kwë:t/ & kwa:t/ ‘quit, stop’.

(D) from OE *y* gives Glenoe /ä/.

/bäld/ ‘build’ (rare, usually /bäg/), /bärse/ ‘bristling’ (of hair),

/bäznèz/ ‘business’, /dädl/ ‘deceive’, /däp/ ‘dip’; ‘to fry in lard’, /däze/ ‘dizzy’, /häl/ ‘hill’, /häps/ ‘buttocks’, /käl/ ‘kiln’, /käs/ ‘kiss’, /kätshen/ ‘kitchen’; ‘a savoury addition to a meal’, /kräpl/ ‘cripple’, /läsn/ ‘listen’, /mädz/ ‘midge’, /nät/ ‘knit’, /pälé/ ‘pillow’, /sän/ ‘sin’, /θän/ ‘thin’.

But note /dvl/ ‘dull’ (from OE **dylle*, ME *dulle*).

(E) from Scandinavian *y* gives Glenoe /ä/.

/bäg/ ‘to build’, /bräg/ ‘bridge’, /flät/ ‘to move one’s abode’, /läft/ ‘lift’; ‘remove a corpse for funeral’, /mädn/ ‘manure heap’, /räft/ ‘belch’, /räg/ ‘ridge’, /räg en fvr/ (literally ‘ridge and furrow’) ‘purl and plain’, /sästér/ ‘sister’.

But note /kēnl/ ‘to kindle’ (ON *kynda*), /kēnlén/ ‘firewood’, /rē:d/ ‘rid’ (ON *ryðja*), cp. also /rē:d vþ/ ‘tidy up’.

(F) from OE *i* through shortening gives Glenoe /ä/.

/fäft/ ‘fifth’, /fäfte/ ‘fifty’, /länsid/ ‘linseed’, /stäf/ ‘stiff’; ‘unfriendly’.

But note /wymén/ ‘woman’, /wimén/ ‘women’.

(G) from OE ý through shortening gives Glenoe /ä/.

/fälðe/ ‘filthy’, /lätl/ ‘little’ (rare; usually /wi:/ ‘wee’), /tsákén/ ‘chicken’, /θäml/ ‘thimble’, /wás/ ‘wish’.

4.1.16 Short *i* /ä/ in words of obscure origin

/džäbl/ ‘spill’, /fäsl/ ‘rustle’ (paper, etc.), /härl/ ‘to limp’, /härl/ ‘a cough’, /jätér/ ‘complain ceaselessly’, /länt/ ‘flax’, /mäm/ ‘demure, prim’, /mämp/ ‘to act with affectation’, /smät/ ‘infect with disease’ (probably a back-formation on p.p. *smitten*), /smätl/ ‘infectious’, /snäb/ ‘window-catch’, /snäk/ ‘door-latch’, /täg/ ‘a light blow’; ‘a children’s game’, /trätl/ ‘to walk with a little trot’.

4.1.17 ME *i* from OE *i + nd* and + *mb*

1. generally gives Glenoe /ä/.

/blän/ ‘blind’, /éhän(t)/ ‘behind’, /fän/ ‘find’.

2. lengthening and diphthongisation have given Glenoe /éi/.

/béin/ ‘bind’, /gréin/ ‘grind’, /wéin & wvn/ vb. ‘wind’.

Note in /wvn/ (sb. ‘wind’) the short *i* has become /v/ following *w* (see ME *i* 4.1.15 (A) 3 above).

These /éi/ pronunciations may have been borrowed from Larne, where they are normal (although Larne usually has the final *d*).

4.1.18 ME -ir-

(A) from OE *ir*

1. gives Glenoe /ä/.

/bärtš/ ‘birch (tree)’, /stärép/ (from OE *stigráp*), /stärk/ ‘stirk, young bullock or heifer’.

2. gives Glenoe /v/ (probably by way of *yr* to *ur*).

/bvrđ/ ‘bird’, /tsvrtš/ ‘church’, /θvrđ/ ‘third’, /θvrte/ ‘thirty’.

(B) from OE *yr*

1. gives Glenoe /ä/.

/bärθ/ ‘birth’, /gärdl/ ‘girdle’.

2. gives Glenoe /v/.

/bvrđn/ ‘burden’, /fvrst/ ‘first’, /hvrđl/ ‘hurdle’, /stvr/ vb. ‘stir’; sb. ‘fun’, /stvrén/ ‘mischievous’, /svrt/ ‘shirt’, /tsvrm/ ‘churn’, /θvrst/ ‘thirst’, /wvrk/ ‘work’, /wvrn/ ‘worm’, /wvrs(t)/ ‘worse (worst)’, /wvre/ ‘worry’.

These forms suggest the development of *yr* to *ur* to /vr/.

Note Glenoe /e/ in /kēnl/ ‘kernel’, /gērl/ ‘girl’ (from OE **gyrel*, according to Skeat), which are probably borrowings from Larne.

4.1.19 ME *iht* generally gives Glenoe /äxt/, in a general levelling process.

(A) from OE *iht*
/säxt/ ‘sight’.

(B) from Late OE *iht* (from *eht, e* the smoothing of earlier *eo*)
/bräxt/ ‘bright’, /räxt/ ‘right’.

But note /fext/ ‘fight’.

(C) from Anglian *iht* (earlier éht)
/läxt(nén)/ ‘light(ning)’, /läxt/ adj. ‘light’.

(D) from OE *iht* (earlier iht)
/läxt/ ‘to illuminate, to alight’, /täxt/ ‘tight’ (from ME *thight*, OE *thiht*).

(E) from OE *yht*
/fläxt/ ‘flight’, /fräxt(n)/ ‘fright(en)’.

(F) from Anglian *eht, éht* (West Saxon *ieht, iehit*)
/näxt/ ‘night’, /fo:rtnäxt/ ‘fortnight’, /mäxt/ vb. ‘might’.
But note /hixt/ ‘height’ (cp. /hix/ ‘high’).

Note also /säx/ ‘sigh’ (probably a back-formation on ME *sihte*, pret. of *siche*, from OE *sican*).

4.1.20 ME *o* usually gives Glenoe /o(:)/, but /a(:)/ in contact with labials.

(A) from OE *o*

1. /bø:de/ ‘body’ (but /bvd/e/ ‘person’, and /bēde & bvd/e/ in compounds: /symbēde/ ‘somebody’, /ne:bēde/ ‘nobody’, /qne,bvd/e/ ‘anybody’), /bø:ré/ vb. ‘borrow’, /bro:θ/ ‘broth’, /dø:kén/ ‘dock plant’, /fø:ks/ ‘fox’, /frø:st/ ‘frost’, /jø:k/ ‘yoke’, /jø:n/ & (usually) /dø:n/ ‘yon’, /jøndér/ & (usually) /dø:nér/ ‘yonder’, /klø:kén/ ‘broody (of a hen)’, /klø:d/ ‘clod’; ‘to throw’, /lø:k/ ‘a large quantity or number’, /sno:tér/ ‘nose mucus’; term of abuse, /trø:x/ ‘trough’.

2. /a:f/ ‘off’, /a:pn/ ‘open’, /atérka:p/ term of abuse (originally meant ‘spider’, from OE *attorcoppa*), /dra:p/ ‘drop’, /kra:p/ sb. ‘crop’, vb. ‘cut’, /kra:pn/ ‘crop, craw of fowl’, /sa:b/ ‘sob’, /sa:p/ ‘shop’, /sta:p/ ‘stop’, /ta:p/ ‘top’, /ta:pe/ ‘unkempt person’, /ta:pén/ ‘forelock of hair’; cf. also the names /ra:b(ert)/ ‘Rob(ert)’, /ta:m/ ‘Tom’.

Note 1: /v/ occurs in /dvg/ ‘dog’, /mvn/ ‘many’ (OE *mogniʒ*, see *Survey of English Dialects*); cp. /qne/ ‘any’ (from Northern Middle English *ony*, see *Survey of English Dialects*).

Note 2: divergent developments occur in /kɔ:le/ ‘colly, soot’ and /ko:le/ ‘collie (dog)’, both from OE **coliz* (see *Survey of English Dialects*).

(B) from early shortening of OE ö_i (tense)

1. gives Glenoe /ö/.

/blo:sm/ ‘blossom’, /fø:dér/ ‘fodder’, /go:zlén/ ‘gosling’, /q:kstér/ ‘armpit’, /ð:ksté(r)kɔ:g/ ‘to support under the armpits’.

2. gives Glenoe /a/.
/sa:ft/ ‘soft’.

(C) from Scandinavian *o*

1. gives Glenoe /ø/: /rɔ:tn/ ‘rotten’, /slo:kén/ ‘quench (fire, thirst)’, from ON *slokna*.
2. gives Glenoe /a/: /la:ft/ ‘loft, upper room’.

(D) from Old French *o*

1. gives Glenoe /ø/.
/bɔ:tł/ ‘bottle (glass container)’, /frɔ:k/ ‘frock’, /kɔ:tedz/ ‘cottage’, /mɔ:dérn/ ‘modern’, /ø:renz/ ‘orange’, /prɔ:mes/ ‘promise’, /rɔ:bén/ ‘robin’, /rɔ:k/ ‘rock’.
2. gives Glenoe /a/ sometimes after labials.
/ba:tł/ ‘bottle’, i.e. ‘bundle (of hay etc.)’ (from Old French *botel*, diminutive of *botte*), /pa:retš/ ‘porridge’ (ultimately from French *potage*). These words must have been borrowed before the shift of *o* to *a* in contact with labials, illustrated in the OE and Scandinavian words above.
3. gives /v/ in two words before labials.
/rɔ:b/ ‘rob’, /stvmek/ ‘stomach’.
4. gives Glenoe /o:/.
/bo:ne/ ‘bonny’, /po:lés/ ‘police’, /po:st,ma:n/ ‘postman’

(E) Words of doubtful origin

1. with Glenoe /ø/.
/bɔ:s/ ‘boss (master; hassock)’, /béljɔ:r/ ‘bellow’, /fɔ:g/ ‘mist’; ‘moss’; ‘eat greedily’, /gɔ:rb/ ‘a glutton’, /kłɔ:k/ ‘beetle’, /kɔ:g/ ‘to copy (work, from a fellow schoolboy)’, /kɔlf/ ‘eat greedily’ (trans.), /prɔ:g/ ‘to hunt around (esp. for food)’, /prɔ:dl/ ‘poke about’, /rɔ:zn/ ‘resin’.
2. with Glenoe /a/ for /ø/ before labials
/ha:b/ ‘hob’, /ha:p/ ‘hop’, /na:b/ ‘knob’ (cp. Low German *knobbe*), /pra:p/ ‘prop’, /sla:bér/ ‘slobber’, /θrapl/ ‘throat, thrapple’, (? from OE *throtbolla*: ‘gullet, windpipe’⁵⁹).

4.1.21 ME *-ol(-)* final and followed by a consonant(A) from OE *-ol(-)*

1. gives Glenoe /éü(l)/.
/béül/ ‘bowl’, /béüstér/ ‘bolster’, /bëült/ ‘bolt’, /këült/ ‘colt’ (usually /kläb/), /mëül/ ‘mould, earth’, /néü/ ‘knoll’.
2. gives Glenoe /o:(l)/.
/fok/ ‘folk’ (note shortening: cp. No. 14 - 3.3.4 above), /go:ld & güld (obsolete)/ ‘gold’, /jo:k/ ‘yolk’, /to:l/ ‘toll (a bell)’. Note here /péül/ ‘pole’ (from OE *pál*).

(B) from Old French *-ol(-)*

1. gives Glenoe /éü(l)/: /réül/ ‘roll’, /réüler/ ‘roller’.
2. gives Glenoe /o:(l)/: /kéñtro:l/ ‘control’, /so:dzér/ ‘soldier’.

(C) in words of obscure origin

1. gives Glenoe /éü/: /péü/ ‘top of the head’ (from ME *polle*).
2. gives /o:/: /ho:k/ ‘to hollow out by digging’ (Northern Middle English *holken*). With this diphthong /éü/ cf. ME *-al(-)* 4.1.8 (A) 3 above. The /o:/ forms and the restored /l/ are probably from Larne.

4.1.22 ME *-or-* followed by a consonant

In words both from OE and Old French sources, there is in Glenoe a clear division between those with /ø:r/ and those

with /o:r/. The same distinction is made in Larne, although Glenoe often has /o:r/ for Larne /ø:r/. D. Jones⁶⁰ observes a similar dichotomy in Scottish, Western and North-Eastern English and in Irish speech where R.P. has had a levelling under /ø:/ since the beginning of the 19th century⁶¹.

(A) from OE *-or-*

1. gives Glenoe /ø:/.
/démɔ:ré/ ‘to-morrow’, /fɔ:rk/ ‘fork’, /hɔ:rs/ ‘horse’, /mɔ:rtér/ ‘mortar’, /nɔ:rθ/ ‘north’, /fɔ:rét/ ‘forward’, /sɔ:ré/ ‘sorrow’, /stɔ:rm/ ‘storm’.
Note here /sɔ:re/ ‘sorry’ (from OE *sárig*, ME *sóry*).
2. gives Glenoe /o:/.
/bo:rd/ ‘board’, /bo:rn/ ‘born’, /éfo:rd/ ‘afford’, /fo:rd/ ‘ford’, /fo:rtñäxt/ ‘fortnight’, /ho:rn/ ‘horn’, /ko:rn/ ‘corn’, /mo:rn(én)/ ‘morning’, /sɔ:rt/ ‘short’, /swo:m/ ‘sworn’, /θo:rn/ ‘thorn’, /wo:rn/ ‘worn’.
Note here /lo:rd/ ‘lord’ (from OE *hláford*).

(B) from Old French *-or-* (accented)

1. gives Glenoe /ø:/.
/džɔ:rdz/ ‘George’ (but /džo:rde/), /fɔ:rm/ ‘form’, /skɔ:rn/ ‘scorn’, /skɔ:rtš/ ‘scorch’ & (with metathesis), /skrɔ:tš/ ‘shriveled, blast (of vegetation)’, /g:rdér/ ‘order’, /g:rgén/ ‘organ’.
2. gives Glenoe /o:/.
/dévo:rs/ ‘divorce’, /fo:rdz/ ‘forge’, /fo:rs/ ‘force’, /ko:rd/ ‘cord’, /ko:rnér/ ‘corner’, /ko:rt/ (rare, usually /kjürt/) ‘court’, /po:rk/ ‘pork’, /po:rtš/ ‘porch’, /po:rtñér/ ‘porter’, /repo:rt/ ‘report’, /spo:rt/ ‘sport’, /sɔ:rs/ ‘source’, /sɔ:rt/ ‘sort’, /sépo:rt/ ‘support’, /éko:rdn(te)/ ‘according (to)’.
3. (unaccented) gives /ø:/: /fɔ:rén/ ‘foreign’, /fɔ:rtšén/ ‘fortune’, etc.

4.1.23 ME *u* generally gives Glenoe 1. /v/, but 2. occasionally /ä/ (perhaps by way of *u* to *y* to *i*⁶²).

(A) from OE

1. /bvlék/ ‘bullock’, /bvtér/ ‘butter’, /dvm(e)/ ‘dumb (person)’, /grvnt/ ‘grunt’, /gvts/ ‘guts’, /hvñer/ ‘hunger’, /jvñ/ ‘young’, /kvþ/ ‘cup’, /kvbert/ ‘cupboard’, /plvk/ ‘to pluck’, /spvnz/ ‘sponge’, /svm/ ‘some’, /svmθén/ ‘something’, /svn(de)/ ‘sun (Sunday)’, /tvml/ ‘tumble’, /tvñ/ ‘tongue’, /θvñer/ ‘thunder’, /vþ/ ‘up’.
2. /dän/ adj. ‘dun’, /nät/ ‘nut’, /sämér/ ‘summer’, /täp/ ‘tup, ram’ (from ME *tuppe*, origin doubtful).

(B) from Scandinavian *u* gives Glenoe /v/.

- /gvst/ ‘gust’, /lvg/ ‘ear’, /lvg/ ‘to pull’, /lvgetš/ ‘luggage’, /mvk/ ‘dirt’, /mwn/ & (unemphatic) /mén/ ‘must’, /mvne/ ‘must not’, /rvg/ ‘to pull hair’ (cp. Swedish dialect *lugga*, here with *l-r* interchange, and cp. /lvg/ above).

(C) from Old French *u, ou* gives Glenoe /v/.

- /bvkét/ ‘bucket’, /džvñdž/ ‘judge’, /džvñstes/ ‘justice’, /frvnt/ ‘front’, /gvñter(z)/ ‘gutter (mud)’, /hvñt/ ‘hut’, /hvñs/ ‘hutch’, /krvñst/ ‘crust’, /kvñler/ ‘colour’, /kvñmpñe/ ‘company’, /kvñntre/ ‘country’, /kvpl/ ‘couple’, /kvñste(r)d/ ‘custard’, /kvñzn/ ‘cousin’, /kvñvér/ ‘cover’, /mvñe/ ‘money’, /mvñsl/ ‘muscle’, /mvñn/ ‘mutton’, /nvñmer/ ‘number’, /pvñs/ ‘punch’, /pvþ/

'pup', /pʊʃ/ 'push', /krʊʃ/ 'crush', /svdnt(le)/ 'sudden(ly)', /svpér/ 'supper', /vŋkl/ 'uncle', /TRvbl/ 'trouble', /tvts/ 'touch'.

Note 1: /stabl/ 'stubble' (from Old French *stuble*, cp. ME *u* above).

Note 2: /džüst & džjst/ 'just' (adv.), /fjste & füstèd/ 'fusty' (with rounded short /ü/).

Note 3: /kɒmfərt/ 'comfort', /kɒnstébl/ 'constable'. These last two are probably spelling pronunciations.

(D) words of obscure origin with /v/ in Glenoe

/bvm/ 'buzz, hum'; 'brag', /bvm-bi:/ 'bumble-bee', /gvle/ 'large knife', /dvnér/ 'a heavy blow', /fjvge/ 'left-handed, clumsy' (from *fljvg-), /gvnš/ 'small stocky person', /hvŋkérz/ 'haunches' (phrase /onjér (hvŋkérz/ 'squatting'), /krvdz/ 'curds', /krvldz/ 'to crouch (esp. near the fire)', /spvlpn/ 'rascal', /tšvlérz/ 'dewlap'; 'double chin'.

4.1.24 OE *u* followed by *-nd*

This *u* has often remained short in Glenoe, developing into unrounded /v/.

1. /fvn/ 'found', /grvn/ 'ground', (cf. /ga:ts grvn/ 'Gault's Ground' (the name of a local farm), /pvn/ 'pound' (money), /wvnér/ 'wonder'.

The same vowel appears in /bvnl/ 'bundle' (from ME *bundel*, OE *byndel*).

2. Diphthongisation of a lengthened *u* also appears in a few words, probably borrowed from Larne. /bēün/ 'compelled', /hēün/ 'hound'; term of abuse, /pēün/ 'pound (weight)'.

Note 1: The vowel in /rjn/ 'round' (from Old French *rund*) is short but still rounded. This may be a case of secondary shortening.

Note 2: The vowels in /mvt/ sb. 'mount' (cf. the local place-name /mvt häl/ 'Mount Hill', /mvn?n/ 'mountain', /mvn?ne/ adj. 'mountainous' etc., point to a ME short *u*.

(A) OE *u* followed by *-r* gives Glenoe /v/.

/dvr(ne)/ 'durst (not)', /fvre/ 'furrow' (but /fvr/ in the /räg èn fvr/ 'purl and plain'), /kvrs/ 'curse', /mvrdér/ 'murder', /mvrn/ 'mourn, complain', /pvrs/ 'purse', /tvrf/ 'turf, peat', /wvrd/ 'word', /wvrθ/ 'worth'.

(B) Old French *ur*; *our* generally give Glenoe /v/.

/džvrne/ 'journey', /fvr/ 'fur', /fvrneš/ 'furnish', /hvrt/ 'hurt', /kvṛn/ 'curtain', /nvrs/ 'nurse', but give short rounded /ü/ in /däskürs/ 'discourse', /kürs/ 'course', /kürt/ sb. & vb. 'court'.

4.1.25 ME *-ul-* followed by a consonant

(A) from OE *-ul(-)*

This group seems to have developed as follows: *ul* - *ú* - *ü*: (final) + /ü/ (medial) with loss of *l*.

1. /fü:/ 'full', /pü:/ 'pull'.

But note /wvl/ 'wool', which has probably come in from Larne, as have also /fvl/ 'full', /pvł/ 'pull' alongside the forms above.

2. /kütrér/ 'coulter', /südér/ 'shoulder'.

(B) from Scandinavian *-ul(-)* gives Glenoe /v/: /bvk(e)/ 'bulk(y)', /skvl/ 'skull'.

Note: ME *bule*, *bole* 'bull', from Old West Scandinavian *boli* (cp. Old Danish *bul*) gives Glenoe /bäl/ with fronting and unrounding: *u* to *y* to *i*⁶³.

(C) from Old French *-oul-* gives Glenoe /v/: /pvlt/ 'pullet', (also /çrek/ from Scots Gaelic *eireag*).

Note the following: /svdér/ 'solder' (from ME *sowder*, Old French *soudure*, from *sold-); /po:L TRE/ 'poultry', /pélutes/ 'poultice' (earliest form is the plural: *pultises*⁶⁴).

4.2 The Long Vowels

4.2.1 ME á

Long á in ME from all sources has generally developed into Glenoe /e:/ (sporadically /e:/ or /i:/ as described above, No. 10, 3.3.2), whether from original long á, or á lengthened in open syllables. The process was probably: á to á to /e:/ to /e:/⁶⁵. Beside or instead of this /e:/, the long /o:/-sound is found in certain words influenced by, or borrowed from, Larne.

4.2.2 ME á

(A) from OE á, medial or final

1. gives Glenoe /e:/.

/be:n/ 'bone', /bre:d/ 'broad', /élé:n/ 'alone', /he:l/ 'whole', /he:m/ 'home', /kle:θ/ 'cloth', /kle:z/ 'clothes' (from OE *cláðes*), /ne:n/ 'none', /re:p/ 'rope', /se:/ 'so', /ste:n/ 'stone', /se:p/ 'soap', /te:/ 'toe'.

Note 1: Observe the development of the vowel in /jän/ 'one', /jänst/ 'once', probably through /e:/ to /e:/ to /i:/ to /j/ to /jä/.

Note 2: The vowel /e:/ appears in /ne:bēde/ 'nobody', but it has been raised and shortened in /njθēn/ 'nothing' (cf. No. 1, 3.3.2).

Note 3: Glenoe /me:st/ 'most' from ME & OE *mást* (rather than *máest*), perhaps due to the influence of the vowel in *mára* 'more', see 4.2.3 below, 'ME ár, from OE ár & ar by lengthening in open syllables'.

Note 4: OE *hát* 'hot' gives Glenoe /hç:t/ with the open vowel /ç/ instead of /e:/ . The lengthening is probably secondary.

2. gives Glenoe /o:/.

/bo:t/ 'boat', /fo:m/ 'foam', /go:/ 'go', /go:t/ 'goat', /ho:le/ 'holy', /ho:n/ 'hone', /lo:d/ 'load', /lo:f/ 'loaf', /o:k/ 'oak', /o:θ/ 'oath', /ro:d/ 'road', /spo(:)k/ sb. 'spoke', /STRO:k/ 'stroke'.

Note that /e:/ is never used in any of the words in this list, but the Larne /o:/ (or /ø:/) may occasionally be heard in some of the words in list 1, e.g. /bo:n/, /bro:d/ etc.

3. gives Glenoe /ø:/.

/hwø:/ 'who', /hwø:r/ 'where' (from OE *hwár*), /twø:/ 'two'. In these words the original á instead of being fronted to /e:/ has been rounded to /ø:/ by the influence of the preceding w. Note: the same vowel appears in /no:/ 'no' (the negative particle), from OE *ná*.

(B) from Scandinavian á gives Glenoe /e:/.

/be:θ/ 'both', /ble:/ 'bluish-purple', /ble:bére/ 'bilberry', /bre:/ 'hill-slope, steep road', /ege:n/ 'again(st)', /fe:/ 'from' (from Old West Scandinavian *frá*), /ke:l/ 'cabbage', /le:n/ 'loan',

/le:x/ ‘low’, e.g. in the phrase /dē le:x fil/ ‘the low field’ (from ME *lāh*, ON *lágðr*).

Otherwise /lo:/ is normal for ‘low’.

(C) from OE *a*, lengthened in open syllables, gives Glenoe /e:/.

/be:k/ ‘bake’, /férse:k/ ‘forsake’, /ge:p/ ‘gape’, /ge:t/ ‘gate’, /le:m(éter)/ ‘lame (person)’, /le:t/ ‘late’, /me:d/ ‘made’, /spe:d/ ‘spade’, /sé:k/ ‘shake’, /te:n/ ‘taken’, in the phrase /te:n ɔn we/ ‘intrigued by’; the p.p. of ‘take’ is normally /t̪vkl/, as is the pret.

Note 1: /ke:m/ ‘comb’ from OE *camb*, with lengthened *a* before the group -mb.

Note 2: By an inorganic change /gin/, which represents the p.p. ‘given’, has normally come to serve also as pret. of ‘give’, although Larne /ge:v/ ‘gave’ also occurs.

Note 3: The vowel in /ble:d/ ‘blade’ remains at the open stage.

Note 4: The vowel *a* (lengthened) remains in /ma:k/ ‘make’, and occasionally in /ta:k/ ‘take’, although the latter is usually /t̪ik/, perhaps from the unstressed form.

(D) from Scandinavian *a*, lengthened in open syllables, gives Glenoe /e:/.

/de:zd/ ‘dazed’, /ke:k/ ‘cake’, /se:m/ ‘same’.

Note that the form /we:l/ ‘choose, pick out’ probably goes back ultimately to ON *val*, with lengthened á. The form /wé:l/ and its derivative /wa:l/ (cf. ME *e* above) also occur.

(E) from Old French *a*, lengthened in open syllables and followed by -st, gives Glenoe /e:/.

/be:kèn/ ‘bacon’, /ble:m/ ‘blame’, /e:bl/ ‘able’, /fe:s/ ‘face’, /ge:vl/ ‘gable’, /me:sn/ ‘mason’, /pe:pér/ ‘paper’, /se:f/ ‘safe’, /ste:bl/ ‘stable’, /te:st/ ‘taste’.

Note: /é/ and not /e:/ appears in /spé:n/ ‘to wean’ (? from Old French *espanir*), p.p. /spént/, and also in /pé:n/ ‘pane (of glass)’ from Old French *pan*. This is an arrested development, half-way between /a:/ and /e:/.

(F) Words of doubtful origin with present-day /e:/ possibly from á

/be:st/ ‘to moisten (e.g. a roast) with gravy or fat’; ‘to thrash’, /DRE:ke/ ‘wet, misty’, /hwe:l/ ‘beat, thrash’, /kre:k/ ‘to ask persistently’, /me:k/ ‘a halfpenny’, /pe:k/ ‘to beat’, /re:θ/ ‘ghost, apparition’, /ske:l/ ‘scatter (dung)’, /sle:tér/ ‘wood-louse’, /spe:lz/ ‘small fragments’, /ste:v/ ‘sprain (wrist etc.)’, /θe:vls/ ‘lackadaisical’.

Note: /é:/ appears instead of /e:/ in /hé:mz/ ‘hames’, tips of horse-collar.

4.2.3 ME ár, from OE ár & ar by lengthening in open syllables

(A) from OE ár gives Glenoe /é:/.

/mē:/ ‘more’, /sé:r/ ‘sore’, /ré:r/ ‘roar’.

Note: Forms from Larne with /o:/ also occur, esp. /so:r/, /ro:r/.

(B) from OE ar gives Glenoe /é:/.

/bé:r/ ‘bare’, /hé:r/ ‘hare’, /ké:r/ ‘care’, /spé:r/ ‘spare’, /sté:r/ ‘stare’; ‘starling’, /sé:r/ ‘share’.

This stabilisation at the /é/ stage is in contrast with Scots speech, which has generally developed /e:/ in such words:

/be:r/ etc.⁶⁶ Wright gives /eə/, i.e. /é:/, for Aberdeen, Ayr and Inverness as well as Antrim⁶⁷.

4.2.4 ME é (i.e. /e:/)

This vowel generally develops into /i(:)/ in Glenoe no matter what its original source was. Early shortening gives Glenoe /é/; Northern Middle English final -éh and -éʒ give the Glenoe diphthong /éi/ with loss of the velars, whereas Northern Middle English final -éʒe generally gives Glenoe /i:/.

4.2.5 ME ē,

(A) from Anglian é (West Saxon æ) gives Glenoe /i(:)/ (shortened except before voiced fricatives).

/bli:z/ ‘blaze’, /bri:d/ ‘breathe’, /di:d/ ‘deed’, /il/ ‘eel’, /i:vnén/ ‘evening’, /mil/ ‘meal (repast)’, /midé/ ‘meadow’, /nidl/ ‘needle’, /rid/ vb. ‘read’, /sid/ ‘seed’, /slip/ ‘sleep’, /spitš/ ‘speech’, /STRIT/ ‘street’.

Note the vowel in /stipl/ ‘staple’, i.e. a U-shaped nail (from OE *stapul*, ME *stapel*) points to a by-form with ē, /t̪ik/, perhaps from the unstressed form.

(B) from Anglian æ (the *i*-mutation of ó) gives Glenoe /i/.

/bitš/ ‘beech’, /blid/ ‘bleed’, /brid/ ‘breed’, /fid/ ‘feed’, /fil/ ‘feel’, /fit/ ‘feet’, /grin/ ‘green’, /grit/ ‘greet’, /hil/ ‘heel’, /kin/ ‘keen’, /kip/ ‘keep’, /kwin/ ‘queen’, /mi?n/ ‘meeting’, /spid/ ‘speed’, /swit/ ‘sweet’.

Note the vowel in /tiθ/ ‘tooth’ (probably due to the influence of the plural, with which it is identical), and /dʒɪz/ ‘does’, where the central vowel represents a halt in the fronting process.

(C) from Anglian éa, éo gives Glenoe /i(:)/.

/bi:/ ‘be’; ‘bee’, /brist/ ‘breast’, /dil & dävl/ ‘devil’, /dip/ ‘deep’, /fri:/ ‘free’, /frin/ ‘friend’, /fri:z/ ‘freeze’, /lif/ ‘lief, gladly’ (obsolete), /ni:/ ‘knee’, /ril/ ‘reel’, /si:/ ‘see’, /sik/ ‘sick’ (from ME *sék*), /TRI:/ ‘tree’, /θif/ ‘thief’, /θri:/ ‘three’, /wid/ ‘weed’.

(D) from OE é in stressed monosyllables gives Glenoe /i:/.

/hi:/ ‘he’, /mi:/ ‘me’, /wi:/ ‘we’, /wil/ ‘well’. The unstressed forms are /he/, /me/, /we/, but /wé/.

Note the unstressed /je/ ‘you’ (representing ‘ye’), beside the stressed /jü:/.

(E) from Anglian é (West Saxon ie, the *i*-mutation of éa from au) gives Glenoe /i(:)/.

/beli:v/ ‘believe’, /DRIP/ ‘drip’, /nid/ ‘need’, /rik/ ‘smoke’, /sli:v/ ‘sleeve’, /stipl/ ‘steeple’, /śit/ ‘sheet’.

(F) from OE e + ld gives Glenoe /i/.

/fil/ ‘field’, /jild/ ‘yield’, /síld/ ‘shield’. The /d/ in the last two words is probably from Larne.

(G) from Scandinavian io

/listér/ ‘pronged salmon spear’ (from ON *ljostr*).

4.2.6 ME shortening before the raising of é to /i/

(A) from Anglian é (West Saxon áe) gives Glenoe /é:/ (with subsequent lengthening).

/ké:p/ ‘kept’ (from ME *kepte*, OE *cépte*), /slé:p/ ‘slept’.

Note 1: /blédér/ ‘bladder’ may represent ON *bláðra*, rather than Anglian *blédrē*.

Note 2: *wet(t)* p.p. of ME *wéten* ‘to wet’ with shortened é gives Glenoe /wa:t/, showing the change *e* to *a* after *w*. (See ME *e* 4.1.10 (A) 2 above.)

(B) from OE éa & éo

/θré:p/ pret. of /θrip/ ‘threap’ (from OE *thréapan*) ‘to assert aggressively’, /kré:p/ pret. of /krip/ ‘creep’ (from OE *créopan*).

(C) from OE áe

/empe/ ‘empty’ (from OE *æm(e)tig*).

4.2.7 Northern Middle English éh & éz final gives Glenoe /éi/.

/néi/ ‘nigh’, /néibér/ ‘neighbour’, /sléi/ ‘sly’, /θéi/ ‘thigh’.

Note: /hix/ ‘high’ from Anglian héh.

4.2.8 Northern Middle English éze final gives Glenoe /i:/.

/di:/ ‘to die’, /fli:/ sb. & vb. ‘fly’, /i:/ ‘eye’ (from Anglian éze), /li:/ sb. & vb. ‘lie’, /li:ér/ ‘liar’, /wi:/ ‘wee, small, little’ (from Northern Middle English *wei*, Anglian *wéze*, see *Survey of English Dialects* s.v. *wee*).

Note: /tae/ vb. ‘tie’, ultimately from Anglian tézan, /wéi/ vb. ‘weigh’, ultimately from OE *wezan*.

4.2.9 Northern Middle English éz + retained syllable gives Glenoe /i/.

/in/ ‘eyes’, /di:én/ ‘dying’.

4.2.10 ME é, followed by -r- in an open syllable gives Glenoe /i:/.

(A) from OE é: /hi:r/ ‘here’, /wi:re/ ‘weary’

(B) from Anglian é (West Saxon ie, *i*-mutation of au): /hi:r(d)/ ‘hear(d)’

(C) from Anglian é (West Saxon æ): /fi:r/ ‘fear’, /ji:r/ ‘year’

(D) from OE éo: /bi:r/ ‘beer’, /di:r/ ‘dear’ & ‘deer’, /dri:re/ ‘dreary’, /sti:r/ ‘steer’.

Note: the vowel in /kwe:r/ ‘queer’ etc., seems to have been shortened and opened, undergoing secondary lengthening before *r*.

4.2.11 ME éz (i.e. /é:/)

This vowel from various sources generally gives Glenoe /i:/, and thus falls together with the present day development of ME é. ME éz probably developed as follows: /é:/ to /e:/ to /i:/, but in some words there was an early shortening to /é/ (which later underwent a secondary lengthening in Glenoe) and *i* (which became /ä/). In a number of words the intermediate stage, /e:/, has been preserved. As H. C. Wyld emphasises⁶⁸, we are not really dealing with a sound change here. The choice seems to have been largely a matter of rival fashions in pronunciation, as was the case with -ar and -er (see ‘ME er + consonant’ above).

4.2.12 ME éz (like éi) gives Glenoe /i:/ before -r.

4.2.13 ME éz gives Glenoe /i(:)/.

(A) from Anglian æ (from West Saxon æ, the *i*-mutation of á) /hit/ ‘heat’, /hil/ ‘heal’, /itš/ ‘each’, /klín/ ‘clean’, /lid/ vb. ‘lead’, /min/ vb. ‘mean’, /ritš/ ‘reach’, /si:/ ‘sea’, /spríd/ ‘spread’, /hwit/ ‘wheat’.

Note: /de:l(ér)/ vb. ‘deal (dealer)’.

(B) from OE éa

/bin/ ‘bean’, /brid/ ‘bread’, /did/ ‘dead’, /dif/ ‘deaf’, /di:v/ ‘to deafen’, /hid/ ‘head’, /ist/ ‘east’, /lid/ ‘lead (metal)’, /lif/ ‘leaf’, /lik/ ‘leek’, /strím/ ‘stream’, /stip/ ‘steep’.

Note /e:/ in /be:t/ ‘beat’, /de:θ/ ‘death’, /e:s:tér/ ‘Easter’, /fle:/ ‘flea’, /gre:t/ ‘great’, /se:f/ ‘sheaf’, /tše:p/ ‘cheap’.

(C) from OE e lengthened in open syllables

/mit & me:t/ ‘meat’, /spik/ ‘speak’, /stil/ ‘steal’.

Note /e:/ in /élé:vn/ ‘eleven’, /se:vn/ ‘seven’, /sé:d/ ‘shed’.

(D) from Scandinavian e lengthened in open syllables

/lik/ vb. ‘leak’, /ni:v/ ‘fist’.

(E) from Scandinavian æ & æ

/tim/ ‘pour out, pour (with rain)’.

But note /se:t/ ‘seat’ (from ON *saeti*), /skre:x/ ‘screech’ (from Old West Scandinavian *skráekia*); phrase /dè skre:x è de:/ ‘dawn’.

(F) from Old French e (from ai), e, ié

/dèzi:z/ ‘disease’, /i:z/ ‘ease’, /kri:s/ ‘grease’, /pis/ ‘peace’, /pli:z/ ‘please’, /plid/ ‘plead’.

But note /kwe:t/ ‘quiet’, /re:zn/ ‘reason’, /se:zn/ ‘season’, /tre:t/ ‘treat’.

(G) from Old French e (/e/ & /é/), in open syllables, before a final consonant, and before /s, st, tš/ /égrí:/ ‘agree’, /fibl/ ‘feeble’, /fist/ ‘feast’, /prits/ ‘preach’, /vil/ ‘veal’.

But note /be:k/ ‘beak’; ‘human mouth’ (abusive), /be:st/ ‘beast’ (plural: /be:sts & bis/), /re:(é)l/ ‘real’, /tše:t/ ‘cheat’.

(H) from Old French ié (from tense /e:/ in Anglo-Norman in 13th century)

/fi:vér/ ‘fever’, /grif/ ‘grief’, /nis/ ‘niece’, /pis/ ‘piece’, /rélif/ ‘relief’, /tšif/ ‘chief’.

4.2.14 Shortening of ME éz to /é/ (often with subsequent lengthening) and /ä/

(A) from Anglian æ (West Saxon æ)

/ern/ ‘errand’, /helθ/ ‘health’, /læ:dér/ ‘ladder’, /ment/ ‘meant’, /ræ:de/ ‘ready’. But /ä/ in /ävér/ ‘ever’, /ävre/ ‘every’.

(B) from OE éa

/hefér/ ‘heifer’. But /ä/ in /räd/ ‘red’.

(C) from OE e in open syllables

/bré:k/ ‘break’, /enstę:d/ ‘instead’, /trę:d/ ‘tread’.

(D) from Old French *e* in open syllables

/plēznt/ ‘pleasant’, /plē:žér/ ‘pleasure’, /trē:žér/ ‘treasure’. But /ä/ in /läzér/ ‘leisure’, /mäzér/ ‘measure’.

4.2.15 ME *e*, followed by *-r-* in open syllables gives Glenoe /i:/ (cp. *e*, + *r* above).

(A) from OE *e*

/mi:r/ ‘mare’, /pi:r/ ‘pear’, /sí:r(z)/ ‘shear(s)’, /swi:r/ ‘swear’, /ti:r/ vb. ‘tear’, /wi:r/ ‘wear’.

(B) from OE *ea*

/i:r/ ‘ear’, /ni:r/ ‘near, stingy’. But note /ñjerle/ ‘nearly’.

(C) from Scandinavian *e*

/gi:r/ ‘gear, equipment’.

(D) from Old French *e* (in open accented syllables)

/épi:r/ ‘appear’, /kli:r/ ‘clear’, /tší:r/ vb. ‘cheer’.

(E) Words of doubtful origin with Glenoe /i(:)/

/bislénz/ ‘first milk of a cow after calving’, /frit/ ‘a superstition’, /fríte/ ‘superstitious’, /grísex/ ‘glowing embers of a fire’ (cp. Argyllshire Gaelic *gríosach* and Rathlin Irish *gríseog*), /kéli:red/ ‘hysterically hilarious’, /kik/ ‘peep’, /pi:regeld/ ‘in an uncomfortably conspicuous position’, /pi:re/ ‘a peg-top’, /pi:zwip/ ‘peewit, lapwing’, /sti:re/ ‘an unappetising mixture (of food)’.

4.2.16 ME *i*

This vowel normally gives Glenoe /éi/ but /ae/ occurs before final voiced fricatives and *r*, as well as in hiatus and mostly in absolute Auslaut.

ME *i* gives Glenoe /éi/.

(A) from OE *i*

/hwéil(z)/ ‘while (sometimes)’, /hwéit/ adj. ‘white’; vb. ‘to pare’, /kéülréif/ ‘hyper-sensitive to cold’, ‘frileux’, /léim/ ‘lime’, /lein/ ‘line’; ‘main road’, /péik/ ‘large haycock’, /ste:n-déik/ ‘dry stone wall’, /STRéid/ ‘stride’, /twéis(t)/ ‘twice’, /wéis & wéiz/ ‘wise’.

Note: /é:rn/ ‘iron’ (from OE *iren*), /STRé:k/ ‘strike’ (from OE *strican*) with smoothing of the diphthong /éi/ to /é:/.

(B) from OE *ý*

/béil/ sb. ‘boil’, /héid/ sb. ‘hide’, /héidn/ sb. & vb. ‘hiding’, /léis/ ‘lice’, /méis/ ‘mice’, /preid/ ‘pride’.

(C) from Scandinavian *i*

/kwéi/ ‘heifer’ (from Old West Scandinavian *kvíga*), /θréiv & θraev/ ‘thrive’.

(D) from Scandinavian *ý*: /béik/ ‘wild bees’ nest’.

(E) from Old French *i*

/fén/ ‘fine’, /géid/ ‘guide’, /mén(ér)/ sb. ‘mine(r)’, /néis/ ‘nice’, /péint/ ‘pint’, /préis/ ‘price’, /réis/ ‘rice’, /sén/ ‘sign’, /sléis/ ‘slice’, /spéis/ ‘spice’.

Note /džóes, plural džóeséz/ ‘joist’ (from Old French *giste*).

4.2.17 OE *y* + *nd* gives Glenoe /éi/ (cp. OE *i* + *nd* above).

/kéin(le)/ adj. ‘kind(ly)’, /mén/ ‘recollect’ (ultimately from OE adj. *gemynd*), /mén/ sb. ‘mind’.

4.2.18 ME lengthened *i* + *ld* gives Glenoe /éi/.

/méild/ ‘mild’, /wéil/ ‘wild’; ‘very’ (as in the famous example /dém džvks èz wéil te:m/ ‘those ducks are very tame’).

Note: OE *gylde* gives Glenoe /gäld/.

4.2.19 OE *i* lengthened in open syllables gives Glenoe /éi/.

/nén/ ‘nine’, /stéil/ ‘stile’, /téil/ ‘tile’.

4.2.20 ME *i* gives Glenoe /ae/.

(A) from OE *i*

/elaev/ ‘alive’, /faev/ ‘five’, /saed/ ‘scythe’

Note 1: Not only do we find final /ae/ in /mae/ ‘my’, /dae/ ‘thy’, but by analogy in the pronouns /maen/ ‘mine’, /daen/ ‘thine’ (cp. /mén/ [sb. ‘mine’] immediately above).

Note 2: Observe the exceptional use of /éi/ + voiced fricative in /DRéiv/ ‘drive’, /réiz/ ‘rise’, /wéiz/ ‘wise’. The two verbs along with /θréiv/ above may owe their /éi/ to analogy with other strong verbs, e.g. /réid/ ‘ride’, where /éi/ is normal. The vowel change is /réid/ - (pret.) /räd/ - (p.p.) /räd/, /réiz/ - (pret.) /räz/ - (p.p.) /räz/, etc. The form /wéiz/ keeps the diphthong of the traditional Glenoe form /wéis/. The /z/ is probably due to the influence of Larne.

(B) from OE *ý*

/daev/ ‘dive’, /drae/ ‘dry’, /haev/ ‘hive’, /kae/ ‘cows’.

(C) from Scandinavian *i*

/θraev/ ‘thrive’ (also /θréiv/, see 4.2.16 (C) above).

(D) from Scandinavian *ý*

/skae/ ‘sky’.

(E) from Old French *i*

/éraev/ ‘arrive’, /frae/ ‘fry’, /praiez/ ‘prize’, /replae/ ‘reply’, /šaevz/ ‘chives’, /trae/ ‘try’.

4.2.21 ME *ir* (final) gives Glenoe /aeér/ (occasionally /éiér/).

(A) from OE *ir*

/spaeér/ ‘spire’.

Note: /wéier/ ‘wire’, and /éiern/ ‘iron’ alongside the more usual and traditional Glenoe form /é:rn/.

(B) from OE *ýr*

/baeér/ ‘byre’, /faeér/ ‘fire’, /haeér/ sb. & vb. ‘hire’, /taeér/ vb. ‘tire’.

(C) from Old French *ir*

/taeér/ ‘tyre’, /retaeér/ ‘retire’, etc.

(D) Words of obscure origin with Glenoe /éi/

/dwéibl/ ‘to shake, wobble’, /fék/ ‘to fuss ineffectually at a job’ (? from ON *fíkja*, ‘to move briskly or restlessly’), /géip/ ‘an uncouth lout’, /gréind än/ (for ‘grimed in’ by assimilation; *m** to *n* before *d*) ‘filthy with accumulated dirt’ (? from Scandinavian⁶⁹ or ? Low German, cf. *Universal English Dictionary & Survey of English Dialects*), /kéits/ sb. & vb.

'jolt', /kléip/ 'a tell-tale'; 'to tell tales', /kréind/ 'shrunken' (?) from Gaelic *crion* 'to wither'), /réib/ 'a thin horse (or person)', /séier/ 'to settle' (said e.g. of muddy water, and by extension of the brain or head of a person who is harassed), /skéit/ 'a sharp, glancing blow', /sléip/ 'a flat sledge (used for transport of stones, etc.)'; 'a slack ungainly fellow'.

4.2.22 ME ð_i (i.e. long, close /o:/)

This vowel has developed in various ways in Glenoe. The main development has been /o:/ to /i/ (No. 3), probably by centring to /ö/ followed by raising and unrounding. Before final *r* the centred ö was not raised but simply unrounded to /ë:/ (No. 7). In absolute Auslaut and before *v* complete fronting and unrounding results in /e:/ (No. 10). Before velars there is often evidence of a special development to /y/ probably through /ju/. Through borrowing or influence from Larne some words have /ü:/, /ü/, or /v/⁷⁰.

4.2.23 ME ð_i

(A) from OE ð_i

1. /bljð(e)/ 'blood(y)', /brjððer/ 'brother', /djin/ 'done', /diz/ 'does', /eftrē(r)njin/ 'afternoon', /fjt/ 'foot', /gjd/ 'good', /gis(ga:b)/ 'goose(berry)', /gjm (bēil)/ 'gum(boil)', /hjd/ 'hood', /idēr/ 'other', /kil/ vb. 'cool', /mjn/ 'moon', /rid/ 'rood', /rif/ 'roof', /rit/ 'root', /sjn/ (& /sjn/, obsolete) 'soon', /sjt/ 'soot', /skjl/ 'school', /spjn/ 'spoon', /stjl/ 'stool', /sin/ 'shoes', /sit/ 'shoot'.

Note /tiθ/ 'tooth' (by analogy with the plural); also /tiθek/ 'tooth-ache'.

2. gives Glenoe /jv/ when followed by velars.

/ēnvx/ (& /éhvvx/, obsolete) 'enough', /hjk & cjk/ 'hook', /lvk/ 'look', /tvk/ 'took, taken', /tsvx/ 'tough' (from /*tjvx/ 'tough').

Note /pjü:/ 'plough' (from /*pljü:/).

3. gives Glenoe /ü:/ & /ü/, borrowed from Larne.

/bjk/ 'book', /fjd/ 'food', /kjlk/ 'cook', /smü:d/ 'smooth', /tjl/ 'tool'.

4. gives Glenoe /v/, borrowed from Larne.

/flvd/ 'flood', /glvv/ 'glove', /hvne/ 'honey', /mvððer/ 'mother', /mvnd/e/ 'Monday', /mvñθ/ 'month'.

(B) from OE u lengthened in an open syllable gives /j/ /ébjn/ 'above'.

(C) from Scandinavian ó gives Glenoe /ü/ and /v/.

/blüm/ 'bloom', /lüf/ 'palm of hand'.

But /krvk/ 'crook', /krvké/ 'crooked'.

(D) from Old French o

1. gives Glenoe /j/.
- /bjt/ 'boot', /fjl/ 'fool'.
2. gives Glenoe /e:/ /me:v/ 'move'.
3. gives Glenoe /ü:/ & /ü/: /prü:v/ 'prove', /prüf/ 'proof'.

4.2.24 ME ð_i, when final gives Glenoe /e:/.

/de:/ 'do', /te:/ 'to'.

4.2.25 ME ð_i + r gives Glenoe /ë:/.

/bërd/ 'board' (from OE *bórd*), /flë:r/ 'floor' (from OE *flór*), /pë:r/ 'poor' (from ME *póre*, from Old French *povre*).

But note /dū:r/ 'door' (from ME *dóre* from OE *duru*), /mū:r/ 'moor' (from OE *mór*), and /hū:ér/ 'whore' (from Late OE *hóre*, cp. ON *hóra*).

4.2.26 ME ð₂ (i.e. long, open /o:/)

This vowel from all sources regularly appears in Glenoe as /o(:)/.

4.2.27 ME ð₂ gives Glenoe /o(:)/ with occasional secondary shortening before /k/.

(A) from OE o lengthened in open syllables

/fo:l/ 'foal', /flo:t/ 'float', /ho:l/ 'hole', /ho:p/ vb. 'hope', /ko:l/ 'coal', /lo:nén/ 'lane' (from OE *lone* & suffix -ing), /lo:s/ vb. 'lose' & /lo:st/ pret. 'lost' (from OE *losade*; the form /lo:s/ is probably a back formation on *losade* rather than a direct development of OE *losian*, which would give rise to a voiced /z/, /no:z/ 'nose', /ro:z/ 'rose', /smok/ 'smoke', /so:k/ 'soak', /so:l/ 'sole (of foot)', /sto:v/ 'stove', /θo:l/ 'endure, bear, stand' (from OE *tholian*), /θro:t/ 'throat'.

Note: /jɔ:k/ 'yoke', 'contraption' (with long, open /ɔ:/).

(B) from Old French o

/bro:tš/ 'brooch', /klo:k/ 'cloak', /klo:s/ 'close', (the surname *Close* is /klo:š/, /ko:t/ 'coat', /ko:tš/ 'coach', /mo:šn/ 'motion', /no:šn/ 'notion', /no:t/ 'note', /pok/ 'poke, bag', & /poket/ 'pocket' (both from Old Norman French *poque*, 'poke'), /po:tšér/ 'poacher', /ro:b/ 'robe', /ro:st/ 'roast', /sépo:z/ 'suppose', /to:st/ 'toast'.

(C) Words of obscure origin with Glenoe /o(:)/

/bo:s/ 'hollow, unsound', /bro:ze/ 'plump and healthy-looking (face)', /fo:ze/ 'spongy' (cp. Dutch *voos*), /géljo:r/ 'plenty' (from Gaelic *go leór*), /go:me/ 'to blunder around', /ho:g/ sb. 'stench' (?) from French *haut goût*, which gives the obsolete *hogoo*, *hogo*, cf. *Survey of English Dialects*, /ko:gle/ 'unsteady', /ko:l/ 'small bundle of hay', /lo:k/ 'luke-warm' (cf. ME *hleuc*, *leuk*, from OE *hléow, which probably gives rise to the alternative Glenoe form /lü:/), /pro:k(er)/ 'to poke (a poker)', /ro:n/ & /ivro:n/ 'gutter-pipe', /sko:b/ vb. 'to remove a thin layer (e.g. of soil)', sb. 'bent hazel or willow rods used to keep down thatch' (?) from *scallop*, /sno:k/ vb. 'snuffle' (?) from Scandinavian, cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, /so:rnex/ 'to rummage', /sto:vn/ 'very drunk', /STRO:n/ 'small quantity (e.g. of tea) poured out', /to:dl/ 'toddle', /to:te/ 'tiny', /to:v(e)/ 'to brag (given to self-praise)'.

4.2.28 ME ð₂ followed by r

(A) from OE or

/efo:r/ & /befo:r/ 'before', /sko:r/ 'a score, twenty', /sno:r/ 'snore'.

(B) from Old French or

/glo:re/ 'glory', /ko:r/ 'core', /resto:r/ 'restore', /sto:r/ 'store', /sto:re/ 'story, falsehood'.

4.2.29 ME ú

This vowel, from whatever source, normally develops into Glenoe /ü:/ or /ü/ without diphthongisation. Occasional unrounding to /v/ occurs and diphthongal forms with /éü/ have intruded from Larne.

4.2.30 ME ú gives Glenoe /ü:/ & /ÿ/.

(A) from OE ú or u lengthened in open syllables

/brü/ 'brow', /bvrnbrü/ 'river-bank', /brün/ 'brown', /DRÜθ(e)/ 'drought, thirst(y)', /dük/ 'to duck, submerge in water' (also /džük/ 'to duck, to dodge down' etc. from */djük/), /dün/ adv. & prep. 'down', /ébt/ 'about', /hü:/ 'how', /hüs/ 'house', /klüt/ 'a clout, a cloth', /kü/ 'cow', /lÿd/ 'loud', /lüs/ 'louse', /müs/ 'mouse', /müθ/ 'mouth', /nü:/ 'now', /prüd/ 'proud', /rüm/ 'room', /rÿst(e)/ 'rust(y)', /spüt(n)/ 'spout(ing)', /stüp/ vb. 'stoop', /sü:/ 'sow', /sük/ 'suck', /TRüt/ 'trout', /tün/ 'town', /θüm/ 'thumb', /θü:zn/ 'thousand', /ÿt/ 'out', /wëθüt/ 'without'.

Note: shortening and unrounding in /džvk/ sb. 'duck' (from */djvk/, cp. paragraph above), /hvzbn/ 'husband', /krvzmz & grvml/ 'crumbs', /rvx/ 'rough', /swp/ 'sup, sip, drink (soup)', /vs/ (& /éz/) 'us'.

Note also /éü/ from Larne in /beüns/ 'bounce', /kleüd/ 'cloud', /kréüd/ 'crowd', /séüθ/ 'south'.

(B) from Scandinavian ú (long or lengthened)

/DRün/ 'drown', /DRÿp/ 'droop', /sküjl/ 'scowl'⁷¹, /STRÜp/ 'spout of kettle'⁷².

(C) from Old French u & ou (long or lengthened)

/düt/ 'doubt', /ékünt/ 'account', /elü:/ 'allow', /küns/ 'council', /künt/ 'count', /krün/ 'crown', /püdér/ 'powder', /rün/ 'round', /skrü:/ 'screw' (Anglo-French *escroue*), /sün/ 'sound' (without R.P. ex crescens d), /süp/ 'soup', /TRÜ:zérz/ 'trousers'.

Note shortening and unrounding in /mvnt(n)/ 'mount(ain)', /vns/ 'ounce'.

Note also /éü/, probably from Larne, in /ékeünt/ 'account', /kéüts/ 'couch', /kréünér/ 'coroner', /stéüit/ 'stout'.

(D) Words of doubtful origin with /ü:/ & /ÿ/

/brügl/ 'a clumsy workman', /blüterd & blÿterd/ 'drunk', /DRük(ét)/ 'soak(ed)', /fÿf/ 'cry, weep', /kükér/ 'spoil (a child)', /lÿdér/ 'a heavy blow', /pük/ 'pull (hair)', /sküp/ 'peak (of a cap)', /sküjt/ 'to squirt (water etc.), to dash', /snüt/ 'snout', /stük/ 'a shock of sheaves', /stün/ 'throb with pain', /sürék/ 'wild sorrel'.

4.2.31 ME úr final

(A) from OE úr

1. gives Glenoe /ü:ér/; /sü:ér/ 'sour', /sü:ér/ 'shower'.
2. gives Glenoe /ÿ:r/; /ÿ:r/ 'our' (unemphatic /wér/).
3. gives Glenoe /éüér/ probably from Larne: /téüér/ 'tower'.

(B) from Old French our/ur

1. gives Glenoe /ü:ér/; flü:ér/ 'flour, flower', /pü:ér/ 'power', /ü:ér/ 'hour'.
2. gives Glenoe /ÿ:r/; /stü:r/ 'dust' (from Anglo-French *estur*).

(C) In words of doubtful origin

Glenoe /ü:ér/; /glü:ér/ 'glower, scowl'; Glenoe /ÿ:r/; /pÿ:r/ 'pour'.

4.3 The Diphthongs

4.3.1 ME ai (ei)

The ME diphthong *ei* seems to have fallen together with ME

ai at an early stage, especially in the North⁷³. Both diphthongs normally give rise to Glenoe /e:/ although in a few words the long, open /e:/ survives, representing an older stage of development. Occasionally also the old diphthongs have been preserved, but under the form /éi/, thus falling together with one of the diphthongs arising out of ME *i*.

4.3.2 ME ai gives Glenoe /e:/.

(A) from OE aeg

/bre:n/ 'brain', /de:/ 'day', /de:ze/ 'daisy', /he:l/ 'hail', /me:/ vb. 'may' (but /mëbe/ 'maybe'), /me:n/ adj. 'main', /ne:l/ 'nail', /se:d/ 'said', /sne:l/ 'snail', /te:l/ 'tail'.

Note: /më:stér/ 'master' with /g:/.

(B) from Old French *ai*

1. /fe:l/ 'fail', /fe:θ/ 'faith' (& /fë:θ/ & /hë:θ/ as interjections), /me:/ 'May', /te:lér/ 'tailor', /we:t/ 'wait'.

Note: /ple:stér/ 'plaster'; 'insincere person'.

Note also: /péi/ 'pay', /stéi/ 'stay'.

2. before -n, -nt, -nz in some dialects, various changes take place, but Glenoe normally has /e:/ as elsewhere.

(a) /ge:n/ 'gain', /iksple:n/ 'explain', /pe:n/ 'pain', /ple:n/ adj. 'plain', /TRE:n/ 'train', /tše:n/ 'chain'.

(b) /kémple:nt/ 'complaint'.

(c) /de:nzér/ 'danger', /e:nzl/ 'angel', /STRE:nz(ér)/ 'strange(r)', /tše:nz/ 'change'.

4.3.3 ME ai from Early ME ei gives Glenoe /e:/.

(A) from OE

/e:l(én)/ 'ail(ing)', /le:d/ 'laid', /ple:/ 'play', /re:n/ 'rain', /se:l/ 'sail'.

Note: /wéi/ 'way', /éwø:/ 'away' (probably via /-wë:/ to /-wa:/ to /-wø:/, cf. the changes /wë:b/ - /wa:b/ and /twä:/ - /twø:/).

(B) from Anglian ég (West Saxon *aeg*)

/gre:/ 'grey'.

But note /héi/ 'hay', /kléi/ 'clay'.

Note also /næxér/ 'neigh' (West Saxon *hnáegan*); /ki:/ 'key' is probably from Larne.

(C) from Scandinavian

/(é)ge:n/ & /(é)gin/ 'again(st)'⁷⁴, /he:n/ 'save, use sparingly' (from ON *hegna*).

(D) from Scandinavian *ei*

/be:t/ 'bait', /de:/ 'they', /de:r/ 'their', /he:l/ 'healthy', /re:k/ 'wander', /re:z/ 'raise', /ste:k/ 'steak', /we:k/ 'weak'.

Note /ei/ 'always' (from Old West Scandinavian *ei*⁷⁵).

Note also /slei/ 'sly' (from Old West Scandinavian *slogr*, ME *slei*).

(E) from Old French *ei*

/pre:/ 'pray', /pre:z/ 'praise', /re:l/ 'rail', /re:zn/ 'raisin'.

But note /ple:t/ 'plait' (from Old French *plet*, *pleit*).

/begér-ple:t/ 'wrinkled (of a garment)'.

(F) from Old French *ei, eg* followed by -n or -nt

1. /re:n/ 'reign', /spre:n/ 'sprain', /STRE:n/ 'strain', /ve:n/ 'vein'.

But note /rēin/ ‘rein’.

2. /fe:nt/ ‘faint’, /pe:nt/ ‘paint’.

But /ékwēnt(nz)/ ‘acquaint(ance)’.

4.3.4 ME *ai* followed by *r* gives Glenoe /ɛ:/.

(A) from OE *aeg*: /fɛ:t/ ‘fair’.

(B) from Old French *ai*, *aie*

/ɛfɛ:r/ ‘affair’, /ɛ:r/ ‘air’, /pɛ:r/ ‘pair’, /tšɛ:r/ ‘chair’.

4.3.5 ME *ai* from Early ME *ei* gives Glenoe /ɛ:/.

(A) from OE *áeg*: /stɛ:r/ ‘stair’.

(B) from Old French *ei(e)*: /ɛ:r/ ‘heir’, /dɛspɛ:r/ ‘despair’, /prɛ:r/ ‘prayer’.

4.3.6 ME *ei* before the velar fricative /x/ gives Glenoe /ɛ:/.

/ɛ:xt(in)/ ‘eight(een)’, /ɛ:xte/ ‘eighty’, /STRɛ:xt/ ‘straight’, /wɛ:xt/ ‘weight’.

Note the Glenoe forms /ɛ:dér/ ‘either’, /nɛ:dér/ ‘neither’ may also be considered here, as Early ME had a velar fricative ȝ before the *th*. Also the Glenoe form /fɛ:xt/ ‘fight’ points to ME *feihten.

4.3.7 ME *au*

This diphthong mostly results in Glenoe /ɔ:/, with occasionally /o:/ perhaps from Larne, and a survival of /a:/, especially in certain words of French provenance.

(A) from OE *ag* gives Glenoe /ɔ:/.

/DRɔ:/ ‘draw’, /hɔ:/ ‘haw’, /lɔ:/ ‘law’, /sɔ:/ sb. ‘saw’.

(B) from OE *ág* gives Glenoe /o:/: /o:/ ‘to owe’ (e.g. /a:m o: här two: pvn/ ‘I owe her two pounds’), /o:n/ to own.

But note /e:n/ adj. ‘own’.

(C) from OE *aw* gives Glenoe /ɔ:/: /tɔ:z/ ‘taws’ (ultimately from OE *tawian*).

But note /kla:/ ‘claw’ and /θɛü/ ‘thaw’.

(D) from OE *áw* gives Glenoe /ɔ:/.

/blɔ:/ ‘blow’, /kro:/ sb. & vb. ‘crow’, /mɔ:/ ‘mow’, /rɔ:/ ‘row, series’, /snɔ:/ ‘snow’, /sɔ:/ ‘to sow’, /θrɔ:én/ ‘perverse’ (lit. ‘thrown’).

Note, however, /no:/ ‘know’, pret. /kno:d/, /slo:/ ‘slow’, /θRO:/ ‘throw’, pret. /θRO:d/.

Also note /séül/ ‘soul’ (from OE *sawl*, etc.)

(E) from OE *eaw* gives Glenoe /ɔ:/: /rɔ:/ ‘raw’.

Note here: /STRɛ:/ & (rare) /STRO:/ ‘straw’, /STRɛ:bère/ ‘strawberry’.

(F) from OE *éaw* gives Glenoe /o:/: /sɔ:/ ‘show’.

(G) Note that OE *hafoc* gives Glenoe /hɔ:k/.

(H) from Old French *au*, *ou*

1. gives Glenoe /ɔ:/.

/bekɔ:z/ ‘because’, /brɔ:n/ ‘brawn’, /fɔ:lt/ ‘fault’, /frɔ:d/ ‘fraud’, /kɔ:sén/ ‘caution’, /kɔ:z/ ‘cause’, /pɔ:/ ‘paw’.

2. gives Glenoe /a:/.

/dža:ndez/ ‘jaundice’, /la:nđRE/ ‘laundry’, /pa:m/ ‘palm (of hand)’, /sa:s/ ‘sauce’, /sa:sér/ ‘saucer’.

(I) from Scandinavian sources gives Glenoe /ɔ:/ in /flo:/ ‘flaw’, (? from ON *flaga*), /kro:l/ ‘crawl’ (from Old West Scandinavian *krafla*).

But note /a:kwérd/ ‘awkward’ (Scandinavian *avukt-thwert).

4.3.8 Words with ME *au* as well as *a* from Old French nasalised *a* /a/

These words generally have /a(:)/ in Glenoe, e.g. /ant/ ‘aunt’, /dans/ ‘dance’, /dža:m/ ‘jamb’, /grant/ ‘grant’, /igza:mpl/ ‘example’, /plant/ ‘plant’, /sa:mpl/ ‘sample’, /tšans/ ‘chance’. But note /brɛnš/ ‘branch’ (from ME *branche*, *braunch*; Old French *branche*), /hɛnš/ ‘haunch’ (from Old French *hanche*); cf. 4.1.2 (C) 2. above.

Note also /tše:mbér/ ‘chamber’.

4.3.9 Words of doubtful origin with Glenoe /a(:)/ for R.P. /o:/ /dža:/ ‘jaw’ (from ME *jow(e)*, from Old French *jou(e)*; later *jawe* & *chaw(e)*? influenced by ME *chawl* from OE *ceasl*: ‘jaw’); /džant(n-ka:r)/ ‘jaunt(ing-car)’.

4.3.10 ME *ou*

From whatever source, ME *ou* has mostly resulted in Glenoe /ɛü/, the same diphthong which has developed out of ME -*ol* (cf. 4.1.21 above). The first element was evidently unrounded to a type of *a*-sound and then centred to /ɛ/, while the second element was also centred to /ü/. This diphthong does not appear before the velar fricative /x/, which is preserved in Glenoe. If it did develop earlier to /au/, the diphthong was flattened again to /ɔ:/.

4.3.11 ME *ou* gives Glenoe /ɛü/.

(A) from OE ów

/bestéü/ ‘bestow, give away’ (from ME *bestówen*, OE *be-* & *stówigan*), /gréü/ ‘grow’.

(B) from OE *eow*: /jéü/ ‘ewe’.

(C) from OE éow: /fěuér/ ‘four’, /tšeü/ ‘chew’. But note /šü/ ‘sew’ (from OE *séowian*).

Before /x/ generally gives Glenoe /ɔ:/.

(D) from OE *og* & *oh*

/bɔ:xt/ ‘bought’, /dɔ:xtér/ ‘daughter’, /trɔ:x/ ‘trough’.

But note /bo:/ ‘bow (weapon)’ and /re:nbo:/ ‘rainbow’.

(E) from OE óh

/brɔ:xt/ ‘brought’, /ɔ:xt/ ‘aught, anything’ (obsolete, usually /gneθén/), /θɔ:xt/ ‘thought’.

Note: OE nō(wi)ht ‘nought, not’ gives Glenoe /no:/ with loss of velar and final -*t*.

(F) from Scandinavian *au*, *ów*, *ou*, *og* gives Glenoe /ɛü/.

/děüp/ ‘backside’, /fleü/ ‘peat-bog’, /gěül/ & /jěül/ ‘howl’, /léün/ ‘calm, quiet’, /léüp/ vb. & sb. ‘leap’ (alongside the form /lę:p/), cf. the local *Salmon Leap* /sa:mén léüp/ on the Glynn River, /léüs/ ‘loose’, /léüz/ ‘loosen’, /réüén/ ‘mountain ash’.

Note Glenoe /o:/ in /do:f/ ‘dull, hollow-sounding’ (cf. Scots *dowf*⁷⁶), /gopn/ ‘a double handful’ (from Old West Scandinavian *gaupn*).

(G) from Old French *ou* gives Glenoe /eü/.
/bēül/ sb. ‘bowl’, /kēüp/ ‘to overturn’, /réul(er)/ ‘roll(er)’

(H) Words of doubtful etymology with Glenoe /eü/
*/bēüx/, also /bléüxér/ and /wéüx/: ‘cough’ (imitative), /gëüp/ ‘throb with pain’, /kréüde/ ‘cream cheese’, /kréüli/ ‘smallest pig of a litter’, ‘very small person’ (derogatory), /mjéüti/ ‘a faint sound’, /pēü/ ‘head, poll’, /pēüli/ ‘pole’ (OE *pál* should give Glenoe */pe:l/), /pēüne/ ‘pony’, /séüenz/ ‘a dish like flummery’ (from Gaelic *Samhain* – All-Hallowtide – as the dish was traditionally eaten at that season⁷⁷); /séüs/ ‘a heavy fall’.*

4.3.12 ME *iu*, *eu* /eu & ęu/, and ü from Anglo-Norman ū
 All these sounds ran together as *iu* at a very early stage and have produced /jü:/ & /j(j)ü:/ in Glenoe.

4.3.13 ME *iu*
 (A) from OE *iw*: /spjü:/ ‘spew’, /tšü:zde/ ‘Tuesday’.

(B) from Anglo-Norman *iu* (from Old French *ieu*): /džü:/ ‘Jew’, /rjü/ ‘rule’.

4.3.14 ME *eu* (with close /e/, i.e. /eu/)

(A) from OE *éow* (including Anglian *iow*, *éow* – West Saxon *iew*)
/brü:/ ‘brew’, /grü:/ usually /gro:d/ ‘grew’, /hjü:/ ‘new’, /hjü:éns/ ‘novelty’, /hjü:/ usually /no:d/ ‘knew’, /rü:/ ‘rue’, /TRÜ/ ‘true’, /TRÜθ/ ‘truth’, /tšü: & tšü:/ ‘chew’, /θRÜ:/ usually /θRo:d/ ‘threw’.

(B) from Anglo-Norman *eu* (with close /e/)
/bjü:/ & /blü:/ ‘blue’, /džü:él/ ‘jewel’, /fjü:él/ ‘fuel’.

4.3.15 ME *eu* (with open /ę/, i.e. /ęu/)

(A) from OE *éaw*
/džü:/ ‘dew’, /fjü:/ ‘few’, /hjü:/ & ęü:/ ‘hew’.

(B) from OE *eow*
/sü:/ ‘sew’, /STRÜ:/ ‘strew’, /jü:/ (rare, usually) /jéü:/ ‘ewe’.

(C) from Anglo-Norman (& Old French) *eau*: /bjüte(fl)/ ‘beauty (beautiful)’.

4.3.16 ME ü

(A) from Anglo-Norman ü (from Old French *ii*)
/brüjt/ ‘brute’, /džü:/ ‘due’, /džijk/ ‘duke’, /džürn/ ‘during’, /fjünérél/ ‘funeral’, /kjü:reés/ ‘curious’, /krü:él/ ‘cruel’, /refjü:z/ ‘refuse’, /stšüjpét/ ‘stupid’, /tšüb/ ‘tube’.

Note /tšün/ ‘tune’ (whose etymology is obscure).
 Note also /ü/ is lengthened before *r*: /kjü:r/ ‘cure’, /pjü:r/ ‘pure’, /sü:r/ ‘sure’.

(B) from Anglo-Norman ü (from Old French *ii*)
/džün/ ‘June’, /früjt/ ‘fruit’, /persü:/ ‘pursue’, /pjü:/ ‘pew’, /süt/ & /sü:t/ ‘suit’.

4.3.17 ME *oi* and *ui*

These diphthongs are generally only found in words of French origin and both generally result in Glenoe /ęe/.

(A) from ME *oi*, Anglo-Norman *oi* (from Old French *oi*)
/džoe/ ‘joy’, /emplöe(mént)/ ‘employ(ment)’, /løeél/ ‘loyal’, /møest(sér)/ ‘moist(ure)’, /nøez/ ‘noise’, /røeél/ ‘royal’, /tšøes/ ‘choice’, /vøes/ ‘voice’.

(B) from ME *ui* (usually written *oi*), Anglo-Norman *ui* (Old French *qi*, *ui*)
/boçl/ vb. ‘boil’, /džøen(t)/ ‘join(t)’, /køen/ ‘coin’, /qel/ ‘oil’, /qøntmént/ ‘ointment’, /pqent/ ‘point’, /søel/ ‘soil’, /spqel/ ‘spoil’. But note /pvzn/ ‘poison’.

4.4 Vowels in unstressed syllables

The Glenoe vowel most commonly encountered in unstressed syllables is /ę/, but two other vowels also occur, viz. /j/, which is rarely found stressed (cp. 3.3.2 above), and a sound which seems to have developed as a phonemic variant of this, viz. /e/, which is opener and very slightly longer.

4.4.1 ME *a* unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /e/.

1. in prefixes /ébjü/ ‘about’, /éDRø:s/ ‘address’, /éwø:/ ‘away’.
 2. medially: /alménjk/ ‘almanac’, /džerméne/ ‘Germany’.
- But note /e/ in /ikstravégeñt/ ‘extravagant’, /téstemént/ ‘testament’.

Note also /ø/ in /karmél/ ‘caramel’, /kvmpne/ ‘company’.

3. in the following endings: *able*, *al*, *an*, *ance*, *ant*, *ar*, *ard*, *as*, *ate*, *enger*, *ward(s)*:

/itébl/ ‘eatable’, /féninl/ ‘final’, /rvfen/ ‘ruffian’, /hjü:éns/ ‘novelty’, /ägnérént/ ‘uncouth’, /régjeler/ ‘regular’, /DRVñkérð/ ‘drunkard’, /kanvés/ ‘canvas’, /séprét/ ‘separate’, /paséndzér/ ‘passenger’, /a:kwérð/ ‘awkward’.

(B) gives Glenoe /j/ in the ending *-ac*.
/alménjk/ ‘almanac’, /éizik/ ‘Isaac’.

(C) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *ace*, *acle*, *age(r)*.

/svrfes/ ‘surface’, /märekł/ ‘miracle’, /manedz(ér)/ ‘manage(r)’, /parets/ ‘porridge (porage)’.

(D) gives Glenoe /ø/ in the ending *-ary*: /bēündre/ ‘boundary’.

4.4.2 ME *e* unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /e/ in prefixes: /énkweiér/ ‘enquire’.

(B) gives Glenoe /e/ & /ø/ medially

/be:kére/ ‘bakery’, /flatére/ ‘flattery’, /mødérét/ ‘moderate’. But: /ävre/ ‘every’, /mästre/ ‘mystery’, /äntrést/ ‘interest’.

(C) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *ed*, *el*, *en*, *ense*, *er*, *es*, *ess*, *est*, *et*, *less*, *ment*, *ness*.

/éndéd/ ‘ended’, /krvkét/ ‘crooked’, /ka:nł/ ‘candle’, /kätšén/ ‘kitchen’, /léisénz/ ‘license’, /ébidzént/ ‘obedient’, /tämér/ ‘timber’, /huséz/ ‘houses’, /mästrés/ ‘mistress’, /éülést/ ‘oldest’, /bvlét/ ‘bullet’, /fvžénlés/ ‘tasteless’, /brälement/ ‘uproar, fuss’, /θrö:énnés/ ‘perversity’.

Note, however: /dvtšés/ ‘duchess’, /pränsęs/ ‘princess’.

4.4.3 ME *i* unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /e/ in prefixes: /éligl/ ‘illegal’, /émens/ ‘immense’.

(B) gives Glenoe /e/ medially: /émadžénre/ ‘imaginary’.

(C) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *ible*, *id*, *il(e)*, *in(e)*, *ing*, *ip*, *ist*, *it(e)*.

/sensebl/ ‘sensible’, /aséd/ ‘acid’, /sävél/ ‘civil’, /anžén/ ‘engine’, /sälén/ ‘shilling’, /tšílep/ ‘tulip’, /kémest/ ‘chemist’, /q:psét/ ‘opposite’.

Note, however: /sɔ:led/ ‘solid’, /barl/ ‘barrel’ (one syllable), /féménén/ ‘feminine’, /džéñjeein/ ‘genuine’.

(D) gives Glenoe /j/ in the endings *ic*, *ish*.

/mjü:žík/ ‘music’, /fánjíš/ ‘finish’.

But note /éräθméták/ etc. with secondary stress on the final syllable.

(E) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *ie(y)*, *ice*.

/slápe/ ‘slippery’, /qfes/ ‘office’, /no:tes/ ‘notice’.

But observe /po:lés/ ‘police’.

4.4.4 ME *o* unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /e/ in the prefixes *con*, *com*, *for*, *o*, *pro*, *to*. /kéntro:l/ ‘control’, /kémät/ ‘commit’, /férbae/ ‘besides’, /ébzé:rv/ ‘observe’, /prépo:z/ ‘propose’, /téma:té/ ‘tomato’.

Note: /déde:/ ‘to-day’, /démø:ré/ ‘to-morrow’, /dégäder/ ‘together’.

(B) gives Glenoe /e/ medially: /vägerès/ ‘vigorous’.

But note Glenoe /ø/ in /prázner/ ‘prisoner’, /ri:znébl/ ‘reasonable’, /vélét/ ‘violet’.

(C) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *dom*, *o*, *ock*, *on*, *op*, *or*, *ot*. /ki:ndém/ ‘kingdom’, /práte/ ‘potato’, /bvlék/ ‘bullock’, /lvdén/ ‘London’, /walép/ ‘wallop’, /dø:ktrér/ ‘doctor’, /parét/ ‘parrot’.

Also in the unstressed elements *-bord*, *-worth*.

/kvbert/ ‘cupboard’, /he:pérθ/ ‘halfpennyworth’.

(D) gives Glenoe /ø/ in the ending *ory*.

/fektre/ ‘factory’, /hästre/ ‘history’, /rëktre/ ‘rectory’.

4.4.5 ME *u* & *ou* unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /o/ in the prefix *un*: /on'no:n/ ‘unknown’. cf. /onDér(sta:n)/ ‘under(stand)’.

(B) gives Glenoe /e/ medially: /vásesle/ ‘viciously’.

(C) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *ful*, *our*, *ous*.

/dëstrvk'sénfél (& /-fl/) ‘destructive’, /we:stérfel (& /-fl/) ‘wasteful’.

(Note in certain traditional forms the loss of *l*: /go:pnfè/ ‘double handful’, /hanfè/ ‘handful’, /mýθfè/ ‘mouthful’, /pitfè/ ‘pitiful’, /spínfè/ ‘spoonful’.)
 /néibér/ ‘neighbour’, /parlér/ ‘parlour’, /džéñérés/ ‘generous’, /méstši:veés/ ‘mischievous’.

(D) the words *but* and *us* when unemphatic become in Glenoe /bét/, /éz/.

4.4.6 Final *ou* (*ow*) unaccented

This suffix, which develops from consonant + *w*, gives Glenoe /é/.

/bqré/ sb. ‘barrow’; vb. ‘borrow’, /mgré/ ‘the other shoe of a pair’; vb. ‘to work (unpaid) to help a neighbour’, /ngré/ ‘narrow’, /swalé/ sb. ‘swallow’ (N.B. /swale/ vb. ‘swallow’). Note two /é/ sounds in hiatus in the p.p. of verbs like /foléen/ ‘following’.

4.4.7 Old French *ü* /y:/ unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /j)e/ (probably from /jü/) in absolute Auslaut.

/arge/ ‘argue’, /äše/ ‘issue’, /kéntähjé/ ‘continue’, /nëfje/ ‘nephew’, /täše/ ‘tissue’, /valje/ ‘value’.

(B) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *un(e)*, *ur(e)*.

/fortsén/ ‘fortune’, /fjütser/ ‘future’, /fe:Tér/ ‘feature’, /kre:Tér/ ‘creature’, /päktrér/ ‘picture’, /pastsér/ ‘pasture’. The /-Tér/ forms are traditional, the /-tsér/ forms probably comparatively recent importations from Larne.

(C) -*u*- following stressed syllable gives Glenoe /jé/, /e/, /ø/.

1. /dëpjéte/ ‘deputy’, /kéntähjél/ ‘continual’, /valjébl/ ‘valuable’, /regjélér/ ‘regular’.

Note the loss by slurring of an /é/ in /kéntähjél/, /valjébl/ which should have /-jéél/ and /-jéeb/.

2. /ämpedéñz/ ‘impudence’, /ämpedéñt/ ‘impudent’.

3. /pertiklér/ ‘particular’, /rediklés/ ‘ridiculous’.

(D) -*u*- with stressed syllable following gives Glenoe /je/ & /jé/

/edjeke:šn/ ‘education’, /sätjee:šn/ ‘situation’.

But /dëpjéte:šn/ ‘deputation’, /repjéte:šn/ ‘reputation’, etc.

(E) -*uit* gives Glenoe /ét/: /bäskét/ ‘biscuit’.

4.4.8 ME *ai*, *ei* unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /e/ in the endings *ail* (*eil*), *ain* (*ein*), *ais* (*eis*), or rather gives syllabic *l* and *n*.

1. /batel/ or rather /batl/ ‘battle’, /bq:tl/ ‘bottle’, /trë:vł/ ‘travel, walk’.

2. /bargén/ ‘bargain’, /ka:ptn/ ‘captain’, /mvn?n/ ‘mountain’.

3. /fvrnés/ ‘furnace’, /harnés/ ‘harness’, /palés/ ‘palace’.

(B) gives Glenoe /e/ in the ending *ai* (*ay*).

/holéde/ ‘holiday’, /jäste(r)de/ ‘yesterday’, /qnewe/ ‘anyhow’, /sëte(r)de/ ‘Saturday’.

4.4.9 ME *oi* unstressed

(A) gives Glenoe /qe/ in /tortqez/ ‘tortoise’.

(B) gives Glenoe /e/ in /same/ ‘chamois’.

Note the complete loss of a vowel or a syllable in:
 /ba:ke/ ‘tobacco’, /prätè/ ‘potato’, /stérekét/ ‘hysterical’ (with assimilation of *-al* to old p.p.-adj. ending, cp. /krvkét/ ‘crooked’, etc.).

4.5 The Consonants

Some ME consonants have been changed or lost in Glenoe, but on the other hand several have been preserved, e.g. /h-, hw-, x, -r/, which no longer survive in R.P.

(A) Isolative changes with neither loss nor addition

1. /ŋ/ becomes /n/ in the suffix *-ing*.

(a) always in the p.p. and gerund of verbs:

/go:én/ 'going', /kvmén/ 'coming', /børéén/ 'borrowing'.

(b) in nouns etc.:

/džü:rn/ 'during', /t wiθén/ 'somewhat' (lit. 'a wee thing'), /fardn/ 'farthing', /njθén/ 'nothing', /stɔ:kn/ 'stocking', /wvln/ 'willing' (*n* not syllabic).

(c) in proper nouns ending with *-ington*, *-ingham*:

/njü:én?n & hñü?n/ 'Newington', /wélen?n/ 'Wellington', /berménha:m/ 'Birmingham'.

2. ME *s* becomes *ś*

/kris/ 'grease', /pánserz/ 'pincers', /pás/ 'piss', /pásmeül/ 'ant', /púše/ 'pussy(cat)'; 'an effeminate man', /rēnš/ & /re:nz/ 'rinse', /sé:p/ 'soap', /slüš/ 'sluice', /svñérz/ 'cinders'.

Note also the surname *Close* /klo:š/. In a similar way /z/ becomes /ž/ in /pvzén/ 'poison'.

3. ME /kw/ becomes /k/.

/ké/ 'quoth' (in the phrase /ké 'hi:/ and /ké 'si:/ i.e. 'quoth he' and 'quoth she' used in narrating but now obsolete), /kéte:sén/ 'quotation', /koet/ 'quoit', /ko:sént/ 'quotient', /ko:t/ 'quote'.

4. Intervocalic *t* becomes *r*.

This change presupposed a single-flap /r/ as an intermediate stage. It is much more frequently met in neighbouring dialects (e.g. Mid- and Mid-North Antrim) than in Glenoe. The following, however, are Glenoe examples:

/go:n ér da:t/ 'go on out of that', where 'out of' goes through the stages /jté/ to /éte/ to /éde/ to /éré/ to /ér(é)/. /gér da:t/ 'go out of that', /bák ér da:t/ 'back out of that' (the 'halt' command to a horse).

5. /w/ becomes /v/.

/karve/ 'caraway'.

Note also the surname *Irwin* /ərvén/.

6. Other individual examples of isolative consonant change

/b/ to /v/: /ge:vł/ 'gable', /mrvél/ 'marble' (plaything).

/f/ to /h/: /he:θ&/ /fø:θ/ 'faith' (as an exclamation).

/l/ to /n/: /kéno:g/ 'collogue, confabulate' (cf. *Survey of English Dialects*).

/l/ to /r/: /dzérü:z/ 'jalouse, surmise' (cf. *Survey of English Dialects*).

/l/ to /t/: /stjerekét/ 'hysterical' (with aphaeresis; the change /l/ to /t/ may be due to the analogy of p.p.-type adjectives, e.g. /krvkét/ 'crooked', /krabét/ 'crabbed', etc.)

/m/ to /n/: /gréind än/ 'grimed in' (cp. 4.2.21 (D) above), /pantéménin/ 'pantomime'.

/n/ to /l/: /tsámle/ 'chimney'.

/tš/ to /š/: /šaevz/ 'chives'.

Note: the /k/ in /brvkl/ 'brittle' does not represent a sound change from the /t/ found in R.P., but goes back to a form with /k/, viz. OE *brucel*⁷⁸.

(B) Combinative changes with neither loss nor addition

1. ME /sj/ (written *ci*, *si*, *su*, *ti*, etc.) becomes Glenoe /š/ as in R.P., e.g. in words ending with *-cial*, *-science*, *-cient*, *-tient*, *-tience*, *-sion*, *-tion*.

/e:nšént/ 'ancient', /kognšéñz/ 'conscience', /pe:šént/ 'patient', /pe:šéñz/ 'patience', /spg:šl/ 'special', /mášn/ 'mission', /no:šén(é)t/ 'notion, intention' (whimsical), /tásé/ 'tissue'.

Note, initially: /šü:/ 'sew', /šüt/ 'suit'.

2. ME *s* pronounced /z/ + unstressed *-üre* in French words gives Glenoe /ž/.

/mázér/ 'measure', /plé:žér/ 'pleasure'.

3. ME *-si-* pronounced /zj/ becomes Glenoe /ž/.

/désažn/ 'decision', /éke:žn/ 'occasion', /kélážn/ 'collision'.

4. OE *c* gives (apparently only) Glenoe /k/ for R.P. /tš/.

This phenomenon may be due to Scandinavian influence, although doubt has been cast on such a view⁷⁹.

(a) Initially:

/ka:f/ 'chaff', /ka:f-be:d/ 'mattress filled with chaff', /kiþks/ 'fits of laughter' (ultimately OE *cincian*), /kárk/ 'church' (only in special phrase *Kirk Session*), /kást/ 'chest, box'.

(b) Medially and finally:

/dék/ 'bank (with hedge) fencing a field', /jvke/ 'itchy' (obsolete), /ste:n-déik/ 'dry-stone wall', /sjk(éne)/ 'such (a)' (obsolete, usually /sjtš/).

Note also Glenoe has /brág/, /räg/ for 'bridge', 'ridge'.

5. ME *d* + syllabic *r* or vowel + *r*, gives Glenoe /d/.

This change was once frequent in all dialects in the case of intervocalic *d*⁸⁰. In Glenoe it also occurs, where *d* was preceded by *l* (now lost); but when *d* was preceded by *n*, /nd/ has resulted in interdental /n/ (see 3.4.3 above).

(a) Intervocalic *d*, or *ld*:

/bléðer/ 'bladder', /fédér/ 'father', /fóðer/ 'fodder', /gédér/ 'gather', /lédér/ 'ladder', /mvdér/ 'mother', /püðér/ 'powder', /svdér/ 'solder', /süðér/ 'shoulder', /dégädér/ 'together'.

But note:

(b) From – *nd*:

/dónér/ (adv.) 'yonder', /hánér/ vb. 'hinder', /hvñér/ 'hundred', /sánére/ 'asunder', /svñérz/ 'cinders', /θvñér/ 'thunder', /wa:nér/ 'wander'.

This combination /nér/ occurs in many other words without (known) etymological *d*, e.g. /dñér/ 'dinner', /dvñér/ 'heavy blow', /skvñér/ 'to sicken' (trans.), where the stem without the ending *-er* has no separate existence. Note, however, ME /d/ gives Glenoe /d/ in /fardér/ 'further', /fardn/ 'farthing'.

6. /tj/ gives Glenoe /tš/.

(a) Initially: /tšüb/ 'tube', /tšvg/ 'tug', /tšün/ 'tune', /tšvx/ 'tough'.

(b) Medially: /fortsén/ 'fortune', /ne:tšér/ 'nature' (but cf. 4.4.7 (B) above).

7. Similarly, /dj/ gives Glenoe /dž/.

Initially: /džü:/ 'due, dew', /džüs/ 'deuce', /džük/ 'duke'; vb. 'duck', /džvk/ sb. 'duck', /džýrn/ 'during'.

Medially: /prédžüs/ (vb.) 'produce', /redžüs/ 'reduce'.

8. Metathesis of *r*

The metathesis of *r* seems to have been common in OE and especially in the Northumbrian dialect. Apart from those which became established in R.S., the following examples occur in Glenoe:

(a) Vowel + *r* becomes *r* + vowel.

/brvst/ 'burst', /krvdz/ 'curds', /skró:tš/ 'to shrivel' (from 'scorch').

(b) *r* + vowel becomes vowel + *r*.

/bärs(e)/ 'bristle (bristly)' – in reference to hair, /gärn/ vb.

corresponding to R.S. *grin* (but with meaning changed to ‘complain’, etc.), /hvñér/ ‘hundred’ (through the stages /hvñdrēd/ to /hvñdér/ to /hvñdér/ to /hvñér/), /skart/ ‘scratch’⁸¹, /wa:l-karséz/ ‘water-cress’ (lit. ‘well-cresses’) also showing the change /er/ to /ar/.

9. Metathesis of -lm-

One isolated example of this change occurs in Glenoe /hwaml/ ‘overturn’ from ME *whelmen*⁸²; Wyld suggests association between OE *helmian ‘cover over’ and (á)hwelfan ‘cover, overwhelm’.

(C) Loss of ME consonants

1. Loss of *b*

As in R.P. final *b* in the group -mb is lost in Glenoe /dvm/ ‘dumb’, /dža:m/ ‘jamb’, /ke:m/ ‘comb’, /kläm/ ‘climb’, /plvm/ sb. ‘plum’ (fruit); ‘waterfall’; adj. ‘vertical’. Note also /dvmē/ ‘a dumb person’.

But in Glenoe medial *b* in the same group is also lost: /rvml/ ‘rumble’, /tämér/ ‘timber’, /tvml/ ‘tumble’, /träml/ ‘tremble’.

The excrescent *b* of R.S. (pronounced medially though not when final) has not developed in Glenoe.

/fvml/ ‘fumble’, /grvml/ ‘crumble’; ‘fine crumbs’, /krvñm/ ‘crumb’, /läm/ ‘limb’, /θäml/ ‘thimble’, /θüm/ ‘thumb’.

2. Loss of *d*

In Glenoe *d* is often lost medially after *n* and finally after *l* and *n*.

(a) /hanl/ ‘handle’, /harle/ ‘hardly’, /harn/ ‘harden’, /kanl/ ‘candle’, /kenl/ ‘kindle’

For the treatment of -nder, see 4.5 (B)(5)(b) above.

(b) /ba:n/ ‘band’, /blän/ ‘blind’, /e:n/ ‘end’, /e:rn/ ‘errand’, /eül/ ‘old’, /fil/ ‘field’, /grvn/ ‘ground’, /kéin/ ‘kind’, /këül/ ‘cold’, /rjn/ ‘round’, /θü:zn/ ‘thousand’, /wvn/ ‘wind’, etc.

3. Loss of *f*

/haŋkértse/ ‘handkerchief’, /häze/ ‘young girl’; cf. *hussy*, /sé:1/ ‘self’ in its compounds: /mésé:l/ ‘myself’, etc., /o:/ & /e/ ‘of’ (pronounced /of/ & /ef/ in Larne.)

4. Loss of *g* in the group /ng/

In Glenoe /ng/ normally gives /ŋ/ but /n/ before /θ/.

(a) Medial

1. Before vowels and syllable *l*

Here Glenoe has lost the /g/ in contrast with R.P., which keeps the group /ng/ intact.

/aŋer/ ‘anger’, /aŋre/ ‘angry’, /fæŋer/ ‘finger’, /hvñer/ ‘hunger’, /sänl/ ‘single’, /swäpl-TRI:/ ‘swing-tree’.

Forms such as /jvñer/ ‘younger’, /lanér/ ‘longer’, /STRønér/ ‘stronger’ may be new formations from the regular positive forms:

/jvñ/, /la:ŋ/, /STRø:ŋ/.

2. Before consonants

Before *l*

/äŋlén/ ‘England’, /äŋljís/ ‘English’.

Note also the surname *Inglis* /äŋlз/.

Before /θ/

/lɛnθ/ ‘length’, /STRønθ/ ‘strength’. Note also /brønθ/ ‘breadth’.

(b) Final

As in R.P., final /ng/ gives Glenoe /ŋ/.

/häng/ ‘hang’, /sa:ŋ/ ‘song’, /tvŋ/ ‘tongue’.

5. Loss of *l*

When preceded by a short back vowel (i.e. *a*, *o*, *u*) ME *l* has regularly been lost in Glenoe, whether before a consonant or in absolute Auslaut. Sometimes *l* has been restored in these forms from Larne.

(a) ME -al(-)

/bɔ:/ ‘ball’, /fɔ:/ ‘fall’, /kɔ:/ ‘call’, /o:/ ‘all’, /ha:d/ ‘hold’ (sb.), /ska:d/ ‘scald’; ‘tea’, /sa:t/ ‘salt’ etc. (cf. 4.1.8 (C) above).

(b) ME -ol(-)

/neü/ ‘knoll’, /péü/ ‘poll’, /so:dzér/ ‘soldier’, /svdér/ ‘solder’ (cf. 4.1.21 (A) and (B) above).

(c) ME -ul(-)

/fü:/ ‘full’, /pü:/ ‘pull’, /küter/ ‘coulter’, /süder/ ‘shoulder’ (cf. 4.1.25 above).

In Glenoe *l* is also lost initially in the group labial + *l* + (*j*). The former existence of the *l* is borne out by comparison with R.S. or with neighbouring dialects in the case of local words. /bjü/ ‘blue’, /fjvg/ ‘left-handed’; ‘clumsy’ (cp. Mid-North Antrim /fljvg-fästéd/), /pjü:/ ‘plough’, /spja:fítéd/ ‘splay-footed’; /splja:/ is occasionally heard but is obsolete.

6. Loss of *n*

Glenoe /n/ occasionally disappears with nasalisation of the preceding vowel in the word /dʒe/ (often smoothed to /dɛ:/) for /dine/ ‘do not’. This feature is evident only in a few speakers of the younger generation.

Note also /käl/ ‘kiln’.

Loss of *n* in surnames with -nson (unstressed)

/atkesén/ ‘Atkinson’, /hvtsésén/ ‘Hutchinson’, /ro:besén/ ‘Robinson’, /sti:vesén/ ‘Stevenson’, /wvlkesén/ ‘Wilkinson’.

7. Loss of *r*

This is a rare phenomenon and occurs only occasionally by dissimilation in clumsy consonantal clusters of *r* + consonant + *r*.

/fɔ:wérd/ ‘forward’, /katrjdž/ ‘cartridge’.

In rapid speech *r* also tends to disappear in the sequence interdental + /e/ + /d/ etc.: /jästé(r)de/ ‘yesterday’, /gvł dē(r)d/ ‘shouted incoherently’, /skvñé(r)d/ ‘sickened’.

Note, however, that in all these cases (except /katrjdž/, which is the regular Glenoe pronunciation) the *r* is normally sounded by the overwhelming majority of speakers.

Note also /gense/ (for Guernsey) ‘a jersey’.

8. Loss of *t*

Apart from words in which R.P. has also lost the *t* (e.g. *whistle*: Glenoe /hwvsl/), Glenoe has lost *t* in the following cases.

/bis:/ or /biss/ ‘beasts, cattle’, /džøs/ ‘joist’ (plural džøséz), /empe/ ‘empty’, /kvñm/ ‘currant’, /sardžén/ ‘sergeant’, /wa:mn/ ‘warrant’.

Note also these verbal forms (pret. and p.p.):

/kø:p/ ‘kept’, /křep/ ‘crept’, /sle:p/ ‘slept’, /swę:p/ ‘swept’, /θřep/ ‘threaped, insisted aggressively’.

9. Loss of *v*

Note the following instances of loss of *v* in Glenoe

/dil/ ‘devil’, /gi:/ ‘give’, /gin/ ‘gave, given’, /he:/ ‘have’, /le:/ ‘leave’, /swil/ ‘swivel’, etc.

Note also /eüer/ ‘over’ (through vocalisation of *v*).

(D) Addition of consonants

1. Addition of *r*

/karke/ ‘khaki’, /lašérz/ ‘eye-lashes’, /ložen(d)žérz/ ‘lozenges’, /pro:k(er)/ ‘poke(r)’, /θräsl/ ‘thistle’.

2. Addition of *t*
/jäntʃ/ ‘once’, */sərtən(t)le/* ‘certainly’, */svdəntle/* ‘suddenly’.
 3. Addition of */tʃ/*
/svpt̪sere:t/ ‘suppurate’.

(E) Voicing of unvoiced consonants

1. */k/* to */g:/*: */grvml/* ‘crumbs’.
2. */t/* to */d:/*: */kərpəndər/* ‘carpenter’, */kəmpədətər/* ‘competitor’, */prədəsən/* ‘protestant’.
3. */f/* to */v:/*: */ka:v/* ‘calf’ (probably by analogy with the plural).

(F) Unvoicing of voiced consonants

1. */g/* to */k:/*: */kriš/* ‘grease’, */taŋkl/* ‘tangle’ (a kind of seaweed), */trækər/* ‘trigger’.
2. */d/* to */t:/*: */éhān(t)/* ‘behind’, */éjont/* ‘beyond’, */fɔrət/* ‘forward’, */hvzbēn(t)/* ‘husband’, */kvbert/* ‘cupboard’.

Note the name */de:vət/* ‘David’.

3. */dʒ/* to */tʃ:/*: */kabjt̪s/* ‘cabbage’, */lvgit̪s/* ‘luggage’, */parit̪s/* ‘porridge’, etc.

(G) ME Consonants preserved in Glenoe but lost in R.P.

The following consonants (lost in R.P.) are preserved in Glenoe wherever etymologically justified.

1. */h/* appears for orthographic *h*, except for pronouns in very weak syllables (cf. 3.4.8 above) and where R.P. has restored a historically silent *h*, e.g. Glenoe */ospält/* ‘hospital’, */e:rb/* ‘herb’.
2. */r/* is pronounced wherever it appears in the spelling, except as noted above (4.5 (C)7). Parasitic *r* is completely unknown, vowels in hiatus being slurred together when unemphatic and separated by a slight glottal stop when emphatic.
3. */hw/* is carefully preserved in all cases where the spelling has *wh*, except where the spelling is not etymological e.g. */wvlk/* ‘whelk’, */hü:ér/* ‘whore’, */he:l/* & */ho:l/* ‘whole’, */hüpñko:x/* ‘whooping-cough’.
4. */w/* is kept in */hwɔ:/* ‘who’, */twɔ:/* ‘two’.

5. */x/* is still a very characteristic sound of the Glenoe dialect, as it was of ME generally in words (from OE sources) such as: */bɔ:xt/* ‘bought’, */dra:xt/* ‘draught’, */e:xt/* ‘eight’, */hix/* ‘high’, */la:x/* ‘laugh’, */säx/* ‘sigh’, */svx/* ‘sough’, */strə:xt/* ‘straight’, */tšvx/* ‘tough’.

Note: */x/* does not appear in ‘delight’ – Glenoe */déléit/* (from Old French *deliter*, ME *deliten*), where *gh* is unetymological.

5 Conclusion

To arrive at definite conclusions regarding the position of the Glenoe dialect among other dialects of English would involve the consideration of many extraneous factors (historical, grammatical, lexical, semantic etc.) beyond the scope of this thesis. On the basis, however, of the phonetic and phonological material analysed above, some tentative suggestions may be put forward.

Phonetically, in its organic basis, or basis of articulation, Glenoe overlaps to a great extent with other dialects of English in general. Among the consonants, however, the interdentals, the palatalised sounds, the ‘light’ *l* and point-open *r* may reflect⁸³, even if only in their stabilisation, the influence of Gaelic, closely related forms of which are the immediate linguistic substratum on both sides of the North

Channel⁸⁴. The maintenance of */h/*, */hw/* and */x/⁸⁵*, which have disappeared in most English dialects, is clearly traceable to Lowland Scots influence, from which so much has been derived, in particular from the Western Mid-Lowland and Southern Mid-Lowland areas⁸⁶. In connexion with Gaelic influence it should be borne in mind that, at the time of the Scottish settlements in county Antrim in the 17th century, the South-West of Scotland was still partly Gaelic-speaking (cf. 2.2 above) and Glenoe features which seem to point to Gaelic origins may have been brought over with the planters. The survival of */x/* may also have been assured by its frequent occurrence in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

The Glenoe vowel system has again interesting parallels with both forms of Gaelic: they have in common the characteristic wide centred /ä/-sound for short *i*, the raised, over-rounded /o:/ approaching /u:/ acoustically, the absence of a true close, back /u:/, the extremely fronted central /ü:/ and /ü/, the unrounded form of the latter /j/ and its variant /ö⁸⁷. South-West Lowland Scots vowels of course also show traces of similar influence.

Apart from individual phonetic parallels, however, we find that some phonemic groupings and distributions seem to point towards English influences. Thus, the interdentals may be linked phonetically with similar Gaelic sounds, but phonemically they are used only in more or less close contact with *r* (see 3.4.3 above), which calls for comparison with the treatment of *d*, *t*, *n* in the same circumstances in the North of England, especially Westmorland, in parts of the North-West Midlands and in the Isle of Man⁸⁸. The development of advanced *d*, *t*, *n*, generally transcribed as */dθ/*, */tθ/*, */ndθ/*⁸⁹, suggests something very like our Glenoe (and general Ulster) */D/*, */T/*, */N/*. Interdental */L/* of course only arises by assimilation with */d/* and */t/*.

In the same way, the phonemic variation of the vowel /a/, which becomes /e/ in contact with the velars */g/*, */k/*, */ŋ/* in Larne and hence sometimes with certain Glenoe speakers, occurs in West and South-West Yorkshire, as well as East-Mid and South-West Lancashire⁹⁰. The problems involved in the study of this fronting process are complicated and would involve a close study of the palatalisation of the velars at various times and in various places⁹¹.

When we consider the field of phonology proper, however, the overwhelming impression is that we are dealing in Glenoe with a dialect, derived ultimately of course from Old Northumbrian and showing many features parallel to the Modern Northern English dialects, but in a great mass of detailed comparisons showing the closest possible identity with the particular developments of Lowland Scots, especially the Western and Southern Mid-Lowland variety (see this section above, and *EDG*⁹²).

Almost all the features mentioned as characteristically Scots in W. Grant’s Introduction to *SDD* (A. Warrack) and in the Introduction to *SND* are to be found in Glenoe, and a detailed comparison with the many examples quoted by J. Wilson in *The Dialect of Robert Burns (as Spoken in Central Ayrshire)* supplies further evidence of identity or close similarity in development⁹³.

Some of the outstanding parallels between Glenoe and Central Scots are as follows:

Vowels

OE *ā* gives /e:/, OE *āw* gives /ø:/, OE *wá* gives /wø:/.

OE *i* gives two diphthongs /ae/ and /ei/.

OE *ó* gives Glenoe /y/, which in West Central Scots falls together with /i/.

OE *ú* gives /ü:/ and /y/.

OE *a* often gives /e/, OE *ar* often gives /ər/.

OE *al* often gives /ø:/, though here Glenoe preserves the archaic diphthong /eü/ in words like *old* /eül/, now only found marginally in Scotland (see 4.1.8 (A) above).

OE *we* gives /wa/.

OE *wi* gives /wɪ/.

ME *iht* gives /æxt/, OE *ind* gives /än/.

OE *o* + labial gives /a/.

OE *ol* often gives /eü/.

OE *ul* often gives /ü:/, OE *und* gives /vn/.

OE *u* often gives /ä/.

Consonants

OE *-mb(-)* gives /m/.

OE *-nd(-), -ld* gives /n/, /l/.

OE *-ng-* gives /ŋ/.

OE final *f* and *v* often disappear.

OE *h*, *hw*, /x/ are preserved.

OE *-l* is often lost after *a*, *o*, *u*.

We may thus conclude that the Glenoe dialect is from a phonological point of view fundamentally an off-shoot from Central Scots, although a phonetic analysis reveals many similarities with both Irish and Scots Gaelic, while a few phonemic parallels can be drawn with Northern and North-West Midland English dialects.

Notes

- 1 It is agreed that prior to that period Gaelic was the general speech of Ulster and that English was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Carrickfergus and S.E. Down; see Adams, G. Brendan, 'An Introduction to the Study of Ulster Dialects', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52C1 (1948), 5.
- 2 Wyld, Henry C., *History of Modern Colloquial English* (London, 1920), 6-7.
- 3 E.g. *begood* for 'begun'; /eɪnjwx/ for the current /ənwx/.
- 4 Hume, Abraham, *Remarks on the Irish Dialect of the English Language* (Liverpool, 1878), 10.
- 5 'One-inch Map of Mid-Antrim' (Ordnance Survey of Northern Ireland) (Belfast, 1939).
- 6 Charlesworth, J. K., 'Geology', in *Belfast in its Regional Setting* (Belfast, 1952).
- 7 Some 10,000 years ago. See Movius, H., *The Irish Stone Age* (Cambridge, 1942), 63, 143; Evans, E. Estyn, *Irish Heritage: The Landscape, the People, and Their Work* (Dundalk, 1942), 18-19.
- 8 Camblin, G., *The Town in Ulster* (Belfast, 1951), plate 23, opp. p. 41.
- 9 Adams, G. Brendan, 'Ulster Dialects', in *Belfast in its Regional Setting* (Belfast, 1952), 195-197.
- 10 Hume, A., op. cit. 7ff; Pearson, A. F. Scott, *Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660* (Larmor thesis, unpublished three-volume typescript on deposit at Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast), volume 1, part 1, 95.
- 11 Arthurs, J. B., 'Place Names', in *Belfast in its Regional Setting* (Belfast, 1952), 192-194.
- 12 Hayward, Richard, *Ulster and the City of Belfast* (London, 1950), 77.
- 13 Pender, Séamus (ed.), *A Census of Ireland, circa 1659* (Dublin, 1939). The figures given for the whole barony of Belfast (Upper and Lower)* are only 3852 persons, of whom 2027 were English and Scots while 1825 were Irish, which probably at this period would imply Irish-speaking. *Glenoe lies in the barony of Lower Belfast.
- 14 *Memorial Atlas of Ireland (Provinces, Counties, Baronies, Parishes etc.)* (Philadelphia, 1901), 2.
- 15 Lorimer, W. T., 'The Persistence of Gaelic in Galloway and Carrick', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 6 (1949), 114-136; 7 (1951), 26-46.
- 16 For its early occurrence in Ulster, see Pearson, op. cit., 126-127.
- 17 Rodgers, W. R., *The Ulstermen and Their Country* (New York, 1947), 15.
- 18 Shearman, H., *Northern Ireland* (Belfast, 1946), 31.
- 19 Jones, Daniel, *The Pronunciation of English*, 3rd edition (Cambridge, 1950), 21.
- 20 Jones, ibid., 135.
- 21 Intonation as well as stress undoubtedly plays a part in the similar modern tendency to lengthening, observable in the South-Eastern English treatment of the traditionally short vowels. See Jones, op. cit., 134-135.
- 22 For the classification of vowels, see Jones, op. cit., 14-24.
- 23 Similar difficulties occur with the corresponding Scots vowel or vowels. See Wright, Joseph S., *English Dialect Grammar* (Oxford, 1905), 68; Murray, James A. H., *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (London, 1873), 107-108; Wilson, James, *Dialect of Robert Burns, as Spoken in Central Ayrshire* (Oxford, 1923), 28; Grant, William, *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland* (Cambridge, 1913), 49. For similar vowels in the Gaelic of Rathlin and the Glens of Antrim, see Holmer, Nils, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin, 1942), 7-8, 25.
- 24 Jones, op. cit., 15.
- 25 Trofimov, M. V., and Daniel Jones, *The Pronunciation of Russian* (Cambridge, 1923), 59.
- 26 Quiggin, E. C., *A Dialect of Donegal* (Cambridge, 1906), 38, §6.
- 27 See note 29 below.
- 28 Jones, op. cit., 45, §131-133.
- 29 Adams, G. Brendan, op. cit. (1948), 16, §11; also Adams, G. Brendan, *Phonological Notes on the English of South Donegal* 53C4 (1950), 302, §12; Quiggin, op. cit., 23, §54.
- 30 Wright, op. cit., 18, §18.
- 31 McClean, R. J., *Teach Yourself Swedish* (London, 1947), 5-6.
- 32 Sommerfelt, Alf, and Ingvald Marm, *Teach Yourself Norwegian* (London, 1943), part I, 17.
- 33 Holmer, op. cit., 28, 141-142, 154-155.

- 34 Holmer, Nils, *Studies in Ayrshire Gaelic* (Uppsala, 1938), 46, §34.
- 35 Cp. Received Speech /bʊzəm/ 'bosom', which has a short open /u/.
- 36 Jones, op. cit., 32, §75.
- 37 There is the same relationship between /ü:/ and /ü/ as in German between the Umlauted vowels in 'Hüte' and 'Hütte', although the Glenoe vowels are central-front whereas the German ones are absolute front.
- 38 See Murray, op. cit., 105-106 for a similar phenomenon in southern Scotland.
- 39 McClean, op. cit., 8, §19; Sommerfelt and Marm, op. cit., 17-18.
- 40 Holmer, op. cit. (1942), 27, § 23; Holmer, op. cit. (1938), 44-45, §32.
- 41 See Jones, op. cit., 57, §179-180; but note that the Scottish usage described is different from that of Glenoe.
- 42 Jones, op. cit., 69, §234.
- 43 Cp. Italian *bianco* /bjanko/ from *bl-*.
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- 50 Orton, Harold, *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect* (London, 1933), 20.
- 51 Grant, op. cit. (1931), xxviii.
- 52 Ibid., xxxvi.
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- 54 Wright, op. cit., 54, §54.
- 55 Wyld, Henry C., *Universal Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1932) suggests that there has been an association here of OE **helmian* 'to cover over', and (*ā*)*hwelfan*, 'to cover, overwhelm'.
- 56 Wyld, Henry C., op. cit. (1920), 212-222.
- 57 Orton, op. cit., 31, §67; Brilioth, op. cit., 31, §121; Grant, op. cit. (1931), §59.
- 58 Wyld, op. cit. (1932).
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- 65 Wyld, op. cit. (1920), 195-196.
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- 73 Orton, op. cit., 79, §136; Brook, G. L., *Notes on Some English Sound-Changes* (Leeds, 1947), 20, §VI3.
- 74 Björkman, op. cit., 151.
- 75 Ibid., 40.
- 76 Grant, op. cit. (1931), §47.
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- 80 Wright, op. cit., 297.
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- 83 Grant, op. cit. (1913), 35.
- 84 Holmer, op. cit. (1942), 32-35; op. cit. (1938), 78-90.
- 85 Wright, op. cit., 208-209, 254.
- 86 Grant, 'Dialect Map of Scotland', *Scots Dialect Dictionary*, opposite title page.
- 87 Holmer, op. cit., (1942), 8, 25, 27, 28, 43; Holmer, op. cit. (1938), 40, 45, 46, 49.
- 88 Jones, op. cit., 68-69; Wright, op. cit., 228-229, 231-232.
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- 90 Wright, op. cit., 23, 25, 27.
- 91 Wyld, op. cit. (1920), 182, 310; Adams, G. Brendan, 'Ulster Dialects' in *Belfast in Its Regional Setting* (Belfast, 1952), 197.
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Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Ulster-Scots Dialect

Part I: Synchronic Study i.e. the Contemporary Dialect*

Robert J. Gregg

Throughout the 17th century Lowland Scottish planters came over by the thousand to Ulster, the northern province of Ireland, chiefly from Central and South-West Scotland to settle the escheated lands of the defeated Irish earls who had fled into exile in 1607, as well as other territories that had been seized by the Crown. Influenced in varying degrees by the ubiquitous Gaelic which was the language of the majority of the population in Ireland until Famine times about a hundred years ago, as well as by different forms of Anglo-Irish speech, the Lallans language eventually stabilised itself as a chain of closely-related Ulster-Scots dialects stretching around the coastal areas in a broad arc from the Ards Peninsula in eastern county Down, via county Antrim, county Londonderry and North Tyrone to the Laggan district in north-east Donegal.

A detailed investigation of these Ulster-Scots dialects – which would be of considerable value to dialectologists not only in the British Isles but probably also in English-speaking North America – still remains to be carried out. Pending such a large-scale survey this article aims to sum up some of my personal work on the phonological aspect of a particular but typical Ulster-Scots dialect, viz., that of the village of Glenoe and the neighbouring part of the Glynn river valley in eastern county Antrim. This is a rural area, five or six miles south of Larne, a town of some twelve thousand inhabitants, situated also in county Antrim about twenty miles north of Belfast. The valley has a population of about one thousand, engaged for the most part in mixed farming and forming a fairly homogeneous ethnic and social group. As the area is somewhat off the beaten track – it does not lie athwart any major highway – the dialect has been well preserved up to the present, although modern communications are beginning to break down its isolation and in particular the modified Standard English of Larne, which is a second language to all educated dialect-speakers, is exerting an increasing pressure at both the lexical and the phonological level.

My chief informants are my mother, Mrs. T. Gregg, and

my brother, Mr. T. F. Gregg, both of Larne, and many other relatives who still live in or near the valley have been consulted about special points. Furthermore, I can also claim for myself the status of a native speaker of the dialect, which I learned to use as a child when staying on vacation with my grandparents, and with which I have never lost contact.

The *corpus* on which my work is based consists chiefly of material I have been collecting over the last thirty years, supplemented by a systematic study inspired by the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club dialect survey, which began in 1951 and which has benefited for the past five years from the friendly co-operation of Professor McIntosh of Edinburgh University and several of his collaborators in the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. There is no existing literature on any specific Ulster-Scots dialect to date and even work of a more general nature is very scanty. In 1880 W. H. Patterson published for the English Dialect Society *A Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim and Down*, an excellent word-list with careful definitions, but covering, as the title makes clear, too large an area to give us any precise information as to the geographical distribution of the lexical items, and having no accurate system for indicating pronunciation¹. Phonologically there is only Joseph Wright's Antrim material incorporated in the *English Dialect Grammar*, which appeared in 1905². It is very useful to have this phonetic record of Antrim speech as it was about half a century ago, but a careful perusal of these forms reveals many obvious errors, due undoubtedly to the tremendous difficulties encountered by Wright in seeking qualified informants in all parts of Ireland, and perhaps also to his own lack of familiarity with Ulster-Scots and Anglo-Irish speech in general, which prevented any adequate check on the information furnished.

No serious attempt to examine Wright's Antrim material critically had been made until 1956, when Mr. G. B. Adams published his *Phonology of the Antrim Dialect*³ using as his *corpus* the Antrim entries which he had extracted from the *EDG* index.

* Originally published in *Orbis* 7 (1958), 392-406.

Conventionalised Diagram showing Glenoe Vowels in relation to Cardinal Vowels

NOTE: The Glenoe vowels
are shown by small circles.

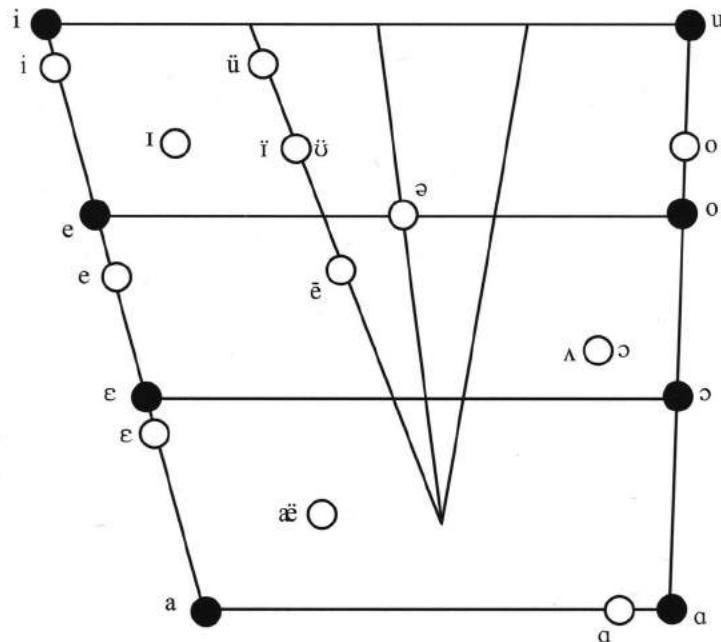


Table of Glenoe Consonants

	Labial and Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Palatalised	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Plosive	p b	t d	t d			k g	?
Nasal	m	n	n	ñ	ṇ		ŋ
Fricative	w						
	f v	θ ð	s z	ś ž	ç j	x	h
Affricate				tś dż			
Point-open			r				
Flapped			r				
Lateral		l	l	ł			

Note: For typographical reasons the palatalised consonants are represented in the body of the article by ź, ŷ, ś, etc., instead of the symbols shown in the above table.

THE PHONETIC ASPECT

Symbolisation

As far as possible the symbols of the International [Phonetic] Alphabet have been used, but the following should be noted:

Vowels

æ, ē, i, ū, ü represent vowels in or approaching central positions.

Consonants

T, D, N, L indicate interdental consonants.

R represents a single-flap r (i.e. [r]).

r represents a point open r (i.e. [l]).

ñ ſ ź ſ̄ palatalised versions of the alveolar consonants in question.

tſ dž stand for palatalised affricates.

Vowel Quantity

It is possible to divide the Glenoe vowels into three groups according to whether they are always short, always long, or have in various ways alternating long and short quantity, as follows:

(a) Vowels that are always short:

- [ɪ] as in [hɪte] ‘have to’, [ɛ:rɪk] ‘pullet’, [fɪt] ‘from it’.
- [i] as in [sɪtɪ] ‘sooty’, [gɪs] ‘goose’, [fɪt] ‘foot’.
- [æ] as in [sætə] ‘city’, [hæl] ‘hill’, [fa:t] ‘fit’.
- [ʌ] as in [dʌnt] ‘nudge’, [šʌx] ‘ditch’, [glʌmf] ‘sulk’.
- [ə] as in [bə:rə] ‘barrow’, [ə:bɪn] ‘above’.

(b) Vowels that are always long⁴

- [ē] as in [flē:r] ‘floor’, [pē:r] ‘poor’, [bē:rd] ‘board’.
- [ū] as in [grū:] ‘greyhound’, [brū:z] ‘bruise’, [smū:ð] ‘smooth’.
- [ɛ:] as in [grɛ:s] ‘grass’, [hɛ:mər] ‘hammer’, [plɛ:t] ‘plait’.
- [ɑ:] as in [bɑ:t] ‘moth’, [flɑ:m] ‘flatter’, [skɑ:d] ‘scald’; ‘tea’.
- [ɔ:] as in [hɔ:st] ‘cough’, [lɔ:k] ‘lock’; ‘a lot’, [ɔ:kstər] ‘armpit’.

(c) Vowels which may be short or long

- [i] as in [brik] ‘brick’, [dr ip] ‘drip’, [kiŋ] ‘king’.
- [i:] as in [li:] ‘falsehood’, [di:v] ‘deafen’.
- [e] as in [pite] ‘pity’, [sɔ:led] ‘solid’, [dʒne] ‘do not’.
- [e:] as in [te:] ‘tea’, [ne:n] ‘none’, [kwe:t] ‘quiet’.
- [o] as in [smok] ‘smoke’, [tšok] ‘choke’, [fok] ‘folk’.
- [o:] as in [po:k] ‘to poke’, [spo:k] ‘spoke’ (< speak), [lo:k] ‘lukewarm’.
- [ū] as in [hūs] ‘house’, [kūf] ‘a fool’, [fūste] ‘fusty’.
- [ø] as in [stø:r] ‘flying dust’, [sø:rək] ‘wild sorrel’.

Complete list of Glenoe vowel-sounds

Vowels

- | | | |
|--------|--------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| No. 1 | [i] | between close and half-close, front. |
| No. 2 | [i] | between close and half-close, front-central. |
| No. 3 | [æ] | open, front-central. |
| No. 4 | [ʌ] | half-open, back. |
| No. 5 | [ə] | half-close, central. |
| No. 6 | [ē:] | half-close, front-central, slightly lowered. |
| No. 7 | [ū:] | close, front-central, rounded. |
| No. 8 | [ɛ:] | half-open, front. |
| No. 9 | [a:] | open, back. |
| No. 10 | [ɔ:] | half-open, back, rounded. |
| No. 11 | [i:i:] | close, front. |
| No. 12 | [e:e:] | half-close, front. |
| No. 13 | [o:o:] | between close and half-close, back, over-rounded. |
| No. 14 | [Ū/ø:] | between close and half-close, front-central, rounded. |

Diphthongs

- | | | |
|----------------|--------|----------------------|
| No. 15 [əi] | No. 5 | plus No. 11 |
| No. 16 [ae] | No. 9 | plus No. 12 |
| No. 17 [œ] | No. 10 | plus No. 12 |
| No. 18 [əü] | No. 5 | plus No. 7 |
| No. 19 [eə/ie] | No. 12 | or No. 11 plus No. 5 |

Detailed description of the Glenoe vowels

Note: All the vowels are oral.

No. 1 [i] is between close and half-close, front, unrounded, very near to the RP vowel in *hit* or *din*. It is somewhat marginal in the Glenoe dialect, arising chiefly from the contextual shortening of [e:].

Contrast [he:] ‘have’ with [hɪte] ‘have to’, [hɪne] ‘have not’, [hɪt] ‘have it’;

[de:] ‘do’ with [dʒne] ‘do not’, [dɪt] ‘do it’;

[fe:] ‘from’ with [fɪt] ‘from it’; [ne:] ‘no’ (adj.) with [nɪθən] ‘nothing’.

This vowel also occurs in words like [pɔ:lɪs] ‘polish’ and forms like [t'ke:r] ‘take care’.

No. 2 [i] is between close and half-close, front-central, unrounded. It is of fairly frequent occurrence, cropping up in words like [gɪs] ‘goose’, [spɪn] ‘spoon’, [güm] ‘gum’, [əbɪn] ‘above’, [skil] ‘school’. This vowel has close counterparts in the Celtic languages, e.g., Irish *tuile* [tɪlə], *im* [ɪm] ‘butter’.

No. 3 [æ] is an open, front, unrounded vowel, somewhat centred in comparison with RP [æ] in *Hal* [hæl], *bat* [ba:t], *vanish* [vænɪʃ]. It occurs in Glenoe [hæl] ‘hill’, [ba:t] ‘bit’ and in the first syllable of [fænɪʃ] ‘finish’. Compared with the RP vowel in *hill* [hil], *bit* [bit] and *finish* [fɪnɪʃ], the Glenoe sound has a slightly central quality and is at the same time very much lowered so that it suggests [æ] or even [a] to the unaccustomed ear. Investigators have found great difficulty in

analysing the corresponding vowel or vowels in broad Scots dialects, a fact mentioned by Joseph Wright, A. J. Ellis, J. A. H. Murray and others.

No. 4 [ʌ] is a half-open, back, unrounded vowel. It differs from its RP counterpart in tongue position but has similar acoustic qualities. It corresponds undoubtedly to the ‘backer’ variety which Jones claims is heard in the North⁵ and the ‘ordinary deep provincial form’ cited by Ellis⁶. Such a backer, lowered sound occurs specifically in certain parts of Scotland, e.g., at Tarbolton in Ayrshire⁷ and in the Buchan district⁸. This characteristic East Antrim vowel is clearly distinct from the Belfast and South Ulster equivalent, viz., [ə] a fronter, rounded vowel which seems to be derived from the Gaelic substratum⁹. This sound is of frequent occurrence in Glenoe words like [bʌʃ] ‘bush’, [bʌtʃər] ‘butcher’, [bʌlk] ‘bullock’, [dʌnər] ‘a heavy blow’, [wʌntər] ‘winter’, [t'wʌnte] ‘twenty’, [gʌldər] ‘shout’, [milə 'kraʃə] ‘fried oatmeal’.

No. 5 [ə] is a half-close, central, unrounded vowel, very similar to the German final -e in *Gabe* [go:bə] and with a decided [i] quality. It occurs widely in words like [ɛ:lbə] ‘elbow’, [pə'te:tə] ‘potato’, [bɔ:rə] ‘borrow’, ‘barrow’, [ə'büt] ‘about’, [ə'nɪðər] ‘another’, [ɑ:pətəit] ‘appetite’, [wɔ:ntəd] ‘wanted’, [wa:lka:rsəz] ‘water-cress’, [ga:ləsəz] ‘braces’, [glə:no:] ‘Glenoe’.

No. 6 [ɛ:] is half-close, slightly lowered, front-central, unrounded, and is, like [i], to be considered as marginal in the Glenoe vocalic system. It occurs in only a few words such as [fɛ:r] ‘floor’, [bɛ:rd] ‘board’, [məʊl bɛ:rd] ‘mould-board’, [pɛ:r] ‘poor’.

No. 7 [ü:] is close, front-central, rounded. This sound, characteristic of all native Ulster speech, is an extremely advanced form of [u:], phonetically close to [y:]. A similar fronted [u] occurs in West Central Scots, especially in Glasgow, as well as further afield in Scandinavia: Swedish or Norwegian *hus* ‘house’¹⁰. It is worth noting that the same advanced [u] is characteristic of the Gaelic of Rathlin Island¹¹ and the Glens of Antrim¹² as well as the Scots Gaelic of Argyllshire¹³. Examples of Glenoe words containing this sound are: [kü:] ‘cow’, [fü:] ‘full’, [prü:v] ‘prove’, [brü:z] ‘bruise’, [smü:ð] ‘smooth’, [krü:əl] ‘cruel’.

No. 8 [e:] is half-open, front, unrounded. It is approximately the vowel of RP *there* [ðe:ə], i.e., rather opener than the vowels in RP *bed* [bed], German *Bett* [bet] or French *laide* [led]. The Glenoe version may be heard in the words [le:n] ‘lend’, [bre:nš] ‘branch’, [he:mər] ‘hammer’, [gle:d] ‘glad’, [bre:s] ‘brass’, [e:pl] ‘apple’, [e:ks] ‘axe’, [se:k] ‘sack’, [be:] ‘to bay’, ‘to cry (of a child)’.

No. 9 [ɑ:] is open, back, unrounded, nearer to the vowel in RP *grass* [grɑ:s] than to that in French *grâce* [grɑ:s]. It occurs in words such as [mɑ:n] ‘man’, [lɑ:n] ‘land’, [skɑ:r] ‘scare’,

[skɑ:rt] ‘to scratch’; ‘cormorant’, [gɑ:nš] ‘stutter’, [hɔ:d] ‘a hold, grasp’.

No. 10 [ɔ:] is half-open, back, rounded, oral, with tongue position near that for German [ɔ] in *Gott* [gɔ:t] and backer than French [ɔ] in *dot* [dɔ:t]. It is quite distinct from South Ulster [o] in [lot] ‘lot’ etc., being closer, fronter, and more strongly rounded. The Glenoe vowel occurs in words like [dɔ:l] ‘doll’, [gɔ:l] ‘gall’, [fɔ:lt] ‘fault’, [ɔ:n] ‘on’, [dɔ:n] ‘dawn’, [lɔ:k] ‘a lot’; ‘lock’.

No. 11 [i] is a close, front, unrounded vowel, slightly opener than French [i] in *fini* [fīni], which is about cardinal. It occurs in the words [sɪp] ‘sheep’, [hid] ‘head’, ‘heed’, [sin] ‘seen’, ‘scene’, [di:] ‘die’, [li:v] ‘live’, [bli:z] ‘blaze’, [ti:ð] ‘teethe’, [wi:r] ‘wear’.

No. 12 [e] is a half-close, front, unrounded vowel, slightly opener and less tense than French [e] in *été* [ete], German [e:] in *leben* [le:bən], or Scots [e:] in *day* [de:]. This Glenoe vowel occurs in the words [we:n] ‘child’, [ble:t] ‘shy’, [kre:ter] ‘creature’, [be:gæn] ‘begin’, [mænə] ‘many’, [sɔ:led] ‘solid’.

No. 13 [o] is between close and half-close, back, over-rounded, near in timbre and articulation to Swedish and Norwegian overrounded o [o⁺]¹⁴. These very close o-sounds, which acoustically approach [u], are paralleled also in Rathlin Gaelic and Scottish Gaelic¹⁵. Examples: [go:] ‘go’, [bo:s] ‘hollow’, [to:v] ‘to boast’, [spo:k] (<*speak*>), [pok] ‘a small bag’, [tsok] ‘choke’.

No. 14 [Ü] is between close and half-close, front-central, rounded. It is the rounded version of No. 3, [i], and the open, lax counterpart of No. 7, [ü]. It thus approaches the tongue position of German short ü in *müssen* [mysən]. The Glenoe vowel is heard in the words [fÜd] ‘food’, [sÜt] ‘suit’, [kÜ:rs] ‘course’, ‘coarse’, [fÜTər] ‘a clumsy person’, [stÜ:r] ‘flying dust’.

The Diphthongs

No. 15 [əi] is a narrow closing diphthong whose first element, No. 5 [ə], is more strongly stressed than the second, No. 11 [i]. In spite of this difference in stress the glide element seems to be equally prominent with the first because it is a little longer. Examples: [kəitš] ‘to shake up’, [wəif] ‘wife’, [DRəiv] ‘drive’, [wais] ‘wise’, [rəiz] ‘rise’, [əi] ‘always’, [məin] ‘(coal) mine’, [kwəi] ‘heifer’, [əirlən] ‘Ireland’.

No. 16 [æ] is, in contrast with the preceding, a wide closing diphthong. The first and strongly stressed element is the long vowel No. 9 [ɑ:], which is acoustically much more prominent than the second, a short version of No. 12 [e]. Examples: [æ] ‘yes’; ‘I’, [mæn] ‘mine (belonging to me)’, [kæ] ‘cows’, [fæv] ‘five’, [præz] ‘prize’, [sæcð] ‘scythe’, [dœal] ‘dial’.

No. 17 [œ] is, like No. 16, a wide closing diphthong, combining a strongly stressed, long, prominent first element – No. 10 – with a short, weakly stressed variant of No. 12 as a glide element. This sound is of rare occurrence in Glenoe. Examples: [bœ] ‘boy’; ‘buoy’, [bœl] ‘to boil’, [tœ] ‘toy’, [stœx] ‘a stench’, [dœSTRœ] ‘destroy’, [kœts] ‘quoits’, [mœle] ‘hornless (of a cow or goat)’.

No. 18 [əü], a narrow closing diphthong, follows the pattern of No. 15 with a short, strongly stressed first element – No. 5 – followed by a somewhat longer, weakly stressed glide element, No. 7. Prominence is again equally distributed here because of the relatively long duration of the second element. Examples: [nəü] ‘a knoll, hillock’, [kəüp] ‘overturn’, [mjəüt] ‘a faint sound’, [kəül] ‘cold’, [gəüp] ‘throb (with pain)’.

No. 19 [eə/iə] crops up sporadically in the speech of certain individuals, where it replaces the long variant of No. 12 [e:] in monosyllabic word-forms. With such speakers [geət] or [giət] stands for [ge:t] ‘gate’, [keək] or [kiək] for [ke:k] ‘cake’, [neəm] or [niəm] for [ne:m] ‘name’. The first element here is a shortened variant of No. 12 or No. 11, which is strongly stressed, followed by No. 5. This diphthongal pronunciation is felt to be vulgar by those who use the pure vowel. This diphthong is common in the dialects of the southern counties of Scotland, and may have been a social marker at an earlier stage in Ulster.

The Triphthongs

Three-member vocalic groupings do occur in Glenoe, but are normally spread over two syllables, e.g., [wəi-ər] ‘wire’, [mə'gwəi-ər] ‘Maguire’, [ən'kwəi-ər] ‘enquire’; [bəe-ər] ‘byre’; ‘buyer’, [fæe-ər] ‘fire’, [dæe-əl] ‘dial’; [lœe-əl] ‘loyal’, [dœSTRœe-ər] ‘destroyer’, [ə'nœe-eən] ‘annoying’; [fəü-ər] ‘four’, [TRəü-əl] ‘trowel’, [rəü-eən] ‘rowan, mountain ash’. In these circumstances it seems simpler to interpret these vowel clusters as consisting of diphthongs Nos. 15, 16, 17 and 18 followed in the next syllable by vowel No. 5. In this case there is no need to set up a category of triphthongs.

Description of the Glenoe Consonants

The consonantal systems of most dialects of English show less divergence than is found among the vowels. The Glenoe system, for example, coincides to a considerable extent with that of RP, but at the same time it has additional complexities. As well as the various phones of the standard speech it has a series of breathed ejective or glottalised plosives, a full range of interdental and of alveolar-palatalised consonants and a breathed velar fricative. These along with some other minor deviations from the RP system are described below.

Interdentals

Interdental consonants – indicated by the small capitals [T] [D] [N] [L] – are generally pronounced with the body of the tongue flattened and the tip protruding between the teeth. Similar sounds are heard in Gaelic words like *doras* [DɔRəs] ‘door’, *bannach* [bənəx] ‘bannock’.

Examples:

- [T] [TRƏ:vɪ] ‘walk’, [pe:TRəl] ‘petrol’.
- [D] [DRÜθ] ‘drought’; ‘thirst’, [DRIX] ‘dreary’.
- [N] [θʌNər] ‘thunder’, [sæNəRE] ‘asunder’.
- [L] [ɛ:LDər] ‘elder’; ‘udder’, [WALDərnəs] ‘wilderness’.

Glottalised Plosives

In the speech of many Glenoe individuals, unvoiced plosives pronounced with a simultaneous glottal stop may be heard in words like the following:

- [p'] [θRə:p'] ‘throat’, [səp'ər] ‘supper’, [DRə:p'] ‘drop’, [STRüp'] ‘spout (of a kettle, etc.)’.

[t'] [brə:t'] ‘rumble (of thunder)’, [twənt'e] ‘twenty’, [sət'] ‘sat’, [tsə:t'] ‘small potato’.

[t'] [klə:t'ər] ‘a large number’, [me:t'ər] ‘to matter’.

[k'] [kük'ər] ‘to spoil (a child)’, [ke:k'] ‘to cackle’, [se:k'] ‘sack’, [bla:k'] ‘black’.

With some speakers [t'] loses its alveolar closure and only the glottal stop remains, e.g.,

[?] [rɔ:?:ŋ] ‘rotten’, [rəi?:ŋ] ‘writing’, [bɔ:?:l] ‘bottle’, [ple:n?:e] ‘plenty’

As this feature is not universal, it will not be noted in future transcriptions.

Alveolar-Palatalised Consonants

In these consonants, the normal alveolar articulation is combined with an arching of the blade and front of the tongue towards the hard palate. The resulting sounds are thus not purely palatal like the [ɲ] and [ʎ] of the Romance languages, but rather resemble the dental-palatalised sounds of Russian. Examples occur in the words:

- [ń] [ńfū] ‘new’, [ńʌk] ‘pilfer’, [ə'ńʌx] ‘enough’.
- [ń'] [ńlüge] ‘fool’ (These pronunciations are traditional but obsolescent. The younger generation say [ə 'ńax], [ńlüge].), [gə́lo:r] ‘plenty’, [maéłən] ‘million’.
- [ś] [śágər] ‘sugar’, [śín] ‘shoes’, [kriś] ‘grease’.
- [ż] [paźən] ‘poison’, [lažər] a local road name.
- [tś] [tśün] ‘tune’, [típ] ‘chirp’, [kaitś] ‘to toss about’.
- [dż] [džük] ‘dodge’, [džɔ:p] ‘splash’, [fa:dż] ‘potato bread’.

The Alveolar Lateral

Apart from interdental [L] and palatalised [ń], Glenoe has an alveolar lateral [l] which has always a noticeably front or central resonance – produced by raising the front part of the tongue – in words like [fil] ‘feel’; ‘field’, [skil] ‘school’, [rül] ‘rule’, [wʌl] ‘wool’, [ril'rɔ:l] ‘topsy-turvy’.

The Single-Flap r

A single-flap *r* viz., [r], similar to the Spanish *r* in *toro* [toro], occurs in the following words: [TRœ] ‘try’, [DRÜk] ‘drench’,

[gʌtərə] ‘muddy’, [be:dərəl] ‘bed-ridden person’, [dže:nɔrəl] ‘general’, [galdərən] ‘shouting’, [θra:sl] ‘thistle’, [saðərən] ‘soldering’.

The Breathed Palatal Fricative

This type of fricative, which is very similar to German [ç], occurs in a few words such as: [çü] ‘hue’; ‘Hugh’, [çüdž] ‘huge’, [çümən] ‘human’, [çübərt] ‘Hubert’. This is phonetically a single sound – not a sequence of [h] followed by [j].

The breathed labio-velar fricative

This sound, [ʍ], is fully preserved in Glenoe, in contrast with most versions of RP. It is phonetically an unvoiced version of [w] rather than a sequence [hw] and is heard in words like [məilz] ‘sometimes’, [min] ‘a small number’, [mʌtrət] ‘stoat’, [mo:z] ‘wheeze’, [mʌn] ‘gorse’.

The unvoiced velar fricative [x]

This sound is produced by constricting the outgoing breath at various points between the uvula and the back edge of the hard palate. With the back variants there is often some uvular scrape. Front variants are never as far forward as German [ç]. Examples: [sprɔ:x] ‘sprawl’, [lɔ:x] ‘lough’, [tsax] ‘tough’, [do:x] ‘Doagh’ (place-name), [næxt] ‘night’, [pe:x] ‘pant’, [hix] ‘high’, [grisəx] ‘glowing embers’, [dɔ:xtər] ‘daughter’.

THE PHONEMIC ASPECT

Vowels

In discussing the phonemic status of the vowels above it is useful to consider interlocking series of minimal pairs. This task is rendered more difficult by the fact that certain sounds are of rare occurrence in the dialect. Thus, vowel No. 1 occurs only in unstressed syllables as in [kɔ:mɪk] ‘comic’, [mɪkel'we:n] ‘McIlwaine’, [fænɪs] ‘finish’ or in fused verbal forms such as those already cited. It is possible, however, to find cases in which this vowel is used in contrast with No. 2 and No. 3:

[fit] ‘from it’, [fɪt] ‘foot’, [fæt] ‘fit’.

We may further note that [hute] ‘have to’ does not rhyme with [site] ‘sooty’ or [sæte] ‘city’, which form a minimal pair. These vowels are therefore three separate phonemes, to which we may add seven more, viz., Nos. 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, on the basis of the series [bit] ‘boot’, [ba:t] ‘bit’, [bat] ‘but’, [be:t] ‘bet’, [bo:t] ‘bat’, [bo:t] ‘bought’ (alternative pronunciation [bo:xt]), [bit] ‘beet’, [be:t] ‘bait’, [bo:t] ‘boat’.

Vowel No. 5 is a problem in all forms of English, for it occurs exclusively in unstressed syllables, so we can contrast only the unemphatic pronunciation of the word *but*, viz. [bət], with the monosyllables listed above. The opposition between [wʌndə] ‘window’ and [wʌnde] ‘windy’ helps further to establish the phonemic status of [ə].

Of the remaining vowels, No. 6 is found to be in complementary distribution with No. 2. The latter is the main member of the phoneme occurring in words like [rit] ‘root’, [gid] ‘good’, [mɪn] ‘moon’, [kil] ‘to cool’, [gim] ‘gum’, [gis] ‘goose’. The former is the variant that is used before [r], e.g., [flē:r] ‘floor’, [pē:r] ‘poor’, [bē:rd] ‘board’.

Vowels No. 7 and No. 14 are for the most part found in complementary distribution. No. 7 is used in open syllables, in hiatus and before voiced fricatives in monosyllables, e.g., [kü:] ‘cow’, [pü:] ‘pull’, [džü:] ‘Jew’; ‘due’; ‘dew’; [krü:əl] ‘cruel’, [ü:ər] ‘hour’, [grü:v] ‘groove’, [bü:z] ‘booze’, [smü:ð] ‘smooth’, [rü:z] ‘rouge’. No. 14 is used in monosyllables closed by consonants other than voiced fricatives, e.g., [üt] ‘out’, [lüt] ‘loud’, [üs] ‘house’, [brün] ‘brown’, [mʊθ] ‘mouth’, [skül] ‘scowl’, with a lengthened variant before [r] as in [ü:r] ‘our’, [pü:r] ‘pour’, [dü:r] ‘dour’. This is not the whole picture, however, for although medially before voiced fricatives we do in most cases find [ü:] as in [bü:zər] ‘boozier’, [smü:ðər] ‘smoother’, [rü:z] ‘potato-oaten bread’, [krü:zər] ‘cruiser’, yet [ü] occurs in [süðər] ‘shoulder’, [püðər] ‘powder’, [hüvər] ‘Hoover’. These few exceptions disturbing the general phonemic pattern may be due to dialect mixture.

The opposition between long and short in Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14 has still to be considered. For Nos. 11, 12 and 14 the contrast is not significant, the long and short variants being in complementary distribution. Thus [i:] occurs in final open syllables, in hiatus and before voiced fricatives and [r]: – [gi:] ‘give’, [wi:] ‘little, small’; [di:v] ‘deafen’, [bli:z] ‘blaze’, [si:ð] ‘seethe’, [wi:r] ‘to wear’, [pri:ən] ‘small quantity’. On the other hand [i] occurs when followed by consonants other than the voiced fricatives and [r]: – [pit] ‘peat’, [fid] ‘feed’, [kik] ‘peep’, [džig] ‘jig’, [lin] ‘a small number’, [tim] ‘rain heavily’, [bil] ‘suppurate’, [dif] ‘deaf’, [pitər] ‘Peter’, [skrid] ‘scrape (on a violin)’, [gig] ‘giggle’.

With No. 12 the distribution is different, for [e:] occurs in accented syllables, [e] in unaccented positions: – [ble:t] ‘shy’, [de:lər] ‘dealer’, [kre:tər] ‘creature’, [be:st] ‘beast’, but [ɔ:ne] ‘any’, [de:pə:nd] ‘depend’, [ka:nət] ‘small and pretty’, [bə:səid] ‘beside’.

In the case of No. 14, as already mentioned [ü:] occurs only before [r]: – [stün] ‘throb with pain’, but [stü:r] ‘flying dust’.

No. 13 is the only instance in Glenoe where the opposition between long and short is differentiative. We find, for example, these significant contrasts in front of [k]: [pok] ‘a small bag’ – [po:k] ‘to poke’, [spok] ‘spoke (of a wheel)’ – [spo:k] ‘spoke’ (<speak). The short vowel [o] is also heard in [fok] ‘folk’, [smok] ‘smoke’, [tšok] ‘choke’, but otherwise in front of [k] or elsewhere only [o:] occurs. This opposition is thus apparently marginal and may be an innovation exploited as shown above to eliminate what would otherwise be cases of homonymic clash.

The diphthongs Nos. 15, 16, 17 and 18 are to be considered as four separate phonemes on the basis of the opposition between [məin] ‘(coal) mine’, [mæen] ‘mine (belonging to me)’, [mœn] ‘Moyne’, [mœün] ‘mound’.

Further minimal pairs for the first two are [əi] ‘always’, [æ] ‘I’ and [gəi] ‘very’, [gæ] ‘guy’; and for the second two [bəɛl] ‘to boil’, [bəül] ‘bowl’ and [təɛl] ‘toil’, [təül] ‘told’. The situation with Nos. 15 and 16 is more complicated than the above examples show, for a study of series like [prəis] ‘price’, [præz] ‘prize’, [proe] ‘pry’, [fəif] ‘fife’, [fæv] ‘five’, [fæəl] ‘phial’, [fæ] ‘fie’ indicates an underlying allophonic distribution of these two diphthongs, [əi] functioning as the main variant and [æ] occurring in final open syllables, in hiatus, and before voiced fricatives.

This simple distribution pattern has, however, been disturbed by various factors – the historical falling-together of certain diphthongs, analogy which has arrested uniform development, and perhaps also dialect borrowing. In any case, we must now regard [əi] and [æ] as separate phonemes in the present stage of the Glenoe dialect.

As already stated, No. 19 – [eə] or [iə] – is a diaphonic variant of No. 12.

CONSONANTS

As mentioned earlier, many of the Glenoe consonants coincide with those of RP. These need not be discussed at this point, but the phonemic status of the divergent sounds described above must be examined.

Interdentals

At first glance [t], [d], and [n] seem to be allophones of the corresponding alveolar sounds, replacing the latter in immediate contact with a following [r], [-ər] or [-ər-]. Closer study, however, reveals the significant opposition of alveolar to interdental in pairs like:

- [be:tər] ‘better (one who bets)’ – [be:tər] ‘better’ (<*good*>)
- [gʌtərz] ‘people who gut (herring etc.)’ – [gʌtərz] ‘mud’
- [ʃʌnər] ‘shun her’ – [ʃʌnər] ‘cinder’.

These interdentals must therefore be considered as phonemically distinct from the alveolars, but on the other hand the interdental [l] never occurs except in contact with the following [d] or [t], as in [ɛ:ldər] ‘udder’; ‘elder’, [bo:ldər] ‘boulder’, [he:ltər] ‘halter’. The alveolar [d] in [we:ldər] ‘welder’, [bo:ldər] ‘bolder’ and alveolar [t] in [pe:ltər] ‘pelt her’ imply an alveolar [l] before them. This alveolar-interdental contrast, it must be noted, is not just a simple phonemic opposition: the use of the alveolars rather than the interdentals is also an oristic signal marking a word junction or a morpheme suture.

Glottalised Plosives

In the case of these ejectives the situation is different. These are simply variants of the normal plosives, occurring medially following the stress and sometimes in final position. Even the glottal stop, which may replace [t'] in medial positions as shown, is in these instances an allophone of /t/.

Alveolar-Palatalised Consonants

These consonants can be shown to stand in phonemic opposition to the simple alveolar sounds. Thus we find minimal pairs such as:

- [nü:] ‘now’ – [ňü:] ‘new’
- [mælən] ‘milling’ – [mælən] ‘million’
- [sün] ‘soon’ – [sün] ‘shoes’
- [li:zər] ‘leaves her’ – [li:zər] ‘leisure’

With the affricates we can adduce two-way contrasts:

- [wʌtš] ‘witch’ – [wʌt] ‘wit’ – [wʌś] ‘wish’
- [pʌdžn] ‘small, fat person’ – [pʌdŋ] ‘pudding’ – [pʌžn] ‘poison’.

Of the remaining single sounds described above the alveolar lateral [l] differs from its RP counterpart in that it lacks the latter’s velarised allophone in final or pre-consonantal positions in words like those cited or in these further examples: [wil] ‘well’ (adverb), [me:l] ‘a large mallet’, [de:l] ‘to deal’, [re:əl] ‘real’, [fil] ‘fool’, [fæl] ‘fill’, [mʌl] ‘headland’, [pʊl] ‘pool’, [wa:l] ‘well’ (sb.), [θo:l] ‘endure’, [pɔ:l] ‘Paul’.

Single-flap *r* is an allophone of /r/ occurring directly after [T], [D], or [N], as in [TRɔ:x] ‘trough’, [DRæbł] ‘a small drop’, [he:nre] ‘Henry’, and even when [ə] intervenes, provided that another vowel follows the *r*, e.g., [mALDƏRE] ‘crumbly’, [RAXTƏRE] ‘riff-raff’, ‘canaille’, [rə:NƏRən] ‘talking nonsense’.

The breathed palatal and labio-velar fricatives can be shown to be in significant contrast with the corresponding voiced sounds, e.g.,

- [çü:] ‘Hugh’; ‘hue’ – [jü:] ‘you’; ‘yew’
- [win] ‘a small number’ – [win] ‘wean’
- [wʌn] ‘gorse’ – [wʌn] ‘win’
- [wəilz] ‘sometimes’ – [wəilz] ‘wiles’

Finally, the breathed fricative [x] has obviously phonemic status on the evidence of the following oppositions with other fricatives:

- [do:x] ‘Doagh’ (place-name) – [do:f] ‘hollow-sounding’, – [do:s] ‘dose’
- [hix] ‘high’ – [hiθ] ‘heath’
- [la:x] ‘laugh’ – [la:ś] ‘lash’

(continued)

Notes

- 1 Patterson, William Hugh, *A Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim and Down* (London, 1880).
- 2 Wright, Joseph S., *English Dialect Grammar* (Oxford, 1905).
- 3 Adams, G. Brendan, 'The Phonology of the Antrim Dialect', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 57C3 (1956), 69-152.
- 4 It should be noted that [ɛ:], [ɑ:] and [ɔ:] are long in the natural pronunciation of the Glenoe dialect speaker, but that under the influence of educated Larne speech there is a growing tendency to shorten these vowels, especially in polysyllables.
- 5 Jones, Daniel, *The Pronunciation of English*, 3rd edition (Cambridge, 1950), 45, §131-133.
- 6 Ellis, Alexander J., *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part V (London, 1889), 81.
- 7 Wright, Thomas, 'A Grammar of the Dialect of Tarbolton', unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Glasgow.
- 8 Dieth, Eugen, *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect (Aberdeenshire)* (Cambridge, 1932), part 1 (Phonology), §15.
- 9 Quiggin, E. C., *A Dialect of Donegal* (Cambridge, 1906), 23ff.
- 10 Sommerfelt, Alf, and Ingvald Marm, *Teach Yourself Norwegian* (London, 1943).
- 11 Holmer, Nils, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin, 1942), 28, 141-142, 154-155.
- 12 Holmer, Nils, *On Some Relics of the Irish Dialect Spoken in the Glens of Antrim* (Uppsala, 1940), 17-18.
- 13 Holmer, Nils, *Studies in Argyllshire Gaelic* (Uppsala, 1938).
- 14 McClean, R. J., *Teach Yourself Swedish* (London, 1947), 8, §19; Sommerfelt, Alf, and Ingvald Marm, op. cit., 17-18.
- 15 Holmer, op. cit. (1942), 27, §23; Holmer, op. cit. (1938), 44-45, §32.

Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Ulster-Scots Dialect

Part II: Diachronic Study

i.e. the Historical Origins of the Dialect*

Historical Phonology

Robert J. Gregg

Introduction

Whereas an investigation of the synchronic phonology of any living form of speech always involves the same elements, viz., a phonetic and a phonemic analysis, it must be emphasised at the beginning of the present diachronic study that historical phonology does not have the same meaning for every dialect.

There are dialects of English, for example, which are spoken by homogeneous ethnic groups who have been in continuous occupation of a given area for over fifteen hundred years. The changes in their speech are reflected in a long sequence of documents which go back to the earliest Old English records. This situation is well illustrated by the Durham dialect, whose diachronic developments have been so ably described by Professor Harold Orton of Leeds University¹. On the other hand there are areas such as the one dealt with in this paper – the Glenoe district in county Antrim, Northern Ireland – to which English is a comparative new-comer, as the population was mostly Gaelic-speaking until the arrival of planters speaking Lowland Scots dialects who settled there in the course of the 17th century. The relatively recent establishment of English, coupled with the complete absence of historical documents in this county Antrim rural region, creates an entirely different situation for the investigator and necessarily precludes the approach and emphasis of a work such as Professor Orton's.

It is clear that we must regard Ireland in general and the province of Ulster in particular as a *Kolonisationsgebiet* where English is a ‘transplanted’ language brought over by settlers but later acquired and now used almost universally by the originally Gaelic-speaking population. In these circumstances we must constantly bear in mind that the linking of modern speech-forms with Old English or even Middle English and Middle Scots is at best a somewhat theoretical relationship, as there has obviously been no continuous development *in situ* from these older forms to those of the present day.

At the same time, although it is fashionable in some circles

to disparage the concept of language substrata, those who are familiar with linguistic realities in Ireland² cannot fail to recognise the powerful and omnipresent force exerted by the submerged Gaelic (and sometimes, we may presume, even pre-Gaelic) dialects. It may thus be more accurate to say that, from the viewpoint of diachronic phonology, what we are faced with is often a sound-substitution from the substratum Gaelic rather than an internal phonetic change in the English. Such substitution might account for the difference, for example, between the ME ī in *hil* ‘hill’ and the Glenoe vowel No 3 [æ] in [hæl] ‘hill’, so that it would generally be more prudent to read the sign > as ‘is represented by’ rather than ‘becomes’.

It could also be argued that, in the 17th century, there must have been an interregnum lasting for a generation or two during which the indigenous Gaelic and the intrusive Lallans existed side by side, a situation which would favour the emergence of some degree of bilingualism and finally lead to a mutual interpenetration at all linguistic levels. In such a symbiotic state of affairs phonetic change in a given sound in one language might equally affect a corresponding sound in the other and it might eventually be difficult to determine the starting point. Thus, an extremely open vowel like the Glenoe [æ] mentioned above, which has come to replace ME ī in Glenoe, is also recorded for county Antrim Gaelic by Nils Holmer³ as the representative of earlier Irish ī both on Rathlin Island (off North Antrim) and in the Glens of Antrim, which lie about twenty miles north of Glenoe. The sound-change which led to the drastic downward drift in this vowel could according to this view have started in either language and through the agency of the bilingual group – even if it were a small minority – could have been passed on to the other. On the whole, however, the dominant impression is that the actual sounds in Glenoe are for the most part Gaelic but that they have been chosen as near equivalents or substitutes for the various items in a Lowland Scots phonological system. In other words, in Glenoe we are dealing with Lallans dialect

* Originally published in *Orbis* 8 (1959), 400-424.

words pronounced with a decided Antrim Gaelic accent.

A similar situation is, of course, to be found in certain areas of Great Britain itself, and especially relevant to this paper is the case of the south-western parts of Scotland, where various Celtic languages and dialects were formerly spoken. In these areas also the change from Celtic to English probably involved substitutions of the type described above, substitutions which would in that case have been already present in the Lowland Scots speech of the planters who crossed over from South-West Scotland. The fact is that the English language has, without interruption, been extending its domain westward through Scotland from the earliest period of Anglian settlement on the coast, and as it spread, it must have suffered a succession of modifications, the result of 'interference' from Celtic speech⁴. This westward movement eventually brought the Lallans to Ulster, not only to county Antrim across the thirty-five mile wide North Channel from Ayrshire and Wigtonshire, but as far as county Donegal, where, in the present-day Gaeltacht, the Celtic speech of Ulster is putting up a last ditch linguistic struggle-for-survival against English.

Only if we bear these circumstances in mind can we without risk of misunderstanding set up a system showing the historical relationship between mediaeval recorded forms of English and the present Hiberno-English or Ulster-Scots dialects. In discussing such diachronic relationships for the Glenoe dialect it also seems advisable to make the present-day word-forms our starting point rather than begin, for example, with Old or Middle English forms, which has been the general practice of English dialectologists following Joseph Wright's pioneer work on rural Yorkshire speech⁵, although the late Eugen Dieth departed from this tradition in his Aberdeenshire dialect monograph⁶, where his historical treatment starts from contemporary forms. This procedure is preferable in any case as, from the dialectologist's point of view, the focus of interest should always be on the dialect itself rather than on Old or Middle English, the hypothetical ancestors. Dialectology should, in other words, be 'dialect-centred'.

Concentration of attention on the contemporary dialect does not, however, invalidate or minimise the importance of the historical approach⁷. The juxtaposition of modern forms and traditional ME forms leads us to the conclusion that Glenoe, like the other Ulster-Scots dialects, has conserved features of Middle Scots speech, some of which have largely been lost in Scotland itself. It also helps us to clarify the relations between Glenoe and the West Central or South-West Lowlands dialects of Scotland in general⁸. For example, consider the diphthong in Glenoe words like [bəʊl] 'bold', [əʊl] 'old', etc. In Scotland such diphthongal pronunciations remain only in marginal areas like Campbelltown (Kintyre), Caithness, Black Isle and Easter Ross.

In the notes that follow, only the principal relationships between the sound-system of the Glenoe dialect as spoken today and that of ME are dealt with in a series of diachronic comparisons. It will be easily understood that in a short article space would not permit of any detailed discussion of exceptional cases⁹.

The Diachronic Aspect

Vowels

No. 1 [ɪ] Vowels of this type have developed within Glenoe and many Scottish and Ulster-Scots dialects as a contextual shortening of [e:], which itself may represent various vowels in the earlier stages of the language. For example, in the Glenoe words:

[de:] 'do', [he:] 'have', [ne:] 'no', [we:] 'with', [fe:] 'from', the [e:] < OE *ð*, *a*, *ā*, *i*, and ON *ā* respectively. The resultant [e:] in these and similar words, irrespective of its diverse origins, has been raised and shortened to [ɪ] in such fused forms as:

[dɪne] 'do not', [hɪte] 'have to', [hɪne] 'have not', [nɪθən] 'nothing',

and in compounded preposition-pronoun forms such as:

[wɪme] 'with me', [wɪt] 'with it', [fɪje] 'from you', [fɪt] 'from it'.

Apart from these developments [ɪ] also represents various ME vowels in weakly stressed syllables:

- (i) ME *a*, as in [ɑ:l'mənɪk] 'almanac', [əɪzɪk] 'Isaac'.
- (ii) ME *a*, (ultimately < Old French *a*), as in [bə:gɪts] 'baggage', [gɔ:rbiɪts] 'garbage', [ka:bɪts] 'cabbage', [pɔ:riɪts] 'porridge', [gə'lre:vɪts] 'uproar'; 'noisy gathering'.
- (iii) ME *ä*, as in [hə:dɪk] 'headache', [tiθɪk] 'toothache', [tɪ'ke:r] 'take care'.
- (iv) ME *e* (< OE *ēa*), as in [gə:rlɪk] 'garlic'.
- (v) ME or Early Modern English *i*, as in [ə'lə:stɪk] 'elastic', [fæniɪs] 'finish', [ɪg'nō:r] 'ignore', [mju:zɪk] 'music', [pe:riɪs] 'perish', [pɔ:liɪs] 'polish'.
- (vi) ME *ɪ*, as in [lɪk'stū:r] 'like flying dust (i.e., very quickly)'.

The vowel [ɪ] also occurs in a few words of Gaelic origin, in weakly stressed syllables:

[ɛ:ɪk] 'pullet', [gɛ:lɪk] 'earwig', [kɔ:riɪk] 'Carrickfergus',

the first two being probably Scots Gaelic re-imports and the last a local place-name.

No. 2 [i] This vowel often represents ME *ð*, in comparison with which it is raised, centred, unrounded and shortened. The corresponding vowel in modern Lallans dialects seems to have shifted all the way to the front position, whereas in Glenoe it is still front-central. Glenoe may thus have preserved an intermediate stage in the fronting process. In the case of Old French *u* (i.e., *ii*) > *i* it could be simply a question of unrounding.

- (i) < OE *ð*,
[bl̥d] ‘blood’, [br̥ðər] ‘brother’, [d̥n] ‘done’,
[e:f̥r̥n̥n̥] ‘afternoon’, [f̥t] ‘foot’, [g̥d] ‘good’,
[g̥s] ‘goose’, [g̥m] ‘gum’ (the flesh round the teeth),
[h̥d] ‘hood’, [i:ðər] ‘other’, [k̥l̥] ‘cool’, [m̥n] ‘moon’, [r̥d] ‘rood (quarter of an acre)’, [r̥f] ‘roof’,
[r̥t] ‘root’, [s̥n] obsolete, now generally [s̥n] ‘soon’,
[s̥t] ‘soot’, [sk̥l̥] ‘school’, [sp̥n] ‘spoon’, [st̥l̥] ‘stool’, [s̥n] ‘shoes’, [s̥t] ‘shoot’.
- (ii) < OE *u*, which was lowered and lengthened in open syllables to give ME *ð*¹¹
[ə:b̥n̥] ‘above’ (< OE *a* + *būfan*), [p̥t] ‘put’, (< OE **putian*).
- (iii) < ON *ð*
[kl̥t] ‘hoof (or one of its divisions, in sheep, etc.)’,
[kl̥te] ‘the devil’, [gr̥p] ‘open channel in byre’.
- (iv) < Old French *o*, lengthened in ME
[b̥t] ‘boot’, [f̥l̥] ‘fool’.
- (v) < Old French *u* (probably a central or front central vowel during the ME period)
[dž̥s] ‘juice’, [dž̥st] ‘just (only)’.

No. 3 [æ] This vowel – the normal Glenoe equivalent of RP [i] – is the dialectal representative of ME *i*¹¹ in a great number of words such as the following:

- (i) < OE *i*, or *ɪ* through shortening
[ba:ðəb] ‘obedient’, [ba:ɻ.çɻk] ‘billhook’,
[blæn] ‘blind’ (adj. and vb.), [bɒflæn̥s] ‘bullfinch’,
[dæxt] ‘to wipe’, [dra:ev] ‘drove’; ‘driven’,
[ʃhænt] ‘behind’, [fæft] ‘fifth’ (< OE *i*),
[fæñjər] ‘finger’, [ha:er] ‘her’, [ire:wæg] ‘earwig’,
[jæs] ‘yes’, [klæm] ‘climb’, [la:θ] ‘section – of an orange’¹²
[na:xt] ‘night’, [ra:ð] ‘rode’; ‘ridden’, [ra:n] ‘run’,
[ræz] ‘rose’; ‘risen’, [sa:he] ‘sinew’, [smæ:t] ‘infectious’,
[stæf] ‘stiff, obliging’ (< OE *i*),
[θæk] ‘thick’; ‘stupid’; ‘unfriendly’, [θra:es] ‘thistle’.
- (ii) < OE *y*, or *ȳ* through shortening
[bæld] ‘build’, [bære] ‘bury’, [bærse] ‘bristling (of hair)’,
[bæznæz] ‘business’, [fa:ɻθe] ‘filthy’ (< OE *ȳ*),
[fa:st] ‘fist’ (< OE *ȳ*), [ha:l] ‘hill’, [ka:l] ‘kiln’,
[la:sn̥] ‘listen’, [na:et] ‘knit’, [sa:en] ‘sin’,
[sæn̥ore] ‘asunder’¹³, [tra:en̥] ‘to trundle’; ‘barrow-wheel’,
[θa:ml̥] ‘thimble’ (< OE *ȳ*), [θa:en] ‘thin’; [wæs] ‘wish’ (< OE *ȳ*).
- (iii) < ON *i*
[æl] ‘ill’ (in compounds such as [æl-ta:nd]: ‘abusive’),
[ba:ŋ] ‘a heap’, [ha:t] ‘hit’, [ka:d] ‘kid’, [ka:st] ‘chest, box’,
[skæn] ‘skin’, [smæde] ‘smithy’, [ta:l] ‘ajar’, [θra:ft] ‘thrift’.

- (iv) < ON *y*
[ba:ȝ] ‘to build’, [bra:ȝ] ‘bridge’, [flæt] ‘to move (one’s belongings to a new house)’, [la:ȝt] ‘lift’; ‘steal’; ‘remove a corpse for funeral’, [la:ȝn] ‘type of heather’,
[mæd̥n̥] ‘manure heap’, [ra:ȝt] ‘belch’, [ra:ȝ] ‘ridge’, [sa:ȝst̥r̥] ‘sister’, [tra:ȝ] ‘neat’.
- (v) < Old French *i*
[ægn̥r̥ent] ‘uncouth’, [æmpedənz] ‘impudence’,
[dəlæv̥r̥] ‘deliver’, [fælt̥r̥] ‘filter’, [fær̥l̥] ‘ferrule’,
[la:ȝmət̥] ‘limit’, [mækst̥] ‘mixed’, [mæt̥s] ‘play truant’,
[pæd̥zən̥] ‘pigeon’, [pæl̥r̥] ‘pillar’, [pæn̥sər̥z] ‘pinchers’,
[pæs̥məü̥l̥] ‘ant’, [pə:zæs̥n̥] ‘position’, [præz̥n̥] ‘prison’,
[ræb̥ən̥] ‘ribbon’, [ræv̥r̥] ‘river’, [ræv̥ət̥] ‘rivet’,
[sæn̥] ‘single’, [sæz̥ər̥z] ‘scissors’, [ta:ȝk̥t̥] ‘ticket’,
[tæns̥] ‘tinsel’, [ta:ȝe] ‘tissue’, [træp̥] ‘trip’,
[væg̥ər̥] ‘vigour’, [væk̥r̥] ‘vicar’, [væk̥tre] ‘victory’,
[væl̥ən̥] ‘villain’, [vælid̥z] ‘village’, [væneg̥r̥] ‘vinegar’,
[væs̥əs] ‘vicious’, [væt̥ər̥əl̥] ‘vitriol’, [væz̥ət̥] ‘visit’,
[væz̥ən̥] ‘vision’, [wæk̥t̥] ‘wicket’.
- (vi) < OE (Anglian) *e* followed by a nasal:
[æŋlən̥] ‘England’, [æŋl̥s] ‘English’, [ba:ȝn̥s] ‘bench’,
[ga:rn̥] ‘complain’; ‘whine’, (< OE *grennian* – by metathesis),
[ha:ȝn̥] ‘hinge’, [ra:ȝn̥] ‘wrench’ *n.*, [stræn̥] ‘string’.
- (vii) < ME *e* followed by other consonants:
[æv̥ər̥] ‘ever’, [æv̥re] ‘every’, [ba:ȝəm] ‘besom’,
[bla:ȝs] ‘bless’, [da:ȝv̥] ‘devil’, [ða:ȝgæðər̥] ‘together’,
[ja:ȝst̥ə(r)de] ‘yesterday’, [na:ȝkst̥] ‘next’, [ra:ȝd̥] ‘red’,
[ʃa:ȝl̥t̥] ‘shell out’.
- (viii) < ON *e*, mostly followed by a nasal:
[dæn̥] ‘to beat, hammer’, [flæn̥] ‘fling’, [ha:ȝn̥] ‘hang’,
[ka:ȝt̥ən̥] ‘kitten’, [wæn̥] ‘wing’.
- (ix) < Old French *e*, mostly followed by a nasal:
[æn̥zən̥] ‘engine’, [bla:ȝst̥ər̥] ‘blister’, [fæt̥s] ‘vetch’,
[fræn̥z] ‘fringe’, [ʃa:ȝme] ‘chemise’, [træm̥l̥] ‘tremble’,
[træn̥k̥ət̥] ‘small channel’ (ultimately < Old Northern French *trenquer* – Old French *trencher*, French *trancher*), [tsæm̥le] ‘chimney’.
- (x) Glenoe [æ] also represents ME *u* from different sources.
This *u* could be related to [æ] through the intermediate stages *y* and *i*.
[ba:ɻ] ‘bull’ (ultimately < ON *buli*), [da:ȝn̥] ‘dun, dull brown’ (ultimately < Celtic; cp. Welsh *dwn*, Gaelic *donn*),

[næt] ‘nut’ (ultimately < OE *hnutu*), [sæmər] ‘summer’ (< OE *sumer*; *sumor*),
[taep] ‘tup, ram’ (< ME *tuppe* – of doubtful origin).

- (xi) Glenoe [æ] occurs in words of doubtful origin or from other sources, including Gaelic.
 [brælement] ‘uproar’, [džæbl] ‘spill’, [fæs] ‘to rustle (paper etc.)’,
 [glæn] ‘Glynn’ (local village name, < Gaelic *glinn*),
 [hærpl] ‘to limp’, [hærs] ‘to cough; to wheeze’,
 [klæb] ‘young horse’ (a year and a half old), cp. Gaelic *clobhóg*,
 [laeg] ‘a fool’, [lærks] ‘folds in the skin (e.g. of a plump baby)’,
 [mæm] ‘prim’, [mæmp] ‘behave affectedly’, [pælən] ‘pillion’ (< Gaelic *pilliun*; cp. Scots Gaelic *pillean*),
 [smæðərinz] ‘small fragments’ (< Gaelic *smiderín*),
 [snæb] ‘window-catch’; ‘small door-bolt’, [snæk] ‘door-latch’,
 [sælko:rn] ‘pimple’, [taeg] ‘touch lightly’; ‘name of a children’s game’,
 [trætl] ‘walk with quick, short steps’ (diminutive of ‘trot’?)
 [væt] ‘veterinary surgeon’ (< Latin *veterinarius*),
 [trækər] ‘trigger’ (< Dutch *trekker*).

No. 4 [ʌ] This vowel represents for the most part ME *u* from whatever source the latter is derived – OE, ON or Old French. Although the fronting-process or *i*-Umlaut is by far the more prominent in the history of English as of the other Germanic languages, the opposite process, viz., retraction, must be called on to explain the present occurrence of the vowel [ʌ] in words which had *y* in OE, and a preliminary rounding as well in those that had OE *i*. The change from *u* to [ʌ] involved lowering, centring and unrounding.

- (i) < ME *u* < OE *u*
 [bælk] ‘bullock’, [bʌrn] ‘a stream’, [bʌtər] ‘butter’
 [dʌme] ‘a dumb person’, [dʌŋxəl] ‘dunghill’,
 [dʌrs] ‘dare, durst’, [darsne] ‘dare not, durst not’,
 [džak] ‘a duck’, [fʌl] ‘full’, [fan] ‘found’,
 [græn] ‘ground’, [hʌnər] ‘hundred’, [hʌŋər] ‘hunger’,
 [jʌnstər] ‘child’, [kʌbərt] ‘cupboard’, [kars] ‘curse’,
 [mʌrdər] ‘murder’, [marn] ‘complain’, [pʌl] ‘pull’,
 [pʌn] ‘pound (money)’, [pʌrs] ‘purse’,
 [rʌx] ‘rough’ (from OE *ū* by shortening),
 [samθən] ‘something’, [sʌn] ‘sun’,
 [tʌmbl] ‘tumble’ (< ME *tumbel*, ultimately < OE *tumbian*),
 [θʌnər] ‘thunder’, [tarf] ‘turf’, [wʌl] ‘wool’, [wərd] ‘word’, [warθ] ‘worth’.
- (ii) < ME *u* < OE *y*, especially before *r*
 [blaš] ‘blush’, [bʌn] ‘bundle’, [bərdn] ‘burden’,
 [fərst] ‘first’, [hərdl] ‘hurdle’, [kratš] ‘crutch’,
 [star] ‘to stir’; ‘fun’, [stʌrən] ‘mischievous’, [šart] ‘shirt’,

[tšərn] ‘churn’, [θərst] ‘thirst’, [wərk] ‘work’,
 [wərm] ‘worm’, [ware] ‘worry’.

- (iii) <OE *i* (or *i* through shortening) after *w*, and also frequently before *r*.
 The vowels *y* and *u* could have been intermediate stages.
 [bərd] ‘bird’, [məts] ‘much’, [tšartš] ‘church’, [twənz] ‘twins’,
 [twəst] ‘twist’, [θərd] ‘third’, [θərte] ‘thirty’, [wl] ‘will’,
 [wʌn] ‘the wind’; ‘winnow’, [wʌn]STRE:] ‘windlestraw’,
 [wʌnro:] ‘windrow’, [WANTər] ‘winter’, [wt] ‘wit’,
 [wats] ‘witch’, [wʌs] ‘whistle’, [wʌspər] ‘whisper’,
 [wati] ‘to whittle’; ‘to pare’; ‘whitlow’ (< OE *i*),
 [wʌtrot] ‘stoat’ (< OE *i*).

Note: the word [twante] ‘twenty’ belongs here if we assume that the original *e* of the stem was first raised to *i* before the nasal.

- (iv) <ON *u*
 [balk] ‘bulk’, [gast] ‘gust’, [lag] ‘ear’,
 [læg] ‘pull’, [lagitš] ‘luggage’, [muk] ‘muck’, [mʌn] ‘must’,
 [rag] ‘pull (esp. hair)’, [skal] ‘skull’.
- (v) < ON *i* after *w*, with perhaps *y* and *u* as intermediate stages.
 [swaðer] ‘hesitate’, [wʌndə] ‘window’.
- (vi) < Old French or Anglo French *u*, *ou*
 [balət] ‘bullet’, [džalme] ‘journey’, [fər] ‘fur’,
 [farniš] ‘furnish’, [fazənləs] ‘tasteless’, [gatərz] ‘mud’,
 [hɑrt] ‘hurt’, [kantre] ‘country’; ‘rustic’, [kər?n] ‘curtain’,
 [klašən] ‘cushion’, [mʌn?ne] ‘mountainous’; ‘unkempt’,
 [mʌn] ‘mutton’, [namər] ‘number’, [nars] ‘nurse’,
 [palət] ‘pullet’, [prəpəs] ‘purpose’, [paš] ‘push’,
 [rafən] ‘ruffian’, [sadŋtəl] ‘suddenly’, [šagər] ‘sugar’,
 [tarət] ‘turret’.

No. 5 [ə] represents all the ME short vowels and diphthongs in weakly stressed positions, in initial, medial or final syllables.

- < ME *a*
 [ə'büt] ‘about’, [dze:rməne] ‘Germany’, [spe:šəl] ‘special’.
- < ME *e*
 [ə'nkweɪər] ‘enquire’, [mo:Dərət] ‘moderate’,
 [krakət] ‘crooked’.

< ME *i*

[ə'me:ns] ‘immense’, [TRǢnətə] ‘trinity’, [kʌmən] ‘coming’.

< ME *o*

[kə'mæt] ‘commit’, [dæsə'bidz̄nt] ‘disobedient’, [bʌlək] ‘bullock’.

< ME *u, ou*

[ən'ha:pe] ‘unhappy’, [væsəsle] ‘viciously’, [mʊθfə] ‘mouthful’.

< ME *ai, ei*

[TR̄:vəl] ‘travel’; ‘walk’, [ba:rgən] ‘bargain’.

No. 6 [ɛ:] This vowel, the pre-*r* allophone of [i], represents, like the latter, ME *ɔ̄*. In comparison with the ME vowel it is centred and unrounded – like [i] – but it differs from [i] in that it is not raised or shortened. It has probably about the same tongue height as *ɔ̄*. It should be noted that both [i] and [ɛ:] occur internally in words or in final closed syllables. In words with ME *ɔ̄*, in final open syllables, Glenoe has [e:], which in relation to the ME starting point is completely fronted and unrounded (see No. 12, ix)

[bɛ:rd] ‘board’ (< OE *bōrd*), [flɛ:r] ‘floor’ (< OE *fлr*), [pɛ:r] ‘poor’ (< ME *pōre*, < Old French *povre*).

No. 7 [ü:] Although it represents various ME starting points, this vowel occurs chiefly in words which had ME *ū*, in comparison with which [ü:] is extremely centred, i.e. articulated in a front-central position. The tongue height, lip-rounding and quantity are about the same for both vowels.

(i) < ME *ū* < OE *ū*

[brü:] ‘brow’, [bʌrn'brü:] ‘river-bank’, [hü:] ‘how’, [kü:] ‘cow’, [nū:] ‘now’, [sü:] ‘sow’, [sü:ər] ‘sour’, [sü:ər] ‘shower’, [θü:zŋ] ‘thousand’.

(ii) < ME *-ul* with loss of *l* and lengthening

[fū:] ‘full’, [pü:] ‘pull’

(iii) < OE *ð* followed by velar spirant

[bü:] ‘bow (of a boat)’, [pjü:] ‘plough’ (influenced by ON *plōg*).

(iv) < ME *eu, ew*

[bjü:] ‘blue’, [lü:] ‘lukewarm’, [nū:] ‘new’, [sü:] ‘sew’, [vjü:] ‘view’.

(v) [ü:] in Glenoe words from various sources

[dü:] ‘dove’ (OE *duſe), [džə'lü:z] (for [džə'lü:z] ‘surmise’, < French *jalouser*), [krü:ze] ‘rush-lamp’ (cp. Gaelic *cruiscean*; ON *krūs* ‘a pot’)

No. 8 [ɛ:] This vowel is of very frequent occurrence and generally represents ME *e*, the latter being of divers origins,

but [ɛ:] also occurs in words where ME had *a*. The lengthening in [ɛ:] is thus modern.

(i) < ME *e* < OE *e, eo*

[bɛ:Dərəl] ‘bedridden person’, [be:lez] ‘bellows’, [be:n] ‘bend’, [be:re] ‘berry’, [e:frər] ‘after’ (influenced by ON), [ɛ:n] ‘end’, [ɛ:rn] ‘errand’, [he:rvəst] ‘harvest’, [jɛ:rd] ‘yard’, [le:mpət] ‘limpet’, [le:rn] ‘learn’; ‘teach’, [mə'se:l] ‘myself’, [ne:b] ‘beak’, [se:n] ‘send’, [ste:rv] ‘starve’; ‘suffer from extreme cold’, [θRE:s] ‘thresh, thrash’.

(ii) < ME *a*

[bre:s] ‘brass’, [e:ks] ‘axe’, [e:pł] ‘apple’, [e:rm] ‘arm’, [fe:ðer] ‘father’, [ge:ðer] ‘gather’, [gle:d] ‘glad’, [grɛ:s] ‘grass’, [he:LTeʳ] ‘halter’, [he:rm] ‘harm’, [he:sp] ‘hasp’, [ke:rt] ‘cart’, [kre:dł] ‘cradle’, [ne:re] ‘narrow’, [ple:stər] ‘plaster’, [re:ðer] ‘rather’, [se:k] ‘sack’, [se:Tə(r)de] ‘Saturday’, [še:rp] ‘sharp’, [te:rt] ‘tart’.

(iii) < ON *e*

[e:g] ‘egg’; ‘to incite’, [ge:ld] ‘geld’, [kle:g] ‘gadfly’, [le:g] ‘leg’, [skε:le] ‘squint’; ‘glance’.

(iv) < ON *a*

[bre:kn] ‘bracken’, [DRE:g] ‘drag’, [fle:gz] ‘flagstones’, [fle:t] ‘flat’, [ne:g] ‘scold’, [skre:ge] ‘thin’, [sne:g] ‘difficulty’.

(v) < ON *y*

[ke:nł] ‘kindle’, [re:d] ‘rid’.

(vi) < Old French *e*

[de:t] ‘debt’, [də'ze:rv] ‘deserve’, [dze:ləs] ‘jealous’, [dže:rmən] ‘German’, [fe:rmər] ‘farmer’, [gɛ:nse] ‘jersey’, [kən'se:rn] ‘concern’, [le:təs] ‘lettuce’, [me:n] ‘mend’, [ne:fje] ‘nephew’, [pɛ:riš] ‘perish’; ‘to be extremely cold’, [se:rtŋ(t)] ‘certain’, [te:mp] ‘tempt’, [te:reər] ‘terrier’, [ve:re] ‘very’.

(vii) < Old French *i*

[dɛ:nər] ‘dinner’.

No. 9 [a:] This, another characteristic vowel in the Glenoe dialect, is the normal representative of ME *a*, so the present lengthened form is modern. The tongue position may be slightly retracted as compared with the ME vowel.

- (i) < ME *a* < OE *æ ea, a*
 [ɑ:nt] ‘ant’, [ɑ:rk] ‘meal-bin’, [bo:k] ‘back’, [be'lə:n] ‘belong’,
 [fʊ:sŋ] ‘fasten’, [ga:ləsəz] ‘braces’, [hə:n] ‘hand’,
 [hə:rə] ‘harrow’, [ka:f] ‘chaff’, [ka:v] ‘calve’,
 [kə:n] ‘candle’, [mə:n] ‘man’, [pə:d] ‘path’, [sə:t] ‘salt’,
 [swə:rd] ‘swath’ (confused with *sward*?),
 [wə:z] ‘was’, [wə:n] ‘thong’.
- (ii) < ME *e* often after *w* or before *r*
 [bə:rm] ‘yeast’, [də:rlən] ‘darling’, [fə:rDər] ‘further’,
 [fə:rdŋ] ‘farthing’, [ra:n] ‘wren’, [ra:s] ‘wrestle’,
 [sə:rk] ‘chemise’, [twə:lθ] ‘twelfth’, [wa:ðər] ‘weather’,
 [wə:lp] ‘whelp’.
- (iii) < ME *o* < OE *o*, before labials
 [a:f] ‘off’, [a:pŋ] ‘open’,
 [a:Tər,ka:p] term of abuse (< OE *attorcoppa* ‘a spider’),
 [D̥rɔ:p] ‘drop’, [kra:p] ‘crop’, [sta:p] ‘stop’,
 [ta:p] ‘top’
- (iv) < ON *a, (e, o)*
 [a:r] ‘scar’ (< e), [bla:ðəR] ‘riff-raff’, [ha:ns] ‘inaugural gift’,
 [la:ft] ‘loft’; ‘upstairs room(s)’ (< o), [ra:n] ‘wrong’,
 [sko:r] ‘scare’ (< e), [stu:k] ‘stack’.
- (v) < Old French *a*
 [a:rg] ‘argue’, [ba:gɪtš] ‘baggage’, [ba:r] ‘barrel’,
 [blɔ:ŋkət] ‘blanket’, [dža:kət] ‘jacket’, [gra:n] ‘grand’,
 [ka:re] ‘carry’, [k'wa:lətə] ‘quality’; ‘aristocracy’,
 [kwa:rt] ‘quart’, [ma:Tər] ‘matter’, [sko:d] ‘scald’;
 ‘tea’,
 [va:l'e] ‘value’.
- (vi) < Old French *e*
 [kla:rk] ‘clerk’, [pə:rdŋ] ‘pardon’, [pa:rsle] ‘parsley’,
 [pə:rsŋ] ‘parson’, [wə:r] ‘war’.
- (vii) < Old French *o*
 [ba:t] ‘bottle (of hay)’, [pa:ritš] ‘porridge’.
- (viii) [a:] in words of doubtful origin in Glenoe.
 [bra:t] ‘peal (of thunder)’, [D̥rɔ:b] ‘dew’, [dža:p] ‘splash’,
 [flɔ:m] ‘to flatter’, [ga:mərəl] ‘fool’ (probably ultimately < ME *grammere*),
 [ha:b] ‘hob’, [ka:n] ‘wrangle’, [kla:rt] ‘slut’, [la:šər] ‘eyelash’,
 [na:b] ‘knob’, [ska:rt] ‘cormorant’ (cp. ON *scarf* ‘cormorant’)
 [sprə:xl] ‘sprawl’, [θra:p] ‘throat’.

No. 10 [ɔ:] This vowel is of common occurrence in all the Ulster-Scots dialects but is not found in central or South Ulster speech, which usually has [ɒ] in its place. It generally stands for ME *o*, so the lengthening is modern. The vowel seems to represent an intermediate stage in the development of the typically western Lallans [o:] from the same source. Glenoe shows this final stage in only a few words: [bo:ne] ‘bonny’, [džo:n] ‘John’, [ko:le] ‘collie (dog)’.

- (i) < ME *o* < OE *o*, or *ō* shortened
 [bɔ:rə] ‘to borrow’, [dɔ:kən] ‘dock (plant)’,
 [ðə:mɔ:rə] ‘tomorrow’, [ðɔ:nər] ‘yonder’, [fɔ:ðər] ‘fodder’ (< OE *ō*, shortened), [fɔ:rət] ‘forward’,
 [klɔ:kən] ‘broody (of a hen)’,
 [lɔ:k] ‘a lot’, [ɔ:kstər] ‘armpit’ (< OE *ō*, shortened).
- (ii) < ME *a* followed by *l*, which has been lost
 [bɔ:] ‘ball’, [fɔ:] ‘fall’, [mə:skɔ:] ‘to slander’, [ɔ:] ‘all’,
 [wɔ:] ‘wall’, [wɔ:k] ‘walk’.
- (iii) < ME *au, aw*
 [blɔ:] ‘to blow’, [kro:] ‘crow’, [mɔ:] ‘mow’, [rɔ:] ‘a row’,
 [snɔ:] ‘snow’, [sɔ:] ‘to sow’, [tɔ:z] ‘taws’, [θrɔ:ən] ‘obstinate’.
- (iv) < ME *ou* < *o* followed by a velar fricative
 [bɔ:xt] ‘bought’, [brɔ:xt] ‘brought’, [dɔ:xtər] ‘daughter’.
- (v) < ON *o*
 [slo:kən] ‘to quench (thirst)’.
- (vi) < Old French *o*
 [bo:t] ‘bottle’, [fɔ:rm] ‘form’, [kɔ:tudž] ‘cottage’,
 [ɔ:riŋz] ‘orange’, [rɔ:k] ‘rock’.
- (vii) < Old French *au*
 [bɛ:kɔ:z] ‘because’, [frɔ:d] ‘fraud’, [pɔ:] ‘paw’.
- (viii) Glenoe [ɔ:] in words of doubtful origin
 [bɔ:s] ‘hassock’, [bə'l'ɔ:r] ‘bellow’, [fɔ:g] ‘eat greedily’,
 [gɔ:rb] ‘a glutton’, [klɔ:k] ‘a cockroach’,
 [kɔ:g] ‘to copy (homework etc.)’,
 [prɔ:g] ‘to search (for food etc.)’,
 [prɔ:d] ‘to poke about’, [rɔ:zŋ] ‘resin’.

No. 11 [i/i:] Both the long and the short version of this vowel are related to either ME *ē*, or *ē₂*. Hence the short allophone in Glenoe represents a modern shortening.

- (i) < ME *ē*, (i.e., *ē*) < OE (various sources)
 [bislənz] ‘first milk of cow after calving’,
 [bli:z] ‘blaze’, [brist] ‘breast’, [di:] ‘die’,
 [di:l] ‘devil’, [D̥rip] ‘drip’, [fil] ‘field’, [fli:] ‘fly’,
 [frin] ‘friend’, [hi:rd] ‘heard’, [hix] ‘high’, [i:] ‘eye’,
 [in] ‘eyes’, [i:vnən] ‘evening’, [kiŋ] ‘king’,
 [li:] ‘a lie’; ‘to lie’, [lif] (obs.) ‘gladly’, [midə] ‘meadow’,

- (i) [rik] ‘smoke’, [sik] ‘sick’, [spil] ‘climb’, [STRIT] ‘street’,
 [swim] ‘swim’, [TRI:] ‘tree’, [θRI:] ‘three’, [θRID] ‘thread’,
 [wi:] ‘wee’, [widə] ‘widow’, [wit] ‘to wet’.
- (ii) < ME ē, < ON (various sources)
 [gi:] ‘give’, [DRIX] ‘wet and depressing (weather)’
 [kik] ‘peep’, [LISTER] ‘pronged salmon spear’.
- (iii) < ME ē, (i.e., ē) < OE (various sources)
 [brid] ‘bread’, [did] ‘dead’, [dif] ‘deaf’,
 [di:v] ‘deafen’, [hid] ‘head’, [klin] ‘clean’, [lid] ‘to lead’,
 [lid] ‘lead (metal)’, [mi:r] ‘mare’, [pi:r] ‘pear’,
 [sprid] ‘spread’, [swi:r] ‘swear’, [ti:r] ‘to tear’,
 [wil] ‘well’ (adv.), [wi:r] ‘to wear’.
- (iv) < ME ē, < ON (various sources)
 [gi:r] ‘equipment’, [ni:v] ‘fist’, [tim] ‘to pour’.
- (v) < ME ē, < Old French (various sources)
 [bis:] ‘beasts’, [əpi:r] ‘appear’, [i:z] ‘ease’, [kli:r] ‘clear’,
 [kriš] ‘grease’.
- (vi) Glenoe [i:i:] in words of doubtful origin, sometimes
 Gaelic
 [frīte] ‘superstitious’ (< ON frētt?)
 [grišəx] ‘glowing embers of a fire’¹⁴
 [kəli:red] ‘hysterically hilarious’,
 [pi:regəd] ‘in an uncomfortably conspicuous
 position’,
 [pi:re] ‘peg-top’, [pi:zwip] ‘peewit’,
 [sti:re] ‘an unappetising mixture of food’ (< OE
 styrian ‘to stir’ – with unrounded, lowered and
 lengthened stem vowel subsequently raised again?)¹⁵)
- No. 12 [e:e:] The long allophone generally represents ME ā, occasionally ME ē, and ī, and the ME diphthongs ai and ei. The short allophone occurs only in weakly stressed syllables and stands for ME i, e, a, etc.
- The Long Allophone: [e:]
- (i) < ME ā < OE ā
 [be:n] ‘bone’, [ble:t] ‘bashful’, [bre:d] ‘broad’,
 [əle:n] ‘alone’, [gre:p] ‘dung-fork’, [he:l] ‘whole’,
 [he:m] ‘home’, [kle:θ] ‘cloth’, [me:st] ‘most’,
 [ne:n] ‘none’, [re:p] ‘rope’, [se:] ‘so’, [se:p] ‘soap’,
 [ste:n] ‘stone’, [te:] ‘toe’.
- (ii) < ME ā < ON ā
 [be:θ] ‘both’, [ble:] ‘purplish blue’, [ble:børə]
 ‘bilberry’,
 [bre:] ‘hill-slope’; ‘steep road’, [øge:n] ‘again(st)’
 [fe:] ‘from’, [ke:l] ‘cabbage’, [le:n] ‘loan’,
 [le:x] ‘low’, [STRE:] ‘straw’.
- (iii) < ME ā < OE a by lengthening
 [be:k] ‘bake’, [ge:t] ‘gate’, [he:] ‘have’, [ke:m]
 ‘comb’,
 [le:məTər] ‘lame person’.
- (iv) < ME ā < ON a by lengthening
 [ge:v] ‘gable’, [ke:k] ‘cake’, [se:m] ‘same’,
 [te:n] ‘taken’, [we:l] ‘choose’.
- (v) < ME ā < Old French a by lengthening
 [be:kən] ‘bacon’, [e:b] ‘able’, [fe:s] ‘face’,
 [pe:pər] ‘paper’, [ste:bl] ‘stable’.
- (vi) < ME ē, < OE (various sources)
 [be:t] ‘beat’, [de:lər] ‘dealer’, [de:θ] ‘death’,
 [e:stər] ‘Easter’, [əle:vŋ] ‘eleven’, [fle:] ‘flea’,
 [gre:t] ‘great’, [se:vŋ] ‘seven’, [sé:d] ‘shed’,
 [sé:f] ‘sheaf’, [tše:p] ‘cheap’.
- (vii) < ME ē, < ON (various sources)
 [se:t] ‘seat’, [skre:x] ‘screech’.
- (viii) < ME ē, < Old French (various sources)
 [be:k] ‘beak’; ‘mouth’, [be:st] ‘beast’, [kwe:t] ‘quiet’,
 [re:əl] ‘real’, [re:zŋ] ‘reason’, [se:zŋ] ‘season’,
 [tre:t] ‘treat’, [tše:t] ‘cheat’.
- (ix) < ME ī, in final open syllables
 [de:] ‘do’, [te:] ‘to’.
- (x) < ME ai, ei < OE (various sources)
 [de:] ‘day’, [e:lən] ‘ailing’, [ne:l] ‘nail’,
 [re:n] ‘rain’, [se:d] ‘said’, [se:l] ‘sail’; ‘a ride’,
 [sne:l] ‘snail’.
- (xi) < ME ai, ei, < ON (various sources)
 [be:t] ‘bait’, [ðe:] ‘they’, [ðe:r] ‘their’, [he:n] ‘to use
 sparingly’, [re:k] ‘wander’, [ste:k] ‘steak’, [we:k]
 ‘weak’.
- (xii) < ME ai, ei < Old French (various sources)
 [fe:θ] ‘faith’, [ge:n] ‘gain’, [ik'sple:n] ‘explain’,
 [pe:nt] ‘paint’, [pre:z] ‘praise’, [re:l] ‘rail’,
 [STRE:n] ‘strain’, [STRE:nzər] ‘stranger’, [te:lər]
 ‘tailor’,
 [tre:n] ‘train’, [we:t] ‘wait’.
- (xiii) [e:] in Glenoe words of doubtful origin
 [DRE:ke] ‘wet’; ‘misty (weather)’, [kre:k] ‘ask
 persistently’,
 [pe:kən] ‘a beating’, [re:θ] ‘ghostly apparition’,
 [ske:l] ‘scatter (dung)’, [sle:Tər] ‘wood-louse’,
 [spe:lz] ‘small fragments’, [ste:v] ‘strain’,
 [θe:vłəs] ‘lackadaisical’.

The Short Allophone: [e]

- (i) In initial weakly-stressed syllables, < ME *e*, *i*
[be'gæn] ‘begin’, [be'lə:n] ‘belong’, [de'kle:r] ‘declare’,
[de'seɪd] ‘decide’, [refjü:z] ‘to refuse’, [re'wa:rd] ‘reward’.
- (ii) In medial weakly-stressed syllables, < ME *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*
['æmpedənt] ‘impudent’, [de:lekət] ‘delicate’,
[me:desŋ] ‘medicine’, [me:gnefae] ‘magnify’,
[ɔ:nbe:no:nst (te:)] ‘without the knowledge (of)’.
[te:stemənt] ‘testament’.
- (iii) In final weakly-stressed syllables, < ME *ai*, *i*
[fæv're] ‘every’, [bʌde] ‘person’, [frəide] ‘Friday’,
[he:mle] ‘hospitable’, [ɔ:fe:s] ‘office’, [sɔ:led] ‘solid’.

No. 13 [o/o:] The main source to which these vowels can be related is ME *ō* (i.e., *o*), but there is a small group of words – intruders from the standard language via Larne – with [o/o:] < ME *ā*. The long form is the normal one; the short form, which is rare, occurs only – though not exclusively – in front of [k].

The shortening seems to be recent.

- (i) < ME *ō*, < OE *o* by lengthening [ə'fo:r] ‘before’, [fok] ‘folk’, [fo:l] ‘foal’, [go:ld] ‘gold’, [ho:p] ‘hope’, [jo:k] ‘yolk’, [ko:l] ‘coal’, [lonən] ‘lane’, [lo:s] ‘lose’, [lo:st] ‘lost’, [no:z] ‘nose’, [smok] ‘smoke’, [sno:r] ‘snore’, [so:k] ‘soak’, [θo:l] ‘endure’, [θro:t] ‘throat’.
- (ii) < ME *ā*, < OE *ā*
[bo:t] ‘boat’, [go:] ‘go’, [go:t] ‘goat’, [ho:n] ‘hone’,
[lo:f] ‘loaf’, [o:k] ‘oak’, [ro:d] ‘road’, [spoke]
‘a spoke’, [STRO:k] ‘stroke’.
- (iii) < ME *ō*, < Old French *o* by lengthening
[bro:tš] ‘brooch’, [klo:s] ‘close’, [ko:r] ‘core’,
[ko:t] ‘coat’, [no: ſŋ] ‘notion’, [no:t] ‘note’,
[pok] ‘poke’, [pokət] ‘pocket’, [po:tšər] ‘poacher’,
[ro:b] ‘robe’, [ro:st] ‘roast’, [sɔ:po:z] ‘suppose’,
[so:džər] ‘soldier’, [sto:re] ‘story’, [to:st] ‘toast’.
- (iv) Glenoe [o:] in words of doubtful origin, sometimes Gaelic
[bo:s] ‘hollow’, [fo:ze] ‘spongy’, [gə'lō:r] ‘plenty’¹⁶
[ho:g] ‘stench’¹⁷, [ko:gle] ‘unsteady’,
[ko:l] ‘small bundle of hay’, [lo:k] ‘luke-warm’,
[pro:k] ‘poke’, [ro:n] ‘gutter-pipe’, [sno:k] ‘snuffle’,
[so:rnəx] ‘to rummage’, [sto:vən] ‘very drunk’
[STRO:n] ‘small quantity (e.g. of tea) poured out’,
[to:te] ‘tiny’, [to:v] ‘brag’.

No. 14 [Ü:Ü:] This vowel, like No. 7, generally represents ME *ū*. The shortening in the first allophone is therefore modern, while the length in the second may have been maintained from ME or – perhaps more likely – may represent a recent re-

lengthening in front of [r]. The ME vowels *ü* (< Old French or Anglo-Norman) and *ō*, as well as the diphthongs *eu* and *iu* are further possible sources of Glenoe [Ü:Ü:].

- (i) ME *ū* < OE *ū*, or *u* by lengthening
[brūn] ‘brown’, [drūθ] ‘drought’; ‘thirst’, [dūk] ‘to duck or submerge in water’; ‘a bath’, [džūk] ‘to duck down’; ‘dodge out of sight’, [dūn] ‘down’, [ə'būt] ‘about’,
[hūs] ‘house’, [kūter] ‘coulter’, [lūd] ‘loud’,
[mūs] ‘mouse’, [mūθ] ‘mouth’, [rūm] ‘room’, [rūste] ‘rusty’,
[trūt] ‘trout’, [tūn] ‘town’, [θūm] ‘thumb’, [Ü:r] ‘our’,
[üt] ‘out’.
- (ii) ME *ū* < ON *ū* or *u* lengthened
[drūn] ‘drown’, [drūp] ‘droop’,
[skūl] ‘scowl’¹⁸,
[STRŪp] ‘spout of a kettle’¹⁹.
- (iii) ME *ū* < Old French *u* and *ou*, long or lengthened
[dæs.kūrs] ‘discourse’, [dūt] ‘doubt’, [ə'kūnt]
‘account’,
[kūns] ‘council’, [kūnt] ‘count’, [kūrs] ‘course’,
[kūrt] ‘court’, [krūn] ‘crown’, [pūðər] ‘powder’,
[rūn] ‘round’, [sūn] ‘sound’, [sūp] ‘soup’.
- (iv) < ME *ō*, < OE *ō*
[būk] ‘book’, [fūd] ‘food’, [kūk] ‘cook’, [tūl] ‘tool’.
- (v) < ME *ō*, < ON *ō*
[blūm] ‘bloom’, [lūf] ‘palm of hand’.
- (vi) < ME *ō*, < Old French *ō*
[prūf] ‘proof’²⁰.
- (vii) < ME *iu*, *eu*, *ū* (< Old French), all of which fall together as *iu* at an early stage. In this diphthong the first element becomes [j], which may remain, merge with the preceding consonant modifying it in some way, or simply disappear.

< OE
[trūθ] ‘truth’
< Old French
[brūt] ‘brute’, [džūk] ‘duke’, [džū:rən] ‘during’,
[fjūnərəl] ‘funeral’, [kjū:reøs] ‘curious’, [kjū:r]
‘cure’,
[pjū:r] ‘pure’, [rūl] ‘rule’, [stšūpət] ‘stupid’,
[šū:r] ‘sure’, [tšūb] ‘tube’.

Diphthongs

No. 15 [əi] This diphthong, like No. 16 [ae], generally represents ME *i* and probably preserves an earlier stage in the diphthongisation process, while No 16 shows a later stage. A few ME words with the diphthongs *ei* and *ai* – which normally give Glenoe [e:]²¹ – still have a diphthong in Glenoe, viz., [əi].

Some words in the latter category have thus fallen together with formerly contrasting words in the first, e.g., *whey* (ME *whey*) and *why* (ME *whī*) are both [məi] in Glenoe.

- (i) < ME *i* < OE *i*, *y* or *i*, *y* lengthened
 [bail] ‘a boil’, [kəʊl,rəif] ‘hypersensitive to cold’,
fileux,
 [ləin] ‘line’; ‘main road’, [məin] ‘recollect’ (ultimately < OE *gemynd*),
 [məis] ‘mice’, [pəik] ‘large haycock’, [ste:n'dəik] ‘dry stone wall’,
 [wəil] ‘wild’; ‘very’, [wəis] ‘wise’.
- (ii) < ME *i* < ON *i*, *y*
 [bəik] ‘wild bees’ nest’, [kwəi] ‘heifer’.
- (iii) < ME *i* < Old French *i*
 [gəid] ‘guide’, [məin] ‘(coal) mine’, [pəint] ‘pint’,
 [prəis] ‘price’, [rəis] ‘rice’.
- (iv) < ME *ei*, *ai* < OE (various sources)
 [həi] ‘hay’, [kləi] ‘clay’, [wəi] ‘way’.
- (v) < ME *ei* < ON *ei*
 [əi] ‘always’.
- (vi) < ME *ei*, *ai* < Old French *ei*, *ai*
 [brəi] ‘to bray’, [gəi] ‘very’, [məi] ‘May (the month)’,
 [pəi] ‘pay’,
 [rəin] ‘rein’, [stəi] ‘stay’.
- (vii) [əi] in Glenoe words of doubtful origin
 [dwəibl] ‘shake, wobble’, [fəik] ‘to fuss ineffectually at a job’; ‘one who so fusses’ (? ON *fikja*, ‘to move briskly or restlessly’),
 [gəip] ‘uncouth lout’, [kəitš] ‘shake up, toss about, jolt’,
 [krəind] ‘shrunken’ (? < Scots Gaelic *crion*, ‘to wither’)
 [rəib] ‘thin horse (or person)’, [skəit] ‘sharp, glancing blow’ (? < ON *skýt*-, the umlauted stem of *skjóta* ‘to shoot’)

No. 16 [æ], as already stated above, represents ME *i*

- (i) < OE *i*, *y*
 [əlaev] ‘alive’, [baeər] ‘cow-house’, [daev] ‘dive’,
 [drae] ‘dry’, [faev] ‘five’, [kae] ‘cows’, [mae] ‘my’,
 [maen] ‘mine (belonging to me)’, [saeð] ‘scythe’,
 [taeər] ‘to tire’.
- (ii) < ON *i*, *y*
 [θraev] ‘thrive’, [skae] ‘sky’.
- (iii) < Old French *i*
 [əraev] ‘arrive’, [pae] ‘pie’, [praez] ‘prize’, [re'plae]
 ‘reply’,
 [śaevz] ‘chives’, [tæər] ‘tyre’, [trae] ‘try’.

No. 17 [œ] This diphthong, which is not of frequent occurrence, represents ME *oi*, *ui*, in words generally of French origin.

- (i) < Old French *oi*, *ui*
 [bœl] ‘to boil’, [džœn] ‘join’, [əm'plœ] ‘employ’,
 [lœal] ‘loyal’, [mœst] ‘moist’, [nœz] ‘noise’, [pœnt]
 ‘point’,
 [vœs] ‘voice’.
- (ii) < Gaelic (various sources)
 [bəl'tœ] ‘Beltoy’ (local place name, earlier pronunciation [bəl'tei]). For the latter part of the word cp. Gaelic *tigh*, *toigh* ‘house’),
 [kre:gnə'bœ] ‘Craignaboy’ (local place name. For the latter part of the word cp. Gaelic *buidhe* ‘yellow’),
 [mœle] ‘hornless’ (ultimately < Gaelic *maol* ‘bald’; ‘hornless’)
- (iii) [œ] in words of doubtful origin
 [bœ] ‘boy’ (earlier pronunciation [bəi]), [tœ] ‘toy’
 (< Dutch *tuig*, *speeltuig*)

No. 18 [ü] This diphthong is used in Regional Standard speech throughout the province of Ulster as the equivalent of RP [au]. It is, however, comparatively rare in the speech of Ulster-Scots districts such as Glenoe, where it generally represents ME *au* and *ou* or *a*, *o* followed by *l*. The reason for the relative scarcity of the diphthong is clearly that, although ME *i* > Glenoe [əi] or [æ], yet ME *ü* remains in Glenoe as a pure vowel, viz., [Ü] or [ü:]. This situation is typical of many modern Scottish dialects and probably reflects the state of affairs already attained in the early 17th century, i.e., the beginning of the Plantation period.

- (i) < ME *au*, *ou* < OE (various sources)
 [be'stœü] ‘bestow’, [fœüər] ‘four’, [grœü] ‘grow’,
 [jœü] ‘ewe’, [sœü] ‘soul’, [tsœü] ‘chew’, [θœü] ‘thaw’.
- (ii) < ON *au*, *qu*, etc.
 [flœü] ‘peat-bog’, [gœü] or [jœü] ‘howl’,
 [lœün] ‘calm, quiet’, [lœüp] ‘leap’, [lœüs] ‘loose’,
 [lœüz] ‘loosen’, [rœüən] ‘mountain ash’.
- (iii) < Old French *ou*
 [kœüp] ‘overturn’; ‘upset’, [rœü] ‘roll’.
- (iv) < ME *a* + *ld* (with loss of *d*)
 [bœü] ‘bold’, [əü] ‘old’, [hœü] ‘hold’, [kœü] ‘cold’,
 [sœü] ‘sold’, [tœü] ‘told’.
- (v) < ME *-ol* or *-ol* + consonant (with occasional loss of *l*)
 [bœü] ‘bowl’, [bœüstər] ‘bolster’, [bœült] ‘bolt’,
 [kœült] ‘colt’, [mœü] ‘mould’, [nœü] ‘knoll’.
- (vi) OE *ü* or *u* lengthened, probably from the Standard language via Larne [krœüd] ‘crowd’, [sœüθ] ‘south’.

- (vii) < Old French *ū* probably via Larne
[kœütš] ‘couch’, [stœüt] ‘stout’.
- (viii) Glenoe [əü] in words of doubtful origin
[bœüx] or [blœüxər] or [wœüx] ‘cough’ (probably echoic),
[gœüp] ‘throb with pain’; [krœüde] ‘cream cheese’,
[krœül] ‘smallest pig of a litter’; ‘very small person’ (derogatory), [mjœüt] ‘faint sound’, [pœü] ‘head’ (cp. *poll*)
[pœül] ‘pole’ (ultimately < OE *pāl*), [pœüne] ‘pony’,
['sæüənz] ‘a dish like flummery’ (< Gaelic *samhain: All-Hallowtide*, when the dish was traditionally eaten)²²
[sœüs] ‘a heavy fall’.

Consonants

In examining the Glenoe consonants in relation to those of ME we note that there are fewer differences between the mediaeval sounds and their modern reflexes than there are in the case of the vowels. The differences that do exist – which may or may not be paralleled in RP – can be summed up under the following heads:

- (1) Glenoe lacks a consonant that appears in ME

- (i) *b*

[ke:m] ‘comb’, [klæm] ‘climb’, [rʌm] ‘rumble’,
[tæmer] ‘timber’, [tam] ‘tumble’, [træml] ‘tremble’,
Note in this connexion that the intrusive [b] of the standard language does not appear in the Glenoe words:
['fʌm] ‘fumble’, [grʌm] ‘crumble’; ‘fine crumbs’,
[θæm] ‘thimble’.

- (ii) *d*

Finally: [ba:n] ‘band’, [blaen] ‘blind’, [e:n] ‘end’,
[e:rn] ‘errand’, [fil] ‘field’, [grʌn] ‘ground’,
[kɛin] ‘kind’, [kœül] ‘cold’, [rʌn] ‘round’, [θü:zŋ] ‘thousand’.

Medially: [hænər] ‘to hinder’, [ho:rle] ‘hardly’,
[ha:rn] ‘harden’, [ka:n] ‘candle’, [θʌnər] ‘thunder’,
[wa:nər] ‘wander’.

- (iii) *f*

[ha:ŋkərtse] ‘handkerchief’, [mə'se:l] ‘myself’,
[o:], [ə] ‘of’, [wə'rse:lz] ‘ourselves’.

- (iv) *g*

[a:ŋre] ‘angry’, [fa:rdŋ] ‘farthing’, [fæŋər] ‘finger’,
[la:ŋər] ‘longer’, [sæŋl] ‘single’, [STRE:Nθ] ‘strength’,
[sʌmθən] ‘something’.

- (v) *l*

[bjü:] ‘blue’, [bo:] ‘ball’, [fü:] ‘full’, [ha:d] ‘hold’,
[kÜTər] ‘coulter’, [neü] ‘knoll’, [pjü:] ‘plough’,
[sku:d] ‘scald’; ‘tea’, [so:dzər] ‘soldier’, [sʌðər] ‘solder’,
[sÜðər] ‘shoulder’.

- (vi) *n*

[ka:ʃl] ‘kiln’, and surnames such as [ro:besən] ‘Robinson’

- (vii) *r*

[ka:TRidž] ‘cartridge’, and frequently in words like
[jæSTəd] ‘yesterday’, [gALDəd] (for [gALDərd]) ‘shouted
incoherently’, i.e. in the sequence interdental, schwa, *r*,
alveolar, the *r* may drop out.

- (viii) *t*

[biss] ‘cattle (i.e. beasts)’, [džœs] ‘joist’, [ɛ:mpe] ‘empty’,
[kʌrn] ‘currant’, [slɛ:p] ‘slept’, [wa:rn] ‘to warrant’.

- (ix) *v*

[dil] ‘devil’, [əüər] ‘over’, [gi:] ‘give’, [gin] ‘given’,
[he:] ‘have’, [le:] ‘leave’, [swil] ‘swivel’.

- (x) *w*

[kə] ‘quoth’ (only the phrases [kəhi:] and [kəši:] – ‘quoth
he, quoth she’ – used in oral narration),
[kə'te:šən] ‘quotation’, [ko:šənt] ‘quotient’, [ko:t] ‘quote’,
[kœt] ‘quoit’.

- (2) Glenoe has an intrusive consonant which does not appear in ME or in RP

- (i) *[r]*

[ko:rke] ‘khaki’, [lo:šərz] ‘eye-lashes’, [lo:zənžərz]
‘lozenges’, [pro:kər] ‘poker’, [θraesl] ‘thistle’.

- (ii) *[t]*

[jænst] ‘once’, [se:rtəntle] ‘certainly’, [sʌdəntle]
‘suddenly’.

- (3) Glenoe has a voiced consonant where ME or Early Modern English has its unvoiced counterpart

- (i) *[g]* for *[k]*

[grʌm] ‘crumbs’.

- (ii) *[d]*, or *[D]* (dental) for *[t]*

[ke:rpəndər] ‘carpenter’, [kəm'pe:dətər] ‘competitor’
[prɔ:desən] ‘protestant’.

- (iii) [v] for [f]
 - [ka:v] ‘calf’.
- (4) Glenoe has an unvoiced consonant where ME has its voiced counterpart
 - (i) [k] for [g]
 - [kriš] ‘grease’, [tɔ:nkl] ‘tangle (a species of sea-weed)’
 - [trækər] ‘trigger’.
 - (ii) [t] for [d]
 - [de:vət] ‘David’, [ə:hænt] ‘behind’, [fɔ:rət] ‘forward’,
 - [hʌzbənt] ‘husband’, [kʌbərt] ‘cupboard’.
 - (iii) [tš] for [dž]
 - [ka:bɪtš] ‘cabbage’, [lʌgtš] ‘luggage’, [pa:ritš] ‘porridge’.
- (5) Glenoe has a different consonantal phoneme as compared with ME
 - (i) [d], [D] for [ð]
 - [fa:rðər] ‘farther’, [fa:rdŋ] ‘farthing’.
 - (ii) [dž] for [dj]
 - [džü:] ‘dew’; ‘due’, [džʌk] ‘a duck’, [re:džüs] ‘reduce’.
 - (iii) [ð] for [d]
 - [ble:ðər] ‘bladder’, [fe:ðər] ‘father’, [fɔ:ðər] ‘fodder’,
 - [le:ðər] ‘ladder’, [püðər] ‘powder’.
 - (iv) [h] for [f]
 - [he:θ] ‘faith!’ (as an interjection).
 - (v) [l] for [n]
 - [t'sæmle] ‘chimney’.
 - (vi) [n] for [l]
 - [kə:no:g] ‘collogue, confabulate’.
 - (vii) [n] for [m]
 - [grøindæn] ‘grimed in’, [pa:ntəməim] ‘pantomime’.
 - (viii) [n] for [ŋ]
 - [džürən] ‘during’, [go:ən] ‘going’, [ɔ:neθən] ‘anything’.
- (ix) [r] for [l]
 - [džə'rū:z] ‘jalouse, surmise’.
- (x) [r] for [t]
 - [ər] ‘out of’ (in phrases such as [go:nərðə:t] ‘go on out of that’).
- (xi) [š] for [s]
 - [kriš] ‘grease’, [pæš,məül] ‘pismire, ant’, [re:n š] ‘rinse’,
 - [slüš] ‘sluice’, [šʌnərz] ‘cinders’.
- (xii) [t] for [l]
 - [ste:rekət] ‘hysterical’ (with aphaeresis).
- (xiii) [tš] for [tj]
 - [fɔ:rtšən] ‘fortune’, [tšüb] ‘tube’, [tšʌg] ‘tug’, [tšʌx] ‘tough’.
- (xiv) [v] for [b]
 - [ge:vʃ] ‘gable’, [me:rvʃ] ‘marble (plaything)’.
- (xv) [v] for [w]
 - [e:rvŋ] ‘Irwin’, [ka:rve] ‘caraway’.
- (6) Glenoe has one consonant where ME has two others
 - (i) [š] for [sj]
 - [šü:] ‘sew’, [šʊt] ‘suit’, [ta:še] ‘tissue’.
 - (ii) [z] for [zj]
 - [ma:žər] ‘measure’, [fʌžənləs] ‘tasteless’, [pʌžən] ‘poison’.
- (7) Metatheses
 - (i) [r] + vowel for vowel + [r]
 - [brəst] ‘burst’, [krʌdz] ‘curds (and whey)’.
 - (ii) vowel + [r] for [r] + vowel
 - [bærse] ‘bristly’, [gærn] ‘complain’ (ultimately < OE grennian, cp. *grin*),
 - [hʌnər] ‘hundred’, [ska:rt] ‘scratch’, [wa:l,kə:rsəz] ‘water-’ (lit. *well-*) ‘cress’.
 - (iii) [ml] for [lm]
 - [ʌə:mʃ] ‘overturn (a bowl, a box, etc.)’ cp. (*over*)*whelm*.

(8) Glenoe has kept certain consonants which have disappeared in other English dialects

(i)

In Glenoe /h/ is generally heard for orthographic *h* except in weakly stressed pronominal forms:

[gi:ət, te: əm] 'give it to him'

[e həz' lo:st ɪz' e:n] 'he has lost his own'

On the other hand, where RP has restored /h/ in certain spelling pronunciations, Glenoe has no /h/:

[ɛ:rb] 'herb', [ɔ:spætʃ] 'hospital'

(ii)

In Glenoe /r/ has not been lost in final or preconsonantal positions, except in the few cases mentioned above under (I) (vii). Parasitic /r/ is unknown.

(iii)

Unvoiced /w/ (i.e., /ʍ/) corresponds to orthographic *wh*, except where the spelling is not etymologically justified, as in *whelk*, *whole*, *whore*, *whooping-cough*, which in Glenoe are pronounced [wʌlk], [he:l], [hü:ər], [hüpən-kɔ:x]

(iv)

Glenoe has preserved /w/ in [twɔ:] 'two'

(v)

The unvoiced velar fricative /χ/ is preserved in many Glenoe words including:

[bɔ:xt] 'bought', [dρɔ:xt] 'draught', [ɛ:xt] 'eight',
 [hix] 'high', [la:x] 'laugh', [sæx] 'sigh', [sʌx] 'sough',
 [stRE:xt] 'straight', [trɔ:x] 'trough' but not in *delight*
 (Glenoe [də'løit]), where the *gh* is unetymological

(9) Glenoe occasionally has a different consonant from RP not as a result of a sound change, but probably because of Scandinavian influence

(i) /g/ represents RP /dʒ/

[bræg] 'bridge', [räg] 'ridge'

(ii) /k/ represents RP /tʃ/

[ka:f] 'chaff', [kæst] 'chest, box'

Notes

- 1 Orton, Harold, *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect* (London, 1933).
- 2 Henry, P. L., *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon* (Dublin, 1957), 15-20.
- 3 Holmer, Nils, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin, 1942), 46-47; Holmer, Nils, *On Some Relics of the Irish Dialect Spoken in the Glens of Antrim* (Uppsala, 1940), 28.
- 4 Grant, William, 'Introduction', *Chambers's Scots Dictionary*, Alexander Warrack (ed.), (Edinburgh, 1911-52).
- 5 Wright, Joseph S., *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill* (London, 1892).
- 6 Dietrich, Eugen, *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect (Aberdeenshire)* (Cambridge, 1932), part 1 (Phonology).
- 7 For a valuable discussion on the compatibility of the descriptive and the historical approaches, see McIntosh, Angus, *An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects* (Edinburgh, 1952), 12.
- 8 Grant, William, 'Introduction', *Scottish National Dictionary*, volume 1 (1931), xxxvi, xxxviii.
- 9 The writer hopes to complete a detailed work on all aspects of the Glenoe dialect's phonology in the near future.
- 10 Jordan, R., *Handbuch der Mittelenglischen Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1934), 62.
- 11 In relationship to *i*, the Glenoe vowel is extremely lowered and somewhat centred.
- 12 < OE *lif* 'a limb'; 'a joint'.
- 13 Cp. OE *syndrig*.
- 14 Holmer, op. cit. (1940), 117 *griseach* [gri:sax] 'embers, cinders'.
- 15 Dietrich, op. cit. §21.
- 16 < Gaelic *go leór*.
- 17 ? French *haut goût* > *hogoo, hogo* (OED).
- 18 Björkman, E., *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English* (Halle, 1900).
- 19 Grant, op. cit. (1931), §39.
- 20 The last three categories, (iv), (v), (vi), are either loans from another dialect or intrusions from the standard language via Lame. For the usual treatment of *ð* see vowel No. 2 above.
- 21 See No. 12, (x), (xi), (xii) above.
- 22 Evans, E. Estyn, *Irish Heritage* (Dundalk, 1949), 77.

The Ulster Dialect Survey*

Robert J. Gregg

The primary purpose of the project – under the direction of the well-known folklorist Dr. Richard Hayward and Mr. G. B. Adams of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club – is to collect material for an Ulster Dialect Dictionary. Over 12,000 words have poured in to headquarters in Belfast, including useful contributions from Canada, where in Toronto, for example, many well-known Ulster dialect words such as *dunt* 'to nudge', *clabber* 'mud', *gully* 'large knife', *spraghul* 'sprawl', *stiaghy* 'an unappetising mixture of food', *switherin* 'hesitating', and the poetic *dailigon* ('twilight', i.e. 'daylight gone') are still in use, if not publicly, at least within the family circle, among those whose ancestors came out from 'the ould sod' even as much as seven or eight generations ago. Because a great deal of attention has been given to the exact pronunciation and distribution of the dialect words within the northern province of Ireland, it is hoped that the information accumulated will be a help to the linguistic geographers of Canada and the U.S. who are trying to trace certain North American usages to a precise spot in the British Isles.

Introduction

Since the scope of [the Canadian Linguistic] Association's interests was officially widened some time ago, I do not need to apologize for choosing a topic which seems to be so far over the horizon from a Canadian point of view. It may be worth emphasizing, however, that the Survey I am discussing, which deals with the dialects of English spoken in Ulster, is not without relevance for other similar surveys both in Great Britain and in North America. From a diachronic viewpoint Ireland in general and Ulster in particular is in some ways a linguistic museum where we find preserved many features apparently characteristic of the speech of both England and Scotland during the 16th and 17th centuries, which is of course also the period during which English moved across the Atlantic to gain a foothold in North America. A further trans-Atlantic link arises from the mass migrations during the 18th century of the 'so-called' Ulster Scots (or Scotch-Irish) to the U.S., as well as from their movement in more recent times to Canada, especially Ontario, where their influence seems to be most clearly discernible in the Ottawa Valley region. North American linguistic geographers thus still find traces of Ulster speech in various parts of Canada and the U.S., just as English

and Scottish dialectologists find remnants of their own dialects in Ulster.

Apart from this historical and linguistic-geographical relevance, 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 Germanic, 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 to-day'. 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.

Organization

Although the importance of Ulster dialects has long been recognized by outside linguists, the detailed appreciation of their influence has been hampered by a lack of scientific descriptions comparable to those available for England, Scotland and North America in the works of men like Orton, Dieth, Kurath, etc. Thus an important gap was filled when the Ulster Dialect Survey was started in 1951, and the task of collecting dialect material was undertaken by a specially created section of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, an old-established and well-connected learned society with wide-ranging regional interests. It was decided that the area under consideration should include not only the six counties of the political unit known as Northern Ireland, but also three other counties – Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan – belonging to the historic province of Ulster, and two other border counties – Louth and Leitrim – as well. The whole organization was set up on a voluntary basis by the prime movers – the well-known folklorist Mr. Richard Hayward and his nephew Mr. G. Brendan Adams, a brilliant philologist and gifted linguist. Six other collector-editors were co-opted, including myself, and the whole area was divided into eight zones with a collector-editor in charge of each. I had been collecting dialect material independently for over twenty years at the time, especially in county Antrim. One of the most enthusiastic sponsors of the

* Unpublished paper delivered to Canadian Linguistic Association at the University of Saskatchewan, 1959.

Survey was Professor E. Estyn Evans, Dean of the Arts Faculty at Queen's University, Belfast, professor of Geography, archeologist, and keen supporter of regional studies. Reliable informants were found by means of radio-talks, articles in local newspapers and periodicals, and questionnaires went out to teachers, lighthouse-keepers, fishery inspectors, etc. I had replies with useful contributions from places as far afield as Toronto and Philadelphia. A team of a dozen writers or recorders was recruited whose job it was not only to sort out and classify all the in-coming words but also to extract and file material from the old printed glossaries dating chiefly from the late-19th century.

Almost immediately, contact was established with Professor Angus McIntosh and his colleagues on the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, a relationship which has, I think, proved very profitable to both sides. The two bulky Edinburgh questionnaire books have been circulated to informants throughout our Ulster area, and our own recorders have entered all the information thus gathered on to our cards before returning the books to Scotland. During the summer of 1953 I worked with Mr. J. S. Woolley, who had come over to do some exploratory field-work, and in 1957 and 1959 Mr. J. Y. Mather spent part of the summer doing a more detailed investigation of word-distributions and phonology. Until his departure for India close contact was also kept with Mr. J. C. Catford on phonological matters.

Aims

The original purpose of the Survey was to produce an Ulster Dialect Dictionary comprehensively documented with phonological, distributional, etymological and semantic data for each entry. To date some 12,000 words have been collected but the final total may be around 15,000, and the present plan is to publish this material in fascicules corresponding to the letters of the alphabet. Before my departure for Canada about five years ago Mr. G. B. Adams and myself went through the entire file and with the OED and Henry Cecil Wyld as our guides critically examined the entries and selected the genuine dialectal items. Occasional entries from old glossaries prove to be standard language and not dialectal, and some informants are liable to confuse dialect with slang. Our preliminary inquiries had put us in touch with reliable informants in every corner of our region, and we are now going back to these with our edited lists of, for example, the A-words, the B-words, etc., and checking with them the current use, non-use or obsolescence, the distribution, meaning(s), and pronunciation of each item. Since 1957, when the Ordnance Survey published its new $\frac{1}{4}$ " map covering Northern Ireland and adjacent areas to the south and west, we have scrapped our old reference system in favour of the Irish grid system, which the new map employs. We use the grid reference letters and numbers to refer to the places from which we have received information, and this is now immediately intelligible to our Scottish colleagues, who have a similar arrangement. We have also for our own purposes divided our area into the larger baronies and groups of smaller baronies. The *barony* was an ancient administrative unit in

Ireland, and its boundaries often mark the limit in the distribution of speech features and other cultural traits.

Most of our original informants belong to the older generation and to counteract this bias we have recently made a check with the co-operation of the Stranmillis and St. Mary's Teacher Training Colleges on the speech of the younger folk. The students in these establishments come from all parts of the province and range in age from seventeen to about twenty-one. This investigation has given us valuable information about the obsolescence and the distribution of words and the results are now being utilized in a series of maps by Mr. G. B. Adams.

From the beginning it was decided that the fullest possible phonological information should be sought from all parts of our territory. Mr. G. B. Adams has already published *An Introduction to the Study of Ulster Dialects* (which includes a description of Standard English as spoken in Belfast) and two further studies dealing with Donegal and Antrim phonology. I have personally made a special investigation of the pronunciation of parts of county Derry, county Down and county Cavan as well as a study in depth of specific county Antrim urban and rural sound systems. On the basis of information collected we have been working on the complex problems of phonemic analysis and an orthography for dialect words which would meet the conflicting claims of the various regional speech subdivisions. The only previously existing phonological data published are the entries under *Antrim* and *Ulster* in J. S. Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*, which unfortunately turn out to be unreliable in many particulars. A preliminary critical account of Wright's material has been written by G. B. Adams in his paper on Antrim phonology, and I intend to follow this up at a later stage with a 'correction' of Wright's forms so that investigators using the *EDD* may no longer be misled by erroneous statements.

Further aims include an investigation of the etymological and semantic aspects of each entry. Work on this has begun but will not be fully developed until the collection of material is completed. Special lists of dialectal plant and animal names are being drawn up by our botany and zoology experts, which will be useful, it is hoped, to their colleagues in biology and others unfamiliar with our dialects.

So much for the original purpose. In May 1959, however, it was decided to postpone indefinitely the Dictionary project and instead to follow the Edinburgh example by setting up an Ulster Dialect Archive to be housed probably in the new Ulster Folk Museum building under the care of a Board of Trustees and available to those engaged in research and, under supervision, to the general public. At the same time a guide will be published containing the material which was to have been included in the Introduction to the Dictionary of the original scheme: (1) a preface, (2) an historical account of dialect studies in Ulster, (3) a list of informants with grid reference, (4) an index of the main items in the records, (5) a register of all phonological work published or in process of collation, and (6) some special articles by various contributors, which would be varied in successive editions.

Results

When it comes to assessing the results of our eight years' work we can claim, I think, that apart from the ever-growing lexical archives we have now a much clearer picture of the nature and limits of the various dialects and sub-dialects spoken in Ulster. Our impressions have been confirmed by the recent map-work done by G. B. Adams and further by the publication of 'A Linguistic Survey of Ireland: Preliminary Report'² by Dr. P. L. Henry of University College, Dublin, whose entirely independent researches have given similar results. He recognises in Ireland four types of dialect:

- (1) Ulster Scots
- (2) Mid-Ulster English
- (3) Irish (i.e. Gaelic)
- (4) Blended dialects of British English with Irish.

Of these (1) and (2) are of course confined to Ulster, but types (3) and (4) occur in Ulster as well. Type (1) is distributed in a broad arc reaching from the Mourne Mountains in county Down through the counties of Antrim and Derry to East Donegal and coincides basically with the areas heavily settled by Lowland Scots planters in the 17th century. Type (2) corresponds closely to the English plantations of the same period and represents chiefly an extension of W. and N.W. Midland and N. Western English dialects. Owing to their geographical proximity the Scottish planters in the early part of the plantation period tended to predominate. They penetrated to some extent this English-settled area so that even here certain Lowland Scottish speech elements are present. Later, especially in the 19th century, industrial developments favoured the expansion of type (2), which spread down the Lagan Valley, widening the wedge between the southern and the northern branches of type (1) and becoming predominant in particular in the city of Belfast. Type (3) in Ulster is concentrated chiefly in the Donegal Gaeltacht, which has shrunk even since 1925, and perhaps a few pockets of Gaelic speech in the Sperrin Mountains in N. Tyrone. The Gaelic of Rathlin Island and the Glens of Antrim investigated by Nils Holmer of Uppsala in the 1930s must by now have completely died out, as has that of the Mournes and of S. Armagh reported on in 1929 by Professor Alf Sommerfelt of Oslo. Gaelic has also disappeared as a spoken language in the Breifny area in S. W. Ulster. Type (4) has arisen in comparatively modern times in areas such as the Glens of Antrim, which were hitherto Gaelic-speaking – actually since the Great Famine of about 100 years ago, before which over half the population of Ireland (which was c.8,000,000 at the time) was Gaelic-speaking. Consequently the form of English that was adopted tended to be essentially the current standard form of the language rather than any of the neighbouring older-established dialects. In Ulster most of these areas were strung out along the southern border of the province and further north formed a buffer between the Ulster-Scots dialects to the north and the Mid-Ulster English further south. The border areas, although in Ulster, generally adopted with their English a pronunciation strongly influenced by Dublin standards and this has given rise to what may be called

a border brogue, typical, for example, of towns like Newry in S. Down or whole counties like Monaghan, Cavan and Fermanagh. These dialects are also characterized by the relatively large number of unaltered Gaelic words and phrases still used in the midst of their English and the frequent use of Gaelic syntactical patterns and translated idioms. It would be a mistake, however, to regard these areas as quite distinctly marked off from each other, for, as P. L. Henry puts it, 'Ulster dialects should rather be visualized as a series of concessions between the four types described above than as a tripartite division with unmixed exponents of each'.

Leaving Gaelic out of account, we may draw up markers of various kinds which help to distinguish the other three dialect types. Even a casual scrutiny of the data will show that the Ulster-Scots dialects are the most clearly differentiated from every point of view – phonetically, lexically, morphologically and syntactically. Educated speakers in the Ulster-Scots areas, however, use when occasion demands it, and especially in the towns and villages, a type of English which approximates much more closely to the norm of the other areas. The division between Mid-Ulster and the Border dialects is much less clearly drawn. In fact, it is rather a question of shading off from one type to the other.

It should be noted first of all that there are certain phonetic features common to almost all Irish dialects of English, notably:

- (a) a 'light' (front resonance) lateral which occurs even in word final and pre-consonantal positions (as in *hill*, *feel*, *field*, etc.)
- (b) a point-open frictionless continuant *r* in word-final and pre-consonantal positions (as in *far*, *farm*, etc.)
- (c) a single-flap *r* following interdentals, with or without an intervening schwa (as in *tree*, *dry*, *three*, *bothering*, etc.)
- (d) interdentals in close connection or in direct contact with a following *r* of either type (as in *mutter*, *drink*, *flattery*, *banner*, *balderdash*, etc.)
- (e) an open front vowel in words like *bad*, *hand*, etc., although Ulster-Scots has an open back vowel in such circumstances.
- (f) a mid, back-centred, rounded vowel in words like *cut*, *plum*, etc., although Ulster-Scots generally has a lowered mid, back, unrounded vowel in such words.

At the same time there are phonetic features which clearly mark off all types of Ulster English from the English spoken in the rest of Ireland, the most conspicuous of which are:

- (a) an extremely fronted (actually front-central), somewhat under-rounded vowel in words like *too*, *boot*, *foot*, etc.
- (b) a raised and strongly over-rounded *o* in words like *go*, *hope*, *boat*, etc.
- (c) a very narrow descending diphthong, [əi], in words like *bite*, *tide*, *fine*, etc.
- (d) a similar very narrow diphthong with the vowel described above under (a) as second element, [əü], in words like *now*, *house*, *cloud*, *blouse*, and also *old*, *cold*, *told*, etc.⁴

In spite of the fact that the basic repertoire of speech sounds is similar all over the northern province there are nevertheless a few features which help us to distinguish immediately between the various Ulster dialects. The Ulster-Scots dialects, for example, are contrasted with the others as shown in the following oppositions:

Others

- (a) vowels ranging from [i] to [ɪ]
- (b) front open [a]
- (c) vowels ranging from [ɒ] to [a]
- (d) the back but somewhat centred, half-close, rounded vowel [ə]
- (e) only the close tense front-central slightly rounded vowel [ü]
- (f) only a ‘narrow’ type diphthong [əi]
- (g) short vowels in such words
- (h) palatalized velars in such words
- (i) tendency to voicing these medial plosives, especially with medial *t*

Ulster-Scots

- (a) an extremely open, slightly centred front vowel in words like *big, hill, sit, sieve*
- (b) a long back-open vowel in *bad, cat, stamp, hammer*, etc.
- (c) a long, back, rounded, half-open vowel in *cot, caught, rock, bottom*, etc.
- (d) a lowered version of [ʌ] in *cut, mud, supper*, etc.
- (e) an open, lax version of the front-central [ü] in words like *book, room, hoop*, etc.
- (f) a ‘broad’ diphthong of the type [a:e] in words like *pie, dial, size, alive*, etc., in addition to the ‘narrow’ diphthong [əi] in other words
- (g) long, half-open and open vowels in words like *step, hat, dock*
- (h) ‘normal’ velars in words like *cat, garden, bang*
- (i) glottalised plosives medially and sometimes finally in words like *pepper, butter, baker, what*, or even simple glottal stop medially in words like *butter*

The Border dialects are generally distinguished from both Mid-Ulster and Ulster-Scots by their tendency to use interdental stops in place of [θ] and [ð] in words like *three, other*, etc., and by the bodily inclusion of Gaelic words and phrases – without any phonological modification towards English – in the middle of English utterances.

At the lexical level there are again many clear-cut phonological oppositions (representing historical divergences of sound) which can be utilized in separating the dialects. Such are:

	Mid and South Ulster	Ulster-Scots
(a) <i>two, who</i>	[tür:], [hü:]	[twa:/twɔ:], [wɑ:/wɔ:]
(b) <i>alone, home, soap</i>	[ə'lɔ:n], [ho:m], [sop]	[ə'le:n], [he:m], [se:p]
(c) <i>blow, crow, sow</i> (verb)	[blo:], [kro:], [so:]	[bla:/blɔ:], [kra:/krɔ:], [sa:/sɔ:]
(d) <i>ball, fall, wall</i>	[bɒ:l], [fɒ:l], [wɒ:l]	[ba:/bɔ:], [fa:/fɔ:], [wa:/wɔ:]
(e) <i>father, flat, grass</i>	[fa:ðər], [flat], [gra:s]	[fe:ðər], [flæ:t], [gre:s]
(f) <i>bread, head, mare</i>	[bre:d], [he:d], [me:r]	[brid], [hid], [mi:r]
(g) <i>web, wet</i> (adj.), <i>wren</i>	[we:b], [wɛt], [re:n]	[wa:b], [wa:t], [ra:n]
(h) <i>clean, lean</i> (vb.), <i>mean</i>	[kle:n], [le:n], [men]	[klin], [lin], [min]
(i) <i>dinner, quit</i>	[dɪnər], [kwɪt]	[de:nər], [kwe:t] or [kwa:t]
(j) <i>twin, witch, whin</i>	[twɪn], [wɪtʃ], [wɪn]	[twʌn], [wʌtʃ], [wʌn]
(k) <i>blind, find</i>	[bləind], [fəind]	[bla:n], [fæn]
(l) <i>cow, house, mouth</i>	[kəʊ], [həʊs], [məʊθ]	[kü:], [hüs], [müθ]
(m) <i>high, sight, figh, laugh, cough, tough</i>	[həi], [səit], [fəit], [la:f], [ko:f], [təf]	[hix], [sæxt], [fe:xt], [la:x], [ko:x], [tšax]

Lexical items may be opposed to each other not on the basis of phonological divergence but of entirely separate words:

Mid and S. Ulster

<i>eariwig</i>	
<i>heifer</i>	
<i>clootie</i> 'left-handed'	
<i>pistroag</i> 'object of superstition'	
<i>bonnive</i> 'smallest pig in the litter'	
<i>colcannon</i> 'potatoes mashed with milk, and cabbage, chives, etc. added'	
<i>omadhaun</i> 'fool'	

Ulster-Scots

<i>gellick</i>
<i>quey</i>
<i>fyuggie</i>
<i>freet</i>
<i>crowl</i>
<i>champ</i>
<i>ligg, gype, etc.</i>

There are, of course, some morphological oppositions as follows:

Mid and S. Ulster

<i>cows</i>
<i>eyes</i>
<i>shoes</i>
<i>cannot</i>
<i>do not</i>
<i>have not</i>
<i>have to</i>
<i>from me</i>
<i>with it</i>

Ulster-Scots

<i>kye</i>
<i>een</i>
<i>shin</i>
<i>cannae</i>
<i>dinnae</i>
<i>hinnae</i>
<i>hittae</i>
<i>fimmae</i>
<i>wit</i>

There may finally be oppositions of a syntactical or idiomatic nature:

Mid and S. Ulster

<i>at all</i>
<i>He'll not be able to go</i>
<i>a quarter till six</i>
<i>He went down to Belfast</i>
<i>He went up to Dublin</i>

Ulster-Scots

<i>avaw</i>
<i>He'll no can go</i>
<i>a quarter tae six</i>
<i>He went up to Belfast</i>
<i>He went down to Dublin</i>

Notes

- 1 For an interesting conception of this interaction see Henry, P. L., *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of Roscommon* (Dublin, 1957), Introduction.
- 2 Henry, P. L., 'A Linguistic Survey of Ireland', *Lochlann: A Review of Celtic Studies* 1 (1958).
- 3 These two associated features are found also in western Lowland Scottish dialects, and, further afield, are a characteristic of most forms of Norwegian.

Ulster-Scots Urban Speech in Ulster: A Phonological Study of the Regional Standard English of Larne, County Antrim*

Robert J. Gregg

0.1 In the theory of diachronic linguistics the concept of continuous change and drift¹ is axiomatic, and it is easy to demonstrate the inevitable results of the process, as Sweet has done² in his *History of English Sounds* (1888). He describes how a language whose speakers have spread over an extensive plain and have settled down in scattered villages will eventually (if communications are restricted) develop into a series of dialects each differing slightly from its neighbours, the remote extremes, however, being doubtless mutually unintelligible. His description starts with a somewhat idealized picture of the gradual but ineluctable fragmentation of human speech in settled communities³ whose only contacts are with their immediate kindred. He quickly goes on to add that in real life sharp divisions even between contiguous dialects will of course occur if they are separated by some natural geographical barrier, and further that at a certain stage of development the political supremacy of one centre is almost certain to be established and with it the predominance of the dialect used there, which becomes in effect a kind of standard language. The setting up of a communication system focused on this point, coupled with such factors as centralized education and printing press, will eventually tend to spread the standard language over the whole territory at the expense of the regional forms of speech.

0.2 This theoretical description of the origin and development of dialects coincides, of course, very closely with the actual history of the dialects of English and many other languages. Sweet does not fail to note, however, that in the formation of standard English the language of the administrative centre did not finally prevail without some admixture arising from its contact with different regional dialects, which in turn suffered even more drastic modifications under pressure from the central speech. We must recognize in fact that this pressure becomes eventually an even more potent force than the older natural tendency toward change which is inherent in language.

0.3 In more recent years the rise and diffusion of standard English in its *written* form have been investigated in detail by

H. C. Wyld and his followers⁴. Wyld himself in his work on modern colloquial English⁵ has also described the origin of spoken 'Received Standard' English, together with that of its many offshoots which have arisen from blends with the various regional dialects and which he calls 'modified standard'.

0.4 The purpose of the present paper is to give a brief and tentative phonological analysis of one of these regional standard forms of English as it is spoken in Larne, county Antrim. The Larne version differs in many respects from the regional standard of Belfast and mid or south Ulster, which has been described by G. B. Adams in *An Introduction to the Study of Ulster Dialects*.⁶ It is worthy of attention, however, not only for its own sake but because it is typical of many other Ulster-Scots urban varieties of English which have arisen in the more northerly Ulster towns with a history and a setting like those of Larne. It has also a wider interest because it must have been a similar type of speech which was transported across the Atlantic by many of the hundreds of thousands of emigrants who have left Ulster to settle in various parts of North America since the early part of the 18th century and who have undoubtedly left their linguistic mark in various parts of the United States and Canada.

0.5 The links will also be traced between Larne speech and its linguistic background – the neighbouring Ulster-Scots *rural* dialect – and an attempt made to assess the more remote influence of the now extinct local Irish Gaelic.

PART ONE: The Ulster-Scots Urban Speech of Larne

1.0 To find in Ulster an urban area where the speech is of a purely Ulster-Scots (US)⁷ type it is necessary to go well beyond population centres in the immediate vicinity of Belfast and to an area where the surrounding region has a 'broad' rural US dialect. There are several such centres in Ulster – the towns of the Laggan district in east Donegal, of north-east Down, particularly the Ards peninsula south of Newtownards

* Originally published in Adams, G. Brendan (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 164-192.

and Donaghadee, and of county Antrim, except for the southern portion, south of the line joining Antrim town to Whitehead. In the urban centres of all these parts similar circumstances have produced similar linguistic results.

1.1 The town of Larne fulfils the general requirements just outlined and as stated above it is the speech of that centre⁸ which is taken as a typical example of the US urban pronunciation in this study. Larne lies on the sea-coast just thirty-five miles from the Scottish port of Stranraer in Wigtonshire and is encircled on the landward side by well-preserved rural US dialects. Belfast is twenty-one miles away by the inland road, on which there are no large towns that might have promoted the diffusion of the South Ulster type of speech current in the capital. It is twenty-five miles to Belfast by the coast road, and this, being the older route northwards, runs through many towns, including Carrickfergus and Whitehead, both of which have become to a large extent linguistically assimilated to the capital. Larne, however, ten miles further north-east than Whitehead, shows so far little trace of Belfast influence on its speech.

1.2 In describing the phonological features of the speech of Larne, we need to use a well-known point of reference, and for this purpose the spoken form of English called by Daniel Jones⁹ and others *Received Pronunciation* (RP) will serve best. In view, however, of the present wide diffusion and acceptance of other forms of spoken English it is proposed here to refer to RP as *Standard Southern British* (SSB)¹⁰, in which term *standard* is opposed to *dialectal*, *southern* to *northern* standards, and *British* to *North American* in particular. In certain cases where there is an important comparison or contrast, reference will also be made to the regional standard of Belfast and south or mid Ulster (B). Reference will also be made to the cardinal vowels as described by Jones.¹¹

THE VOWELS

1.3 An analysis of the speech of Larne reveals a total of fourteen vocalic phonemes easily recognized as distinctive on the basis of interlocking chains of minimal pairs. Ten of these are simple vowels which occur as the nuclei between the consonants /b/ and /t/ in the following words:

	Phonetically	Phonemically
(1) beat	[bit]	/bit/
(2) bit	[bɪt]	/bit/
(3) bait	[be:t]	/bet/
(4) bet	[be:t]	/bet/
(5) bat	[ba:t]	/bat/
(6) bought	[bɔ:t]	/bot/
(7) but (with strong stress)	[bʌt]	/bt/
(8) boat	[bo:t]	/bot/
(9) boot	[bʊt]	/but/
(10) but (with weak stress)	[bət]	/bət/

The remaining four are the diphthongs, which occur initially and which are followed by the consonant /l/ in the following examples:

	Phonetically	Phonemically
(11) isle	[əil]	/əil/
(12) I'll	[ael]	/ail/
(13) oil	[œl]	/œil/
(14) owl	[əül]	/əul/

1.4 A description follows of the principal members of these fourteen phonemes, along with a brief account of their most important positional variants or allophones:

No. 1 /i/ This phoneme has a principal member [i:] and a short allophone [i]. They are identical in tamber, both being close front vowels a little lower than cardinal and with marked tongue tension even for the short variant. The SSB phoneme lacks the extremely short, clipped variant which is, of course, characteristic not only of Larne but of Ulster and Scottish speech in general.¹² The long main member occurs in final open syllables, before voiced fricatives and in hiatus, e.g.

bee [bi:] key [ki:] lea [li:] sea [si:] tea [ti:] leave [li:v] teeth
[ti:ð] seize [si:z] prestige [prestɪ:ž] idea [ə'i:di:ə] real [ri:əl]

The short variant¹³ occurs in all positions other than those just described:

peep [pip] peat [pit] peak [pik] glebe [glib] lead (v.) [lid]
league [lig] cream [krim] keen [kin] king [kiŋ]¹⁴ leaf [lif]
Leith [liθ] lease [lis] leash [liš] teeth [tiθ] cease [sis]
sheepish [šipis] beacon [bikən] freedom [fridəm]¹⁵

It should be noted, however, that in separate words or fused forms where there is a clear-cut morphological suture the long variant [i:], final in the base, remains before a terminal morpheme consisting of a single consonant even when it is not one of the voiced fricatives, thus:

a greed is [ə'grid] but agreed is [ə'grɪ:d], need is [nid] but
kneed¹⁶ is [ni:d], heed is [hid] but he'd is [hi:d], weed is [wid]
but we'd is [wi:d].

This significant use of the suprasegmental feature of length is, therefore, a juncture phenomenon. It should perhaps be regarded as a morphological rather than a phonological matter and as such belongs to a superior level in the analytical hierarchy.

No. 2 /ɪ/ The usual realization of this phoneme is a short vowel, noticeably centred or retracted as compared with that of SSB /i/, to which it corresponds. It is at the same time somewhat lowered, approaching [ə]. It occurs in the following words, where it is associated with primary stress:

lip [lɪp] *lit* [lɪt] *lick* [lɪk] *tick* [tɪk] *rib* [rɪb] *rid* [rɪd] *rig* [rɪg] *limb* [lɪm] *Lynn* [lɪn] *ling* [lɪŋ] *ring* [rɪŋ] *live* (v.) [lɪv] *lith* [lɪθ] *list* [lɪst] *dish* [dɪʃ] *rich* [rɪtʃ] *ridge* [rɪdʒ] *pill* [pɪl]

The same main member also occurs with secondary stress in the last syllable of the following words:

arithmetic [ə'rɪθmətɪk] *candlestick* [ke:ndlestɪk] *lunatic* [lʊnətɪk] *politics* [pɔ:lətɪks] *whirligig* ['wɜrlɪgɪg] *wedding-ring* [we:dɪŋrɪŋ] *megalith* [me:gəlɪθ]

The chief variant is phonetically also short and much closer in tongue position to SSB [ɪ]. It occurs only before the velars /k/, /g/, /ŋ/ and the palatals /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/ in weakly stressed syllables:

garlic ['ga:rlik] *frantic* ['fra:nɪk] *drastic* ['dra:stɪk] *physics* ['fɪzɪks] *gelignite* ['dʒe:lɪgnəɪt] *anything* ['e:neθɪŋ] *boring* [bo:rɪŋ] *brandish* ['bra:ndɪʃ] *sandwich* ['sa:nwɪtʃ] *garage* ['ga:ridʒ]

Unlike SSB, Larne does not have this vowel in the final syllable of words like *very*, which is [ve:re]¹⁷, or like *Austin*, *foreign*, *wanted*, *glasses*, which are ['ɔ:stn̩] or ['ɔ:stn̩], ['fɔ:rən̩], ['wɒntəd], and ['gla:səz] respectively.¹⁸ Note further that the vowel in *it*, *him*, etc. when weakly stressed is not [ɪ] as in SSB, but schwa in phrases such as: *get it* ['ge:t ət] *from him* ['frɔ:m əm] *give him it* ['gɪv əm ət].

No. 3 /e/ The main member of this phoneme is a long half-close front vowel, slightly lower than cardinal. It never has the diphthongal [i]-glide characteristic of its SSB counterpart [ei]. It occurs in words such as:

cape [ke:p] *Kate* [ke:t] *cake* [ke:k] *Abe* [e:b] *aid* [e:d] *Haig* [he:g] *lame* [le:m] *lane* [le:n] *page* [pe:dʒ] *bathe* [be:ð] *haste* [he:st] *gale* [ge:l] *acre* [e:kər] *bacon* [be:kən] *capable* [ke:pəbł]

The short allophone, which is similar in tamber, occurs only in weakly stressed positions:

baby ['be:be] *very* [ve:re] *really* ['ri:əle] *Sunday* [sʌndɪ] *handy* [ha:nde] *begin* [be'gɪn] *report* [re'po:rt] *verify* ['ve:re,fæ]

It generally corresponds to SSB [ɪ] or [ə].

No. 4 /e/ This phoneme has no clearly marked allophones. It is generally realized as a half-open front vowel with tongue position very near to cardinal [e] and hence much opener than the corresponding SSB vowel, which is [ɛ:]. It varies unsystematically in length, but tends to be fully long, especially in monosyllables. Examples are:

web [we:b] *step* [ste:p] *bet* [be:t] *neck* [ne:k] *head* [he:d] *leg* [le:g] *hem* [he:m] *ten* [te:n] *length* [le:ŋθ] *tent* [te:nt] *deaf* [de:f] *guess* [ge:s] *breath* [bre:θ] *mesh* [me:s] *west* [we:st] *desk* [de:sk] *level* [le:vəl] *measure* ['me:žər].

This vowel is involved in one of the most striking examples to be found in any of our Ulster dialects of what Troubetzkoy called *Aufhebung* and his French translator J. Cantineau styled *neutralization*. This distributional phenomenon most accurately described in English as ‘suspension of phonemic opposition’ generally affects two or more items in the phoneme inventory (in this case /a/ and /e/) so that in certain circumstances either is replaced by a common ‘neutral’ substitute or, as here, one of the items only is found to the exclusion of the other or others.¹⁹ The elimination of opposition in Larne here referred to operates in the neighbourhood of the velars, more precisely, (i) after /k/, (ii) before /k/, (iii) before /g/ and (iv) before /ŋ/, thus:

(i) *cab* [ke:b] *cabbage* ['ke:bɪdʒ] *cabin* [ke:bən] *cabinet* [ke:bnət] *cackle* [ke:kl] *calico* [ke:hiko:] *camel* [ke:məl] *camp* [ke:mp] *can* (n.) [ke:n] *Canada* [ke:nədə] *candle* [ke:ndl] *candy* [ke:nde] *canister* [ke:nəstər] *cannibal* [ke:nəbəl] *cannon* [ke:nən] *canopy* [ke:nəpə] *canvas* [ke:nvəs] *cap* [ke:p] *capital* [ke:pətl] *capsize* [ke:p'saez] *captain* [ke:ptn] *captive* [ke:ptəv] *capture* [ke:ptər] *Carrick* [ke:rik] *carry* [ke:re] *cash* [ke:ʃ] *cask* [ke:sk] *cast* [ke:st] *castle* [ke:sł] *castor* ['ke:stər] *cat* [ke:t] *catalogue* [ke:təlɔ:g] *catch* [ke:tʃ] *catechism* ['ke:tekizm] *caterpillar* [ke:tərpiłər] *catholic* [ke:θlik] *cattle* [ke:tł]

(ii) *act* ['e:kt] *action* ['e:kşən] *attack* ['e'te:k] *axe* [e:ks] *axle* ['e:ksł] *back* [be:k] *black* [ble:k] *bracken* ['bre:kən] *bracket* ['bre:kət] *crack* [kre:k] *fact* [fe:kt] *faction* ['fe:kşən] *flax* [fle:ks] *fracture* ['fre:ktśər] *hack* [he:k] *hackle* [he:kł] *hackney* [he:kne] *jack*, *Jack* [dže:k] *jackdaw* [dže:k,do:] *jacket* [dže:kət] *knack* [ne:k] *lack* [le:k] *lacquer* [le:kər] *Mack* [me:k] *mackerel* [me:kərəl] *mackintosh* [me:kən,tɔ:ʃ] *maximum* [me:ksəməm] *pack* [pe:k] *pact* [pe:kt] *plaque* [ple:k] *practical* [pre:ktik] *quack* [kwe:k] *rack* [re:k] *racket* [re:kət] *saccharine* ['se:kərin] *sack* [se:k] *sacrilege* ['se:krilidž] *shack* [še:k] *shellac* ['šə'lə:k] *slack* [sle:k] *smack* [sme:k] *snack* [sne:k] *stack* [ste:k] *tack* [te:k] *tactics* [te:ktik] *tax* [te:ks] *track* [tre:k] *wax* [we:ks] *whack* [me:k] *wrack* [re:k] *zodiac* ['zo:dejə:k]

(iii) *Agnes* ['e:gnəs] *bag* [be:g] *brag* [bre:g] *crag* [kre:g] *drag* [dre:g] *fag* [fe:g] *flag* [fle:g] *gag* [ge:g] *hag* [he:g] *jag* [dže:g] *lag* [le:g] *magazine* ['me:gəzin] *Maggie* ['me:ge] *maggot* [me:gət] *magnet* [me:gnət] *magpie* ['me:gpae] *nag* [ne:g] *quagmire* ['kwe:gmaeər] *rag* [re:g] *sag* [se:g] *shag* [še:g] *slag* [sle:g] *snag* [sne:g] *stag* [ste:g] *stagger* [ste:gər] *wag* [we:g] *zigzag* ['zǐgze:g]

(iv) *angle* ['e:ŋgəl] *angry* ['e:ŋgre] *anxious* ['e:ŋsəs] *bang* [be:n] *bangle* ['be:ŋgəl] *Bangor* ['be:ŋgər] *bank* [be:ŋk]

blank [ble:nk] *canker* [ke:nkər] *clang* [kle:nj] *clank* [kle:nk]
crank [kre:nk] *dang* [de:nj] *dangle* [de:ngrəl] *fang* [fe:nj]
flank [fle:nk] *frank* [fre:nk] *gang* [ge:nj] *gangrene* [ge:ngrin]
hang [he:nj] *hank* [he:nk] *harangue* [hə're:nj] *jangle*
[ðzə:ngrəl] *language* [le:ngrwidz] *lank* [le:nk] *mangle*
[mə:ngrəl] *Manx* [mə:nks] *newfangled* [n'ŷfə:ngrəl] *pang*
[pe:nj] *plank* [ple:nk] *prank* [pre:nk] *rank* [re:nk] *rastle*
[re:nkəl] *sanction* [se:nʃən] *shank* [še:nk] *slang* [sle:nj]
spank [spe:nk] *strangle* [stre:ngrəl] *tang* [te:nj] *tangle*
[te:ngrəl] *tank* [te:nk] *thank* [θe:nk] *twang* [twe:nj] *whang*
[mə:nj] *wrangle* [re:ngrəl] *yank* [je:nk]

This *Aufhebung* is, however, obviously a phonological change which has not yet worked itself out completely, and in spite of the very numerous examples cited above there are many instances where it does not operate and where it might logically be expected, for example, following the velar /g/. Here we have [a:] in all cases, e.g. in the following words:

gabble, gadget, gaff, gaffer, gala, gallant, galleon, gallery, gallivant, gallon, gallop, gallows, gamble, gander, gannet, gantry, gap, garage, garbage, garden, gargle, garlic, garment, garter, gas, gash, gastric, gather, etc.

The only case where [e:] appears is in *regatta*, which is usually [re:ge:tə], and, of course, instances such as *gag* [ge:g], *gang* [ge:nj], etc., where the /g/ or /ŋ/ following is the operative factor, determining the use of [e:] rather than [a:].

A second group of exceptions is words beginning with [ka:l-] or [ka:r-], e.g. *calcium, calculate, calendar, calibre, calliper, callous*²⁰; *car, caravan, caraway* (usually [ka:rve]), *card, carpet, carrot*²¹, *cartridge, etc.*

The words *calf* and *calm* (in which the *l* is now silent) have [a:]: [ka:v] and [ka:m].

Note also *caddie* [ka:de] *cadge* [ka:dž] *camera* [ka:mərə] *camphor* [ka:mfrə] *can* (v.)²² [ka:n] *cancel* [ka:nsəl] *canny* [ka:ne] *canter* [ka:ntər] *Canterbury* [ka:ntərbərə].

A third and final group of exceptions is the past tenses of the following strong verbs:

drink, ring, shrink, sing, sink, spring, stink, which have [a:] in spite of the following /ŋ/:

[dra:nk] [ra:nj] [šra:nk] [sa:nj] [sa:nk] [sprə:nj] [sta:nk]

This [a:] has undoubtedly been preserved because of the analogy with other strong verbs such as *begin* and *swim*, whose past tenses are *began* [be:gə:n] and *swam* [swa:m].

It should be noted that as a result of the *Aufhebung* described above certain words kept distinct in other forms of English will fall together in Larne. For example, the following pairs have the same pronunciation:

<i>kettle</i>	<i>cattle</i>	[ke:tł]
<i>beck</i>	<i>back</i>	[be:k]

<i>neck</i>	<i>knack</i>	[ne:k]
<i>peck</i>	<i>pack</i>	[pe:k]
<i>Tech</i> ²³	<i>tack</i>	[te:k]
<i>wreck</i>	<i>rack</i> (or <i>wrack</i>)	[re:k]
<i>flex</i>	<i>flax</i>	[fle:ks]
<i>beg</i>	<i>bag</i>	[be:g]
<i>leg</i>	<i>lag</i>	[le:g]

As in many types of Scottish speech, Larne uses this vowel [e:] before [r] where SSB has [ə:]²⁴, and B has [ər] in a large group of words, the graphic representation of these sounds being generally *er* but occasionally *ear*, e.g., *berth* [be:rθ] *early* [e:rle].

The list includes the following:

Bert(ie), certain [se:r?n] *clergy, confer, dearth, dervish* [d̥e:rviš] *earl, earn, earnest* [e:rnəst] *earth, ermine* [e:rmaɪn] *err, ferment* (n.) [fe:rment] *fern, fertile* [fe:r,təil] *fervent* [fe:rvənt] *germ, German* [dze:rnən] *heard, hearse, herb* [e:rb] or [he:rb] *herd, hermit, hernia* [he:rneə] *iceberg* [eis,bə:rg] *jerk, jerkin, jersey, kerb, kernel, learn, mercantile* [me:rkən,təil] *mercenary* [me:rsənərə] *mercer, merchant, mercury, mercy, merge, mermaid, nerve, nervous, pearl, perfect* [pe:rfikt] *perm(anent), permit* (n.) [pe:rmət] *persecute, persevere, Persian* [pe:ržən] *person, pert, Perth, prefer* [prəfe:r] *refer, research, reserve, search, servant, serve, service* [se:rves] *sherbet* [še:rbət] *sperm, sterling, stern, swerve, term, terminus, terminiate, tern, therm(al), Thermos* [θe:rmos] *transfer* [tra:nſ,fe:r (noun)] and [trənſfe:r (verb)] *verb, verdant, verdict, verdigris* [usually 've:rdə,gre:s] *verge, vermin, versatile* [ve:sə,təil] *verse.*

A further group of words, this time with a graphic *-ir-*, has this same vowel [e:] plus [r] where B has [ər] and SSB [ə:]. The list includes:

Birmingham [be:rmiŋha:m] *birth, chirp, circle, circuit* [se:rkt] *circular* [se:rkjələr] etc., *circumstance* etc., *circus, firm, girdle, girl, girth, mirth, myrtle, shirk, skirt, squirt, swirl, twirl, virgin* [ve:rdžən] *virtue* [ve:rtšü:] *whirl.*

No. 5 /a/ Once again as with No. 4 there are no clearly marked positional variants with this phoneme, which is usually realized as an open front vowel close to cardinal in tongue position and like No. 4 of unsystematically fluctuating length though tending to be fully long. It differs thus from SSB /æ/ and /ɑ/, to both of which it corresponds distributionally, for although these SSB items are phonemically contrasted, e.g., in a minimal pair such as *ant* [ænt] versus *aunt* [a:nt], Larne has [a:nt] for both words. Examples of words in which Larne /a/ occurs are:

map [ma:p] *mat* [ma:t] *Mab* [ma:b] *mad* [ma:d] *match* [ma:tš] *Madge* [ma:dž] *ram* [ra:m] *ran* [ra:n] *rang* [ra:nj] *laugh* [la:f] *lath* [la:θ] *lass* [la:s] *lash* [la:š] *have* [ha:v] *has*

[ha:z] *pal* [pa:l] *par* [pa:r] *waltz* [wa:ls] *wander* ['wa:ndər]
warm [wa:rm]

No. 6 /ɔ/ Like No. 4 and No. 5 this phoneme has also no clearly marked allophones. Its usual realization is a half-open, back, rounded vowel about cardinal in quality, which varies unsystematically in length, although it tends to be fully long. Again like No. 5 it corresponds to two SSB phonemes, namely /ɒ/ and /ɔ/, although it differs at the phonetic level from both of these, the first being a fully open vowel with slight lip-rounding and the second between half-open and open in tongue position and decidedly overrounded, [ɔ:̊]. The SSB opposition illustrated by such minimal pairs as *cot* [kɒt] versus *caught* /kɔt/, or *collar* /kɒlər/ versus *caller* /kɔlər/ does not, therefore, operate in Larne, which has /kɔt/ for both words in the first case and /kɔlər/ for both in the second. Other words containing this Larne vowel are:

top [tɔ:p] *tot, taut, taught* [tɔ:t] *talk* [tɔ:k] *dock* [dɔ:k] *daub* [dɔ:b] *rob* [rɔ:b] *sod, sawed* [sɔ:d] *dog* [dɔ:g] *botch* [bɔ:t̊s] *lodge* [lɔ:d̊z] *from* [frɔ:m] *lawn* [lɔ:n] *long* [lɔ:ŋ] *of, off* [ɔ:f] *cloth* [klɔ:θ] *loss* [lɔ:s] *lough* [lɔ:x] *mauve* [mɔ:v] *bother* [bɔ:ðer] *gauze* [gɔ:z] *fall* [fɔ:l] *for* [fɔ:r]

NOTE ON QUANTITY

Although long-versus-short quantity differences are not systematically exploited at the allophonic level with these last three half-open and open vowels /e/, /a/ and /ɔ/ as they are with the closer ones, yet with some speakers (perhaps not the most typical from the point of view of local speech) there is an observable tendency to use a short variant before a nasal or lateral plus any unvoiced consonant, thus:

hemp [hemp] *lamp* [lamp] *pomp* [pɔmp] *Kent* [kent] *cant, can't* [kant] *haunt* [hɔnt] *hank* [heŋk] *honk* [hɔŋk] *help* [help] *scalp* [skalp] *Rahlop* [rə'hɔlp] *menthol* [mɛnθəl] *panther* ['panθər] *censor* ['sensər] *answer* ['ansər] *sponsor* ['spɔnsər]

This shortening is probably due to Belfast and south or mid Ulster²⁵.

No. 7 /ʌ/ The phonetic realization of this phoneme is generally a very short, half-open slightly lowered, back, unrounded vowel which is thus different in tongue position from its SSB counterpart, described by Jones as a half-open central vowel. It is also distinct from the corresponding Belfast vowel [ɔ..], which G. B. Adams classifies as mixed (i.e. central) and slightly rounded.²⁶ The Larne phoneme has no variants. It occurs in the following words:

pup [pʌp] *what* [wʌt] *duck* [dʌk] *hub* [hʌb] *bud* [bʌd] *rug* [rʌg] *much* [mʌtʃ] *nudge* [nʌd̊z] *rum* [rʌm] *run* [rʌn] *rung*

[rʌŋ] *want* [wʌnt] *rough* [rʌf] *fuss* [fʌs] *rush* [rʌʃ] *ugh!* [ʌχ] *shove* [ʃʌv] *other* ['ʌðer] *buzz* [bʌz] *dull* [dʌl]

No. 8 /o/ Phonetically this vowel is realized as a long, back, over-rounded sound with tongue position between half-close and close. In acoustic quality it approaches [u]²⁷ and it is very similar to the over-rounded *o* of Norwegian and Swedish.²⁸ The corresponding SSB phoneme is realized as a diphthong [ou] or nowadays more generally [œu]. With most Larne speakers there are probably no positional variants, but with some there are what appear to be the beginnings of a quantity differentiation before final [k]. Indeed there is actually some evidence of a contrastive use of the suprasegmental feature of length, although it is as yet decidedly marginal. Examples of words with [o:] are:

rope [ro:p] *wrote, rote* [ro:t] *robe* [ro:b] *road, rode* [ro:d] *rogue* [ro:g] *roach* [ro:t̊s] *roam* [ro:m] *roan, rone* [ro:n] *role, roll* [ro:l] *roar* [ro:r] *roast* [ro:st]

Examples of words ending with [k] in which length is significant are:

<i>poke</i> (v.)	[po:k]	versus	<i>poke</i> (n.)	[pok]
<i>spoke</i> (v.)	[spo:k]	versus	<i>spoke</i> (n.)	[spok]

These are the only minimal pairs that have been observed, but other words in which the same quantity difference occurs are:

<i>Long</i>	<i>Short</i>
<i>broke</i>	[bro:k]
<i>coke</i>	[ko:k]
<i>cloak</i>	[klo:k]
<i>croak</i>	[kro:k]
<i>joke</i>	[džo:k]
<i>oak</i>	[o:k]
<i>soak</i>	[so:k]
<i>stoke</i>	[sto:k]
<i>stroke</i>	[stro:k]
<i>toque</i>	[to:k]
<i>woke</i>	[wo:k]
<i>yoke</i>	[jo:k]
<i>yolk</i>	[jo:k]

Also in the dissyllabic compounds with *-voke*:

<i>convoke</i>	[kən'vo:k]
<i>invoke</i>	[ən'vo:k]
<i>provoke</i>	[prə'vo:k]
<i>revoke</i>	[rə'vo:k]

In the case of No. 5 /a/ and No. 6 /ɔ/ it was noted above that Larne had in each instance only one phoneme, which corresponded to two in SSB. On the other hand we find that

Larne (in common with Scottish, some American and certain northern and western forms of English speech) has preserved what is apparently an old-established opposition between /o/ and /ɔ/ in front of /r/, which in SSB has been eliminated in favour of /ɔ/. In other words in SSB there is a suspension of the phonemic opposition /ɔ/ versus /o/ in these circumstances, whereas in Larne and the other areas mentioned the traditional contrast is still fully functional. In Larne and elsewhere as indicated minimal pairs may be found, for example:

<i>border</i>	/bɔːdər/	versus	<i>boarder</i>	/bɔːdər/
<i>horse</i>	/hɔːrs/	versus	<i>hoarse</i>	/hɔːrs/
<i>morning</i>	/mɔːnɪŋ/	versus	<i>mourning</i>	/mɔːrnɪŋ/
<i>born</i>	/bɔːrn/	versus	<i>borne</i>	/bɔːrn/
<i>coral</i>	/kɔːrəl/	versus	<i>choral</i>	/kɔːrəl/

Jones comments on this *Aufhebung* in SSB and notes that the older opposition may frequently be tied in with the spelling, e.g. the spellings *ore*, *oar*, *our*, *oor* are generally associated with /o/, whereas *aur*, *awr*, *orr* point to /ɔ/.²⁹ This is true for Larne, thus: *shore*, *roar*, *pour*, *door*, etc. have /o/ but *aura*, *aural*, *centaur*, *laureate*, *laurel*, *Lawrence*, *sorry*, etc., have /ɔ/.

With a great many words, however, the opposition between the phonemes /o/ and /ɔ/ is not reflected in the orthography, a simple *or* representing both. In dividing these words into two classes according to the phoneme represented by *or*, it is interesting to note that the Larne lists correspond almost exactly with the Scottish lists quoted by Jones.³⁰ The Larne list with /o/ includes the following words in which /r/ is final or followed by a consonant:

corridor [kɔːrədɔːr] *divorce*, *force*, *porch*, *afford*, *ford*, *horde*, *sword*, *forge*, *pork*, *dormouse* [dɔːr, məʊs] *borne*, *forlorn* [fɔːlɔːrn] *love-lorn*, *shorn*, *sworn*, *torn*, *worn*, *corps*, *export*, *deport*, *fort*, *import*,³¹ *port*, *portent*, *porter*, *portion*, *portrait*, *sport*, *forth*.

The Larne list parallel to the above but with /ɔ/ is as follows:

Ecuador, *Labrador*, *meteor*, *for*, *abhor*, *metaphor*, *nor*, *or*, *Thor*, *tor*, *absorb*, *corbel*, *morbid*, *orb*, *sorcery*, *orchard*, *orchestra*, *orchid*, *scorch*, *torch*, *accord* etc., *border*, *chord*, *cord*, *cordial*, *cordon*, *lord*, *mordant*, *nordic*, *order*, *ordure*, *record*, *sordid*, *forfeit*, *corgi*, *George*, *gorge* etc., *gorgeous*, *morgue*, *organ*, *orgy*, *cork*, *fork*, *stork*, *York*, *whorl*, *dormant* etc., *form* etc., *norm*, *normal* etc., *storm*, *torment*, *adorn*, *born*, *corn*, *cornet*, *horn*, *hornet*, *morn*, *morning*, *scorn*, *thorn*, *corporal*, *corpse*, *thorp*, *morphia*, *orphan*, *torque*, *corset*, *dorsal*, *Dorset*, *endorse*, *gorse*, *horse*, *morse*, *morsel*, *Norse*, *remorse*, *torso*, *abort*, *assort*, *chortle*, *consort* etc., *cortex*, *distort* etc., *escort*, *exhort* etc., *fortify*, *fortress*, *forty*, *fortune*, *important*, *importunate*, *mortal*, *mortar*, *post mortem*, *short*, *snort*, *sort*, *tort*, *torture*, *vortex*, *north*, *corvette*, *Norway*.

As well as in these cases where the /r/ is final or preconsonantal, we find the same opposition when the /r/ is intervocalic, as in the minimal pair quoted above, viz., *choral* /kɔːrəl/ versus *coral* /kɔːrəl/.

The words with /o/ in Larne in similar circumstances include the following:

borax, *boreal*, *chlorine* etc., *choral*, *chorus*, *decorum*, *flora*, *forum*, *glory* etc., *gory*, *jorum*, *moron*, *oral*, *oriel*, *orient*, *pictorial*, *porous*, *quorum*, *sonorous*, *storey*, *story*, *thorax*, *tory*.

The list with /ɔ/ in Larne includes:

Boris, *Doric*, *Doris*, *floral*, *Florence*, *florid*, *florin*, *florist*, *forage*, *foray*, *foreign*, *forest*, *historic*, *Horace*, *horizontal*, *horoscope*, *moral* etc., *moribund*, *oracle*, *orange*, *orator*, *orifice*, *origin*.

No. 9 /ü/ This phoneme has four distinct allophones.

(i) The main member is a long, close, rounded vowel, articulated at the margin between central and front. It occurs in open syllables, in hiatus, and before voiced fricatives:

coo [kü:] *sue* [sü:] *who* [hü:] *sewer* [sü:ər] *prove* [prü:v] *bruise* [brü:z] *smooth* [smü:d] *rouge* [rü:z]

(ii) An advanced variant [ý:] occurs after [j]:

cue [kjý:] *pew* [pjý:] *fewer* [fjý:ər]

(iii) A lowered and retracted short allophone occurs in syllables closed by consonants other than the voiced fricatives and /r/:

coop [küp] *soot*, *suit* [süt] *hook* [hük] *boob* [büb] *food* [füd] *doom* [düm] *dune* [dün] *proof* [prüf] *Bruce* [brüs] *tooth* [tüθ] *push* [püš]

The same variant is found in disyllabic words such as:

super [süpər] *sugar* [sügər] *rumour* [rümər]

in which a medial consonant (other than /r/ or the voiced fricatives) seems to close the first syllable with its on-glide and open the second with its off-glide.

(iv) A lengthened and (occasionally) lowered version of the last variant, phonetically [Ü:̄] or [ö:̄], occurs before /r/ as in:

cure [kjö:r] *lure* [jö:r] *lurid* [lö:rəd] *moor* [mö:r] *mural* [mjö:rəl] *poor* [pö:r] *pure* [pjö:r] *sure* [sö:r]

Occasionally the use of some of these allophones seems to

be best explained at the morphological rather than at the phonological level, thus with the third allophone

cute [kjüt] > *cutie* [kjüte]

by the simple addition of a formative element to the base. On the other hand, although *Bute* is [bjüt] and *jute* is [džüt], the etymologically unrelated *beauty* is [bjü:te] with the first allophone, and *duty* is likewise [džü:te], with [dž] for earlier [dj]. The use of [ü:] in these latter examples seems to be conditioned by its position between the preceding palatals [bj-], [dž-] and the [-e] in the final syllable (probably < earlier [-i]), coupled with the fact that there is no morphemic suture, whereas the use of [ü] in *cutie* is an oristic signal indicating that the base is [kjüt-] and that the [-e] is a terminal morpheme. The same allophone persists in each case even in trisyllabic forms, e.g.,

beautiful ['bjü:tefəl] *beautify* ['bjü:tefaɪ] *dutiable* [džü:teəbl] *dutiful* [džü:tefəl], with which should be compared *cuticle* ['kjütkəl].

No. 10 /ə/ This phoneme is realized as a short half-close central vowel. It has two variants. The first is strongly stressed and occurs in words such as:

burrow ['bərə:] *blur* [blər] *current, currant* ['kərənt] *fir, fur* [fər] *hurl* [hərl] *hurry* ['həre] *murky* ['mərkə] *purge* [pərdz] *stir* [stər] *shirt* [ʃərt] *third* [θərd] *thorough* ['θerə] (first syllable) *worry* ['wərə]

The second allophone is found in weakly stressed syllables:

above [ə'bʌv] *bitter* ['bɪtər] *contain* [kən'te:n] *custard* [kəstərd] *dusted* [dʌstəd] *forget* [fərgə:t] *Ferguson* [fe:r'gə:sən] *harness* ['ha:rəns] *Jonah* [dzo:nə] *Lammas* [la:məs] *mammoth* ['ma:məθ] *potato* [pə'te:tə] *provide* [prə'veɪd] *quota* ['kwo:tə] *ringlet* [riŋlet] *sheriff* ['ʃe:rəf] *soda* ['so:də] *zebra* ['ze:bərə]

No. 11 /əi/ This phoneme is realized phonetically as a narrow closing diphthong starting from a rather close, central vowel in the region of [ə] (No. 10), which bears the main stress, and gliding forward to a close, front position, about No. 1. There are two allophones. In the first, which occurs in front of unvoiced consonants, both elements are short:

tripe [trəip] *height* [həit] *like* [ləik] *strife* [strəif] *rice* [rəis]

The second, which is found in open syllables and before voiced consonants, is relatively long:

fly [fləi:] *high* [həi:] *shy* [ʃəi:] *why* [wəi:] *tribe* [trəi:b] *hide* [həi:d] *oblige* [ə'bləi:dž] *strive* [strəi:v] *rise* [rəi:z]

No. 12 /ai/ This is realized as a broad closing diphthong in comparison with No. 11. The first – stressed – element is a fairly long vowel identical with No. 5, from which the tongue glides forward and upward, ending about half-close front, the position for No. 3, i.e., phonetically it is [ae]. These two diphthongs, No. 11 and No. 12, both correspond to one diphthongal phoneme in SSB, namely /ai/ and to one in B, namely /æi/.

In Larne, however, No. 11 occurs contrastively with No. 12, as is shown by the following minimal pairs:

	/əi/		/ai/
<i>die</i>	/dəi/	<i>dye</i>	/dai/
<i>eye</i>	/əi/	<i>I</i>	/ai/
<i>higher</i>	/həiər/	<i>hire</i>	/haiər/
<i>liar</i>	/ləiər/	<i>lyre</i>	/laeər/
<i>lie</i> (fib)	/ləi/	<i>lie</i> (recline)	/lai/
<i>mine</i> (n.)	/məin/	<i>mine</i> (adj.)	/main/
<i>rise</i>	/rəiz/	<i>ryes</i>	/raiz/
<i>shyer</i>	/səiər/	<i>shire</i>	/šaiər/
<i>sighs</i>	/səiz/	<i>size</i>	/saiz/
<i>tide</i>	/təid/	<i>tied</i>	/taid/

These oppositions clearly establish the phonemic status of each of the two diphthongs.³²

Yet the relationship between the two Larne diphthongs is more complex than these clear-cut oppositions would lead us to suppose. There are, for example, traces of a complementary distribution. For example, [ae] occurs in hiatus:

bias ['baeəs] *client* [klæeənt] *dial* ['daeəl] *giant* [džaeənt] *liable* ['laeəbl] *myopic* [mae'ɔ:pik] *naiad* [nae:a:d] *pious* [paeəs] *riot* [raeət] *Siam* [sae'a:m] *trial* ['traeəl]

except after [w], as in *quiet* [kwəiət].

A schwa normally intervenes between these diphthongs and a following [r], which, of course, creates a hiatus situation:

admire [əd'maeər] *briar* ['braeər] *byre* [baeər] *dire* [daeər] *fire* [faeər] *hire* ['haeər] *ire* [aeər] *lyre* ['laeər] *mire* [maeər] *pliers* ['plaəərz] *prior* [praər] *pyre* [paeər] *shire* ['šaeər] *spire* ['spaər] *tire, tyre* ['taeər]

The only exceptions here are *Irish* ['i:riš] and *Ireland* ['i:rlənd], where no schwa comes in before the [r]. Further, when [w] precedes, [əi:] occurs to the exclusion of [ae]:

choir, quire ['kwəi:ər] *enquire* [ən'kwəi:ər] *Maguire* [mə'gwəi:ər] *require* [rə'kwəi:ər] *wire* ['wəi:ər]

Finally, when [əi] occurs in the base, the addition of a terminal morpheme -er does not alter the diphthong, so that in

the case of some of the minimal pairs already cited, namely:

[həi:ər]	versus	[haeər]
[ləi:ər]	versus	[laeər]
[ʃəi:ər]	versus	[śaeər]

the use of [əi:] rather than [ae] is a junctural phenomenon and points to a suture at the morphemic level.

Before voiced fricatives we find mostly [ae]:

alive [ə'laev] *chives* [śaevz] *Clive* [klaev] *connive* [kə'næev]
deprive [də'praev] *derive* [də'raev] *five* [faev] *hive* [haev]
jive [džæev] *live* (adj.) [laev] *rival* ['raevəl] *survive* [sər'veav]
blithe [blaēð] *lithe* [laeð] *scythe* [saeð] *tithe* [taeð] *writhe*
[raeð] *disguise* [də'sgæz] *guise* [gæz] *prize* [præz] *size*
[sæz] *supervise* [sÜpər,væz] *surmise* [sər'mæz] *surprise*
[sər'præz]

The influence of singular base forms, however, preserves [əi] in plurals such as:

[nəi:vz]	<i>knives</i>	<	[nəif]	<i>knife</i>
[ləi:vz]	<i>lives</i>	<	[ləif]	<i>life</i>
[wəi:vz]	<i>wives</i>	<	[wəif]	<i>wife</i>

in spite of the voiced fricative [v], and a more indirect analogical influence undoubtedly accounts for the incidence of [əi:] in the strong verbs *drive* [drəi:v] *rise* [rəi:z] *strive* [strəi:v] *thrive* [θrəi:v], which belong to the same Ablaut-series as *ride/rode/ridden* [rəid, etc.]. The last example may also be heard as [θraev], which probably reflects its transfer to the weak class of verbs, for *thrived* exists alongside *throve*, *thriven*. Other weak verbs such as *dive* (*dived*), *survive* (*survived*) are pronounced with [ae], as already seen above.

The terminal morpheme written *-ise* or *-ize* forms an exception which may be explained by the fact that it has only secondary stress:

civilise [sivə,ləi:z] *idolise* ['əidl,əi:z] *realise* ['ri:ə,ləi:z]

The use of [əi:] in the word *wise* [wəi:z] is probably to be explained as a partial modification of the local rural dialect form [wəis], with [z] from the standard language and the original [əi] retained, or it may be due to the preceding [w].

In final open syllables the tendency is to pronounce [ae] rather than [əi]:

awry [ə'ræ] *buy, by* [bae] *cry* [krae] *defy* [de'fae] *deny*
[də'nae] *dye* [dae] *fie* [fae] *fry* [frae] *guy* [gae] *I* [ae] *lie*
(recline) [lae] *my* [mae] *pie* [pae] *ply* [plae] *pry* [præ] *reply*
[rə'plae] *rye* [rae] *satisfy* ['sa:təs,fae] *sky* [skae] *supply*
[sə'plae] *tie* [tae] *try* [trae] *vie* [vae]

There are, however, many exceptions among monosyllables in this group:

die [dəi:] *eye* [əi:] *fly* [fləi] *hi!*, *high* [həi:] *lie* (fib) [lai:]
nigh [nəi:] *shy* [śəi:] *sigh* [səi:] *sly* [sləi:] *Y* [wəi:]
why [ʌəi:]

No. 13 /ɔi/ This is realized as a broad, closing diphthong phonetically [œ], the first and stressed element being vowel No. 6, from which the tongue moves forward and upward to about half-close front (No. 3). It occurs in:

avoid [ə'vəed] *boy* [bœ] *coil* [kœl] *destroy* [də'strœ] *employ* [əm'plœ] *enjoy* [ən'džœ] *quoits* [kwœts] *royal* [rœəl] *toy* [tœ] *voyage* ['vœɪdž]

No. 14 /əu/ This also is a closing diphthong, phonetically [œü], starting (like No. 11) with the tongue in a half-close, central position from which it moves slightly forward and upward with a simultaneous rounding of the lips to the position for the close allophone of vowel No. 9. There are two variants. The first, which occurs in open syllables or before voiced consonants, is relatively long in both elements:

allow [ə'ləü:] *cloud* [kləü:d] *cow* [kəü:] *house* (v.) [həü:z] *jowl* [džəü:l] *loud* [ləü:d] *mouth* (v.) [məü:ð] *pound* [pəü:nd] *powder* [pəü:dər] *rowdy* ['rəü:de]

The second allophone is short in both elements and occurs before unvoiced consonants and the clusters [nt], [ns]:

about [ə'bəüt] *clout* [kləüt] *house* [həüs] *lout* [ləüt] *mouth* [məüð] *pouter* [pəütər] *fountain* ['fəün̩tə] *mount* [məünt] *ounce* [əüns] *pounce* [pəüns] *trounce* [trəüns].

THE CONSONANTS

1.5 A complete list of the Larne consonantal phonemes is given below, with the most important allophones shown in brackets:

Unvoiced plosive:	p, t [T] [?], k
Voiced plosive:	b, d [D], g
Nasal:	m, n [N], *ń, ń
Unvoiced affricate:	tš
Voiced affricate:	dž
Unvoiced fricative:	*m, f, θ, s, ś, *x [χ] [ç], h
Voiced fricative:	w, v, ń, z, ž, j
Lateral:	l [L], *ł'
Point-open	
frictionless continuant:	r [R]

The four consonants marked with an asterisk do not occur in SSB (see paragraph below).

As in SSB, the interdentals [t], [d], [n] and [l] are positional variants of alveolar /t/ /d/ /n/ and /l/ occurring immediately before interdental /θ/ and /ð/, as in

fifth [fifθθ] *width* [widθθ] *tenth* [te:nθθ] *health* [he:lθθ]

The glottal stop is the variant of /t/ which occurs before [ŋ]:

beaten [bi?ŋ] *rotten* [rɔ:?ŋ]

1.6 In the various dialects of English the consonantal system generally does not diverge much from that of the standard spoken language. This is also true for Larne speech, although analysis gives us a tentative total of twenty-eight³³ consonant phonemes for Larne as against twenty-four for SSB.³⁴ The four extra Larne phonemes are:

/n'/ /l'/ /m/ /x/

The first two could be described phonetically as alveolar palatalised consonants in much the same way as Russian /ɲ/ and /ʎ/ are dental palatalized, and that they are phonemically distinct from simple alveolar /n/ and /l/ can be shown by citing such minimal pairs as:

<i>news</i>	[n'ü:z]	versus	<i>noose</i>	[nü:z]
<i>union</i>	[jün'ən]	versus	<i>Eunan</i>	[jünən]

The first example in each pair shows that this sound corresponds to the SSB combination [nj]. It should also be noted that [n'] occurs only initially and in medial intervocalic position, never finally. Other examples of its occurrence are:

[bʌn'ən] *bunion* [ə'pɪn'ən] *opinion* [ə'θɪn'ən] *Athenian*
 [n'e:rle] *nearly* [n'üt] *newt* [n'ʌk] *'pinch' 'steal'* [ʌn'ən]
onion [ɔ:n'e] *on you* [rə'me:n'ə] *Roumania* [spa:n'ərd]
Spaniard [spa:n'əl] *spaniel*

Minimal pairs for /l'/ are:

<i>alien</i>	[e:l'ən]	versus	<i>ailing</i>	[e:lən]
<i>Italian</i>	[ə'ta:lən]	versus	<i>a talon</i>	[ə'ta:lən]
<i>lieu</i>	[l'ü:]	versus	<i>Lou, Lew</i>	[lü:]
<i>million</i>	[mɪll'ən]	versus	<i>millng</i>	[mɪllən]
<i>rebellion</i>	[rə'bɛ:lən]	versus	<i>rebelling</i>	[rə'bɛ:lən]
<i>scullion</i>	[skʌl'ən]	versus	<i>sculling</i>	[skʌlən]

The pronunciation [-ən] for graphic -ing belongs, of course, to familiar Larne speech. Other examples are:

failure [fe:l'ər] *galore* [gə'l'o:r] *scallion* [skal'ən] *valiant* [val'ənt]

Note that [l'] never occurs in final position and that it corresponds to the SSB cluster [lj].

That [m] is phonemically distinct from its voiced counterpart [w] is shown by the following minimal pairs:

<i>whales</i>	[wle:lz]	versus	<i>Wales</i>	[we:lz]
<i>wheel</i>	[wil]	versus	<i>weal</i>	[wil]
<i>when</i>	[wə:n]	versus	<i>wen</i>	[we:n]
<i>where</i>	[wə:r]	versus	<i>wear</i>	[we:r]
<i>which</i>	[wɪtʃ]	versus	<i>witch</i>	[wɪtʃ]
<i>while</i>	[wə:i:l]	versus	<i>wile</i>	[wai:l]
<i>whin</i>	[wɪn]	versus	<i>win</i>	[wɪn]

Note that [m] does not occur medially or finally and that the phonemic oppositions illustrated above have been neutralised in favour of [w] in SSB.

The phoneme /x/ has as its main member an unvoiced velar fricative articulated slightly further back than the German *ch*, as in *Dach*, and often accompanied by uvular scrape. This variant occurs after back and central vowels at the end of words such as:

agh! [a:x] *lough* [lo:x] *sheugh* [šʌx] 'ditch' *ugh!* [ʌx]

A slightly fronted version occurs after front vowels, as in

dreigh [drɪx'] 'tedious' *pegh* [pe:x'] 'pant'

and a palatal variant occurs initially in:

hew, hue, Hugh [çü:] *huge* [çüdž] *human* [çümən]

the latter sound corresponding to the SSB cluster [hj] but being grouped here phonemically with [x] because of their phonetic similarity and their complementary distribution.

The /x/ sounds appear frequently in place-names and family-names:

Doagh [do:x] *Doherty* [dɔ:xərte] *Donaghadee* [dʌnəxədi:]
Gallaher [ga:ləxər] *Leahy* [lix'e] *Meehan* [mix'ən]

Occasionally medial /x/ is replaced by /h/ by a neutralisation process, thus:

<i>Donaghy</i>	[dʌnəhe]	instead of	[dʌnəxe]
<i>Gallaher</i>	[ga:ləhər]	instead of	[ga:ləxər]
<i>Meehan</i>	[mihən]	instead of	[mix'ən]

etc.

The remaining Larne consonantal phonemes correspond to items in the SSB phonemic inventory, the main differences (apart from distribution) being in their phonetic realization.

The unvoiced plosives /p/, /t/, /k/, for example, occurring initially in stressed syllables, are more strongly aspirated in Larne than in SSB:

pin [pʰɪn] *tin* [tʰɪn] *kin* [kʰɪn]

The Larne sounds [ʃ] and [ʒ] are, phonetically speaking, palatalised versions of alveolar [s] and [z]³⁵ rather than palato-alveolars like SSB [ʃ] and [ʒ]. Further, these Larne sounds lack the lip-rounding characteristic of the SSB sounds. The same features are to be observed in the Larne affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] over against their SSB counterparts [tʃ] and [dʒ].

The Larne lateral [l] lacks the SSB phoneme's characteristic velarised allophone [ɫ], which occurs before consonants and in absolute Auslaut. This means that in words such as the following:

[fil] *feel* [fild] *field* [fe:l] *fell* [fɔ:l] *fall* [fʊl] *full*, etc.,

Larne has a lateral with noticeably 'light' (i.e. front) resonance rather than the 'dark' velar resonance of SSB [ɫ] in [fi:l] [fi:ld] [fel] [fɔ:l] [fʊl].

The Larne /r/ is phonetically similar to SSB /r/, for its main member is a point open frictionless continuant. Its most important allophone (also used occasionally by some SSB speakers) is a single flapped lingual [ɾ] which occurs directly after [θ], as in:

three [θri:] *throw* [θro:] *threw, through* [θrü]

or after [θ] and [ð] plus schwa when another vowel follows:

botheration [bɔ:ðə're:sən] *brethren* [bre:ðə'rən] *etherized* [iðə'rəizd]

The main difference between Larne and SSB with regard to /r/ is distributional. Unlike SSB, Larne has /r/ wherever *r* appears in the orthography, even in word-final and pre-consonantal positions. In a couple of exceptional cases /r/ has been lost, perhaps by dissimilation:

cartridge [ke:trɪdʒ] alongside [ka:rtrɪdʒ] *paraphernalia* [pa:rəfə'nɪə:lə]

An intrusive /r/ appears in a couple of instances:

khaki [ka:rke] *cha* 'tea' [tʃa:r]

both undoubtedly picked up aurally from English speakers who would have pronounced *darky* as [da:kɪ] and *char* as [tʃa:], to rhyme with their version of *khaki* and *cha* respectively.

PART TWO: The Ulster-Scots Rural Dialect as a Background to Larne

2.0 The US rural dialects surrounding Larne have naturally had a very strong influence on the speech of the town itself. It would indeed be true to say that what might be called the 'non-standard' speech (non-standard Larne) of certain suburbs is an almost unaltered version of the country dialects belonging to the immediate vicinity. Thus, to the south the dialects of Glynn and Glenoe exert their pressure along the Glynn Road and Inver Road respectively, and to the west the virtually identical rural dialect of the Millbrook-Kilwaughter area encroaches by way of the Ballymena Road on the district known as the Head of the Town, or rather the Heid o' the Toon. To the north and north-west two or three generations ago workers from the country south-west of Ballymena (Slaght,³⁶ the Grange etc.) were settled in the neighbourhood of Brown's Linen Factory. Their dialect, which is in any case closely similar to the other US rural dialects already mentioned, has been well preserved in this district to the present day and as a result of school and other social contacts some of its special phonological features, e.g. the use of the medial glottal stop in place of /t/ in words such as:

butter [bʌʔər] *Saturday* [sa:ʔərde] *bottom* [bɔ:ʔəm] etc.

have even spread to the standard speech of other parts of the town.

2.1 In order to estimate accurately the role played by these rural US dialects in the formation of Larne modified standard English it is necessary to study in detail the phonological structure of the two styles of speech. To begin with, a list of the vocalic phonemes of a typical US rural dialect – that of Glenoe³⁷, about four miles south of Larne – is given below for purposes of comparison:

		<i>Phonetically</i>	<i>Phonemically</i>
No. 1	<i>beet, beat</i>	[bit]	/bit/
No. 2	<i>by it (by'i)</i>	[bit]	/bit/
No. 3	<i>boot</i>	[bɪt]	/bɪt/
No. 4	<i>bit</i>	[baɛt]	/baɛt/
No. 5	<i>bait</i>	[be:t]	/bet/
No. 6	<i>bet</i>	[be:t]	/bet/
No. 7	<i>bat</i>	[ba:t]	/bat/
No. 8	<i>bought</i>	[bɔ:t]	/bɔt/
No. 9	<i>but</i> (strongly stressed)	[bʌt]	/bʌt/
No. 10	<i>boat</i>	[bo:t]	/bot/
No. 11	<i>about</i>	[ə'büt]	/əbut/
No. 12	<i>but</i> (weakly stressed)	[bət]	/bət/
No. 13	<i>mine</i> (n.)	[məi:n]	/məin/
No. 14	<i>mine</i> (adj.)	[maen]	/main/
No. 15	<i>Moyne</i>	[məen]	/mɔin/
No. 16	<i>mound</i>	[məü:n]	/məun/

2.2 When the two vowel inventories are set side by side, it is clear that apart from No. 2 on the Larne list and Nos. 2, 3 and 4 on the Glenoe list, which show some divergence, the other comparable items match perfectly at the phonemic level and almost as perfectly at the phonetic level. A detailed study of the Glenoe allophones³⁸ would reveal further a complete correspondence of short and long, strongly stressed and weakly stressed, lowered, advanced or retracted variants, occurring in each case in comparable phonetic environments.

2.3 Even the points of divergence are more apparent than real, for at the phonetic level Glenoe No. 3 is identical with the main member of Larne No. 2, and Glenoe No. 2 with the weakly stressed allophone of Larne No. 2. Further, although Glenoe No. 4 does not normally occur in the type of Larne speech analysed above, it is used by non-standard (and, of course, also by Glenoe speakers) in most of the words which have Larne No. 2 in the modified standard. In the case of the phonetic divergence indicated between Glenoe No. 7 and Larne No. 5, this again is not an absolute but rather a relative difference, the rural speakers on the whole tending here (as well as for the first element of the Glenoe [ae] diphthong) to use a more retracted and the urban speakers a less retracted version. Individual Larne speakers could certainly be found whose /a/ coincided phonetically with the Glenoe [a:].

2.4 The main difference, of course, between Glenoe and Larne lies not in the phonological raw material but rather in the actual incidence of the phonemes and their divergent distribution at the lexical level, each giving evidence of its own distinctive diachronic evolution. There is a fair amount of lexical overlap in all forms of English, but in this connection it must be borne in mind that the Glenoe speaker is following the model of what is fundamentally a Lowland Scottish language-type³⁹, whereas the Larne speaker uses his own local form of standard English.

The following tables will give some idea of the relationship between the two language-types:

		Glenoe and non- standard Larne ⁴⁰	Larne
(i)	<i>die</i> (v.)	[di:]	[dəi:]
	<i>dead</i>	[did]	[de:d]
	<i>high</i>	[hix:]	[həi:]
	<i>mare</i>	[mi:r]	[mə:r]
	<i>well</i>	[wil]	[we:l]
(ii)	<i>haven't</i>	[h'ine]	[h'a:vŋt]
	<i>hasn't</i>	[h'izne]	[h'a:zŋt]
	<i>has to</i>	[histe]	[ha:ste]
	<i>don't</i>	[d'ine]	[do:nt]
	<i>nothing</i>	[nɪθən]	[nɔ:θiŋ]
(iii)	<i>above</i>	[ə'bɪn]	[ə'bav]
	<i>done</i>	[dɪn]	[dʌn]

<i>shoes</i>	[ʃɪn]	[ʃü:z]
<i>school</i>	[skɪl]	[skÜl]
<i>stool</i>	[stɪl]	[stÜl]
(iv) <i>asunder</i>	[sænərə]	[ə'sandər]
<i>blind</i>	[blaen]	[bla:i:nd]
<i>bridge</i>	[braeg]	[brɪdž]
<i>climb</i>	[klæm]	[klæim]
<i>night</i>	[næxt]	[nøit]
(v) <i>have</i>	[he:]	[ha:v]
<i>home</i>	[he:m]	[ho:m]
<i>move</i>	[me:v]	[mü:v]
<i>none</i> ⁴¹	[ne:n]	[nʌn]
<i>stone</i>	[ste:n]	[sto:n]
<i>straw</i>	[STRE:]	[strɔ:]
(vi) <i>apple</i>	[ɛ:pł]	[a:pł]
<i>dinner</i>	[dɛn:ər]	[dɪnər]
<i>farm</i>	[fɛ:rm]	[fa:rm]
<i>grass</i>	[gre:s]	[gra:s]
<i>more</i>	[me:r]	[mo:r]
(vii) <i>long</i>	[la:ŋ]	[lɔ:ŋ]
<i>open</i>	[o:pən]	[o:pən]
<i>quit</i>	[kwa:t]	[kwɪt]
<i>shop</i>	[ša:p]	[šɔ:p]
<i>wet</i> (adj.)	[wa:t]	[we:t]
(viii) <i>any</i>	[ɔ:ne]	[e:ne]
<i>away</i>	[ə'wɔ:z]	[ə'we:z]
<i>barrow</i>	[bɔ:re]	[ba:ro:]
<i>tassel</i>	[tɔ:sł]	[ta:sł]
<i>where</i>	[wɔ:r]	[wɛ:r]
(ix) <i>cinders</i>	[śanərz]	[sǐndərz]
<i>many</i>	[mæne]	[me:ne]
<i>pound</i>	[pʌn]	[pœün:d]
<i>whin</i>	[wʌn]	[wɪn]
<i>window</i>	[wʌndə]	[wɪndo:]
(x) <i>cord</i>	[ko:rd]	[kɔ:rd]
<i>morning</i>	[mo:rnən]	[mo:rnɪŋ]
<i>not</i>	[no:]	[no:t]
<i>short</i>	[šo:rt]	[šɔ:rt]
(xi) <i>cow</i>	[kü:z]	[kœü:z]
<i>flour, flower</i>	[flü:ər]	[flœü:ər]
<i>full</i>	[fü:z]	[fʊl]
<i>house</i>	[hü:s]	[hœüs]
<i>suck</i>	[sük]	[sʌk]
(xii) <i>barrow</i>	[bɔ:re]	[ba:ro:]
<i>nothing</i>	[nɪθən]	[nɔ:θɪŋ]
<i>window</i>	[wʌndə]	[wɪndo:]

(xiii)	<i>clay</i>	[kləi:]	[kle:]	<i>stubble</i>	[stʌb]	[stæb]
	<i>hay</i>	[həi:]	[he:]	<i>thumb</i>	[θʌm]	[θÜm]
	<i>reins</i>	[rəi:nz]	[re:nz]			
	<i>stay</i>	[stəi:]	[ste:]	(viii) <i>board</i>	[bo:rd]	[bɸ:rd]
	<i>way</i>	[wəi:]	[we:]	<i>bone</i>	[bo:n]	[be:n]
				<i>door</i>	[do:r]	[dɸ:r]
(xiv)	<i>ewe</i>	[jəü]	[jy:]	<i>floor</i>	[flo:r]	[flē:r]
	<i>knoll</i>	[nəü]	[no:l]	<i>more</i>	[mo:r]	[me:r]
	<i>loose</i>	[ləüs]	[lÜs]	<i>open</i>	[o:pən]	[a:pən]
	<i>over</i>	['əü:ər]	[o:vər]	<i>over</i>	[o:vər]	[əüər]
	<i>pole</i>	[pəül]	[po:l]	<i>yoke</i>	[jo:k]	[jɔ:k]

2.5 The same types of unpredictable correspondences are observable if we begin with the Larne forms:

		Larne	Glenoe			
(i)	<i>beat</i>	[bit]	[be:t]			
	<i>rear</i> (v.)	[ri:r]	[re:r]	<i>boot</i>	[büt]	[büt]
				<i>butcher</i>	[bÜtsər]	[bʌtsər]
				<i>full</i>	[fÜl]	[fü:]
				<i>loose</i>	[lÜs]	[ləüs]
				<i>toothache</i>	[tÜθɪk]	[tiθɪk]
(ii)	<i>dinner</i>	[dīnər]	[dənə:ər]	(x) <i>blind</i>	[bləind]	[blaen]
	<i>give</i>	[giv]	[gi:]	<i>bright</i>	[brəit]	[bræxt]
	<i>sick</i>	[sik]	[sik]	<i>eye</i>	[əi]	[i:]
	<i>wind</i>	[wīnd]	[wən]	<i>iron</i>	[əiərn]	[ɛ:m]
	<i>with</i>	[wiθ]	[we:]	<i>quiet</i>	[kwəiat]	[kwe:t]
				<i>strike</i>	[strəik]	[STRæk]
(iii)	<i>away</i>	[ə'we:]	[ə'wə:]	(xi) <i>briar</i>	[braeər]	[bri:ər]
	<i>blaze</i>	[ble:z]	[bli:z]	<i>I</i>	[ae]	[a:]
	<i>make</i>	[me:k]	[ma:k]	<i>my</i>	[mae]	[mo:]
	<i>take</i>	[te:k]	[tuk]	(xii) <i>about</i>	[ə'bəüt]	[əbüt]
	<i>way</i>	[we:]	[wəi]	<i>cow</i>	[kəü:]	[kü:]
				<i>louse</i>	[ləüs]	[lüs]
				<i>sour</i>	[səü:ər]	[sü:ər]
(iv)	<i>chest</i>	[tse:st]	[kæst]			
	<i>mare</i>	[me:r]	[mi:r]			
	<i>shed</i>	[sé:d]	[sé:d]			
	<i>steady</i>	[ste:de]	[stade]			
	<i>water-cress</i>	[wa:tər kres]	[wa:tə,ka:rsəz]			
	<i>well</i> (n.)	[we:l]	[wa:l]			
	<i>well</i> (adv.)	[we:l]	[wil]			
(v)	<i>arm</i>	[a:rm]	[e:rm]			
	<i>barrow</i>	[ba:ro:]	[bɔ:rə]	Larne	Glenoe	
	<i>gander</i>	[ga:ndər]	[gen:Dər]	(i) [di:]	<i>Dee</i>	+ die (v.)
	<i>has</i>	[ha:z]	[hiz]	[did]	<i>deed</i>	+ dead
	<i>have</i>	[ha:v]	[he:]	[mi:r]	<i>mere</i>	+ mare
	<i>tassel</i>	[ta:sł]	[tɔ:sł]	[wil]	<i>weal</i>	+ well (adv.)
(vi)	<i>broad</i>	[brɔ:d]	[bre:d]			
	<i>corn</i>	[kɔ:m]	[ko:rn]			
	<i>loft</i>	[lɔ:ft]	[la:ft]	(ii) [büt]	<i>bit</i>	<i>boot</i>
	<i>lost</i>	[lɔ:st]	[lo:st]	[ə'bün]	<i>a bin</i>	<i>above</i>
	<i>thaw</i>	[θɔ:]	[θeü]	[dīn]	<i>din</i>	<i>done</i>
(vii)	<i>does</i>	[daz]	[diz]	[skɪl]	<i>skill</i>	<i>school</i>
	<i>one</i>	[wʌn]	[ja:en]	[spɪn]	<i>spin</i>	<i>spoon</i>
	<i>rust</i>	[rast]	[rÜst]	[ś'ın]	<i>shin</i>	<i>shoes</i>

2.6 A third way to compare these two language-types is to start with the phonetic form of certain lexical elements and compare their divergent meanings. In this way we see that one and the same sequence of sounds will sometimes have additional semantic correlates (marked with +) in Glenoe as compared with Larne, and sometimes the Glenoe and Larne meanings will be totally different:

		Larne	Glenoe
(i)	[di:]	<i>Dee</i>	+ die (v.)
	[did]	<i>deed</i>	+ dead
	[mi:r]	<i>mere</i>	+ mare
	[wil]	<i>weal</i>	+ well (adv.)
(ii)	[büt]	<i>bit</i>	<i>boot</i>
	[ə'bün]	<i>a bin</i>	<i>above</i>
	[dīn]	<i>din</i>	<i>done</i>
	[skɪl]	<i>skill</i>	<i>school</i>
	[spɪn]	<i>spin</i>	<i>spoon</i>
	[ś'ın]	<i>shin</i>	<i>shoes</i>

2.7 The consonantal systems of Larne and Glenoe also resemble each other very closely at both the phonetic and phonemic levels. The actual inventory of sounds and their qualities are identical, the only differences being distributional and functional.

2.8 With regard to incidence, the phoneme /x/ is extremely rare in Larne, where it occurs chiefly in personal names and place names and in a few exclamations. In Glenoe (and non-standard Larne), however, it bears a much fuller functional load, comparable to that of the other fricatives. It is to be heard in Glenoe words of divers origins – Old English, Old Norse, Gaelic, etc. – and very often corresponds to a traditional -*gh*- in the graphic form of the language:

	Larne	Glenoe
<i>high</i>	[həi:]	[hix̚']
<i>eight</i>	[e:t]	[ɛ:x̚t̚]
<i>fight</i>	[fəit̚]	[fə:x̚t̚]
<i>sigh</i>	[səi:]	[sæx̚]
<i>night</i>	[nəit̚]	[næxt̚]
<i>laugh</i>	[la:f]	[la:x̚]
<i>cough</i>	[kɔ:f]	[kɔ:x̚]
<i>daughter</i>	[dɔ:tər]	[dɔ:xtər̚]
<i>enough</i>	[ə'nʌf]	[ə'nʌx̚; older, ə'nlʌx̚]
<i>tough</i>	[tʌf]	[tšʌx̚]
<i>dough</i>	[do:]	[do:x̚]

Glenoe also has /x/ in many purely dialectal words with no Larne counterpart:

[DRIX] ‘dreary’ (weather, etc.) [dæxt] ‘wipe’ [le:x] ‘low’
 [skre:x'] ‘screech’ [pe:x'] ‘pant’ [bə:xəl] ‘clumsy person’
 [sprə:xəl] ‘sprawl’ [stša:xe] ‘unsavory mixture of food’
 [fərfɔ:xən] ‘exhausted (tired)’ [spjʌxən] ‘tobacco pouch’
 [hÚx] ‘a shout’ [gríšəx] ‘embers’ [stəex] ‘stench’ [bləúxər]
 ‘cough’ [dʌŋxəl] ‘manure heap’,⁴² (dung-hill)

2.9 The interdentals [T] [D] [N] have a wider distribution in Glenoe (and non-standard Larne) than in Larne. In the latter

they occur only immediately before /θ/ and /ð/. In the former they also occur directly in front of /r/ or schwa + /r/ (within one and the same morpheme), the /r/ in the first case being realized as a single-flap, lingual [R] and likewise in the second case, if another vowel follows:

	Larne	Glenoe
batter	[ˈba:tər]	[ˈba:tər]
battery	[ˈba:təreɪ]	[ˈba:TƏRE]
try	[trae]	[TROE]
consider	[kən'sɪdər]	[kən'sæDər]
considerable	[kən'sɪdərəbl]	[kən'sæDərəbl]
dry	[drae]	[DRAE]
dinner	[dɪnər]	[dəN:ər]
funeral	[fjø:nərəl]	[fjø:NƏRəl]
Henry	[he:nre]	[he:NRE]

Before interdental [t] and [d], /n/ and /l/ will, of course, also be realised in Glenoe as interdental [N] and [L]:

	Larne	Glenoe
enter	[e:ntər]	[e:NTər]
entering	[e:ntərin]	[e:NTərən]
entry	[e:ntre]	[e:NTRE]
fender	[fe:ndər]	[fe:NDər]
laundering	[lɔ:ndərin]	[la:NDƏRən]
laundry	[lɔ:ndre]	[la:NDRE]
elder	[e:ldər]	[e:LDər]
halter	[ho:ltər]	[he:LTər]

2.10 This, however, is not the complete functional picture. In addition to this wider range of allophonic occurrences of the interdentals in Glenoe as compared with Larne, Glenoe also shows a contrastive use of interdental [t] [d] [n] versus alveolar [t] [d] [n] in pairs such as the following:

[bɛ:tər] 'person who bets'	versus	[bɛ:TƏr] 'better' < good
[gʌtərz] 'people who gut fish'	versus	[gʌTƏrz] 'mud'
[lÜdər] 'louder'	versus	[lÜDər] 'heavy blow'
[ʃʌnər] 'shun her'	versus	[ʃANər] 'cinder'

Such significant contrasts are never possible in Larne, and it must be noted that even in Glenoe these are not just simple phonological oppositions. In each instance the use of an alveolar rather than an interdental is an oristic signal marking a morphemic suture or a word juncture, for the interdentals never occur finally in a morpheme. In other words this contrastive use of alveolars *versus* interdentals is a matter that has to be investigated at the morphological level rather than the purely phonological level of analysis. There is the possibility of similar oppositions occurring in non-standard Larne, for example:

[bo:ldər] 'bolder'	versus	[bo:LDər] 'boulder'
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2.11 A difference at the purely allophonic level between Larne and Glenoe concerns the use in the latter (and in non-standard Larne) of glottalized variants of the unvoiced plosives occurring in medial and sometimes final position:

	Larne	Glenoe
pepper	[pe:pər]	[pe:p'ər]
hamper	[ha:mpər]	[ha:mp'ər]
pup	[pʌp]	[pʌp']
lettuce	[le:təs]	[le:t'əs]
plenty	[ple:nte]	[ple:nt'e]
pat	[pa:t]	[pa:t']
buckle	[bʌkə]	[bʌk'ə]
bunk	[bʌŋk]	[bʌŋk']

In non-standard Larne medial and final /t/ is often realized as a simple glottal stop:

[le:?əs] [ple:n?e] [pa:?:]

2.12 Other differences in the incidence of certain consonants in Glenoe as compared with Larne may be ascribed to the language-types on which they severally model themselves. The Larne medial cluster /mb/, for example, is generally matched in Glenoe by a simple /m/:

	Larne	Glenoe
fumble	[fʌmbə]	[famə]
rumble	[rʌmbə]	[ramə]
thimble	[θɪmbə]	[θæmə]
timber	[tɪmbər]	[tæmər]
tumble	[tʌmbə]	[tamə]

A simple /n/ and /l/ in Glenoe likewise corresponds to the Larne medial and final cluster /nd/ and final /ld/:

	Larne	Glenoe
band	[ba:nd]	[ba:n]
blind	[bləind]	[blaen]
end	[e:nd]	[e:n]
ground	[grəünd]	[grən]
kind	[kəind]	[kəin]
round	[rəünd]	[run]
thousand	[θəü:zənd]	[θü:zən]
candle	[kə:ndl]	[ka:nl]
thunder	[θʌndər]	[θʌnər]
yonder	[jɔ:ndər]	[ðɔ:nər]
cold	[ko:ld]	[kœül]
field	[fild]	[fil]

In the same way Glenoe often has a simple /ŋ/ where Larne has the cluster /ŋg/:

	Larne	Glenoe
anger	[e:ŋgər]	[a:ŋər]

angry	[ə:ngrɛ]	[ə:ngrɛ]
finger	[fɪŋgər]	[fæŋgər]
longer	[lɔ:ngrər]	[la:ngrər]
single	[singl]	[sæŋl]

PART THREE: The Gaelic Background

3.0 The task of estimating the degree to which the US speech of town and country may have been influenced by Gaelic is beset with special difficulties since the local Irish spoken until recently in the Glens of Antrim (GA) and on Rathlin Island (RI) is now virtually extinct. We are, however, fortunate in having two studies in county Antrim Gaelic written by the Swedish Celticist Nils M. Holmer⁴³, who during the thirties investigated the language of the last remaining native Irish speakers in the two areas mentioned. It is largely on these studies that the following general observations are based, although some check is provided by the writer's personal observations of the native Irish speech of Fanad, Glenvar, Urris and other parts of county Donegal⁴⁴. The Urris dialect has recently been classified along with East Ulster by Professor Heinrich Wagner⁴⁵, who also describes the two former as sharing 'a few typical East Ulster features'⁴⁶.

3.1 Irish is a language in which phonologically speaking the consonants have primacy, a fact obscured by the normal orthography, which uses vocalic digraphs and trigraphs to indicate consonantal quality.⁴⁷ In order to keep in line, however, with the treatment of the US speech above, the Irish vowels will be dealt with first.

3.2 It is convenient for our purposes here that Holmer has in every instance made comparisons between the county Antrim Gaelic sounds and those of the local county Antrim English. He does not actually set out to give a phonemic analysis of the different dialects, but on the basis of his comments it is easy enough to see which sounds are conditioned by their phonetic environment and which are likely to have phonemic status.

3.3 Holmer's general impression is that the GA and RI vowels are 'the same as' or 'identical with' the corresponding sounds in Antrim English⁴⁸. The following list shows the vocalic range in both Gaelic dialects, Holmer's symbols being equated with those used earlier in this study, and the numbers of the Larne and Glenoe vowels being added for reference:

	Holmer	Gregg				Glenoe	Larne
No.1	i	i	[ix']	(ith)	'eat'	No.1	No.1
No.2	i:	i:	[ši:s]	(sios)	'down'	No.1	No.1
No.3	ɪ	ɪ	[tɪg']	(tuig)	'understand'	No.3	No.2
No.4	ɛ	æ	[baæg]	(beag)	'small'	No.4	(non-standard Larne)
No.5	e	e	[d'ɛx']	(deich)	'ten'	No.5	No.3
No.6	e:	e:	[fe:m]	(fēidhm)	'need'	No.5	No.3
No.7	ɛ:	ɛ:	[fe:r]	(fēar)	'grass'	No.6	No.4
No.8	a	a	[batə]	(bata)	'stick'	No.7	No.5
No.9	a:	a:	[ba:tə]	(báta)	'boat'	No.7	No.5
No.10	ɔ:	ɔ:	[bo:]	(bó)	'cow'	No.8	No.6
No.11	ɔ	ø/ʌ?	[kɔs]	(cos)	'foot'	No.9	No.7
No.12	o:	o:	[mo:r]	(mó'r)	'big'	No.10	No.8
No.13	ʌ	Ü	[kÜm]	(cum)	'peat mould'	No.11	No.9
No.14	ʌ:	ü:	[kü:l]	(cül)	'back'	No.11	No.9
No.15	ə	ə	[sa:stə]	(sásta)	'satisfied'	No.12	No.10

3.4 The general parallelism between the vowels of the two Gaelic dialects on the one hand and those of the US styles of speech on the other needs no emphasizing. In spite of his using the same symbol for his No. 4 and No. 7, Holmer comments on the ‘considerable difference in quality between the short and long e’⁴⁹. He adds that the short version ranges ‘from an open ‘i’ ... to a broad (short) a-sound (as in ‘hat’ or even as in French *la*; phonetically æ, a) ...’⁵⁰. This is the sound he hears in the county Antrim pronunciation of *big, did, hill, pig*, in other words the Glenoe vowel transcribed above as [æ]. Holmer’s No. 7, the long [ɛ:], as in GA and RI *féar*, seems to be identical with Larne and Glenoe [ɛ:], as in *fair*.

3.5 The exact quality of Holmer’s short [ɔ] (No. 11) is a little more doubtful. He hears it in GA and RI *cos* ‘foot’ and among other questionable examples also in the local English *cut, trouble*, which would suggest that it was identical with Belfast [ɔ], and the equivalent of Larne and Glenoe [ʌ], which is similar in tongue position but unrounded. That these latter sounds are close in articulation to long [ɔ:] is shown by the fact that *her* (Glenoe [hər]) when pronounced with a lengthened vowel, as it is in non-standard Larne, becomes [hɔ:r] and in the same way *does*, which is [dʌz] in Larne, becomes [dɔ:z], a pronunciation frequently heard in Belfast. Holmer claims that his long [ɔ:] is ‘almost exactly the same’ as the short one (GA), that is, practically the short sound sustained (RI), and that in any case it is identical with the local county Antrim English vowel in *God, Cushendall, cost*.⁵¹ This long vowel agrees therefore with Glenoe and Larne [ɔ:].

3.6 One point of difference must be noted, namely that in the two Gaelic dialects vowel length is not conditioned by the phonetic environment, as it is almost exclusively in Larne and Glenoe⁵². In fact, although – as stated – Holmer does not set out to make a phonemic analysis of GA and RI and therefore has not sought out series of minimal pairs, yet using the material he provides we note that in both dialects, e.g., *bata* ['batə] ‘stick’ is distinguished from *báta* ['batə] ‘boat’, and in GA *cuinne* ['kán'i] ‘churn’ from *caoineadh* ['kán:n'i] ‘crying’⁵³, merely by the length of the stressed vowel. Further, in GA *ith* [ix'], *iþe* [ix'i] (eat) has a short [i], whereas *oidhche* [i:x'ə] ‘night’ has a long [i:] in similar phonetic surroundings⁵⁴. A more detailed knowledge of these two dialects of Irish would undoubtedly reveal that a significant contrastive use of the suprasegmental feature of length was widespread in their vocalic systems. The same opposed vowel lengths also exist in Glenoe and Larne, but as already shown they function only at the sub-phonemic level and with one very marginal exception are not used to distinguish one word-form from another.

3.7 It is worth noting in connection with 1.3 (No. 8) above that the opposition [ɔ:] versus [o:] is not neutralised before [r] in GA, but is preserved and may be exploited, as in US in minimal pairs such as:

bóthar [bo:r] ‘road’ versus *bodhar* [bo:r] ‘deaf’

3.8 Ranging further afield it is observed that similar correspondences to those described above characterise the relationship of Gaelic to the local English of county Donegal. The extremely open Glenoe vowel [æ] crops up as far away as the country to the south and west of Ardara in Gaelic words such as *im* [aém] ‘butter’ *sin* [sæn] ‘that’ as well as in the local English version of *Jim, shin*, etc. In north-east Donegal, the Glenvar English and Irish speech have the same fronted [ü:] and [Ü] typical of the county Antrim Gaelic and US dialects described above and have the same characteristic distribution of the two sounds in each of the languages under discussion. In other words Glenvar English uses [ü:] or [Ü] according to phonetic context, as does county Antrim US, whereas in Glenvar Irish as well as in that of county Antrim, although the same two vowels – identical in quality and quantity – occur, the length is not determined in this way. In Glenvar Irish, e.g., *cúl* ‘back’ is [kü:l], as it would also be in RI and GA, but *cool* is [kü:l] in Glenvar, just as in county Antrim, where the short [Ü] is used because the syllable is closed by [l], a consonant other than one of the voiced fricatives⁵⁵.

3.9 Holmer lists the following consonants and semi-vowels for GA and RI:

Labials:	p	b	m	f	v	
Dentals:	t	d	n	s	l	r
Prepalatals:	t'	d'	n'	s'	l'	(r')
Palatals:	k'	g'	ŋ'	x'		
Velars:	k	g	ŋ	x		(y)
The Aspirate:	h					
Semi-vowels:	j		w			

of these, [r'] has ‘almost disappeared’⁵⁶ and [y] is ‘disappearing fast’⁵⁶.

3.10 The old distinction between ‘broad’ and ‘slender’ seems to be lost in the GA labials, and Holmer equates them with the corresponding ‘neutral’ sounds in English. The dentals [t] [d] and [n] are to be identified with US [t] [d] [n] and are kept distinct from the alveolar version of these sounds used by GA speakers in loan-words from English. On the other hand [s], [l] and [r] are ‘not plainly different in English and Irish’⁵⁶. The pre-palatals [t'] and [d'] are with the younger people replaced by the affricates [t's] and [d'z], which crop up also in the local English pronunciation (and, of course, in the Glenoe and Larne version) of words like *tune* and *dew*, in place of the SSB cluster [tj] and [dj]. The remaining GA pre-palatals [n'] [s'] and [l'] also occur in Larne and Glenoe, corresponding to SSB [nj] [ʃ] and [lj]. Of the GA palatals [x'] appears in US but only as an allophone of /χ/. There may, however, be some evidence of the former existence in Larne of palatals [k'] [g'] and [ŋ'] in the widespread fronting or Umlaut of [a] described above⁵⁷ in words such as:

back [be:k] bag [be:g] bang [be:n]

which in many other Ulster dialects would be pronounced as [bak'] [bag'] and [baŋ'] respectively. If the palatals actually were the agents in this fronting, they must have been replaced by normal velars once the process was completed. The GA velars (apart from the obsolescent γ) are all matched by the corresponding US sounds, as are the aspirate [h] and the two semi-vowels [j] and [w].

3.11 Summing up, it may be said that apart from the two obsolescent sounds and the three palatals discussed in the previous paragraph all the GA consonants are identical with their counterparts in the US systems at the phonetic level although different phonemic use of, for example, the dentals may be made in the two languages. Even the alternation of [h] with [x] or [x'] in medial positions is common to both Irish and US. On the other hand US has certain consonants which do not occur in the Gaelic dialects except in loan words, namely: [m] [θ] [ð] [z] [ž] and the point-open frictionless continuant [r], although the frequently occurring flapped allophone of the latter, [ɾ], is probably identical with what Holmer calls the GA 'plain r' or the RI 'soft, alveolar trill'.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

4.0 A scientific study of any one of the various regional forms of standard English is, of course, important in itself. Even those whose main task has been the description and promulgation of SSB⁵⁹ have now come to realise that the latter is not acceptable everywhere, that other standards must be recognised and will probably remain as permanent features in the linguistic landscape of the English-speaking world⁶⁰.

4.1 Apart from this intrinsic importance, however, there is some interest in the general linguistic problem of analysing the various factors which have led to the establishment of a regional version of standard English.

4.2 In proceeding from Larne and Glenoe to a consideration of the local county Antrim Gaelic we have, as it were, been going back historically, for we know that Gaelic had already been established in this area as indeed over the whole of Ireland for many centuries before the introduction of Lowland Scottish or any form of English. Actually when the Lowlanders were brought over by the MacDonnells of Antrim at the beginning of the 17th century they must have found Gaelic in universal and exclusive use throughout the county, except for the Carrickfergus area, where some English was spoken. In places such as Larne (generally marked as 'Olderfleet' on the old maps of the period), where the population was not very numerous, there may have been a few bilingual speakers with an acquired knowledge of the current Elizabethan English in addition to their native Irish. The point

open frictionless continuant *r*, which is still prevalent in both Larne and Glenoe (as it is elsewhere in Ulster) and which is quite distinct from the typical Gaelic and Scottish *r*'s, may be derived from this type of English. In any case, although it has generally less retroflexion, it is very similar to the current North American *r*, which probably has links with the same period.

4.3 The growth of Larne during the last three and a half centuries has largely been brought about by the influx of population from the surrounding countryside. Successive generations of these incomers have settled down and many have given up their US rural dialect for something approximating to standard English. A comparison of our analyses of Larne and Glenoe shows an almost complete identity in the range of phonemes and even in their actual phonetic realisation. The reason for this identity is undoubtedly that, in the past, rural speakers attempting to speak standard have simply continued to use their repertoire of native sounds, re-arranging them for any given word-form so as to correspond as closely as possible to the new and for them 'foreign' language-type. This substitution of native sounds for 'equivalents' in another language is of course (under the name of *interference*) a process very familiar to language teachers. It is still quite easy to observe it to-day as rural dialect speakers are still moving into the town and making the same linguistic adaptations as described above. The same situation arises also when children brought up speaking the rural dialect go to school.

4.4 The phonological similarities between both types of US speech on the one hand and county Antrim Gaelic on the other are also very close, though not quite so complete as those just discussed. They can also be explained to a large extent by the same process of linguistic interference already cited, for following the introduction of Lowland Scottish speech there must have been a fairly lengthy bilingual period during which local Gaelic speakers picked up this new language, modifying it in the way described above as they learned it.

4.5 If we consider to begin with the vowel system as analysed by Holmer, it is obvious that the Gaelic speaker had in his own language a range of vocalic qualities and quantities sufficient to match those of the Scottish system he was acquiring. In the case of the consonants he was able to utilize many of his native sounds unchanged in speaking Lowland Scottish. The only non-Gaelic consonants that he had to add were those mentioned earlier.

4.6 On the other hand even if we accept that both types of US speech owe a considerable phonetic debt to the original county Antrim Gaelic we must also recognize that during the presumed bilingual period Gaelic in turn underwent important changes as described by Holmer, neutralised many of the

older phonemic oppositions and in short drastically simplified its whole phonological system. This process was without doubt accelerated in the last phase before Gaelic disappeared, for by that time even those who had learned it as a native language probably used it a great deal less than they used one type or another of English. On the rare occasions when these last speakers did use it they failed to observe traditional Gaelic oppositions which had no counterpart in English, and at the same time they introduced many non-Gaelic sounds in the frequent English loan words. This at least is the picture Holmer gives of GA and RI at the time when he investigated them in the 'thirties'.

4.7 In trying finally to assess the different phonological factors that have contributed to the formation of regional standard forms of English such as Larne we may recognise the following diachronic stages of development.

- (i) The original Lowland Scottish dialects that were brought over to county Antrim were modified in the mouths of the local Gaelic speakers who acquired them and eventually, after the bilingual phase, lost their native tongue.
- (ii) This modified form of the Lowland dialects which we designate as Ulster-Scots was gradually adopted even by the descendants of the original Scottish settlers.
- (iii) With the growth of towns and the spread of education, which has always worked through the medium of *written* standard English, a new local *spoken* standard arose, modelled on and conforming closely to the written standard in lexicon⁶¹, morphology and syntax⁶². Phonologically speaking it has without doubt complex origins, including perhaps a local reflex of Elizabethan English and some early version of Scottish standard⁶³, but at the present time its constituent elements – phonemic and sub-phonemic – are essentially identical with those of the rural Ulster-Scots dialects.

4.8 Such then is the background of Larne and similar Ulster-Scots urban versions of modified standard English, distributed in a wide arc stretching round the coasts of Ulster from east Down through Antrim and Londonderry to the Laggan district in Donegal. They are spoken nowadays not only by the towns-folk but by educated country-dwellers as well. For this very reason they are obviously destined to expand, for with uninterrupted recession of the rural dialects, the regional modified standard language is spreading out from the towns and rapidly encroaching upon the surrounding countryside.

Notes

- 1 Entwistle, W. J., *Aspects of Language* (London, 1953), 34 ff.
- 2 Sweet, Henry, *History of English Sounds, from the Earliest Period* (Oxford, 1888), 52-59 'Origin of Dialects'.
- 3 According to the observations of J. J. de Cores (University of Morocco, Rabat-Agdal), who has been investigating Arabic and Berber speech in North Africa, nomadism seems to act as a check on this dialectal differentiation.
- 4 Notably Dr. Mary Serjeantson and Miss B. Mackenzie. See Preface to the revised edition of Wyld's *A Short History of English* (London, 1927).
- 5 H. C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English* (London, 1920).
- 6 Adams, G. Brendan, 'An Introduction to the Study of Ulster Dialects', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52C1 (1948), 69-152.
- 7 In Ireland we must recognize at least three quite distinct language-types: (i) Irish Gaelic, (ii) Anglo-Irish (see Henry, P. L., 'A Linguistic Survey of Ireland', in *Lochlann - A Review of Celtic Studies*, vol. 1, Oslo, 1958, 54-58), (iii) Ulster-Scots.
- 8 The writer was born and brought up in Larne. Most of the material quoted is based on his personal recollections of the local speech as used by his contemporaries about thirty years ago. Doubtful points have been checked with his brother Mr. T. Forsythe Gregg, who still lives in Larne.
- 9 Jones, Daniel, *The Pronunciation of English*, 3rd edition (Cambridge, 1950), 4.
- 10 Cp. Gregg, Robert J., 'Notes on the Pronunciation of Canadian English as Spoken in Vancouver B.C.', *Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association* 3 (1957), 20 ff.; and Gregg, R. J., *A Students' Manual of French Pronunciation* (Toronto, 1960), 17 ff.
- 11 Jones, op. cit., 18 ff.
- 12 See Jones, Daniel, *The Phoneme* (Cambridge, 1950), §§62, 277, 520, 755, 759.
- 13 This variant is no longer than the short vowel No. 2. A German exchange student visiting Larne before the war (accustomed to SSB [i:] and his own very similar German long vowel) used to misinterpret *sheep* as *ship*.
- 14 Note that the vowel in this word is [i] and not [ɪ].
- 15 Compare this word with *freed* [fri:d] <*free* (v.) where -d is an active morpheme indicating past tense, and therefore does not cause shortening of [i:]. The -dom is no longer an active formative element, so there is no feeling of morpheme suture before it: hence the vowel [i:] is shortened. Cp. the examples in the footnotes below, and note that *freely* is [fri:le].
- 16 As in *knock-kneed*.
- 17 See vowel No. 3 below.
- 18 See vowel No. 10.
- 19 See Gregg, Robert J., 'Neutralization and Fusion of Vocalic Phonemes in Canadian English as Spoken in the Vancouver Area', *Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association* 3 (1957), 78-83.
- 20 Note *calico* [ke:liko:].
- 21 Note *carry* [ke:re], *carriage* [ke:ridž].
- 22 Note *can* (n.) [ke:n].
- 23 For *Technical School*.
- 24 The [r] having dropped. For words with graphic -ir- and -ur-, see vowel No. 10 below.
- 25 See Adams, op. cit.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 27 The German student referred to in endnote 13 heard Larne *four* as [fu:r].
- 28 McClean, R. J., *Teach Yourself Swedish* (London, 1947), 8; Sommerfelt, Alf, and Ingvald Marm, *Teach Yourself Norwegian* (London, 1943), 17-18.
- 29 Jones, *Pronunciation of English*, 40.
- 30 Except that *important* would have [ɔ:] and *shorn* would have [o:] in Larne.
- 31 Also *deport*, etc., but not *important*. See footnote 30 above.
- 32 This phonemic opposition of an [ɔi] type diphthong to an [oe] type is also found in the Laggan district of Donegal, even in the local version of standard speech, and in the Ards (county Down) at Portaferry, well

- to the south of the dialectal border between the Ulster-Scots and Anglo-Irish dialects.
- 33 See Adams, op. cit., 9-16.
- 34 Jones, *Pronunciation of English*, 25-26, 66 ff.
- 35 Similar to Russian [ʂ] and [ʐ].
- 36 Or *Slatt*, pronounced in any case [sla:t] or [sla:?:], the latter being the local and the non-standard Larne version.
- 37 See Gregg, Robert J., 'Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect', *Orbis* 7 (1958), 403.
- 38 Ibid., 395 ff.
- 39 Of a rather archaic variety which probably has not changed much since the 17th century.
- 40 For these non-standard Larne forms I am indebted to Mrs. G. Craigie, Recreation Road, Larne.
- 41 The form [no:n] also occurs in non-standard Larne, probably an intrusion from Belfast or south Antrim.
- 42 Here [x] seems to have arisen from [h] by assimilation, following the velar [ŋ].
- 43 Holmer, Nils, *On Some Relics of the Irish Dialect Spoken in the Glens of Antrim* (Uppsala, 1940); Holmer, Nils, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin, 1942).
- 44 He was fortunate in being able to accompany Mr. Emrys Evans (Head of the Celtic Department, University of Manchester) on many linguistic expeditions to these parts of county Donegal. Mr. Evans has made a special study of the Irish spoken in these districts and will be publishing his findings in the near future.
- 45 In a report on his investigations of the surviving remains of Gaelic speech: Wagner, Heinrich, 'A Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects', *Lochlann* I, supplement, Bind V to *Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap* (Oslo, 1958), 33.
- 46 Ibid., 32.
- 47 Cp. the Russian alphabet in which two parallel sets of vowels are used, one to indicate the palatal and the other the non-palatal quality of the preceding consonant.
- 48 Holmer, op. cit. (1942), 7; Holmer, op. cit. (1940), 12 ff.
- 49 Holmer, op. cit. (1940), 14.
- 50 Ibid., 15.
- 51 Ibid., 16.
- 52 The only exception in Larne and Glenoe being the very marginal opposition of [o] to [o:] before [k]. See vowel No. 8, above and also Gregg, op. cit. (1958), 404.
- 53 See the glossaries in Holmer, op. cit. (1940) and Holmer, op. cit. (1942).
- 54 It should be noted, however, that these pronunciations are from different speakers.
- 55 See vowel No. 9, above.
- 56 See Holmer, op. cit. (1940) 22, 34 and 20 respectively.
- 57 See under vowel No. 4, above.
- 58 Holmer, op. cit. (1940), 22; Holmer, op. cit. (1942), 34, §41.
- 59 Jones, *Pronunciation of English*, v.
- 60 Dr. Herbert Pilch (University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau) has been collecting material in towns and cities throughout the British Isles and in N. America with the intention of publishing a book on the various regional modifications in the pronunciation of the standard language. At a purely practical level certain American companies have now marketed in French, German, etc., recordings of the speech of a number of provincial towns and cities, in order to emphasize the widespread divergence from so-called 'standard' pronunciation, and thus to help tourists and other travellers.
- 61 A certain number of rural Ulster-Scots words are, of course, known and used by Larne speakers, especially in familiar discourse, e.g., *swither* 'hesitate', *scunner* 'sicken', *dunt* 'nudge', *girn* 'complain', *thole* 'suffer' but with characteristic modifications in pronunciation: [swɪðər] [skʌnər] rather than the rural [swʌðər] and [skʌnər] etc.
- 62 Larne and Glenoe share certain general Anglo-Irish syntactical patterns such as *I'm just after saying* (I've just said); *Are you for staying?* (Do you intend to stay?)
- 63 This may be inferred from the occurrence of the Larne opposition /əi/ versus /ai/ in urban speech over a wide area ranging from East Donegal to south Ards (county Down). The two phonemes seem to have the same distribution in the districts mentioned.

Linguistic Change Observed: Three Types of Phonological Change in the Ulster-Scots Dialects*

Robert J. Gregg

Recent developments in generative phonological theory have led to an increased interest in the historical as well as the diatopic aspect of dialectology. The somewhat static systems evolved by the strict structuralists have given way to a more fluid concept, based on the discovering of rules which apply to sets and subsets of linguistic forms in given dialects, over specific areas, through limited periods of time, and in some specifiable order. This new approach enables us not only to formalize coherently the relationships of divergent forms within a dialect group but to approach a solution of the Saussurean dilemma by drawing clear lines between historical rules for which the underlying forms may be no longer retrievable and synchronic rules involving variations such as morphophonological alternations.

The material under discussion in this paper was collected during a detailed survey of the Ulster-Scots (US) dialects in Ulster, the northern province of Ireland, between 1960 and 1963. Because this was an extremely fine-mesh survey – it has been labelled ‘microdialectology’ – the data enable us to see at close range early evidence of new rules as well as the last vestiges of old ones.

The first rules to be dealt with concern the various reflexes of ME *ȝ* and probably go back to the later part of the 17th century. For the majority of the Ulster-Scots dialects the rule nowadays is that ME *ȝ* → /ɪ/. It was found however that in the Laggan district of East Donegal and in the Mid Ards Peninsula the rule is ME *ȝ* → /i/. The settlement history as well as the phonetics would suggest that this second rule represents the older situation, while the first is probably an innovation stemming ultimately from the prestigious dialect of the Edinburgh area. The vowel /ɪ/ thus comes to replace /i/ in certain marked lexical items, namely those that had ME *ȝ*. In this way the statement *I lost my good shoes above the school* would be in the Laggan and the Mid Ards dialects:

[a 'lo:st ma 'gid 's'in ə 'bin ðə 'skil]

and *I'll have your boots done by the afternoon* would be:

[al 'he: jə 'bits 'din be ðə 'e:f'rə'nin]

whereas with the newer rule applied elsewhere we find:

[a 'lo:st ma 'gɪd 's'in ə 'bɪn ðə 'skɪl]
[al 'he: jə 'bɪts 'dɪn be ðə 'e:f'rə'nɪn]

The formula /i/ → /ɪ/ is therefore NOT a normal phonological change with gain or loss of certain features, but rather a replacive type of rule. The synchronic evidence from Southwest Scotland confirms this view.

Along the western fringe of the Laggan district in Donegal it was found by chance that [ba:k] (which would mean ‘back’ in the Antrim and Down dialects) means ‘beam’ i.e., *balk*. Further enquiry elicited that *back* was [ba:k] and that similar contrasts existed between

[ta:k] <i>talk</i>	[ta:k] <i>tack</i>
[sta:k] <i>stalk</i>	[sta:k] <i>stack</i>
[ha:k] <i>hawk</i>	[ha:k] <i>hack</i>

Palatal vs. non-palatal opposition is, of course, alien to English, but is basic not only to the phonology but to the morphophonology of Irish Gaelic, the language that forms the boundary with Ulster-Scots in the district concerned. This very much restricted innovation arises obviously by interference from the substratum and/or adstratum Gaelic and suggests a rule by which some sub-phonemic feature of frontness and backness (the latter associated with the deleted /l/ or /w/-glide in earlier Ulster-Scots or Jacobean English) became formally as well as meaningfully opposed to each other in the above-mentioned pairs. This is therefore an innovative type of rule whose source is essentially outside the language, and which has arisen from the interaction of languages in contact.

A third type of phonological change in the Ulster-Scots dialects affects the suprasegmental feature of length. The vowel /o/, which is intrinsically long in all environments, has begun to undergo shortening in a very limited number of cases in the East Antrim dialect, so that contrasting pairs have arisen such as:

[po:k] ‘poke’ (v.)	vs.	[pok] ‘poke’ (n.)
[spo:k] ‘spoke’ (v.)	vs.	[spok] ‘spoke’ (n.)

* Originally published in Rigault, A., and R. Charbonneau (eds.), *Proceedings of the VIIth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 722-724.

This shortening rule seems to be confined to the area mentioned, and it is strictly incipient as it affects only the vowel /o/, only in the environment of a following /k/, and only in a very limited subset of lexical items, the two cited above and also /fok/ *folk* /smok/ *smoke* and /tšok/ *choke*. In all other cases the /o/ preserves its traditional long quantity.

On the other hand a long-established rule for the shortening of the Ulster-Scots vowel /i/ in specific contexts is to be found all over Ulster. By this rule /i/ remains long in absolute Auslaut and in the environment of following voiced fricatives (including /i/), but otherwise is shortened, hence /lif/ *leaf* as against /li:v/ *leave*, etc. However, a few dialect speakers in the Mid Ards have failed to apply this shortening rule in two or three lexical items only. Instead of the regular Ulster-Scots /kik/ ‘peep’ /kui:p/ ‘creep’ and /kuipe/ ‘three-legged stool’ these Ards speakers have maintained the older long quantity:

/ki:k/ /kui:p/ /kui:pe/

This area was settled from SW Scotland in the early 17th century and has retained an old-fashioned model of speech in general. It has been discovered that the same and similar items are also still be found in relic areas on the Scottish side. The general conclusion is that the long /i/ remains (in spite of the rule) in certain marked lexical forms – marked +hearth and home, or +affection towards children, or the like.

These changes in quantity thus show on the one hand functional motivation in the recent rule for the shortening of /o/ which yields at least two meaning contrasts, but in the other case they show how a very small sub-set of lexical items may resist the otherwise universal application of a shortening rule because of some special marking.

DISCUSSION

FRANCESCATO (Amsterdam)

I wonder whether you have any sociolinguistic data (such as age of speakers, groups of speakers who prefer certain types) to go together with the linguistic data.

GREGG

Yes. The speakers who have not adopted the shortening rule for the three items [ki:k], [kui:p] and [kui:pe] all belong to the oldest generation.

The Ulster-Scots Dialect Boundaries in Ulster*

Robert J. Gregg

The experts – and laymen – have long been aware that, linguistically considered, the province of Ulster is divided into three parts: the Ulster Anglo-Irish (UAI), the Ulster-Scots (US), and the Gaelic-speaking. Professor Heinrich Wagner's *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (1958) has provided us with the location and approximate limits of the scattered fragments of the dwindling Ulster Gaeltacht. As late as 1960, however, the boundaries separating the other two language types had never been fixed with any degree of precision in spite of their strikingly contrasted features.

With this objective of boundary-drawing in mind the present writer undertook a detailed survey of the US dialects between 1960-63. It was felt than an accurate delimitation of the speech area concerned was a necessary preliminary to any future work in this field, and further, that Ulster, where three language types are in sharp confrontation, was the perfect arena for trying out experimental discovery procedures for boundary mapping. Apart from its intrinsic interest the enterprise was also intended to provide information for the various Irish dialectology surveys as well as the linguistic surveys of Scotland and England and – more remotely – to make some contribution to the understanding of North American English dialect features, especially for certain parts of New England, Pennsylvania, the Ohio Valley, and the Southern Highlands where, according to Dr. Hans Kurath and his colleagues, Ulster-Scots settlements as far back as the 18th century contributed to local speechways. The same claim could be made for more recent times in Eastern Canada, especially the Ottawa Valley and neighbouring areas where mass migratory movements from Ulster have introduced a strong Ulster-Scots element, markedly in contrast with the surrounding typical Ontario speech patterns. It should be emphasized, however, that as used in North America the term 'Scotch-Irish' has a rather wide frame of reference, including all types of Ulster speech, which stand in sharp contrast with the well-known southern Irish brogue. In this paper, the preferred term, Ulster-Scots (US), is restricted to the rural Ulster dialects of an archaic broad Scots type, stemming mainly from south-west Scotland. US is set off against Gaelic

and Ulster Anglo-Irish (UAI)¹, the latter being based on north and west Midland English dialects as spoken during the Plantation period in the 17th century. Within the US districts the towns have developed their own version of Standard English, which may be called Ulster-Scots Urban (USU)², important because it is also the second language of educated US dialect speakers and because, when US forms drop out, they tend to be replaced by USU equivalents.

Even a casual observer from outside will notice that all the dialects of English spoken in Ulster have features that contribute to what might be called their 'Irishness'. The task of the boundary seeker is to try to recognize these features and then to ignore them, aiming rather to collect the data that will polarize the systematic differences between the dialect groups. Thus no capital can be made of the universal frictionless continuant [ɹ] occurring even in word- and syllable-final position, so different from the Scottish trilled or flapped [r] and linking up rather with the [ɪ] of other parts of Ireland and North America – doubtless a common Elizabethan or Jacobean English colonial legacy of the 16th and 17th centuries; nor of the ubiquitous Ulster 'light' [l] which contrasts rather with the laterals of most English and Scottish dialects in Great Britain, and probably derives – all over Ireland – from the Gaelic substratum; nor of the front-central rounded /ü/ found everywhere in Ulster, whose allophones constitute one phoneme *vis-à-vis* the two English phonemes /u/ and /ə/. Here we have, of course, a parallel with Scottish speech in general, but the monophonemic /ü/ belongs just as much in UAI as in US, and in standard speech of all types as well as in all the dialects. This central /ü/ also belongs to the Gaelic of Ulster, apart from west Donegal which, like the southern varieties of Irish, has /u/³.

In fact, even with the limited data provided by Séamus Ó Searcaigh⁴, and by Nils Holmer's two studies of county Antrim Gaelic⁵, coupled with the information gleaned during joint field research the writer made with Dr. Emrys Evans in the Fanad Peninsula and Inishowen in county Donegal⁶, it becomes quite clear that there is a very close link in general between the Ulster Gaelic phonological material on the one hand and that of all the Ulster dialects of English on the other⁸.

* Originally published in Wakelin, Martyn F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London: Athlone Press, 1972), 109-139.

Suprasegmental features such as pitch patterns and the realizations of juncture would bear out these widespread areal linguistic or substratum manifestations. In the same way syntax is a useless yard-stick, as even superficially very distinctive dialectal expressions turn out on closer examination to have an identical underlying syntactic structure, e.g. [tə:mz ə:t we ðə 'dʌg, 'snokən əbə:t ðə 'sʌks, 'lakən fər ə 'bɪ:t:k] corresponds word for word – even without any transformational differences at the surface level – to the standard utterance that translates it: 'Tom's out with the dog, poking about the ditches, looking for a badger'. This underlying identity of patterning in all the dialects of English surely explains why so many dialect grammars stop short at the end of the phonology section, and why Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* in particular has 655 pages of phonology as compared to 41 pages devoted to the rest of the grammar. There is, in short, little of interest to be found at the grammatical, specifically morphological and syntactic, level when we are searching for polarized contrasts.

Thus neither the phonological material at the raw phonetic level nor the grammatical structures could be relied on in drawing up a questionnaire which would serve as the basic tool in the whole enquiry and provide suitable data to permit the clear separation of the dialect groups concerned. From various quarters the suggestion came that questions should be asked with the purpose of eliciting contrastive lexical items as had been the case with the Leeds survey and the first and second postal enquiry booklets of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, but the results obtained from over a period of three months – mainly in Donegal – were disappointing, as the isoglosses failed to bundle and simply confirmed the well-known concept that every word has its own history – and, we could add, geography⁹. What did emerge, however, from these preliminary investigations was that in many cases where a given question did not elicit a variety of unrelated lexical forms, but rather variations of what was historically the same form, a clear-cut bundle of isoglosses did show up separating the typically Scottish historical-phonological developments from the equally typical north-west-Midland English forms reflected in the UAI dialects.

Following up this promising clue, it was easy to produce a questionnaire based mainly on items pinpointing these divergent historical-phonological reflexes of older English forms, relying for the most part on contrastive changes in the vowel and diphthong nuclei. The English consonants, as is widely known, exhibit much less systematic regional variation, the main contrastive situation among the Ulster dialects of English being the preservation of ME voiceless velar fricative /χ/ versus its loss, or replacement by /f/, in such forms as *daughter, night, laugh, high*, etc.

To cope with the predictable variability among the US dialects themselves, it was felt necessary to set up a model with regard to which phonological segments could be judged as to whether or not they were representatives of normal Scottish developments, or their known variants – particularly

among the south-west group of Scottish dialects spoken in Ayrshire, Galloway and adjacent areas from which settlement history shows the Scottish planters to have migrated to Ulster from the early-17th century onwards. This model was established on the basis of the writer's experience gained with the well-preserved east Antrim US dialects during a period of over thirty years of investigation and study, with their synchronic and diachronic phonology and their lexicon as the main focus of attention¹⁰. The model was, of course, subject to revision and amendment throughout the survey and later, when the results were under scrutiny.

The main concern of the project was to trace the spread of specifically Scottish forms, but naturally in what ultimately proved to be the neighbourhood of the dialect border equally specific UAI forms began to appear and thus gradually a contrasting model for UAI was built up whose 'Englishness' was for the most part immediately apparent, although some checking had to be done among the field records at Leeds, supplemented by special private investigations in parts of the English Midlands, to establish firmly the identity of certain English dialectal terms such as [ɛ:l:də:r] 'udder', [e:də:səz] 'after-grass', [strɪt] 'farmyard'¹¹, etc., which had penetrated deep into the US areas, and markedly non-standard phonological forms such as [stro:] straw, [θo:] thaw, [jo:] ewe, which take the place of US [stre:], [θeü] and [jəü], once we cross the dialect border. These and other similar forms did point back to the north and west Midlands, thus confirming the story told by the Plantation historians, namely that Chester was the main port of embarkation for the English settlers who came not only from Cheshire but the wider hinterland.

It is an interesting fact that US speakers – knowing that the UAI speech of their neighbours generally approximates much more closely to Standard English than their own Scottish type of dialect does – tend to assume that UAI always uses 'correct' standard forms. For example, when asked about their name for a female sheep, they often responded: 'We ca' 'er a *yow* [jəü], but it should be a *yoe* [jo:], should it no?' Likewise, through some original taboo or avoidance of imagined coarseness, a cow's udder is frequently referred to by US speakers as her *elder* [e:l:də:r], the UAI word, rather than her *bag* [ba:g], the older, traditional US term. The UAI dialect term (widely used in Ulster) for 'farmyard', namely *street* [strɪt], has come to replace the original Scottish term everywhere in the US part of the Laggan district in Donegal, though Antrim US has preserved the Scottish *cassey* [ku:se] and Down US mostly *close* [klo:s] in this sense.

The confrontation of US and Gaelic, of course, presented no problems of separation in general, as here we are dealing with one of the major historical linguistic boundaries between varieties of Indo-European speech in Europe, a boundary which has been moving slowly but steadily westward in the British Isles for the last millennium and a half and whose contemporary position the writer was able to confirm with some accuracy as far as the northern Donegal sector was concerned¹². The only problem that arose occasionally with

Gaelic forms was the question whether a given item such as [ge:lək] 'earwig', [guišəx] 'embers', etc., had been borrowed into US or UAI *in situ* from Ulster Gaelic or represented an earlier borrowing from Scots Gaelic imported by the 17th-century settlers. The complete disappearance of east Ulster Gaelic in the last thirty or forty years has made the task of tracing the history of such borrowings much more difficult, although O'Searcaigh's phonetic studies, Holmer's two monographs, Sommerfelt's work, and the more recent researches of Dr. Emrys Evans on Fanad, Glenvar, and Inishowen Irish¹³ have made valuable contributions to the reconstruction of east Ulster Gaelic in general. The US/Gaelic boundary in Donegal was thus easily determined, and the line established on the basis of the writer's survey is confirmed by Professor Heinrich Wagner's *Linguistic Atlas*¹⁴ as well as by the data worked out on the basis of the 1911 general census figures by G. B. Adams¹⁵. At one point (Termon, county Donegal) a bilingual informant (Mr. James O'Donnell, b. 1887) was found, who spoke Gaelic as his mother tongue, and as his second – now habitual – language, the Donegal version of US. With him the boundaries ran together in one person.

In these ways the nature of the border separating US from the other types of Ulster speech varies considerably, ranging from a major interlingual boundary with Gaelic in Donegal to a confrontation with a widely divergent type of English, namely UAI, an Irish derivative based on English Midland dialects, now in complementary distribution with US throughout the province outside the Gaeltacht.

The scope of this US boundary survey may be judged on the basis of some statistics. With the help of many well-informed local people, 125 informants were finally selected and interviewed: 34 in Donegal, 4 in the north-east corner of Londonderry, 23 in Antrim, and 64 in Down¹⁶. The density of coverage was purposely varied for a variety of reasons. County Antrim – well-known to the writer as his native county – was sampled round the perimeter of the US heartland, at points about 10 miles apart. Four points in county Londonderry were enough to link Antrim with Donegal. The latter county – unexplored territory – was given a more thorough survey. County Down was covered with a micromesh, not only for the sake of pinpointing the dialect boundary, but for the theoretical purpose of seeing what extra information would come up, for example, from checking the speech of *every* farmer within the transition zone in the South Ards peninsula, thus closing in the mesh to points one or two miles apart. The experiment was well worth while, for the micromesh certainly revealed linguistic facts and patterns that would otherwise have been missed, e.g. the detailed distribution of US variant forms for *above* – [ə'bɪn] and [ə'bin], for *dog* – [dʌg] and [dəʊg], and for *farm* – [fe:im] and [fɔ:im], as well as, e.g., the enormous phonetic variability in the forms of *ant*. This county Down micromesh investigation is probably one of the closest surveys ever to be carried out, certainly the closest in the British Isles¹⁷. The materials were collected during a period of over a year and a half, the distance

covered within Ulster was about 25,000 miles, and the final form of the questionnaire included 683 items.

To return to the elaboration of the historical-phonological questionnaire previously mentioned as a necessary tool of investigation, the basic assumption was that the sets of vowels which are found nowadays in both US and UAI represent two distinctive and divergent lines of development of the underlying ME vowel system. Indeed, the very fact that the two main source areas from which settlers came to Ulster in the 17th century were located at relatively distant points in the continuum of English dialects on the island of Great Britain means that we find quite sharply contrasted developments in the two vowel systems.

The history of any range of phenomena can be considered diachronically from either the past or the present, the first method being more familiar to us. I feel, however, that as a matter of principle, historical dialectology should be dialect-oriented¹⁸ and should take the contemporary state of the dialect as its starting point, mapping the present on to the past rather than vice versa. The current synchronic state is, after all, what is available for complete investigation: all past states are either more or less imperfectly or incompletely recorded or in some cases even quite unknown. Only for the present situation can we work out a coherent, viable, phonological system that can be thoroughly checked by unrestricted additional enquiries, and it is only on the basis of such systematized materials that we can fully understand the function and development of phonological units, and discover the ordered succession of rules added to and internalized into the grammar throughout the recorded history – where such exists¹⁹.

The same considerations naturally apply to the other levels of grammatical analysis as well: to morphology and syntax and, of course, to the lexical and semantic levels. We are in any case always scientifically obligated to seek 'un système où tout se tient', and the only systems completely accessible to us are the current ones, whether we wish objectively to collect so-called empirical data or subjectively to probe grammaticalness by introspective methods. On the basis of such arguments the final questionnaire was worked out, as already noted, on the results of a detailed study in great depth of an east Antrim US dialect, namely that of the Glenoe district spoken natively as a second language by the writer and as their first language by many of his relatives. Being located geographically close to Larne, one of the ports of entry for incoming Scots throughout the whole settlement period, the Glenoe dialect²⁰ has incorporated south-western Scottish innovations that came into force during the 17th century and perhaps even later. In this way Glenoe is more 'up-to-date'; i.e. represents a less archaic type of Scots than, say, the US of Donegal or the Mid Ards. The lists in the questionnaire, then, represent groupings of items to be elicited, items incorporating in the dialectal forms of Standard English words, as well as occasionally in purely dialect words, first the consonantal phoneme /x/, and then in turn all the vocalic

phonemes of Glenoe and similar US dialects²², which means the dominant forms of Antrim, north-east Londonderry and north-east Down US dialectal speech. The order is thus:

List 1	/x/	List 8	/ɔ/
2	/i/	9	/i/
3	/æ/	10	/e/
4	/ɛ/	11	/o/
5	/ü/	12	/əi/ and /œ/
6	/ʌ/	13	/əʊ/
7	/ɑ/	14	(morphology)

These phonemes are linked back by phonological rules to earlier English forms which have given rise to a contrasting phonemic system in UAI.

Another reason endorsing the use of Glenoe as a model is that, according to Catford's schematic analysis²², Glenoe is a ten-vowel dialect, compared with which the Mid Ards/Donegal and north Antrim US have nine-vowel systems, in other words they under-differentiate as compared with the Glenoe type, having neutralizations in the phonological space²³ occupied by /i/ and /e/ respectively.

A detailed consideration of the questions – section by section – and an evaluation of the results obtained will now be embarked upon. For purposes of reference the full questionnaire is appended at the end of the paper, preceded by a tabulated summary of the relationships between US, UAI, and earlier English (see below).

As stated above, the phonological rule by which ME voiceless velar fricative /χ/ remained in US, whereas in UAI the ME /χ/ > Ø or /f/, proved to be the main general consonantal feature useful in separating the dialects. Consequently the first subgroup of questions in List 1 sought to elicit informants' reflexes for items such as DAUGHTER, EIGHT, ENOUGH, FIGHT, NIGHT, TOUGH, TROUGH, etc., all of which occur in Standard English and therefore have UAI as well as US reflexes as shown in this tabulation:

US		UAI
[dəʊxtər]	versus	[dɒtər]
[ɛxt]	versus	[et]
[ə'nʌχ], [ə'nʌχ]	versus	[ə'nöf]
[fe:xt]	versus	[fæit]
[næxt]	versus	[nøit]
[tʃʌχ], [tʌχ], [tʌχ]	versus	[töf]

It should be noted that the US forms frequently exhibit a special vocalism: [ɛ:] in EIGHT and FIGHT; [æ] in NIGHT; [jʌ] < ME ɔ + velar, in ENOUGH and TOUGH, where the yod either combines with the preceding alveolar to produce palatalization or affrication, or becomes zero.

The second subgroup of List 1 elicited purely dialectal words with /x/ which have no obvious current equivalent in Standard English, some being of ON or Gaelic origin. It is

interesting to note that many of these – even when of Scottish provenance – have spread to the UAI dialects and are in fact found all over Ulster and undoubtedly beyond (hence being useless as boundary markers), e.g. [drix] 'dreary', etc., [grisəx] 'embers', [laʊxtər] 'brood of chickens', etc., [skre:x] 'shout', [sʌχ] 'ditch', [spraxəl] 'sprawl', etc. A few of these have even crept into the standard speech of many educated Ulster folk who are quite familiar with such forms as [sʌχ], [skre:x], [spraxəl] and who – strangely enough – tend in many cases (even in the city of Belfast) to use /x/ rather than /f/ in the word TROUGH. Incidentally UAI speakers have generally no difficulty in producing the voiceless velar fricative, as it is of fairly frequent occurrence in Ulster place-names and family names: *Doagh* [do:x], *Donaghadee* [dönəχə:di:], *Aghalee* [axəli:], *Ahoghill* [ə'hoxəl], *Dogherty* [döχətə], *Gallagher* [galəχər].

At the phonetic level an important regional variation was noticed in parts of county Donegal where /x/ was represented by /h/ (or even /f/), thus DAUGHTER [dəhtər], HIGH [hih], LAUGH [lah], TOUGH [töh], as well as [laʊxtər] 'brood of chickens', etc., [ləh] 'lough', [söh] 'ditch', etc. This phenomenon is of interest to substratum theorists, as the same phonological shift – [x] > [h] > [f] – occurs in some types of Donegal Gaelic²⁴. Further, from the point of view of general phonetics, the shift [x] > [h] > [f] helps to reinforce the theory of phonetic change by a series of simple steps²⁵. A final step in this case would be [f] > Ø.

List 2 of the questionnaire plunged straight into the investigation of the vowel systems with an inventory of items that elicited the various reflexes of ME ɔ, which seems to have been represented by ȫ in Early Scots (ES) and Middle Scots (MS), the direct ancestor of the US dialects. Mid Antrim, the heartland of the US dialects, usually proved to have a lowered front-central, unrounded vowel here, viz. /i/, phonetically close to the vowel in Standard Southern British (SSB) *bit* [bit], but somewhat retracted. In fact, a vowel of this type corresponds to SSB /ɪ/ in the Standard English spoken in the urban areas within the US dialect zones, e.g. *bit* [bɪ:t], etc. This vowel is phonetically close to Russian ы, as in *сын* [sɪn], but is generally a shade more open. It has also parallels in Gaelic²⁶. Other US reflexes were /i/ and /e/. UAI generally had /ü/ and /ö/ in these words, /ü/ corresponding to both SSB /u/ and /o/, and /ö/ – a short centralized type of [o] – being the equivalent of SSB /ʌ/, thus:

	US(1)	US(2)	US(3)	UAI
ABOVE	[ə'bɪ:n]	[ə'be:n]	[ə'bin]	[ə'böv]
DONE	[dɪ:n]	[de:n]	[din]	[dön]
GOOD	[gɪ:d]	[ge:d]	[gid]	[güd]
SCHOOL	[skɪ:l]	[ske:l]	[skil]	[skül]
SHOES	[śi:n]	[śe:n]	[śin]	[śü:z]

The forms with /i/ – US(1) – are characteristic not only of mid Antrim as stated, but also the North Ards and number of other points in county Down. A similar reflex occurs in

present-day Ayrshire and other parts of south-west Scotland. The /e/-forms – US(2) – belong to north Antrim and three points in north-east Londonderry. On the other hand reflexes with /i/ – US(3) – were found among all US speakers in county Donegal, in the Mid Ards peninsula and at many points in the area west of Strangford Lough in county Down. Contrary to appearances this feature does not link up US with north-east Scots as described, for example, by Eugen Dieth in *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect* (1932). There also, ME ȝ or MS ð > /i/ in general, but Buchan has a special development after velars so that GOOD is [gwid], SCHOOL is [skwil] with a /w/-glide never found in US²⁷. In any case the settlement history clearly points to south-west Scotland as the source of the overwhelming majority of Scottish settlers in 17th-century Ulster, and the Lingustic Survey of Scotland investigators subsequently found these reflexes with /i/ (including GOOD /gid/, SCHOOL /skil/ without the /w/-glide) in rather remote relic areas – Wanlockhead and Leadhills – on the borders of Dumfries and Lanarkshire, thus substantiating the theory that these /i/-forms were once current in the south-west of Scotland and represent an archaism in US. The present distribution bears out this theory if we assume that /i/ is an innovation spreading from the usual ports of entry in Antrim and Down for the incoming Scots, from the early-17th century onwards, completely replacing the /i/-forms in county Antrim and the North Ards but leaving the /i/-forms unchanged in the Mid Ards and frequently west of Strangford Lough, where the influx of new immigrants may have fallen off soon after the first settlement period. For the same reason /i/-forms survive unaltered in the Laggan district of Donegal where the settlement of 1610 did not subsequently receive any notable reinforcement from Scotland. It should be observed that the change postulated here from /i/ to /ɪ/ was not a regular, internal, phonological change in the US areas concerned, but rather the result of the spread of a set of new forms incorporating an innovation that may actually have had its origins somewhere in eastern Scotland, and the simple substitution of the new /ɪ/ for the older /i/ in a restricted subset of words – not a random subset, however, but the subset that had ME ȝ/MS ð . In other words the earlier south-western Scots dialects and their 17th-century Ulster offshoots had a neutralization in the phonological space occupied by the /i/-reflexes of ME ȝ/MS ð as well as by the /i/-reflexes from other sources, but this neutralization was later reversed by the adoption of the /ɪ/-forms introduced from another – perhaps more prestigious – Scots dialect. A restricted area in north Antrim and north-east Londonderry has developed a new neutralization by which ȳ/ > /e/, thus: DONE [de:n] and SCHOOL [ske:l] become homophonous with *Dane* and *scale*. In areas with /ɪ/, an [e:] allophone has developed in open syllables and before /v/ and /r/ (the latter being a frictionless continuant), thus DO [de:], SHOE [še:], MOVE [me:v], FLOOR [fle:i]. The vowel before /r/ in some areas is retracted, e.g. [fl̩:i] FLOOR.

Some specifically dialectal words with the same vowel nuclei as those described appear in List 2, e.g. [l̩if] ‘palm of

hand’ – from ON *lōfi* – [fjäge] or [fíage] ‘left-handed’, [šax] ‘ditch’, the latter two exhibiting the change to [jʌ] mentioned above.

A morphological feature of interest occurs in the alternate developments for the plural of SHOE [še:], which with different speakers was [še:z] or [ší:n]. The long vowel in [še:z] marks the morpheme boundary which is lost in [ší:n] with the older /-n/ plural allomorph. The solid morpheme SOON also cropped up as [ší:n] as well as [sín]. The shortening of a vowel with an underlying length feature occurred also in the general US dialectal plural for EYE [i:], namely [in].

List 3 covered items of diverse origins which characteristically exhibit a short, half open (or lower), somewhat retracted vowel /æ/ or /ɛ/, the US dialect speakers’ usual equivalent for the vowel in SSB *bit* [bit] (US [bæ:t] or [bë:t]). The SSB forms show a variety of developments in these words, e.g. the /a:/ diphthong in BLIND, CLIMB, etc.; /ə/ in BULL; /ʌ/ in DOZEN, NUT, SON, SUMMER, SUN, ASUNDER, etc.; /ɪ/ in BRIDGE, BUILD, etc.; and /e/ in CHEST, RED, TREMBLE, etc.

The US dialects as a group tended to have the vowel /æ/ (or /ɛ/, especially in Donegal) – in all the items in this list, with occasional special consonantal reflexes, thus: [blæ:n], [klæ:m]; [bæ:l]; [dæ:zən], [næ:t], [sæ:n], [sæmər], [sæ:n], [sæ:nərə]; [bræ:g], [bæ:g]; [kæ:st], [ju:ed], [træ:m].

The UAI dialects had reflexes closer to SSB: [blein(d)], [klæim]; [bül] or [böl]; [dözen], [nöt], [sön], [sömer], [sön], [ə'söndər]; [bu:dž], [bürld]; [tsest], [er:d], [trembl]. The /g/ in US [bræ:g], and the /k/ in [kæ:st] represent typical Scottish consonantism over against the English affricates, as does the Ø versus /b/ or /d/ in the contrasting forms of TREMBLE, BLIND, and ASUNDER. Interdental [t], [d], [n], [l], and the flapped [r] associated with them are a non-contrastive, universal feature of the Ulster dialects and undoubtedly derive phonetically from the Gaelic substratum. They are allophonically distributed variants of /t/, /d/, /n/, /l/, and /r/ respectively, although their use may be an oristic signal, marking the absence of a morpheme boundary, for example: BOULDER [bo:lðər] – a solid morpheme – versus BOLDER ['bo:lðər] from BOLD + the comparative morpheme [-rə].²⁸

List 4 brings together forms that generally have [e] in US over against UAI /a/ or /e/, as well as occasionally /i/, /ɪ/, or /ə/, e.g.

AFTER [e:ftər], APPLE ['e:pł], BLADE [ble:d], FATHER [fe:ðər], FLAT [fle:t], GRASS [grę:s], HALTER ['he:ltər], HAMMER [he:ma:r], HASP [he:sp], LADDER ['le:ðər], MASTER [me:stər], SACK [sę:k], SATURDAY ['sę:tərde], SHAFT [še:ft], TRAVEL [tre:vł], ARM [e:im], CART [ke:ut], MARRIED TO ['me:ut, o:n], NARROW [ne:urə], BRANCH [bję:nś], HAUNCH [he:uńś], DINNER [de:nər], KINDLING [ke:nələn], EITHER ['e:ðər].

For these words the UAI dialects had mostly /a/: [aftər], [apł], [fa:ðər], [flat], [gręs], [hamər], [hasp], [la:ðər], [ma:stər], [sak], [sa:tərde], [šaft], [tra:vł], [o:im], [ka:ut], [mo:ut, tū:], [na:urə], [bję:nś], but various other vowels in the

other items: [ble:d], [hɒltər], [hon:s], [dī:nər], [kī:nələn], [i:ðər], or [ə:iðər]. Among the consonantal differences we note that US has /ð/ instead of /d/ in LADDER and BLADDER. The allophonic interdentals cropped up in both dialect groups in AFTER, GANDER, HALTER, MANNER, MASTER, MATTER, PLASTER, SATURDAY, TRAVEL, PARTRIDGE, DINNER. US has /v/ in MARBLES [mɛ:vələz] – UAI [ma:lez] (i.e. the game of marbles). The US form of STANCHION is either [ste:nsl] or [ste:nšər]. Note also that this SSB cluster [-ntʃ] is represented by [-nš] in both Ulster dialect groups, just as [-ndʒ] is represented by [-nž].

As already seen, the diphthongization process that produced SSB /a:/ (mainly from ME ī) did not always affect the same items in US as in UAI or the standard language. Hence forms like BRIGHT, FIGHT, HEIGHT, etc., did not have a diphthong in US but did have /əi/ in UAI. US, of course, has its own system of diphthongs of the /əi/ and /æe/ type from ME ī and other sources and with characteristic phonemic and subphonemic groupings²⁹.

On the other hand, ME ū has not been diphthongized at all in US any more than in the Scots dialects generally, and an US pure vowel is thus in contrast with the diphthong /əü/³⁰ appearing in all the UAI dialects (the UAI equivalent of SSB /aʊ/) in many words such as the major subset of List 5. The ME ū has of course been changed in US, having been fronted and in certain contexts allophonically shortened and opened as also in south-western Scots generally, thus:

ALLOW [ə:lü]	BROWN [brɔ:n]	DOUBT [dö:t]
ABOUT [ə:böt]	HOUSE [hö:s]	MOUTH [mö:θ]
DROUGHT [DRö:θ]	RUST [röst]	SUCK [sök]
ROUND [rön]	THOUSAND [θü:zən]	POWDER [pö:ðər]
COW [kü:]		THUMB [θö:m]

The more open allophone [ö] occurred in closed monosyllables except before voiceless fricatives, as well as in dissyllables except before /z/. Directly before /r/ there was a long lowered allophone, a somewhat centred [ø], as in OUR [ö:r], but dissyllabic words such as FLOUR or FLOWER, POWER, SHOWER, SOUR with [-ər] as the final syllable had [ü:], thus: [flü:ər], [pü:ər], [śü:ər], [sü:ər]. HOUR [ü:ər] was therefore in contrast with OUR [ö:r]. Further, when OUR occurred with weak stress it was reduced to [wər]. The word COW [kü:] often had the old umlaut plural [kae] in US, especially in a collective sense, referring to a farmer's whole herd. The regularly-formed plural with [-z], i.e. [kü:z], often cropped up as a second form when a specific number of cows was mentioned: TWO COWS [twɔ: 'kü:z].

PLOUGH had various US forms: [plü:], [plü:], [pjü:], with palatalized [í], ordinary 'light' [l], or a simple yod with the lateral element deleted. These forms lacked the expected final /x/. UAI of course had only [pläü].

HOUSE [hö:s] usually formed the plural [hösəz], but in north Antrim [hözəz] and occasionally [hüzəz]. UAI had

[hœ:zəz]. Not all the items in List 5 had a diphthong – [əü] – in UAI. Some had contrastive US consonantal developments as compared with UAI, e.g. BLUE [blü:] or [bjü:], LUKE (WARM) [lü:], FULL [fü:], PULL [pü:], COULTER [kötər], SHOULDER [śö:ðər] were US forms contrasting with UAI [blü:], [lök,wa:um], [föl] or [fül], [pöl] or [püł], [ko:LTər], [śœuldər] or [śo:ldər]. DROUGHT had a special US consonantal development, giving [DRö:θ] versus UAI [DRö:üt]³¹. Some items with a French background such as *foison/less* [fö:žən(ləs)]³² 'tasteless' and *foutre* [fö:tər] 'clumsy person' had /ü/ in US, but as often happens with dialect words that have no etymological equivalent in the standard language, the latter word, [fö:tər], proved to have widespread if not completely universal currency throughout the whole province. Some few items in this list had suffered earlier vowel shortening in the English dialects (though not in Scots) and appeared therefore with /ö/ in UAI, e.g. the US forms PLUM [plöm], SUCK [sök], THUMB [θö:m] contrasted with UAI [plöm], [sök], [θö:m].

List 6 consists of words of various origins that had /ʌ/ in US versus mainly /i/ in UAI, the US /ʌ/ occurring in many cases in the sequence /wʌ/ or /mʌ/:

QUILT [kwalt]	SWITCH [swatš]	WHIP [wʌp]
WHISKEY [waskə]	WILL [wäl]	WIND [wʌn]
WINTER [wantər]	WITCH [wʌtš]	WRIST [wast]

(though the latter word has now lost its w!) All these had UAI [i]. Some forms with US /ʌ/ such as FOUND [fan], GROUND [grʌn], MOUNTAIN [mʌnθə], POUND [pan] (especially in the monetary sense) had [əü] in UAI. STEADY and STITHY both appeared as [stade] in US. CINDERS gave US [śanərəz] versus UAI [sü:ndərəz]. The US [mʌne] for MANY was in contrast with UAI [mene] or [mane].

List 7 elicited US forms with the vowel /a/ which had developed historically from various sources. The first subset consists of words in which US /a/ represented earlier short o and which had reflexes with [o] in UAI. In CROP [kro:p], DROP [dro:p], HOB [ha:b], JOB [dža:b], LOFT [la:ft], OFF [a:f], TOM [ta:m], BOTTLE (of hay, etc.) [ba:tł], FOND [fa:nd], MUST [marə], PORRIDGE [pa:ri:tš] we see that the triggering environment of the phonological change ME o > US /a/ seems to be a following, or occasionally a preceding, labial (the dialectal equivalent of the auxiliary MUST represents the altered form of *mon). In all these cases UAI had /o/, but for MUST had [möst].

A second subset shows the result of another conditional phonological change in US, viz. ME o > US /a/ followed by the velar nasal, as in LONG [lo:n], SONG [sa:n], THRONG 'crowded' [θrä:n], etc. THONG usually gave US [ma:n] and STRONG always gave [stro:n] with [ɔ:] instead of [a:]. UAI has [o] in all of these.

A third subset illustrates the historical-phonological rule that ME e > US /a/ in the environment of a preceding /w/ or /m/, as in SWELL [swa:l], TWELVE [twa:l], WEATHER [wa:ðər],

WEB [wab], WEDDING ['wə:dŋ], WELL n. [wa:l], WET adj. [wa:t], WHELM 'overturn' ['wə:mɪl]³⁴, WREN [rə:n], WRESTLE ['rə:sł]. Note the loss of /v/ in TWELVE and the influence of the now silent w in the WR- clusters, i.e. wre > /wra:/ > /ra/, with e > /a/ before the /w/ was deleted. WELL adv. is [wil] and WET v. is [wit] in US. A frequent form of QUIT was [kwe:t] and from this an underlying form [kwə:t] had developed by the application of the rule just described. The usual US version of WADE was [wo:d] versus UAI [we:d], and the US dialectal wale 'select' had three forms [we:l], [wo:l], and [we:l], which reflect divergent developments of an older alternation between an underlying short or long vowel. The second version shows the same development as the other words with [wa:].

The words in List 8 were intended to focus on forms with /ɔ/ in US dialects, although some of them turned out to have /a/ with or without a labialized off-glide (thus: [a:w]) in many of the items elicited.

The first subset includes words which had ME *al* for which US had reflexes with [ɔ:], [a:w], [a:] or [a:]. The l has been deleted, thus for Antrim and Down US, ALL, FALL, WALL gave [ɔ:], [fɔ:], [wɔ:]; [a:w], [fa:w], [wa:w]; or [a:], [fa:], [wa:], whereas the generally more archaic Donegal forms were [a:], [fa:], [wa:]. However, even the dialects that had developed [ɔ:] had [a:] in items where ME *al* was followed by another consonant, hence: BEHOLDEN [be'hə:dŋ], dwalm 'sick turn' [dwa:m], SALT [sa:t], SCALD (in the sense 'tea') [ska:d]. In a further subset ME *a* was followed by *w* or preceded by *w* or *wh*, a combination that produced all the above reflexes in the various US areas, e.g. BLOW [blɔ:], [bla:w], [bla:], CROW n./v. [kri:ɔ:], etc., ROW 'a series' [rɔ:], etc., SOW v. [sɔ:], etc., as well as TWO [twɔ:], etc., WHO [wɔ:], etc. The words AWAY [ə'wɔ:], etc., and WHERE [wɔ:r], etc., fitted in here, pointing back to older *w(h)a*-sequences. Donegal US had /a/ in all these forms as well as items like DRAW [dra:], etc. HAW [ha:], HAWK [ha:k]³⁵, JACKDAW [džék'da:], JAW [dža:], etc. The words BORROW [bɔ:rə] and TASSLE ['tɔ:sł] frequently turned up with /ɔ/³⁶ in US.

The UAI dialects have preserved the lateral in the first and second subsets: ALL [ɒ:l], etc., SCALD [skold], etc. With /l/ + voiceless consonant, [ɔ] occurred, as in SALT [sɔlt]. The l has been deleted in UAI WALK [wɔ:k], TALK [tɔ:k]. In Donegal it was discovered that this set of words (with original -lk): STALK [sta:k], TALK [ta:k], and BALK 'beam' [ba:k] were in phonemic contrast with original *l*-less forms such as STACK [sta:k], TACK [ta:k], and BACK [ba:k], having plain /k/ versus the palatalized /k/.

List 9 produced US forms with /i/ in contrast with a wide variety of vowels in the UAI reflexes. US had [i(:)] in BRIAR ['bri:a:r], DIE [di:], EYE [i:], FLY n./v. [fli:], HIGH [hix], LIE n./v. [li:] over against the UAI diphthong /əi/ in ['bəeɪər], [dəi], [əi], [fləi], [hai], [ləi]; although in Donegal US [di:] means 'do' and DIE is pronounced [dəi], apparently a borrowing from UAI to avoid homophonic clash. It was noted that in EYES – [in] – the US dialects had the archaic plural marker /-n/ along with

the short allophone [i], and yet in DIED [di:d] the normal past tense/past participle marker /-d/ does not produce this shortening. DIED [di:d] is thus in minimal contrast with DEAD [did], which is a solid morpheme, and therefore has the normal short allophone which occurs in all closed syllables except those with a final voiced fricative or [i]. The contrast was with UAI /e/ in another subset where US has BREAST [brest], DEVIL [dil], FRIEND [frin], MEADOW ['midə], THREAD [θrid], WET v. [wit], BREAD [brid], DEAD [did], DEAF [dif]³⁷, DEAFEN [di:v], HEAD [hid], LEAD n. [lid], MARE [mi:ʃ], PEAR [pi:r], WELL adv. [wil], etc.

In a few instances US had the reflex [i(:)], developed through lengthening from an earlier short *i* which is represented by [i:] in UAI, e.g. DRIP [drɪp], KING [kiŋ], LIVE [liv], SWIM [swim], WIDOW ['widə].

That the older, underlying form of this US vowel is always long, and that the clipped allophone is a relatively recent innovation, is borne out by the preservation at a few points in the most conservative part of the US area (viz. the Mid Ards) of forms like [kik] 'peep' and [kii:pe] (three-legged stool) with [i:], in contrast with the forms [kik] and [k:i:pə] in which the shortening rule applies, and which were found everywhere else, even in other similar items in the dialect of the same Mid Ards speakers who had [ki:k], etc. The sporadic survival of this archaic [i:] has, of course, also been attested by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. It is noteworthy that semantically the words concerned tend to have a strong affective connotation.

List 10 brings together words that have /e/ in US in contrast with UAI /o/, /ɒ/, /e/, depending on their origin and development. The first subset show contrastive reflexes of OE *a*, US having /e/ in BONE [be:n] CLOTHES [kle:z], FROM [fie:], or [fe:] (with deletion of [i]), HOME [he:m], MOST [me:st], NO adj. [ne:], STONE [ste:n], STRAW [stre:] as against UAI /o/ and /ɒ/ in [bo:n], [klo:z], [fi:o:m], [ho:m], [mo:st], [no:], [sto:n], [strɒ:D]. A morphophonemic shortening rule for US by which [e:] > [i], marks the morpheme boundary in the compound form NOTHING [nɪθən] versus UAI [nɒθən]. The close vowel /e/ does not occur before /r/ in US; hence MORE [me:r] and SORE [se:r] have [e:] in contrast with UAI [o:] in [mo:r], [so:r]. The numeral ONE has a special development: UAI [wa:n] versus US [jæ:n] instead of the expected [e:n]. The latter reflex does, however, occasionally crop up in Donegal, and in all US districts in ALONE [ə'lə:n]. The [e:] also appears in OWN adj. [en]. Another small subset contrasts US [e:] with UAI [ɛ] in SEVEN ['se:vən], ELEVEN ['ə'ləvən] versus UAI ['səvən], ['ə'lɛvən]. A third, larger, subset of words in this list with orthographic *ea* proved unhelpful in separating the dialects, as UAI tended to have the archaic [e:] in the same items as US and perhaps in an even wider range, many of these occurring in the popular speech of Belfast. Thus: BEAK [be:k] (in the vulgar phrase ['sʌt jə 'be:k] 'Shut up!'), BEAST [be:st], CREATURE ['krie:tər], EASTER ['e:stər], NEAT [ne:t], TEA [te:] tend to crop up in all Ulster dialects whether of English or Scottish background, although a special detailed study might reveal

that, apart from the group used in common, each dialect type has a special group of its own items not shared by the other type.³⁸

A few special lexical items characteristic of US proved to be useless as boundary markers. For example [he:n] ‘use sparingly’, [we:nz] ‘children’ – although UAI has often preserved the older simple plural form [t'sɪLDər] – have for the most part spread beyond US areas.

Because of the development of OE *ā* > US /e/ instead of /o/ as in UAI, the phoneme /o/ has a relatively low frequency in US. List 11 brought together some items with US /o/ from various sources, which contrasted with /o/ or /ɔ/ in UAI. Some special US lexical items were also included, such as [go:pən] ‘a double handful’, [ho:k] ‘poke; search blindly’, [lo:nən] ‘lane’, [sno:k] ‘poke with snout’, [θo:l] ‘bear; stand; put up with’, [sko:b] ‘scrape off with the teeth and eat thin shreds of’ – an apple, turnip, etc. These, however, tended not to be limited geographically to the Scottish-settled areas. Before [u] US had [o:] in CORD [ko:rd], CORN [ko:n], MORNING [mo:nən], SHORT [so:lt], SORT [so:t], where UAI had [ɔ:];³⁹ and also in the words NOT [no:] (emphatic) and ROCK which was frequently [rɔ:k] versus UAI [nɒt] and [rɒk]. The word DOG had at least three variant forms in US, viz. [dɔ:g], [dʌg], and [dəʊg], over against UAI [dɒ:g].

List 12 was intended to throw light on the complex situation that has arisen in the Ulster dialects with regard to the occurrence and distribution of diphthongs of the [əi], [au], or [ae] type from various ME sources.

The UAI group had generally only the narrow type of diphthong – [əi] – almost exclusively (as in SSB) representing a reflex of ME ī. In the same items US has developed two reflexes in allophonic distribution: (1) the same narrow type – [əi] – as in UAI, which may be considered as the main member of this diphthongal phoneme; (2) a broad diphthong [ae] (or in Donegal [aɪ]), which occurs in open syllables or in hiatus (except when flanked by [w-] and [-əi], as well as before voiced fricatives. Thus contrasts emerged between US [ae] and UAI [əi] in words like:

	US		UAI
BUY; BY	[bae]	<i>versus</i>	[bəi]
DYE	[dae]	<i>versus</i>	[dəi]
LIE ‘recline’	[lae]	<i>versus</i>	[ləi]
MY	[mae]	<i>versus</i>	[məi]
PIE	[pae]	<i>versus</i>	[pəi]
RYE	[rae]	<i>versus</i>	[rəi]
TIE	[tae]	<i>versus</i>	[təi]
DIAL	[dæel]	<i>versus</i>	[dəiel]
FRIAR	[friər]	<i>versus</i>	[fri:i]
DIVE	[daev]	<i>versus</i>	[dəiv]
PRIZE	[praez]	<i>versus</i>	[prəiz]
SCYTHE	[saeð]	<i>versus</i>	[səið]

But note that there was no contrast with items like:

	US		UAI
WIRE	[reɪwə]		[rəi:wə]
CHOIR	[k'ri:wə]	<i>and</i>	[k'wəi:wə]

To complicate the situation US has preserved one of these diphthongs, namely [əi], in a small set of monosyllabic words that had a ME diphthong of the *ei/ai* type. As a result US /əi/ and /ae/ must in the final analysis be recognized as separate phonemes, as demonstrated by the following minimal pairs:

/əi/	‘ay; ‘always’	<i>versus</i>	/ae/	‘aye; ‘yes’
/bəi/	‘bay’	<i>versus</i>	/bae/	‘buy’
/gəi/	‘very’	<i>versus</i>	/gae/	‘guy’
/məi/	‘May (month)’	<i>versus</i>	/mae/	‘my’
/pəi/	‘pay’	<i>versus</i>	/pae/	‘pie’
/stəi/	‘stay’	<i>versus</i>	/stae/	‘sty (for pigs)’

A similar contrast occurs with the word MINE: /məin/ *mine* (coal, etc.) *versus* /maen/ *mine* (possessive). All these latter forms would be in contrast with UAI, which has no such diphthongal phonemic opposition but has /e/ in place of US /əi/ in the first column and /əi/ instead of US /ae/ in the second.

To round off this complicated picture, US has [i(:)] in a few items where UAI has [əi], thus:

	US		UAI
EYE	[i:]	<i>versus</i>	[əi]
DIE	[di:]	<i>versus</i>	[dəi]
LIE ‘fib’	[li:]	<i>versus</i>	[ləi]
HIGH	[hix]	<i>versus</i>	[həi]

and where US has /əi/ < ME *ei/ai*, UAI has /e/, as shown by the following contrasts⁴⁰:

	US		UAI
BRAY	[b'rei]	<i>versus</i>	[b're:]
CLAY	[kl'eɪ]	<i>versus</i>	[kle:]
HAY	[h'eɪ]	<i>versus</i>	[he:]
REINS	[z'nɪər]	<i>versus</i>	[z'rənz]
WAY/WEIGH	[w'eɪ]	<i>versus</i>	[we:]
WHEY	[w'eɪ]	<i>versus</i>	[we:]
NEIGHBOUR	[r'eɪbər]	<i>versus</i>	[ne:bər]

The US lexical form [kwəi] ‘heifer’ and the adverb [əi] ‘always’ tended to spread outside the US districts, and the general, archaic pronunciation [bəil] for BOIL n. was widely preserved in dialectal speech in all districts of the province.

The other frequently-occurring diphthong /əü/ belonged to both dialects in a subset of the List 13 items, derived mainly from ME -ald < OE -ald where the standard English spelling has -old. Thus BOLD, COLD, HOLD, OLD, SOLD, TOLD have [əü] as the vocalic nucleus in both dialect groups, though US has the special distinction of regularly deleting the final [d] as

well. From other sources both dialects had [əü] in BOWL, SOUL, CHEW but US alone had [əü] in EWE [jəü], FOUR [fəüər], POLE [pəül], ROLL [rəüll], BESTOW [be'stəü], GROW [grəü], OVER [əüər], THAW [θəü], TOW n. [təü], where UAI had [o:] as follows:

[jo:⁴¹], [fou:], [po:l], [ao:l], [be'sto:], [gio:], [o:vər], [θo:], [to:].

US LOOSE [ləüs] and LOOSEN [ləüz] contrast with UAI [lüs] and [lüsən].

Dialectal lexical items such as [kəüp] ‘overturn’, [gəül] ‘howl’ were found to be very widespread, occurring in both dialect groups, while [gəüp] ‘throb’ (with pain), [ləün] ‘calm’, [ləüp] ‘leap’ (specifically for the Salmon Loup, i.e. Salmon Leap – a place name⁴²) tended to be restricted to the US areas.

The diphthong /œ/ proved to be of relatively rare occurrence in dialectal words. Some forms like [mœele] ‘hornless’ (cow) – from Gaelic sources – cropped up almost everywhere, but [stœx] ‘stench’ was specifically US, though not very widely known.

The final list, List 14, attempted to check contrastive morphological patterns involving verb forms and negatives, thus:

	US	UAI
DO	[de:]	[dü:]
DON'T	['dün̩]	[do:nt̩]
DOES	[dtz]	[döz] or [dɔ:z]
DOESN'T	['dızne]	[döznt̩]
(he made me) DO IT	[dt̩]	[dü:ət̩]
FROM	[fe:]	[firə:m]
FROM IT	[fit]	[firəmət̩]
WITH	[we:]	[wɪθ̩]
WITH IT	[wt̩]	[wɪθət̩]
HAVE	[he:]	[ha:v̩]
HAVEN'T	['hune]	['ha:vnt̩]
HAVE TO	['hite]	['haftə]
HAS	[hɪz]	[ha:z]
HASN'T	['hızne]	['ha:znt̩]
HAD HAD	[hədə'hun]	[hədə'ha:d̩]
MUST	[ma:n]	[möst̩]
MUSTN'T	['ma:ne]	['mösnt̩]
CAN	[ka:n]	[ka:n̩]
CAN'T	['ka:ne]	[kant̩]
GIVE	[gi:]	[gīv̩]
GAVE	[gin]	[gīv̩] or [ge:v̩]
GIVEN	[gin]	[gīv̩] or [gīvən̩]
HIT	[æt̩]	[hīt̩]
HIT (past)	[hət̩]	[hīt̩]
LET (past)	[lə:t̩]	[lēt̩]
SAT	[sat̩]	[sat̩]
SET (past)	[sə:t̩]	[sēt̩]
IS/ARE THERE?	[æ:ðe:]	[ɪz ðər̩]
WAS/WERE THERE?	['wʌ,ðe:]	[wōz ðər̩]
I'LL NOT BE ABLE TO...	[al 'no: kən̩]	[ə'il 'nɒt be 'e:b̩ t̩]

In the area of morphology in general the best criteria proved to be the US negatives in [-ne], contrasting with UAI [nɒt] or [n̩t̩], in addition to the archaic US plurals: EYES [in], SHOES [s̩in̩], etc., COWS [kae] discussed above, and the various plurals of HOUSE. Verb forms such as DO [de:], DID, DONE [d̩in̩], GIVE [gi:], GAVE, GIVEN [gin], or [gi:d̩], etc., HAVE [he:], MUST [mə:n̩] proved to be reliable markers of US dialect versus [dü:], [dön̩], [gīv̩], [gīv̩], or [ge:v̩], [ha:v̩], [möst̩] for UAI, as was the syntactic use of CAN as infinitive⁴³ in phrases like [a:l 'no: kən̩ stəj̩] versus [ə'il 'nɒt be 'e:bl t̩ stəj̩] ‘I'll not be able to stay’. The contracted forms of preposition + pronoun were also distinctively US, e.g.

FROM [fe:] + IT [æt̩] > FROM IT [ft̩]

WITH [we:] + IT [æt̩] > WITH IT [wt̩].

When the task of collecting and scrutinizing the materials provided by the informants was completed, the phonologically relevant parts of all the responses were tabulated in the numerical order of the Questionnaire, county by county. From these tabulations ninety items were selected so as to cover all the Lists, 1-14, in a representative way. These items were then plotted on a series of base maps which made it immediately apparent that in the majority of cases the US phonological features discussed above and listed in the Tabulated Summary stood in sharp contrast with corresponding characteristic UAI features in such a way as to give a clear boundary between the two dialect groups. Further, the demarcation lines in item after item fell between the same points on the map – in other words the isoglosses bundled in a very consistent manner. As the main purpose of the research was to map the extent of Scottish-type dialect features in Ulster, a careful statistical examination had to be made of the distribution of each item in its function as an US boundary marker and then a further statistical estimate made for the classification of each informant as an US speaker (actually 89 out of the total of 125 were so classified) or as a non-US speaker.

Each map, of course, once again bore out the truth of the contention that every word has its own history – and geography⁴⁴, for even a well-preserved Scottish feature like the voiceless, velar fricative /χ/ was missing in the word *daughter* with 4 out of the 89 informants classified as US speakers; in the word *eight* it was missing with 9 (the influence of the schools could have been a factor here); in the word *enough*, with 3; in the word *fight*, with only 2; whereas in the word *tough* all the US informants had the /χ/ and 6 of the non-US speakers as well, and in the word *trough* likewise not only all the US group but even 34 out of 36 of the non-US used the /χ/. The /χ/ in *trough* was thus virtually universal, hence useless as a boundary marker as compared with most of the other words with /χ/.

A careful study of the ninety maps showed that thirty-six items were not useful criteria for boundary drawing because of atypical distribution (cf. *trough* above); because some US

forms were not in contrast with a clearly recognizable UAI equivalent; because the morphological items were often obsolescent; because of incomplete coverage. The rest of the maps, which showed very little variation, provided the basis for a generalized Final Boundary map, which separated all the points producing consistently US forms from those that did not. Deviations either way – either US forms missing inside the boundary or present outside it – never amounted on any map to more than 10 out of a population of 125. From the point of view of the 125 informants likewise it turned out that 49 of them had no deviations; up to 115 had only 5 or fewer; another 8 had up to 12 or fewer and only 2 came anywhere near a point where their classification was tentative or doubtful. In this way then the Final Boundary was authenticated both from the point of view of the items

investigated and from that of the dialect of the informants viewed as a coherent whole.

It should be emphasized, in conclusion, that the Final Boundary drawn represents the maximal extent of the US dialects at the time of the investigation and among the oldest speakers available. On the few occasions when it was possible to check the speech of the three generations it was observed that the younger and the youngest had lost many of the characteristic US forms, especially along the fringes of the US dialect zones. Only in the heart of the US areas was the dialect well preserved among the youngest speakers. In other words the US dialect boundary is and will be receding from the position marked in the Final Boundary Map and the ultimate extinction of the dialect may be envisaged, probably within the next two or three generations.

Phonemic Systems of Ulster Dialects (Vowels)

	US(1)	US(2)	US(3)	USU	UAI	Antrim
BEET	i	i	{ i	i	i	Gaelic
BOOT	ɪ	{ e	{ i	ü	ü	i
BAIT	e	{ e	e	e	e	ɪ
BIT	æ	æ	ɛ	ɪ	ɪ	e
BET	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	æ
BAT	a	a	a	a	a	ɛ
POT	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	a
BOAT	o	o	o	o	o	ɔ
BUT	ʌ	ʌ	ö	ʌ	ö	o
ABOUT	ü	ü	ü	əü	əü	ü

US(1) represents the main county Antrim US dialect, as well as north Ards and part of the area west of Strangford Lough in county Down. US(2) covers the north Antrim and north-east Londonderry subdialect. US(3) includes the US Laggan dialect of Donegal, along with the Mid Ards, part of the area west of Strangford Lough and the Magilligan subdialect in north-east Derry. Antrim Gaelic is added for purposes of comparison. The inventory, based on the investigations of N. M. Holmer (see Notes 4 and 6, above), represents the Gaelic of the Glens of Antrim as well as that of Rathlin Island.

The phonemic symbols have been chosen in such a way as to give some idea of the underlying phonetic features of the vowel. Diphthongs are intentionally excluded from these basic systems, as is also all consideration of the suprasegmental feature of length.

Tabulated Summary of Phonological Rules

List	US	ME		UAI	
(1)	/x/	→	/x/	←	/f/, /Ø/
(2)	/ɪ/	→	ø	←	/ü/
	/jʌ/	→	ø + { ^k _g _h }	←	/ü/, /ö/, etc.
(3)	/æ(n)/	→	i(nd)	←	/əi(nd)/
	/æ/	→	u	←	/ü/, /ö/
	/æ(g)/	→	i(g)	←	/i(dz)/
(4)	/e/	→	a	←	/a/, /e/, etc.

(5)	/ü/	→	ū	←	/əü/, /o/
(6)	/(w)ʌ/	→	(w)i	←	/(w)ü/
	/ʌ(n)/	→	u(nd)	←	/əü(nd)/
(7)	/a/	→	$\begin{matrix} p \\ o \left\{ \begin{matrix} b \\ m \end{matrix} \right. \end{matrix}$	←	/ɒ/, /ɔ/
	/a(ŋ)/	→	a(ng)	←	/ɒ(ŋ)/
	/(w)a/	→	(w)e	←	/(w)e/
(8)	/ɔ(O)/	→	a(l)	←	/ɒ(l)/
	/a(OC)/	→	a(lC)	←	/ɒ(lC)/, /ɔ(lC)/
	/ɔ(O)/	→	a(w)	←	/ɒ(Ø)/
(9)	/i/	→	ɛ, ē	←	/e/, /ɛ/, etc.
(10)	/e/	→	ə	←	/o/
(11)	/o/	→	o	←	/ɒ/
(12)	/əi/	→	ei, ai	←	/e/
	/əi/, /ae/	→	ɪ	←	/əi/
(13)	/əü(l)/	→	a(ld)	←	/o(ld)/, /əü(ld)/
	/əü(OC)/	→	o(lC)	←	/o(lC)/
	/əü/	→	əw	←	/o/, /ü/

Final Phonological Questionnaire

List 1 (1-47)

BOUGHT BRIGHT BROUGHT COUGH DAUGHTER DOUGH DRAUGHT
 EIGHT ENOUGH FIGHT FOUGHT HEIGHT HIGH LAUGH LIGHT MIGHT
 NEIGH NIGHT OUGHT (pron.) RIGHT ROUGH SIGH SIGHT SOUGH
 STRAIGHT THOUGHT TIGHT TOUGH TROUGH WEIGHT WRIGHT
 WROUGHT *baghle brugh dight dreagh, forfoghen greeshagh*
hough laghter laigh paghle pegh scraigh sheugh spleughan
spraghle styaghie weght

List 2 (48-96)

ABOVE AFTERNOON BEHOVE BLOOD BOARD BOOT BROTHER *cloot*
 COOL CUD DONE FLOOR (DOOR) FOOL FOOT GOOD GOOSE *groop*
 GUM HOOD JUST (adv.) *loof* MOON MOORS MOTHER MOVE OTHER
 POOR PUT ROOD ROOST ROOTS SCHOOL SHOE, SHOE (a horse),
 *SHOES SHOOT SOON SOOT SPOON STOOL TO TOO TOOTH ENOUGH
 HOOK *flyuggy* NOOK PLOUGH *sheugh* TOUGH

List 3 (97-123)

BEHIND BLIND CLIMB FIND BULL DOZEN DUN (the colour) NUT
 SON STUBBLE SUMMER SUN TUP 'ram' ASUNDER TRUNDLE RUN
 *SUCH a BRIDGE BUILD RIDGE RIDGE TILES *trig* 'neat' CHEST RED
 TOGETHER TREMBLE VETCH

List 4 (124-180)

AFTER AFTERGRASS APPLE AXLE BLADDER BLADE BRASS CRADLE
 FAMILY FATHER FLAT GANDER GATHER GLAD GLASS GRASS
 HALTER HAMMER *hames* HASP JACKDAW LADDER MAGPIE
 MANNER MASTER MATTER PANE PLASTER RATHER SACK
 SATURDAY SHAFT TRAVEL WASH ARM CARRY CART FARM GARDEN
 HARM HARVEST MARBLES MARCH (DYKE) *MARRIED TO NARROW
 PART PARTRIDGE SHARP STARVING TART (adj.) YARD BRANCH
 HAUNCH STANCHION DINNER KINDLING EITHER NEITHER

List 5 (181-260)

ALLOW BOW (v.) BROW (riverbank) COW *COWS FLOUR HOUR
 HOW NOW POWER SHOWER SOUR SOW (n.) THOUSAND BLUE
 LUKEWARM PLOUGH FULL PULL COULTER SHOULDER POWDER
 ABOUT ACCOUNT BROWN COARSE COUNCIL COUNT COUNTY
 COURSE COURT CROWN DISCOURSE DOUBT DOWN DROUGHT
 DROWN *drook* DUCK¹ 'dodge' DUCK² 'drench' DUCK (n.)
foisonless foutre GOWN HOUSE *HOUSES LOUD LOUSE MOUSE
 MOUTH OUR (stressed) OUR (weak) OUT OWL PLUM POACHER
 POISON POUCH POUR POWDER PROUD ROUND RUST SCOWL
 SHROUD SNOUT SOUND (n.) SORREL SOUTH SPOUT SPROUT *stoon*
 STOUT SUCK SUPPLE TOWN THUMB TROUT GOLD

List 6 (261-305)

QUILT SWITCH *swither* TWENTY TWINS TWISTER WHIN WHIP WHISKEY WHISKERS WHISPER WHISTLE WHITLOW WHITTLE *whittret* ‘stoat’ WILDERNESS WILL WIND WINDOW WINNOW WINTER WISH WISP WIT WITCH WITHER WITHEY WIZARD WRINKLE WRIST MANY (ANY) *burn* ‘stream’ FOUND GROUND MOUNTAIN MOURN POUND (£) POUND (lb.) POUND (for animals) BRITTLE *chullers* CINDERS *lum* STEADY STITHY

List 7 (306-361)

attercap caup CHOP CROP ‘harvest’ CROP (of bird) DROP HOP LOPSIDED PROP SHOP *slap* SOB STOP TOP OPEN BOB HOB HOBBLE JOB KNOB LOBSTER LOFT OFF OFTEN SOFT TOM BOTTLE (hay, etc.) FOND MUST PORRIDGE ALONG AMONG BELONG LONG SONG STRONG THONGS THRONG TONGS WRONG QUIT SWELL TWELVE WEATHER WEB WEDDING WELL (n.) WET (adj.) (WETTING) WHELM WHELP WREN WRESTLE WADE *wale* RUSHES

List 8 (362-404)

ALL, *AT ALL, BALL CALL FALL HALL *miscall* SMALL WALL BALK BEHOLDEN *dwalm* SALT SCALD, *scald*, STALK TALK WALK BLOW CROW (n.) CROW (v.) MOW ROW ‘a series’ SNOW SOW (v.) *taws*, *thrawen*, *thraw hook*, AWAY TWO WHERE WHO CLAW DRAW HAW HAWK JACKDAW JAW LAW SAW (v.) SAW (n.) BARROW *logg moghy* TASSLE

List 9 (405-450)

BEESTINGS BLAZE BREAST BRIAR *creepie* DEVIL DIE DRIP EYE *EYES FIELD, FLY (n.) FLY (v.) FRIEND *greet* ‘cry’ HIGH *keek* KING LIE (n.) LIE (v.) LIVE MEADOW *reek* SICK *speel* STREET ‘farmyard’ SWIM THREAD WET (v.) WIDOW BREAD DEAD (DIED) DEAF *DEAFEN *freet* HEAD LEAD (n.) MARE *nieve* PEAR PHEASANT SPREAD SWEAR WEAR WELL (adv.)

List 10 (451-507)

ALONE *blate* ‘bashful’ BONE BOTH *blae brae* BROAD CLOTH *CLOTHES COMB FROM GABLE *graip* HOME KALE LOAD LOAN MORE MOST(LY) NO (adj.) NONE NOTHING ONE OWN (adj.) ROPE SLOE SO SORE *spae* STONE STRAW TOE WHOLE BEAK BEAST BEAT CHEAP CHEAT CREAM CREATURE DEATH EASTER ELEVEN FLEA NEAT QUIET REAPER REASON SCHEME SEASON SEAT SEVEN SHEAF SHED SPECIAL TREAT *weans hain* WEAK

List 11 (508-523)

boke bole CORD CORN DOG FROTH *glomin* open *hoke lonin* MORNING NOT ROCK *scobe* SHORT *snoke* SORT *thole*

List 12 (524-569)

AY ‘always’ BAY BRAY CLAY *gey* HAY MAY PAY *quey* REINS STAY STEEP WAY WEIGH WHEY BOIL (n.) AY ‘always’ AYE ‘yes’ BAY BUY *gey* GUY MINE (n.) MINE (adj.) MAY (the month) MY NEIGHBOUR PAY PIE STAY STY (for pigs) DIE DYE EYE I LIE ‘fib’ LIE ‘recline’ FIFE FIVE PRICE PRIZE

List 13 (570-613)

BOLD COLD FOLD HOLD OLD SCOLD SOLD TOLD BOLSTER BOLT BOWL COLT JOLT KNOLL MOULD (BOARD) POLE ROLL SHOULDER SOUL BESTOW CHEW *coup* EWE FOUR *gowl goup* GROW LOOSE LOSEN *lown loup* OVER PONY THAW TOW *moily stoigh*

List 14 (614-665)

DO DON’T, I DON’T KNOW, DOES DOESN’T DIDN’T, (HE MADE ME) DO IT HAVE HAVEN’T HAVE TO, HAS HASN’T, HAS TO, HADN’T, HAD HAD, BEHOVE TO, DAREN’T MUSTN’T CAN’T COULDN’T MIGHTN’T SHOULDN’T WON’T WOULDN’T AMN’T ISN’T AREN’T WASN’T WEREN’T BREAK BROKE BROKEN GIVE GAVE GIVEN TAKE TOOK TAKEN BEGAN BEGUN HIT (p.t.) LET (p.t.) SAT SET, IS/ARE THERE? WAS/WERE THERE? *I’ll have to go, Where are you going to? I’ll not be able to get, It doesn’t matter about it, Is there any more bread? He made me cry.*

Notes

- 1 Adams, G. Brendan, ‘An Introduction to the Study of Ulster Dialects’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52C1 (1948), 9-23, gives a description of Urban Anglo-Irish phonology.
- 2 Gregg, Robert J., ‘Scotch-Irish Urban Speech in Ulster’, in Adams, G. Brendan (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 163-192, describes Ulster-Scots Urban; Abercrombie, David, ‘The Way People Speak’, *The Listener* (6 September 1951); Hill, Trevor, ‘Institutional Linguistics’, *Orbis* 7 (1958), 441-55, discusses the concept of standard language, specifically Standard English.
- 3 See Phonetics Key at the front of this book.
- 4 Evans, E. Emrys, ‘Some East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish’, *Studia Celtica* 4 (1969), 81; Evans, E. Emrys, ‘The Irish Dialect of Urris, Inishowen, Co. Donegal’, *Lochlann* 4 (1970), 20, 25; Ó Searcaigh, S., *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt* (Belfast, 1925), §31; Holmer, Nils, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin, 1942), 123-4.
- 5 Throughout Ó Searcaigh, op. cit.
- 6 Holmer, Nils, *On some Relics of the Irish Dialect Spoken in the Glens of Antrim* (Uppsala, 1940); Holmer, op. cit. (1942).
- 7 Evans, op. cit. (1969); Evans, op. cit. (1970).
- 8 Gregg, op. cit.
- 9 Jaberg, K., *Sprachgeographie* (Aarau, 1908); Malkiel, Yakov, ‘Each Word has a History of its Own’, *Glossa* 1 (1967).
- 10 Gregg, Robert J., ‘Notes on the Phonology of a Co. Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect, Part I, Synchronic’, *Orbis* 7 (1958), 392-406; Gregg, Robert J., ‘Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect, Part 2: Diachronic’, *Orbis* 8 (1959), 400-424.
- 11 Now in use only in the Isle of Man. See *SED*, I, 1.I.3.
- 12 Heslinga, M. W., *The Irish Border as a Cultural Divide* (Leiden, 1962).
- 13 Ó Searcaigh, op. cit.; Holmer, op. cit. (1940); Holmer, op. cit. (1942); Sommerfelt, Alf, ‘South Armagh Irish’, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap* 2 (1929); Evans, op. cit. (1969); Evans, op. cit. (1970).
- 14 Wagner, Heinrich, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* (Dublin, 1958-).
- 15 Adams, G. Brendan, ‘The Last Language Census in Northern Ireland’, *Ulster Dialects* in Adams, G. Brendan, *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 111-45, and in personal communication with the writer.

- 16 Gregg, 'The Boundaries of the Scotch-Irish Dialects in Ulster' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1963, to be published by the Institute of Irish Studies, Belfast). The majority were in the age group 60-80 years of age. Only three were under 50, and only three over 90. The oldest (97) and the youngest (25) had perfect control of their US dialects.
- 17 In about a quarter of county Down 64 informants were interviewed, i.e. the coverage was at the density of over 250 for the whole county. Cf. the density of 6 informants for the whole of county Durham under the English survey. Down had an area of 609,439 acres and a population of 267,013 in 1967. In the same year the figures for Durham are 649,431 acres, and 1,547,050 population.
- 18 Gregg, op. cit. (1958), 400-401.
- 19 King, Robert D., *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), especially chapter 3, for languages with a written record. The experts on unwritten, aboriginal American, Australian or African languages have to rely on the detailed internal analysis, along with the comparative study of purely synchronic materials in order to establish proto-languages and interlinguistic relationships. A. J. Aitken, 'Lowland Scots c. 1350-1370' (MS, Edinburgh, no date), was able, on the other hand, to reconstruct a workable phonology for Lowland Scots in the second half of the 14th century on the basis of written documents.
- 20 Gregg, Robert J., op. cit. (1958), and op. cit. (1959). See also 'Phonemic Systems' below.
- 21 Actually, all except /œ/, which proved to be so marginal and unproductive in providing contrasts with UAI that only a couple of dialect forms with this nucleus were appended to List 12. See Tabulated Summary of Phonological Rules and Final Questionnaire.
- 22 Catford, J. C., 'Vowel-systems of Scots Dialects', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1957). It is interesting that the US dialects do not match precisely any of the vowel-systems actually described by Catford in phonetic terms. Structurally, of course, Glenoe is a 10-vowel system, consisting of Catford's Basic 8 vowels + AY (where A = /ɔ/ as in *cot* [kɔ:t], distinct from *coat* [kɔ:t] and *cat* [kɔ:t], and Y = /i:/ as in *boot* [bi:t] distinct from *bit* [ba:t]). Still, Glenoe differs from Catford's example of AY (north Kirkcudbright), but is very close to his A (Lanarkshire), which – with the *boot/bit* (/i:/ versus /ɛ/) distinction added – would be structurally identical and phonetically very similar to Glenoe. The north Antrim/Londonderry sub-dialects have one type of 9-vowel system while the Mid Ards/west Strangford and Donegal subdialects have another. There is a neutralization in the first group of /i:/ and /ɪ/ as in *boot* [bit], *beet* [bit], and in the second group of /ɪ/ and /e/, as in *boot* [be:t], *beat* or *bait* [be:t]. The link between Glenoe and Catford's Lanarkshire type is historically valid, for his map (p. 110) shows this 9-vowel system as covering Renfrew and most of north and central Ayrshire – well-known sources of the Scots settlers who came to Ulster in the 17th century. The expansion of Glenoe, etc. to a 10-vowel system and the various neutralizations elsewhere may represent archaic developments within the Scots dialects themselves or may be the result of substratum or other local innovations that took place within Ulster.
- 23 Moulton, William G., 'Dialect Geography and the Concept of Phonological Space', *Word* 18 (1962), 23-32; King, op. cit., 191-202.
- 24 Evans, op. cit. (1969), 87-88; Evans, op. cit. (1970), 57-58.
- 25 King, op. cit., 105-119.
- 26 Evans, op. cit. (1969), 82; Evans, op. cit. (1970), 16, etc.
- 27 Dieth, Eugen, *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect (Aberdeenshire)*, (Zürich, 1932), 8-9.
- 28 Gregg, op. cit. (1958), 405.
- 29 Ibid., 400, 404-405; Gregg, op. cit. (1959), 416-418; Gregg, op. cit. (1963), 173-174.
- 30 A diphthong of this Ulster type - /əü/ - is characteristic of the Ottawa Valley dialect. It has no allophonic variants and is in sharp contrast with the usual Canadian diphthong /aw/ with its allophones [aʊ], and either [əu] or [ʌu], occurring in other parts of Ontario as well as the rest of the country, e.g. *out loud*: Ottawa Valley [əüt 'ləüd]; other Canadian [əut 'laʊd] or [ʌut 'laʊd].
- 31 For *drought*, Northern American speech often has /drawθ/ (U.S. [drəʊθ]; Canadian [drəʊθ] or [drʌʊθ]), which would suggest a blend of these Ulster forms or of their originals in the Scots and Midland English dialects.
- 32 Also [fʌžən(ləs)], e.g. in Glenoe.
- 33 Note the metathesis here: /lm/ > /ml/, which means that /l/ becomes syllabic.
- 34 The popular form of this word both in Canada and the U.S. is [ræs], often actually spelled *rassle* in newspaper sports reports.
- 35 In Donegal US *hawk* [hak] is in minimal contrast with *hack* [ha:k]. See next paragraph.
- 36 In *tassle* [tɔ:sł] the /ɔ/ may reflect the influence of the vowel in *toss*.
- 37 The form /dif/ crops up sporadically in the U.S. and Canada for *deaf*, even in educated speech.
- 38 Wilson, J., *Lowland Scotch* (London, 1915), has drawn up such a list (p. 39) of items with /e/ for the Strathearn dialect of Perthshire which he later contrasts with the list for the central Ayrshire dialect in his book *The Dialect of Robert Burns as Spoken in Central Ayrshire* (London, 1923). The latter list is almost identical with the comparable items for the US dialect of Glenoe, which again underlines the kinship of US with south-western Scots, specifically Ayrshire and hinterland.
- 39 As in the case of words with orthographic *ea*, a special overall survey of the English-speaking world would be profitable for the words which in various regions preserve a traditional opposition between /ɔ/ and /o/ in the environment of a following /r/, e.g. *horse* /hɔ:s/ versus *hoarse* /hɔ:s/, which has been widely neutralized in the standard speech of British as well as American type. For the present situation in Ulster speech, see Gregg, op. cit. (1963), 170-171. The /ɔ/ versus /o/ opposition is maintained in some parts of the U.S. and is indicated in dictionaries, even the latest, such as Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*. Jones, Daniel, *The Pronunciation of English* (Cambridge, 1963), 40, points to the west of England as an area where the opposition is preserved. It is, of course, well preserved in Scotland, but note that in the Scottish dialects as in US, the range of /o/ + /r/ is wider than in the standard forms of speech.
- 40 See also comments on US tabulation /əi/ versus /ae/.
- 41 The form /jo/ for *ewe* also occurs sporadically in Canada, especially in Ontario.
- 42 All Ulster dialects, US and UAI, have /lep/ for *leap* (in a general sense), presumably a back formation from *lept* /lept/.
- 43 Ščur, G. S., 'On the Non-finite Forms of the Verb *can* in Scottish', *Acta Linguistica Hafniensis* 11 (1968), 212.
- 44 Jaberg, op. cit.; Malkiel, op. cit.

The Distribution of Raised and Lowered Diphthongs as Reflexes of M.E. ī in Two Ulster-Scots (US) Dialects*

Robert J. Gregg

Since the advent of generative phonology, the Great English Vowel Shift has become once again the focus of much attention. We hear – as a modern refinement – a great deal about α -switching rules whose elegance derives mainly from the front-back symmetry apparent in Standard English (whether Southern British or General American), a symmetry paralleled – as far as diphthongization is concerned – by Standard German and Standard Dutch. This symmetry is missing, however – and α -switching as a consequence intuitively less elegant – in the northern dialects of English, where ME *ū* does not diphthongize, while in continental Germanic languages and dialects other than those mentioned there is no diphthongization whatever, although peninsular Scandinavian shares with most Scottish dialects an anticlockwise (or upward/frontward) rotation of the close back vowels.

All modern dialects of English thus show diphthongal reflexes for ME *ī*, ranging from the narrow or more ‘raised’ type [əi] to the wide or ‘lowered’ type [au]. It is, incidentally, fashionable in current discussions about these diphthongs, especially among American linguists, to refer to the use of [əi] in Canada as ‘Canadian raising’. As a Canadian linguist I feel that a much more appropriate term to describe what happens in the North American context would be ‘American lowering’. By examining as widely as possible the whole problem of the distribution, including the possible opposition, of these two diphthong types, this paper hopes to demonstrate that in view of the evidence from Scottish and US as well as Canadian English the [əi] can be established as the underlying form and the [au] as derivative.

These two types of diphthong, [əi] and [au], occur then not only in Canadian but in Scottish standard speech, although in both these varieties of English the two diphthongs are subsumed in one phonological unit. This paper will, however, go on to explain how in contrast with the Canadian or Scottish situation – in two dialects of present-day US speech (the urban standard speech of Larne and the rural dialect of its East Antrim hinterland) the [əi] and [au] have become polarized and

are now found in meaningful contrast. This seems to be a somewhat rare phenomenon in modern English, yet the rules and constraints which govern the selection of /əi/ or /au/ are well motivated.

In order to explain the systemic distribution of these two diphthongs it is best to start with the current situation in Scotland. Some Scottish dialects have remained at the stage where /əi/ is the only reflex of ME *ī*, although most have added a rule which gives [au] – allophonically – in certain environments. In Standard English as spoken currently in Scotland, however, it could be stated that [əi] occurs exclusively in the environment of a closed syllable whose final segment is any one of the set of consonants except the subset of voiced fricatives and /r/. In all other environments [au] occurs.

For Canadian English a very similar situation obtains, except that some constraints to the rule that [əi] → [au] are removed. Thus [au] will occur before *all* voiced consonants in Canadian English, not only before voiced fricatives as in Scotland. It is of course by a further and complete removal of constraints that we get the rule for Standard English as spoken either in England or the U.S. whereby /au/ has taken over the complete territory.

To turn now to the various types of English spoken in the northern part of Ireland, Ulster Anglo-Irish has in all environments the /əi/ diphthong – very similar and closely related historically to the southern Anglo-Irish /əi/, both deriving from Elizabethan English. All the Ulster-Scots dialects, however, have not only /əi/ but /au/, and further, as a result of their history and linguistic contacts, these two diphthongs are nowadays found in meaningful contrast: they are, in structural terms, different phonemes.

In order to interpret the somewhat complex system that has arisen it is best to start with the rural US dialect. Here, as in the broad Scots dialects that were its source, [əi] (< ME *ī*) could be regarded as the general underlying form, while [au] occurs only in the environment of a following voiced fricative (including /ɹ/, or in open syllables, whether final or in hiatus). This seemingly simple allophonic distribution, however, is

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complicated by the survival of a small set in the lexicon of short open syllable forms with /əi/ derived from ME *ei* or *ai*. This leads to meaningful opposition between pairs such as:

/bəi/	'bay'	versus	/baɪ/	'by'; 'buy'
/əi/	'always'	versus	/aɪ/	'yes'
/gəi/	'very'	versus	/gaɪ/	'guy'
/stəi/	'stay'	versus	/stuɪ/	'sty (for pigs)'

With the rather limited set involved it is clear that this opposition is quite marginal within the phonological system. On the other hand it is well and securely established and allows for no deviation. For example, any use of /əi/ for the expected /aɪ/ would be a kind of shibboleth, identifying the speaker as coming from another dialect zone, specifically from the Ulster Anglo-Irish area.

The most complicated situation of all has arisen in the Ulster-Scots urban centres, for example in my own home town, Larne, a small town with about 20,000 inhabitants, in East Antrim. To unravel the phonological complexities of this modern urban type of speech we must know something of the town's history and geography and the relevant sociolinguistic factors:

- (1) Larne and many other towns with similar urban dialects have grown up in the heart of a solidly Ulster-Scots rural environment in the course of the last three or four hundred years.
- (2) Demographically their increasing population until quite recent times was drawn in from the surrounding US-speaking areas.
- (3) For social reasons the US speakers in the urban setting found it necessary and desirable to modify their dialect drastically in the direction of a model closer to the standard language.
- (4) Before the advent of modern communications the only immediately available model was, of course, Ulster Anglo-Irish (UAI), which has thus left many traces in the urban US speech of today.

With reference to the distribution of the /əi/ and /aɪ/, these diphthongs are for SI urban speech also in meaningful opposition, but involve a different and more complex pattern than is the case of US rural dialect. There is, to begin with, the same basic rule, namely that /əi/ seems to be in the underlying form which, however, becomes [aɪ] in specific environments, namely, before the voiced fricatives and /ɪ/ and in final open syllables or hiatus. This simple rule turns out to have many constraints, some built in and some arising out of the languages-in-contact situation in the urban setting.

In US urban speech, as obvious counter examples to the final open syllable rule, we find the following:

/əi/	eye
/dəi/	die 'cease to live'
/ləi/	lie 'untruth'

which are in meaningful opposition to

/aɪ/	I
/dai/	dye 'change the color of'
/lai/	lie 'be in a recumbent position'

In fact, when we examine the whole set of comparable monosyllabic forms we find what looks like a random distribution of /əi/ and /aɪ/. A careful, comparative study reveals, however, that the forms with /aɪ/ are identical with the corresponding US rural forms and thus represent an extension of the country dialect, whereas the forms with /əi/ coincide with UAI phonology and represent borrowings needed to replace US rural forms so divergent from the standard language that they would not be understood in the town. In the above examples US rural actually has /i:/ eye, /li:/ lie 'untruth', and /di:/ die 'cease to live'. In other cases – even when there is no minimal opposition – urban US has adopted the UAI /əi/ in final open syllables such as:

/fləi/	fly	where rural US has	/fli:/
/həi/	high	where rural US has	/hix/
/səi/	sigh	where rural US has	/sæx/
/ʃəi/	shy	where rural US has	/ble:t/

where the rural forms are clearly very deviant.

As obvious counterexamples to the rule which gives /aɪ/ before voiced fricatives we find in urban US that the underlying /əi/ is maintained in certain noun-class words which exhibit a voicing rule, such as:

/ləif/	life	(plural)	/laɪvz/
/nəif/	knife	(plural)	/nəivz/
/wəif/	wife	(plural)	/wəivz/

With these forms we may contrast

/haɪvz/	hives
/ʃaɪvz/	chives

which makes it clear that it is the pressure of the paradigmatic set that keeps /əi/ above, and that such items would have to be so marked in the lexicon.

A similar phenomenon crops up before voiced fricatives in the verb class so that we find

/dəiv/	drive	(past: /dɪə:v/)
/rəiz/	rise	(past: /rɪə:z/)

with /əi/ instead of the expected /aɪ/. A closer study reveals that these items belong to the strong verb subset where models such as:

/rəid/	ride	(past: /rɪ:d/)
/rəit/	write	(past: /rɪ:t/)

have clearly exerted enough pressure to block the application of the rule. A simple but interesting example which clinched the working of this rule and constraint is the verb *thrive*,

whose vocalic nucleus was found to vary between /əi/ and /aɪ/. This is not an example of free variation, as it was discovered on closer checking that speakers who said /θrəiv/ had the strong past tense /θro:v/, whereas for those who said /θraɪv/ the verb belonged to the weak class. All weak verbs, of course, have /aʊ/: /daɪv/ *dive*, /prɪzɪv/ *prize*, /rɪtɪv/ *writhe*.

Suprasegmental features may also play a role in blocking the application of the rule /əi/ → /aʊ/ when followed by voiced fricatives, as in:

/ad'veɪtəɪz/	<i>advertise</i>
/ri:ələɪz/	<i>realize</i>
/sɪmpəθəɪz/	<i>sympathise</i>

Here apparently the weakened, secondary stress on the final syllable acts as a constraint, for under primary stress we find for example:

/sər'prɪz/ *surprise* /əd'veɪz/ *advise*, etc.

Morphology may also have some influence, at least in one example where both urban and rural US agree in making a meaningful opposition between /mɔɪn/ *mine* (sb.) as against /maʊn/ *mine* (possessive). Here the first item has the expected /əi/ in a syllable closed by a consonant other than a voiced fricative. The /aʊ/ in the second item has to be explained in morphological terms as /maɪ+n/, with the juncture explaining the retention of /aʊ/ which would naturally occur in the open syllable form /maʊ/ *my*.

In summing up then the reasons why the US dialects have developed a meaningful opposition between /əi/ and /aʊ/ we must stress factors such as the survival of a diphthongal reflex of ME *ei* and *ai* now realized as /əi/ in the rural US dialects and thus opposed to /aʊ/ in a few open-syllable forms. Urban US speech based on the rural dialect has, however, discarded these survivals, but has added other forms with /əi/ borrowed from UAI when the US forms were too divergent for use in the town. The influence of paradigmatic sets in noun and verb classes blocked the shift /əi/ → /aʊ/, and, finally, reduced stress and morphological juncture act as constraints on the same rule. As a result in all types of US speech /əi/ and /aʊ/ have a complex but specific distribution and function as separate phonological entities, although in each language type it seems best to regard /əi/ as the underlying form and /aʊ/ as its development.

The Diphthongs $\text{\textendash}i$ and $\text{\textendash}ai$ in Scottish, Ulster-Scots and Canadian English*

Robert J. Gregg

The development of generative phonology to deal with the phonological component of transformational grammars has in recent years led to many fruitful insights in the analysis and description of synchronic states of languages. It was inevitable, however, that generativists should eventually turn their attention to historical linguistics and seek to re-interpret the older *laws* of sound change in terms of modern *rules*, recognizing specifically the effects of the addition of new rules, the extension of rules by the removal of constraints, and the deletion or re-ordering of rules¹.

If now to the historical dimension we add the geographical, we may finally be able to break out of the post-Saussurean synchronic-diachronic dilemma and emerge with the concept of a four-dimensional, time-space language continuum in closer accord with linguistic reality than earlier scholarly abstractions were. Linguists now also generally accept the idea that their domain should include a – frequently vertical – sociological dimension and recognize that linguistic change may initially have a social motivation and momentum, spreading with variable dynamism through time and space, each change applying separately to each form concerned, each form thus ending up with its own history and its own geography². Finally, psycholinguists, in their study of language acquisition, have claimed that children make generalizations and internalize rules to keep pace with the language as they acquire it, and that these rules are subject to change as the language-learning process develops from phase to phase³.

It would seem advisable, therefore, to bear in mind all of these contemporary developments: changes in scope and attitude, expansion of explanatory power, and especially attempts at developing a unified theory to explain the phenomena of linguistic change, if we are to lay the foundations for an explanation of such striking phenomena as the English Vowel Shift or any aspect of it, with all its variabilities through time and space, through social and regional dialects, and across generation gaps.

If, for example, out of the complex set of changes that constitute the English Vowel Shift, we focus our attention on one item, namely:

ME $\text{\textendash}i \rightarrow \text{\textendash}ai$

we find much enlightenment in a systematic study of the different reflexes still to be observed in the various regional forms of English currently spoken. To begin with, it is clear that the diphthongizations of ME $\text{\textendash}i$ and $\text{\textendash}u$ are separate phenomena, though parallel and related. This is demonstrated by the persistence of undiphthongized u : (or some fronted and perhaps shortened reflex thereof) in local dialects north of the river Humber. Clearly diphthongization of $\text{\textendash}i$ occurred first in time, beginning in the southern parts of England, and spreading northwards till it covered the whole territory and all dialects, as no undiphthongized ME $\text{\textendash}i$'s remain anywhere.

If, further, we were to judge the situation by the current Standard English of England and the U.S.A. there would be no way of guessing that there had been any transitional stage between ME $\text{\textendash}i$ as starting point and the modern $\text{\textendash}ai$ reflex. It is thus perhaps not surprising that many American and other phonologists, encountering the phenomenon of the general Canadian (and occasional American) diphthongal alternants $\text{\textendash}ai$ and $\text{\textendash}e\text{\textendash}i$ and observing the strictly limited and conditioned distribution of the latter, wish to explain $\text{\textendash}ai$ as an idiosyncratic, regional ‘raising’ of an underlying $\text{\textendash}ai$.

To avoid this limiting viewpoint it is necessary to take a wider overview of the regional types of English, dialectal or standard, especially the more conservative forms that persist in Britain, such as the Scottish and Irish, in which many obviously Elizabethan or earlier features survive.

Many dialects, notably the Anglo-Irish – in Ulster as well as in the South – throw light on the earliest stages of development, in that they have diphthongs of the type $\text{\textendash}ai$ or $\text{\textendash}e\text{\textendash}i$ (the latter frequently with some degree of lip-rounding: $\text{\textendash}i$, especially in the South) universally, in all positions, with no environmentally conditioned variants. This situation could be covered by a rule stated as follows:

Rule (1) ME $\text{\textendash}i \rightarrow \text{\textendash}ai$, etc.

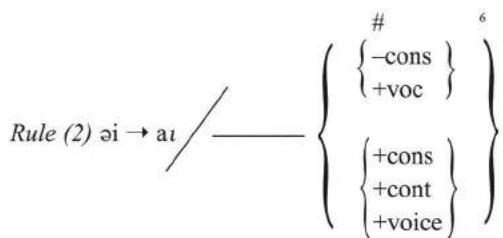
A backward time limit is put on these reflexes, as settlement history establishes that these dialects were introduced around 1600 by Elizabethan and early Jacobean

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planters from England. Living side by side with the 17th century Ulster Anglo-Irish, however, contemporary Jacobean planters from southwest Scotland must have already been using the two diphthongal variants – *əi* and *ai* – characteristic of present day Ulster-Scots (US) as well as modern Scottish rural dialects⁴. The distribution of the latter diphthongs can be described in terms of environment as follows:

ai occurs in hiatus, in final open syllables, and before voiced fricatives and *r*⁵; *əi* occurs in all other environments.

In other terms, the older diphthong *əi* could here still be regarded as the underlying form, but a new rule has been added, namely:



This rule applies nowadays not only to the rural Scottish and US dialects, but to Standard English as spoken in Scotland and the Scottish-settled parts of Ulster (Ulster-Scots Standard), although there have been some sub-regional developments that complicate the relatively simple picture presented above.

In the rural Scottish and US dialects, for example, ME diphthongs of the type *ei* and *ai* occasionally survive as diphthongs, in which case they have invariably coalesced phonetically with the *əi* from ME *i*, thus giving rise to contrasts such as:

/əi/ <i>always</i> (< ON <i>ei</i>)	versus	/au/ <i>I</i>
/bəi/ <i>bay</i>		/baʊ/ <i>buy</i>
/gəi/ <i>very</i> (lit. <i>gay</i>)		/gaʊ/ <i>guy</i>
/məi/ <i>May</i>		/maʊ/ <i>my</i>
/pəi/ <i>pay</i>		/paʊ/ <i>pie</i>
/stəi/ <i>stay/stEEP</i>		/staʊ/ <i>sty</i> (for pigs)

Other dialectal forms with *əi* in open syllables include /kləi/ 'clay', /həi/ 'hay', /hwəi/ 'whey', etc. In the Scottish Standard and Ulster-Scots Standard, of course, these contrasts will not arise, since /əi/ 'always', /gəi/ 'very' and /stəi/ 'steEP' would be marked as dialectal and therefore excluded, and all the other forms would have *e*: *be*:; *me*:; *pe*:; *ste*: 'stay'.

It will be noted that the application of Rule (2) regularly produces alternations such as:

/fəif/ <i>fife</i>	but	/faɪv/ <i>five</i>
/ləif/ <i>life</i>		/laɪv/ <i>live</i> (adj.)
/prəis/ <i>price</i>		/praɪz/ <i>prise</i> , etc.

both in the dialectal and standard speech of the areas in question. Yet in both types of speech there are certain definable sets or subsets of lexical items which have to be

marked as not subject to Rule (2). This constraint applies, for example, to the subset of noun class words which in Standard English elsewhere undergo the voicing rule before adding the plural marker, but which have the following Scottish and US forms:

/ləif/	<i>life</i>	plural	/ləivz/
/nəif/	<i>knife</i>		/nəivz/
/wəif/	<i>wife</i>		/wəivz/

The same constraint applies to the set of strong verbs, so we find that the weak verbs apply Rule (2): /ərāiv/ 'arrive', /dāiv/ 'dive',¹¹ /rəvātz/ 'revise', /prātz/ 'prise', etc; but, on the other hand, the strong verbs do not: /drəiv/ 'drive', /rəiz/ 'rise', /strəiv/ 'strive', /θrəiv/ 'thrive'. This constraint seems to have been lost in some Scottish dialects, but the differential patterning is so strongly established in US that the last verb cited above, namely /θrəiv/, will always retain *əi* when the past tense is /θro:v/, but with speakers who have moved this verb into the weak class, /θrəiv/ at the same time shifts to /θraiv/ (past tense /θraivd/).

In all types of US speech the pronominal forms /maɪ/ *my* and /ðaʊ/ *thy* represent a normal application of Rule (2), but the vocalic nucleus in the derivatives /maɪn/ *mine* and /ðaɪn/ *thine* remains *ai* in spite of its being in a closed syllable whose final consonant is not a voiced fricative. Thus /maɪn/ *mine* (< *my*) with derivational *-n* is in contrast with the solid morpheme /məʊn/ *mine* (as in *coal mine*), where Rule (2) naturally does not apply.

With speakers whose variants *əi* and *ai* are triggered entirely by the phonological environment it is not surprising if they are unaware of this alternation in their speech pattern. With the Scottish and US rural dialect speaker, however, for whom the actual word forms *əi* and *ai* invariably convey different meanings, the first being 'always' and the second 'I' or 'yes', and so on for *bəi* and *bai* etc., the situation is different. These two diphthongs represent two different 'points in the pattern'¹².

For speakers of the Ulster-Scots Standard the contrast has become even more highly functional as a result of dialect borrowings from the neighbouring Anglo-Irish dialects, especially in the urban setting where the two dialects are in intimate contact and where the prestige attached to Anglo-Irish has had many important sociolinguistic consequences. Thus, it is to be observed that US rural dialect speakers who have moved into an urban area within their own dialect zone have been forced, for the sake of intelligibility, to drop markedly dialectal items or dialectal pronunciations from their speech and replace them with forms borrowed directly from Anglo-Irish.

This affects the incidence and the contrastive possibilities of *əi* and *ai* very considerably. For example, in spite of Rule (2), which calls for *ai* in open syllables, many monosyllables in Ulster-Scots Standard have *əi* because, for rural dialectal forms that were unacceptable in urban speech, forms with *əi* were simply borrowed from Anglo-Irish to replace them. In this way, and entirely for sociolinguistic reasons, we find the

following replacement pattern:

Rural US		USS (from AI)
/di:/	'to die'	is replaced by /dəi/
/fli:/	'fly'	/fləi/
/hix:/	'high'	/həi/
/i:/	'eye'	/əi/
/li:/	'lie' (falsehood)	/ləi/
/sæx/	'sigh'	/səi/
/θi:/	'thigh'	/θəi/

Even etymologically unrelated replacements may occur in Ulster-Scots Standard:

/ble:t/	'shy'	is replaced by	/ʃəi/
/hwʌt fár/	'why'		/hwəi/

although the latter form is obviously affected by the minor constraint (not mentioned above) on Rule (2) whereby *əi* does not go to *ai* in any type of US if the preceding segment is *w*. Thus letter 'y' is called /wəi/, and 'wise' is /wəi/z/, even in spite of the final voiced fricative *z*. The forms /wəi̯r/ 'wire', /kwəi̯r/ 'choir'/'quire', /ənkwəi̯r/ 'inquire', /rəkwəi̯r/ 'require', /məgwəi̯r/ 'Maguire', show the same constraint, these latter being conspicuously deviant from the norm whereby the diphthong *ai* always precedes *r*, but is separated therefrom by a transitional *a*, for example: 'dire' /dəi̯r/, 'fire' /fa̯i̯r/, 'hire' /ha̯i̯r/, 'lyre' /la̯i̯r/, 'mire' /ma̯i̯r/, 'pyre' /pa̯i̯r/, 'sire' /sa̯i̯r/, 'tire' /ta̯i̯r/ (in both senses, i.e., including British *tyre*).

These Ulster-Scots Standard monosyllables are now, of course, completely integrated and stabilized in current speech patterns along with the normal, native, US monosyllables with regular *ai* such as /baɪ/ 'buy'/'by', /kraɪ/ 'cry', /daɪ/ 'dye', /fraɪ/ 'fry', /gaɪ/ 'guy', /aɪ/ 'I', /laɪ/ 'lie' (recline), /maɪ/ 'my', /paɪ/ 'pie', /raɪ/ 'rye'/'wry', /staɪ/ 'sty', /taɪ/ 'tie', /traɪ/ 'try', /vaɪ/ 'vie'. It will be noted Ulster-Scots Standard speakers have in this way *əi* versus *ai* contrasts, different from the US or Scottish rural ones:

/əi/	'eye'	versus	/aɪ/	'I'
/dəi/	'die'		/daɪ/	'dye'
/ləi/	'lie; to tell a lie'		/laɪ/	'lie' (recline)

but they also, like the rural speakers, have the contrast:

/məɪn/	'mine'	versus	/maɪn/	'mine'
(e.g., coal mine)			(belonging to me)	

Viewed against these Anglo-Irish, US and Scottish backgrounds with their patterned variations in time and space, based on Rules (1) and (2), producing first a universal *əi* and then an innovation by which *əi* → *ai* in certain conditions and with intricate constraints, the patterning of the Canadian English (Canadian) diphthongs *əi* and *ai* simply calls for the expansion of Rule (2), widening its scope so that it now applies in the environment of *all* voiced consonants, not

simply the voiced fricatives, in addition, of course, to the other environments already specified in Rule (2). This generalized rule would thus read:

$$\text{Rule (3)} \quad \text{əi} \rightarrow \text{ai} \quad \begin{array}{|c|c|} \hline & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ [+voice] \end{array} \right\} \\ \hline \end{array}$$

This rule will give the same output as the earlier Scottish and US rules with voiced fricatives, hiatus and word final position, but will apply where the earlier rules did not, namely before voiced plosives *b*, *d* and *g*, the nasals *m* and *n*, and lateral *l*. Thus Canadian agrees with Scottish and US in alternations such as:

/fəif/	'fife'	/faɪv/	'five'
/prəis/	'price'	/praɪz/	'prize'
/pəip/	'pipe'	/pau/	'pie'
/səit/	'site'/'cite'	/sat̪r/	'sire'

but disagreements between Canadian and the others could be tabulated as follows:

Scots and US	Canadian
/dʒəib/	/dʒaɪb/
/təid/	/taɪd/
/təigər/	/táigər/
/təim/	/taʊm/
/ləin/	/laɪn/
/məil/	/maɪl/

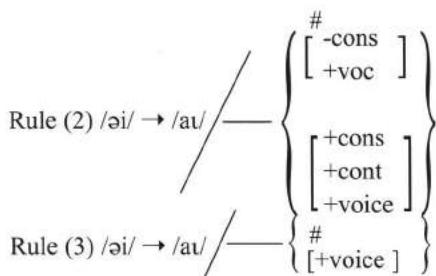
A detailed examination of the incidence of *əi* and *ai* in Canadian as compared with Scottish or US would thus show it to be unlikely that the Canadian *əi* was evidence for linguistic influence exerted by the large numbers of Scottish and Ulster-Scots immigrants to Canada over the years. What might be claimed at most would be a reinforcement, encouraging the retention of the Canadian *əi*/*ai* dichotomy, as it would have been relatively easy for the Scottish and US incomers to extend and simplify their rule to cover the same scope as the Canadian with its innovation, that is, to remove constraints so that the whole class of voiced consonants trigger *ai* rather than *əi*¹².

As the case of the constraint affecting Scottish or US /ləivz/, /nəivz/, etc., discussed above, so the occurrence of Canadian forms such as /rəidər/ 'writer' and /wəidər/ 'whiter', arising from the application of the medial voicing rule to the regular, underlying /rəitər/ and /wəitər/, may best be explained by appeal to the theory of rule ordering. If we assume that there are two rules, one involving voicing and the other the selection of diphthongal variants, then clearly in the Scottish or US output /ləivz/ the choice of diphthong, *əi*, is determined on the basis of /ləif/ as the underlying form, and the voicing rule applies after the choice of the diphthong¹³. In this instance the Canadian forms /ləif/ plural /laɪvz/ shows the opposite ordering. With the Canadian derivatives of /rəit/ 'write' and /wəit/ 'white' on the other hand, the choice of diphthong is made first, with /rəitər/ and /wəitər/ as the underlying forms. The voicing rule is applied second, so that

the output is in contrast with the regular forms /ráɪdər/ 'rider' and /wáɪdər/ 'wider'. In these examples rule ordering is clearly crucial, and, as is shown by the differing surface forms in Canadian as compared with Scottish and US, the ordering is not predictable and may vary from region to region and also, we presume, from period to period.

In conclusion, then, if our aim is to produce phonological theories and explanations that will embrace all types of English or at least all the major varieties of spoken Standard English, we should not in the instance of the diphthongal forms discussed above start from a standard American or Southern British basis and assume that Canadian or Scottish and US variations are somehow deviant, late derivatives. A simpler explanation is reached by postulating that these latter dichotomous forms are historically older and that the other standard forms represent a simplification by the complete deletion of all constraints on the basic rule that *əi* → *aɪ*, the historical stages being represented in the current geographical distributions as follows:

Rule (1) ME *i* → /əi/ in all environments



Rule (4) /əi/ → /aɪ/ in all environments,

where Rule (1) is represented by Anglo-Irish, Rule (2) by Scottish and Ulster-Scots, Rule (3) by Canadian, and Rule (4) by Standard Southern British and Standard American. In this perspective then, the occurrence of *əi* does not represent a 'raising', but rather the occurrence of *aɪ* represents a 'lowering' which ultimately takes over the whole territory.

It would undoubtedly be best to leave for another article any discussion of the following relevant matters:

- whether *əi* would be better than the *i*¹⁴ (suggested by Chomsky & Halle) as the underlying representation of the stressed vowel in 'divine' and 'divinity', the rule *əi* → *aɪ* giving the normal output in *dəváiɪn*, and *dəvínətɪ* being the output of a trisyllabic laxing rule which involves prior schwa deletion instead of shortening.

- the promising possibility of tying in the diphthongs *əi* and *aɪ* with a feature [\pm length]¹⁵.

- the question of whether ME *i* and *u* were first lowered and then centralized, or vice versa, or lowered to mid height before being centralized¹⁶.

- the parallel but somewhat different case of ME *u* → *əu* in Scottish and US, but *aʊ* as well as *əu* in Canadian.

Notes

- 1 King, Robert D., *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), 39-63.
- 2 Malkiel, Yakov, 'Each Word has a History of Its Own', *Glossa* 1 (1967), 137-149.
- 3 King, Robert D., op. cit., 85.
- 4 Gregg, Robert J., 'Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect, Part 1: Synchronic', *Orbis* 7 (1958), 392-406; Gregg, Robert J., 'Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect, Part 2: Diachronic', *Orbis* 8 (1959); Gregg, Robert J., 'Scotch-Irish Urban Speech in Ulster' in Adams, G. Brendan (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 164-192; Gregg, Robert J., 'The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster' in Wakelin, Martyn (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, 1972); Gregg, Robert J., 'Synchronic Reflexes of Middle English *I* in the Scotch-Irish Dialects', *Proceedings of the Zweite Internationale Phonologie-Tagung* (Vienna, 1972); Grant, William, *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland* (Cambridge, 1913); Grant, William, and James Main Dixon, *Manual of Modern Scots* (Cambridge, 1921); Wilson, James, *Lowland Scotch* (Oxford, 1915); Dieth, Eugen, *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect (Aberdeenshire)* (Cambridge, 1932); Jones, Daniel, *The Pronunciation of English* 4th edition (Cambridge, 1966); Wells, John C., 'A Scots Diphthong and the Feature "Continuant"', *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 1 (1971), 1.
- 5 It should be noted that *aɪ* in a final open syllable does not shift to *əi* when an inflectional morpheme *-d* is added, e.g., *tæɪ* 'tie', pret. *tæɪd* 'tied', with which latter form compare the solid morpheme *tɔɪd*, 'tide'.
- 6 The class specified in this rule as [+cons +cont +voice] includes all the voiced fricatives as well as *r*, but not *l*, the latter being considered as a noncontinuant. (See Chomsky, Noam, and Morris Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* [New York, 1968], 317-318; and Wells, op. cit.).
- 7 In these rural dialects *aɪ* frequently goes to *aː*, and *maɪ* 'my' to *maː*, but this levelling occurs only in the two forms cited.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 See below for comment on rule ordering.
- 10 The verb *dive* is always weak in these dialects.
- 11 Sapir, Edward, *Language* (New York, 1949), 56.
- 12 This particular phenomenon of rule simplification I have observed in the speech of myself and my family. The shift to the Canadian pattern took place spontaneously and naturally on the part of the children, soon after our move to Canada almost twenty years ago from Northern Ireland, and was therefore established from the beginning in the speech of the grandchildren.
- 13 This explanation is valid, even historically, as many Scottish and US dialects (especially the rural ones) still have the forms: *nəf* 'knife', plural *nəɪfs* 'knives', etc. The voicing rule for them has really nothing to do with the ME medial, intervocalic voicing. It is simply a straight replacive change, triggered by the standard language, when the plural form shifts to *nəɪz*, etc. Compare also the aberrant forms mentioned as occurring in Buchan (Dieth, Eugen, *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect* [Zurich, 1932], 53), *səθ* for *səð* 'scythe', *twəɪz* for *twəðz* 'twice', where a voiceless fricative has replaced a voiced and vice versa without altering the previously established diphthong.
- 14 Chomsky, Noam, and Morris Halle, op. cit.
- 15 Chambers, Jack, 'Canadian Raising', *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 18 (1973), 113-135.
- 16 Wolfe, Patricia M., *Linguistic Change and the Great Vowel Shift in English* (Berkeley, 1972), especially Chapter VI.

Dialect Mixture in Ulster-Scots Urban Speech*

Robert J. Gregg

Because of the uneven spread of linguistic changes in Great Britain throughout some fifteen centuries, present-day dialect boundaries over there tend to be somewhat fuzzy. On the other hand, in my survey of Ulster dialects some fifteen years ago I found it relatively easy to establish clear-cut boundaries by concentrating on the polarized contrasts arising from the widely divergent phonological history of the two main types of English, one modelled mainly on southwest Scottish, and the other on north and west midland English dialects.

During my survey, however, it was impossible to ignore the fact that dialect speakers in the Ulster-Scots areas (with which I was mainly concerned) were for the most part bilingual, the younger ones almost entirely so. Further, their 'other language' was essentially the same as the educated speech of the small towns that have grown up in the midst of the solidly Ulster-Scots regions.

This similarity is not surprising. The present forms of US urban speech would suggest that its origins can be traced to the need felt by the rural dialect speaker to modify his speech in the direction of the standard language so that he would be intelligible to strangers unfamiliar with his dialect, and more especially when he left the country for good in order to settle in the town. In the past, however, his target was not the standard language as spoken in England but rather the more accessible Ulster Hiberno-English which he assumed to be standard, even adopting occasionally forms which he failed to recognize as midland dialect.

As far as phonology is concerned, the rural US speaker simply retained his dialectal vowels and consonants, discarding redundant items, and relocated these elements to produce the nearest approximation to standard that he could manage. He dropped his extremely open vowel in *bit* [bæt], for example, in favour of his vowel in *boot* [bɪt], which is much closer to the standard pronunciation [bit]. He deleted the voiceless velar fricative in words like *bought* [bɔ:xt], leaving [bɔ:t]. He eliminated the 'dentality' feature affecting [t, d, n, l] in the neighbourhood of [r]. But above all, he had to learn the entirely different incidence of his new nine-vowel system, a task comparable to the learning of a new language, as no reliable rules could be acquired for converting the rural to the urban forms¹. There were, of course, small sets of lexical items where regularity could be counted on, but mostly the changes were unpredictable.

The most interesting examples of dialect mixture arise in the case of lexical borrowings that have to be made for the sake of intelligibility, especially H-E forms with the diphthong [əɪ] where the rural US rules would require [ae]. Thus rural US [di:] *die* is replaced by H-E [dəɪ] rather than [dae], [hɪx] *high* becomes [həɪ], [ɛ:n] *iron* becomes [əɪən], etc. This process actually sets up minimal contrasts such as [dəɪ] *die* vs. [dae] *dye*, a feature probably unique in any type of standard English.

Notes

1 Trudgill, Peter, *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* (London, 1974), 135; Trudgill, Peter, 'Phonological Rules and the Sociolinguistic Variation in Norwich English' in Bailey, C.-J. N. and Shuy, R. W. (eds.) *New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English* (Washington, 1973).

* Originally published in *Northern Ireland Speech and Language Forum* 2 (1976).

The Ulster-Scots Dialect Boundaries in the Province of Ulster*

Robert J. Gregg

Introduction: General Background to the Research Project

A comprehensive and systematic survey of any aspect of the Ulster-Scots (US) dialects in Ulster would be a linguistic study interesting and valuable in itself. The survey, whose results are presented here and for which the culminating fieldwork was completed between 1960 and 1963, becomes much more meaningful, however, when related to the wider background of research in English dialectology in different parts of the British Isles and North America prior to 1963.

In Ulster itself, a programme of dialectal research had been initiated in 1951 – almost ten years before the present study was begun – by the Folklore and Dialect Section of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, which in addition to its own efforts undertook in 1953 to work in close co-operation with the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (LSS), in particular by circulating the Scottish postal questionnaires to suitable Ulster informants and excerpting the information they provided before returning them to the Edinburgh headquarters. From this activity much valuable material was collected, not only in Edinburgh, but in Belfast where files were established, maps drawn, articles written, talks given, and seminars and exhibitions held.

For Ireland as a whole, a carefully planned preliminary linguistic survey had been carried out by Dr. Patrick L. Henry during the years 1953-55 and the results published in *Lochlann*¹.

The LSS, mentioned above, from its beginnings in 1949 had accumulated an impressive archive in Edinburgh, resulting from two widely plied lexical questionnaires compiled by Angus McIntosh, H. J. Uldall, and Kenneth Jackson and circulated by mail. The resultant information had been tabulated and some items tentatively mapped. The data provided by a later phonological questionnaire devised by J. C. Catford for the Lowland Scots dialects were also being analysed linguistically. The Scottish surveys, incidentally, were planned to include the two northernmost counties of England and the whole province of Ulster.

From Leeds as centre, an extensive survey of the dialects

of England had been in progress since 1950, organized by the late Harold Orton and Eugen Dieth and using a questionnaire which included phonological, morphological and syntactic, as well as purely lexical, items. A preliminary explanatory volume – including the questionnaire – had been published in 1952, and ten years later a series of detailed reports began to appear, the first volume of which was entitled *The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man* (1962)².

The fieldwork for the Ulster survey, whose ultimate object was the mapping of the distribution and boundaries of the US dialects throughout the province, was started early in 1960 and completed during the summer of 1963.

It was obvious that the delineation of boundaries between the two major varieties of dialectal English spoken in Ireland would be of importance internally to any Ulster or general Irish linguistic survey and would be equally the concern of the Edinburgh investigation, which had always been intent on tracing the external expansion of Lowland Scots speech. The dialects of US, of course, march – on almost all their limits – with Ulster Hiberno-English (UHE). The latter proved to have characteristic features that tied in with – frequently archaic – North and West Midland English dialectal forms, thus creating a natural link with the Leeds survey.

These bonds with British dialectology seemed easy enough to establish, but important also – although rather less obvious – were the links with North American linguistic geography. Dr. Hans Kurath and his fellow dialectologists in the United States had found traces of the Ulster-Scots in parts of New England, in Pennsylvania, the Ohio Valley, the Southern Highlands and, at a later stage, points west of these areas. In fact, the Scotch-Irish (so styled) immigration to North America was so intense in the early 18th century that, just after the War of Independence, estimates show that out of a total population of three millions, between half a million and a million were of Ulster descent³.

Later, in the 19th and 20th centuries, eastern Canada had received (and is still receiving) a large influx of immigrants from Ulster, who had left their linguistic mark in various parts of Ontario: in particular, the Ottawa Valley, Essex County, and the area around Peterborough and Parry Sound⁴.

* Ph.D. thesis presented to University of Edinburgh (1963); published (Ottawa: Canadian Federation for the Humanities, 1985), 1-59.

It must be borne in mind, however, that when North American historians or linguists use the term ‘Scotch-Irish’ it is in a rather wide sense, covering things or persons of Ulster origin in general and, with reference to speech in particular, covering all types of Ulster dialect, which are perceived as clearly distinct from the typical and well-known southern Irish ‘brogue’.

When we use the term Ulster-Scots (US) with reference to Ulster itself, it is necessary to define it more closely. We must distinguish two types:

(i) rural US dialects – the subject of the present study – still spoken in the areas that were most intensively peopled by Lowland Scottish settlers during the 17th century⁵.

(ii) urban US speech, which is a regional version of the standard English language, heard in towns situated within the above mentioned areas, and also used by educated rural US bilinguals as their ‘other’ language. With the extension of education and the development of modern communications, the spread of this second variety of US at the expense of the first is everywhere apparent and in time seems likely to supplant it⁶.

Apart from complementing current surveys in other parts of the English-speaking world, the study of rural US has another aspect which is of particular interest to dialectologists, philologists, lexicographers, etc., namely its preservation of certain apparent archaisms in contrast with the dialects of Ayrshire and SW Scotland in general, from which source it springs. Thus in the phonological changes affecting the vocalic nucleus of words with OE *-ald*, the Early Scottish transitional diphthongal stage, *au*, has been preserved in all the Ulster-Scots districts – the US reflex being centered to [əü] – whereas in most Scots dialects the early diphthong was levelled to [a:] or [ɔ:]. This diphthongal reflex survived in Scotland in only a few very marginal places, e.g., in Campbeltown (Argyllshire), Caithness, on Black Isle and Easter Ross, and in parts of Ayrshire⁷. Its very existence in Ulster is evidence of its persistence and widespread – if not universal – use in SW Scotland in the early 17th century and perhaps even later. The competing forms with [a:] crop up in only a few words in a few places in Ulster and always in addition to the [əü]-forms. Mostly there is a semantic difference between the two forms, so that they are not actually in competition with one another.

The [a:] -form of *old* suggests familiarity and affection⁸, as in

[a:l 'fok]	<i>old</i> folk
[a:l 'təimz]	<i>old</i> times
[ðe'a:l 'sü:]	the <i>old</i> sow
[ðe'a:l 'mi:r]	the <i>old</i> mare

On the other hand, the [əü]-form may be used in a derogatory⁹ sense:

[ən 'əül 'gærn]
[e 'gærne 'əül 'a:Tər,ka:p]

both expressions being used of a person who is continually complaining. Similar semantic oppositions are valid for [ka:l] versus [kəü], meaning *cold*.

There is the further series of archaisms in the vowel of such words as *above*, *done*, *good* (i.e., the reflex of ME *ō*), which still have [i] in many parts of Ulster (generally remote from the ports of entry of the 17th-century Scots settlers). These [i]-forms were thought to be paralleled only in the NE Scots dialects, but recently the LSS has come upon a SW area at Wanlockhead and Leadhills on the borders of Dumfries and Lanarkshire where the same [i]-forms have survived. Their distribution in Ulster would argue that here again we are dealing with a pronunciation that was widely current, if not universal, in SW Scotland during at least the early 17th century. The forms now current in SW Scotland with [ɪ] or [e] instead of [i] are found in Ulster but are restricted to the N Ards and county Antrim, i.e. places close to the Scottish source of diffusion for these innovations.

In the same way archaic or obsolescent pronunciations stemming from N and W Midland English sources are still currently widespread in the UHE areas and are in fact considered so ‘normal’ that the US speakers who wish to use what they think of as ‘standard’ have actually adopted these English dialectal archaisms, assuming them to be ‘correct’ English over against their ‘broken Scotch’. Thus, they reply to queries about the local name for a female sheep by saying: ‘We ca’ her a [jəü], but it should be a [jo:], should it no?’ Similarly with *thaw* [θo:] and *straw* [STRO:]¹⁰.

From the point of view of general linguistics, US dialectology reveals several interesting phenomena worthy of discussion.

Many linguists are concerned with the general study of what happens when a new language makes a massive incursion into the domain of a language of a very different type. The resultant mutual adjustments which inevitably take place during the period of bilingualism preceding the ultimate and perhaps inevitable disappearance of one of the two languages can be studied at all linguistic levels – phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic. For the purposes of the present study the phonological aspect of these adjustments is of the utmost importance, and a detailed investigation of the relationship between the phonology of US urban and rural on the one hand and that of county Antrim Gaelic on the other has shown that there must have been a considerable carry-over from the latter to the former¹¹.

Historical and Geographical Factors affecting Dialect Distribution: Historical background

Much has been written and many are the controversies involved in the history of the Ulster plantation. For our present purposes, however, an outline including only the salient features of this modern *Völkerwanderung* is sufficient.

Up to the end of the reign of Elizabeth I the province of Ulster was overwhelmingly Gaelic-speaking, whatever Anglo-Norman settlers remained having become 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'. Even the Scottish Highlanders under the Macdonnells of the Isles, who had acquired and been confirmed in the possession of large parts of county Antrim, spoke a type of Gaelic which must have been very similar to the local Ulster Gaelic, because of the unbroken contacts and the population movements back and forth across the North Channel since the Roman withdrawal from Britain in the 5th century. Only the walled town of Carrickfergus and the town of Newry with its immediate surroundings were English-speaking.

The 300,000 acres of Antrim territory in the Route and the Glynnnes (stretching from Larne to Coleraine) which King James granted to Randal Macdonnell by patent deed in 1603 was largely uninhabited at that time. Macdonnell, although a Roman Catholic himself, found it expedient and profitable to people his vast estate with Protestant Lowland Scots. The Scots penetrated beyond the bounds of the Macdonnell territory into lands in S Antrim that had been granted to the English undertakers and occupied the county approximately as far south as the upper reaches of the Six Mile Water.

County Down had a somewhat different settlement history. There, by an unfortunate twist of fate Con O'Neill lost a great portion of his huge Clannaboy estate to two enterprising Scots: Hugh Montgomery, Laird of Braidstane, and James Hamilton of Dunlop, both Ayrshire men, who brought in thousands of settlers through the ports of Donaghadee and Bangor respectively. O'Neill finally lost what was left of his land to Sir Moyses Hill, an English undertaker who peopled his territory with English planters.

Apart from these three grants, the Barony of Lecale (which had come under the control of an Englishman, Sir Nicholas Bagenal), and the southern end of the Ards Peninsula (which remained under the sway of the Savages, a Norman family that had 'gone Irish'), the rest of the county remained under native Irish control.

Unlike Antrim and Down, which were settled by private enterprise, Derry was included in the official Plantation plans. Its settlement was the prerogative of the London companies, which had little luck in the enterprise¹². The Lowland Scots, because of their closer bases, were able to take over a good portion of the NE corner of the county and penetrate loosely the rest of Derry and Tyrone.

It was also as part of the official Plantation plans that Scots settlers were brought over to Donegal from 1610 onwards by the Ayrshire families of Cunningham and Stewart. They were settled in the northern parts of the low-lying east Donegal

region known as the Laggan. The southern parts of the Laggan were English-settled and most of the remainder of the county was left in the hands of the native Irish.

Thus, the Scottish settlers came to occupy solidly a wide band of coastal territory extending from the Ards in NE Down northwards, taking in most of county Antrim, the NE corner of Derry and the northern portion of the Laggan district in E Donegal.

As for their place of origin, it is well established now through denizenship papers and other historical sources that most of the Scots settlers came from Ayrshire and the adjacent counties of Renfrew and Dumbarton and from Galloway in general¹³. The relatively small group of English settlers brought over by Chichester came mainly from Devon, but the predominant English group hailed from S Lancashire, Cheshire and the general hinterland of the N and W Midlands.

One common misconception about the plantation of Ulster is that it consisted of one rapidly executed transfer of population. In effect, there was a continuous but fluctuating movement of settlers across the North Channel and the Irish Sea throughout the 17th century and beyond, with an occasional reflux following civil disturbances such as the uprising of 1641. From about 1720, however, as a result of legislation oppressive to non-conformists, a new migratory movement began – this time mainly of the Ulster-Scots across the Atlantic to N. America¹⁴. It is noteworthy that, in spite of this mass exodus, the US districts of Ulster were never depopulated and in fact have maintained their own particular character down to the present day.

Geographical background

Apart from these historical population movements, certain geographical factors played an important role in the actual location of settlers. Mountainous areas in general remained in the hands of the native Irish. According to Canon Hume¹⁵, the best arable lands were allocated to English settlers and other cultivable lands to the Scots, who often had to clear forest and scrub-land before farming operations could begin. Boggy areas were either uninhabited or peopled sparsely by the native Irish for centuries. These bogs posed – like the mountains – natural barriers which were at the same time linguistic boundaries, and only in recent times with the progress of land drainage schemes have these areas been opened up to settlement. Thus the US-UHE boundary in the S Ards Peninsula coincides with the limits of the former boggy tract cutting off the Portaferry end of the Ards. The Magilligan area in NE Derry likewise was opened up just a century ago by a drainage scheme and settled by Lagganeers from E Donegal, a fact still apparent in the current dialectal subdivisions. The SW corner of Antrim, N of Lough Neagh, suffered also in earlier times from flooding and bad drainage. In the last century with the help of a reclamation scheme this area, which must formerly have set limits to the westward expansion of the Scots, was once more opened

to settlement. This time, people moved in from different directions with the result that we have nowadays a somewhat mixed dialect zone.

A Sketch of the Present Distribution of Dialects in Ulster.

The present distribution of dialects in Ulster reflects to a large extent the settlement patterns laid down in the 17th century.

Regions occupied predominantly by English planters at that time still exhibit many characteristics of the dialects of the N and W Midlands, the original home of most of these settlers. The modern dialects spoken by their descendants may be referred to in general terms as Ulster Hiberno-English (UHE) in contact with Hiberno-English proper, which is generally used as a designation for the Dublin or southern Irish type of English. UHE of one type or another may, then, be assumed to be the dialect in all areas outside the US- and Gaelic-speaking districts, although it would be easy (and wiser) to recognise a sub-variety which we might call Gaelic-English in which the Gaelic polarity is predominant. Gaelic-English arises in all bilingual areas where the acquired tongue, English, is heavily coloured phonologically ($\theta>t$, $\delta>d$, $r>r$ etc.) as well as syntactically ('It does be stormy')¹⁶, lexically, and semantically by the native Gaelic speech. This creolized type of English may be self-perpetuating in a few areas after the disappearance of Gaelic, although its ultimate fate would seem to be a levelling under the pressure of UHE. The English spoken in Glenvar, in the Fanad Peninsula further north, in the mountainous zone around Churchill (and in fact all points west of the Laggan) and in N. Inishowen could, in most cases, be classified as Gaelic English. A similar type of Gaelic English crops up in the Sperrins (county Derry) at Magheraneany¹⁷. The Devon-type of English which must have been spoken earlier by Chichester's planters around Carrickfergus seems to have been submerged by the more generalized UHE, but in the barony of Lecale a very distinctive Hiberno-English dialect has survived (probably from the time of Bagenal's settlement) which is in marked contrast with the neighbouring UHE. Speakers of the latter from the Portaferry end of the Ards as well as from the Killyleagh area are very conscious of the distinctiveness of this Strangford-Downpatrick speech, especially in its handling of the diphthongal reflex of ME *i*. The UHE speakers along the fringes of the US area all have two reflexes, a broad [œ] and a narrow [əi], distributed partly on an allophonic, partly on a contrastive basis, as in the US dialects themselves, but with a different incidence¹⁸. The Lecale dialect, on the other hand, has only one reflex, viz., [æ], which stands out in sharp dialectal opposition to Portaferry or Killyleagh [əi] in such words as *eye, die, why*, etc.

The Lowland Scots dialects have likewise been preserved in the areas of intensive Scottish settlement. That typically Scots lexical items (as distinct from the full-blown historical-phonological system) are found everywhere in Ulster reflects the fact that many small groups of Lowlanders pushed far

beyond the limits of the homogeneously Scots-settled areas and in time assimilated to the surrounding UHE speech, but not before bequeathing many expressive items to the vocabulary of their neighbours¹⁹.

The US dialects have a distribution that is largely coastal. They dominate the whole of the NE corner of county Down, i.e., the Ards Peninsula (excluding the southern end, around Portaferry) and the area west of Strangford Lough from a point north of Killyleagh, sweeping west almost to Hillsborough, and north, skirting the boundaries of Belfast itself.

Antrim, however, is the heartland of the US dialects. Apart from the English-settled parishes in the southern part, the formerly boggy corner between the Bann River and the north shores of Lough Neagh and the mountainous Glens in the NE, the whole county is dominated by various forms of US, among which it is possible to distinguish a northern sub-dialect with /e/ instead of /i/ as reflex of Early Scots/Middle Scots ū. Within the latter it is possible to distinguish a distinctive coastal dialect in which /æ/ has largely replaced /ʌ/ in a wide range of words²⁰.

NE Derry US is really an overspill of the northern sub-dialect of Antrim which straddles the Bann almost as far upstream as the Rasharkin-Kilrea crossing. The Magilligan area as mentioned above was settled as late as the last century by Lagganeers from E Donegal who brought with them their distinctive version of US with its typical forms such as [ə'bin] *above*, [dɪn] *done*, [gɪd] *good*, etc.

The US of Donegal is centred in the Laggan district extending northwards to the foothills of the mountain zone of the Inishowen Peninsula and to the Knockalla range, which cuts across the Fanad Peninsula. The mountains of central Donegal form the western limits of US, the watershed between the rivers Finn and Dee the southern limits, and the Foyle itself the eastern bounds of the dialect.

As far as the linguistic nature of the dialectal borders is concerned, US marches for the most part with various forms of UHE, but in Fanad (along the southern boundary of Glenvar) and to the west of the Laggan the boundary is formed by Gaelic.

The US dialect boundary stretching E-W across the S Ards is with a variety of standard English which in many ways resembles US urban, in other words, the type of English used by educated bilingual speakers of US rural or used in the towns of the US areas. On the west side of Strangford Lough US borders on the typical county Down version of UHE, all the way west from Killyleagh to near Hillsborough and then northward touching upon the outskirts of Belfast, which has, of course, its own particular urban version of UHE²¹, nowadays reaching out eastwards all the way along Belfast Lough's southern shore to Bangor and Groomsport.

All these county Down US boundaries are quite sharply defined over against UHE, although the division at the eastern – Cloughey – end of the S Ards border is less clearly marked than at the Ardkeen end²². The typical Scots forms have

strayed much further south on the east coast than on the west, which may be explained partly by the poor communications on the west at an earlier date, before the drainage scheme had opened up the Ardkeen area.

Belfast UHE also stretches along the northern shores of the Lough as far as Whitehead and forms a sharp boundary with E Antrim and, partly, with Mid Antrim US. Further west, a more rural type of UHE provides an equally clear-cut border running towards Lough Neagh and passing north of Antrim town. The rather mixed dialect of the area north of Lough Neagh and west to the Bann forms a vaguer boundary for the one hundred per cent US of W Mid Antrim, but the UHE of the Glens in the NE corner of the county stands out in sharp contrast to the N Antrim and Braid versions of US.

On the Derry side of the Bann the local UHE, S and W of the US area, is again sharply contrastive, and the same holds good for the situation in Inishowen and the S Laggan in Donegal. The border with Gaelic to the W and N of the Laggan is, of course, the sharpest possible contrast, as it is part of one of the major European linguistic boundaries – that between Germanic and Celtic²³. Yet in spite of this apparently sudden transition, the US dialect of the Laggan has actually intruded across the line as the second language of most of the Gaelic speakers living near the border.

A Brief Analysis of Heartland US Rural Dialect: The US dialect of Glenoe, East Antrim

A lifetime's collection of materials for a detailed study of the East Antrim dialect of Glenoe was the basis for the research project on the US dialect boundaries in Ulster. With the help of data from this bulky *corpus*, two articles were written for *Orbis*, the first being a brief analysis of the synchronic phonology of Glenoe with a phonetic description followed by a phonemic analysis, and the second dealing with the diachronic phonology, starting, however, not with ME or OE, but working back from the current dialectal sounds to the older forms of which they are the reflexes²⁴. The whole approach was thus dialect-centred.

Phonology

For the purposes of this study a brief summary of the relevant features of the Glenoe phonological system is presented at this point:

Vowels

Glenoe has a range of fourteen vocalic phonemes:

No 1 /i/ (close, front) is best regarded as basically short with a long allophone in final open syllables, in hiatus, and before voiced fricatives, including [r]:

[giŋ]	'gave, given'	BUT	[gi:]	'give'
[dɪf]	'deaf'	BUT	[di:v]	'deafen'
[bri:ər]	'briar'		[mi:r]	'mare'

No 2 /e/ (half-close, front) is realized as a long vowel in syllables with primary or secondary stress but has a short variant in weakly stressed positions:

[ə 'be:tərde:]	'a better day'
[ə 'se:tərde]	'a Saturday'
[səm ,de:]	'some day'
[səndə]	'Sunday'
[sənə]	'sunny'

Some speakers use a diphthongal variant with a schwa-glide in pre-consonantal positions:

[weən]	'child'	[heəm]	'home'
[seəl]	'sail'	[geət]	'gate'

A diphthong with an even closer starting point, [iə], may crop up in such words.

No 3 /e/ (half-open, front) is generally realized as a long vowel:

[e:f'rɔ:rgre:s]	'aftermath'	[he:sp]	'hasp'
[he:rvəst]	'harvest'	[də:nər]	'dinner'

No 4 /ü/ has four positional variants. The main member (close, front-central, rounded) occurs in open syllables, in hiatus, and before the voiced fricatives [v] and [z]. It is always long:

[kü:]	'cow'	[šü:ər]	'shower'
[θü:zŋ]	'thousand'		

A short, opener allophone [Ü] occurs in closed syllables generally, and in dissyllables with at least one medial consonant other than [v], [z] and [r], and with strongly stressed first syllable:

[hÜs]	'house'	[hÜsəz]	'houses'
[kÜTər]	'coulters'; 'nose'	[pÜðər]	'powder'

The third allophone is long and rounded, but is lowered to the half close position and occurs only before [r]:

[ɸ:r]	'our'	[pɸ:r]	'pour'
[kɸ:rs]	'coarse'; 'course'	[kɸ:rt]	'court'

Fourthly, an advanced allophone, [ÿ], occurs following a yod, a palatalized consonant or an affricate, which is often the result of an earlier palatalization:

[bjÿ:]	'blue' (earlier [bl'ÿ:])
[pjÿ:]	'plough' (earlier [pl'ÿ:])
[l'ÿ:wa:rm]	'lukewarm'

It must be noted that morphology plays a part in the distribution of these allophones. For example, monosyllables such as [smü:ð] 'smooth' keep [ü:] in inflected or derivative forms: [smü:ðz] 'smooths', [smü:ðər] 'smoother'. In these forms [ü:] points to a morphological juncture following [ð], whereas in non-derivative forms such as [pÜðər] 'powder' and [s'Üðər] 'shoulder' [Ü] points to a solid morpheme. The

occurrence of [ŷ:] in [bjŷ:te] 'beauty' and [džŷ:te] 'duty' over against [U] in [bÜte] 'booty', [fÜte] 'small, trifling', etc., seems to be due to the preceding palatal elements (the yod in [bjŷ:te] and [dž'] < earlier [d'], in [džŷ:te], coupled with another, following, yod element, for [e] is undoubtedly from earlier [i].

No 5 /i/ (between close and half-close, between front and central) has one slightly lowered variant [ë], which occurs before [r] in

[flë:r]	'floor'	[pë:r]	'poor'
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The main member occurs in

[ə'bɪn]	'above'	[dɪn]	'done'
[gɪs]	'goose'	[gɪd]	'good'
[pɪt]	'put'	[skɪl]	'school'

No 6 /æ/ (open, between front and central) occurs with primary stress in most cases:

[bla:n]	'blind'	[ta:p]	'ram'
[bra:ɛg]	'bridge'	[ræd]	'red'

but also with secondary stress in

[bɛ:d tæk]	'bed tick'	[ə'ræθmə:tæk]	'arithmetic'
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No 7 /o/ (between close and half-close, back, overrounded) is realized mostly as a long vowel:

[bo:k]	'retch'	[go:pən]	'double handful'
[lo:nən]	'lane'	[mo:rnən]	'morning'

but a short variant occurs marginally in a few words, including:

[spok]	'spoke' (sb.)	[pok]	'small bag'
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which are thus in phonological contrast with:

[spo:k]	'spoke' (vb.)	[po:k]	'poke' (vb.)
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No 8 /ʌ/ (half-open, fully back, i.e., further back than SSB [A]) is always short and occurs in:

[wʌntər]	'winter'	[mʌne]	'many'
[dʌg]	'dog'	[grʌn]	'ground'
[brʌkl]	'brittle'	[stʌde]	'steady'

No 9 /ɔ/ (half-open, back, rounded) is always long and occurs in:

[strɔ:ŋ]	'strong'	[θrɔ:ən]	'obstinate'
[fɔ:]	'fall'	[twɔ:]	'two'
[blɔ:]	'blow'	[bɔ:re]	'barrow'

No 10 /ɑ/ (open, back) is always long and occurs in:

[a:tər;kə:p]	'peevish person'		
[a:pən]	'open'	[sta:p]	'stop'
[ha:b]	'hob'	[sa:ft]	'soft'
[ba:tl]	'bottle (of straw, etc.)'		
[la:n]	'long'	[wa:t]	'wet' (adj.)

Diphthongs

For comparative and historical purposes it is convenient to treat the four diphthongal vocalic nuclei of Glenoe as distinct phonological units:

No 11 /əi/ as in

[fəif]	'fife'	[məin]	'mine' (sb)	[pəi]	'pay'
[wəiər]	'wire'				

No 12 /ae/ as in

[faev]	'five'	[maen]	'mine' (adj.)	[pae]	'pie'
[taeər]	'tire'; 'tyre'				

No 13 /əe/ as in

[bœ]	'boy'	[mœle]	'hornless'	[stœex]	'stench'
------	-------	--------	------------	---------	----------

No 14 /əü/, as in

[nəü]	'knoll'	[rəül]	'roll'	[fəüər]	'four'
-------	---------	--------	--------	---------	--------

These diphthongs are all of the descending type, with a relatively strong stress on the first element and various glides making up the second; thus, the glide in No 11 reaches the close front position, in Nos 12 and 13, the half-close front position only, and in No 14, the close position, between front and central, rounded. The schwa as first element is quite short, especially in closed syllables ending with an unvoiced consonant:

[rəis]	'rice'	[bəit]	'bite'	[ləüs]	'loose'
--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	---------

Both elements of this diphthong may be slightly longer before voiced consonants or in open syllables and may be closely transcribed thus:

[rə'i:z]	'rise'	[bə'i:d]	'bide'	[jə'ü:]	'ewe'
[hə'i:]	'hay'	[lə'ü:z]	'loosen'		

The [a] and [ə] as first elements are, however, long and may even be over-long, which gives the impression of two syllables instead of one:

[ka:e]	or [ka::e]	'cows'	[tɔ:e]	or [tɔ::e]	'toy'
--------	------------	--------	--------	------------	-------

The distribution of /əi/ and /ae/ in Glenoe is typical of the US dialects. In this respect the latter are in contrast with UHE dialects, which have only one diphthong of this type. Traces of an allophonic distribution are clearly marked in Glenoe, in that [ae] occurs before voiced fricatives (including [r]), in hiatus, and in most final open syllables, whereas [əi] occurs in other situations, thus:

[præz]	'prize'	versus	[prəis]	'price'
[faeəl]	'phial'	versus	[fəil]	'file'
[tae]	'tie'	versus	[təid]	'tide'

This simple picture has been disturbed, however, by various factors: the historical development of certain ME diphthongs, e.g. [əi] (<ME *ei/ai*), which in final open

syllables is in contrast with the regular [æ] (< ME /i/) and gives rise to many meaningful contrasts:

< ME ei/ai	< ME ī
[əɪ]	'always'
[bəɪ]	'bay'
[gəɪ]	'very'
[məɪ]	'May'
[pəɪ]	'pay'
[stəɪ]	'stay'
[æ]	'I'
[bae]	'buy', 'by'
[gae]	'guy'
[mae]	'my'
[pae]	'pie'
[stae]	'(pig) sty'

Verb forms occasionally have 'irregular' diphthongs which can be ascribed to the conservative effect of analogy operating within the subset of strong verbs, thus:

[DREɪv]	'drive'	([DRO:v]	'drove')
[STRƏiv]	'strive'	([STRO:v]	'stroved')
[θRƏiv] ²⁵	'thrive'	([θRO:v]	'throve')
[rəiz]	'rise'	([ro:z]	'rose')

probably owe their [əɪ] – for which [æ] would be expected – to the analogy with, say,

[rəid]	ride	([ro:d]	'rode')
[rəit]	write	([ro:t]	'wrote')

A weak verb such as *dive* (*dived*) on the other hand is always pronounced [daev].

A more obvious case involving analogy is heard in the singular/plural forms of:

life:	[ləif] / [ləivz]	(i.e. NOT [laevz])
knife:	[nəif] / [nəivz]	(i.e. NOT [naevz])
wife:	[wəif] / [wəivz]	(i.e. NOT [waevz])

Following /w/ or /m/ the diphthong /əɪ/ is used to the exclusion of /æ/, regardless of what follows the diphthongs, thus:

in an open syllable	[wəɪ]	'why'
before voiced fricative	[wəɪz]	'wise'
in hiatus	[wəɪər]	'wire'
	[kwəɪər]	'choir', 'quire'

Dialect borrowing may explain the incidence of /əɪ/ in
 ['aɪrlən] 'Ireland'
 ['aɪris'] 'Irish'
 [s'əɪ] 'shy' (the normal dialect word is [ble:t]).

It is worth noting, in respect to this, that in a number of words which have /i/ in the dialect, US urban or regional standard speech has /əɪ/, presumably borrowed from local UHE dialects, thus:

US dialect	UHE	US urban	meaning
[di:]	[dəɪ]	[dəɪ]	'die'
[i:]	[əɪ]	[əɪ]	'eye'
[li:]	[ləɪ]	[ləɪ]	'lie' (untruth)

These US urban forms are thus phonemically opposed to

[dae]	'dye'
[ae]	'I'
[lae]	'lie' (assume a recumbent position)

Note: Apart from the fourteen vocalic phonemes listed above (all of which occur with primary or secondary stress) there is a vowel quality, [ɪ], (between close and half-close, front) which, in syllables with relatively strong stress, is found only at morphological junctures, and which arises from a contextual shortening of [e:]. Examples are to be found in the fused form of verb plus negative particle, preposition or pronoun; preposition plus pronoun, etc., thus:

[de:]	'do'	BUT	[dne]	'don't'
[he:]	'have'	BUT	['hite]	'have to'
[fe:]	'from'	BUT	['fime]	'from me'
[ne:]	'no' (adj.)	BUT	['niθən]	'nothing'

The same vowel quality also occurs in weakly stressed syllables:

[gɛ:lik]	'earwig'	[ɪg'nɔ:lɪdz']	'acknowledge'
['pa:rits']	'porridge'	['tiθɪk]	'toothache'

A half-close, central vowel, [ə] – the schwa – is, of course, heard also in weakly-stressed syllables:

[wʌndə]	'window'	[hÜsəz]	'houses'
[wa:ntəd]	'wanted'	[ə'bɪn]	'above'

Consonants

As mentioned elsewhere²⁶, most of the Glenoe range of consonants correspond to those of SSB, but at the phonetic level Glenoe has (in addition to the various phones of the standard language) a series of breathed ejective or glottalized plosives, a full range of interdental and of alveolar-palatalized consonants and a breathed velar fricative.

This range of consonants is not, however, confined to Glenoe and the US dialects, but is found in UHE as well. Hence in seeking among the consonants differential criteria that would separate the two groups of Ulster English dialects we are thrown back on distributional contrasts. It is, for example, not the velar fricative /χ/ in itself that distinguishes US from UHE but its incidence. This sound may even be common to all or most of the dialects of whatever origin in certain words of clearly Scottish provenance such as [pe:x] 'pant', [sprax:x] 'sprawl', etc., where the Scottish phonology was not in obvious conflict with that of a corresponding standard word. In many words with orthographic -gh(-), however, US (like Scots) has preserved [x], which in UHE (as in SSB) has become [f] or zero. This feature was found to be by far the most valuable consonantal criterion for separating US from the other dialects and provided the basis for the first part of List 1 of the phonological questionnaire.

Morphology

At the morphological level, Glenoe has a few features of Scottish type which mark it off from the standard language and from UHE in particular. The plural allomorph /-n/ survives in the words:

	Singular	Plural
eye	[i:]	[in]
shoe	[sé:] or [šü:]	[šín]

as well as the Umlaut plural [kae] ‘cows’.

The morphology of some of the verbs also shows typical Scottish developments:

	Present	Past
give	[gi:]	[gin]
take	[ta:k]	[te:n]

Syntax

An analysis of Glenoe at the syntactical level provides some interesting material, but none of it offers possibilities of contrastive opposition with non-Scottish dialects. In fact the syntactical peculiarities of the Ulster dialects are frequently common to all of them and are of particular interest to the Celts, as they very often exhibit structural patterns calqued on Gaelic originals, which are mostly the same whether it is a question of Ulster Gaelic or Scots Gaelic, for example:

I have a thirst on me may be compared with
Tá taort orm (Irish) or *Tha tart orm* (Scots Gaelic)

Influence of the US urban speech of Larne on Glenoe

Although the phonetic repertoire of Larne is almost identical with that of Glenoe the two are, in effect, different languages phonologically by virtue of the wide range of discrepancies in the incidence of the sounds in question, particularly as regards the vowels.

The importance of Larne is, of course, that it is the ‘other’ language of bilingual dialect speakers and that, as a local version of the standard language, it enjoys special prestige and exercises considerable influence over Glenoe; when a markedly Scots element in Glenoe has fallen into disuse, it has usually been replaced by the corresponding Larne form.

Other varieties of US compared with Glenoe

A general comparison of Glenoe with the other forms of US reveals a very close parallelism throughout all these dialects. They form, in fact, a dialectal unity which is still very close to the speech of SW Scotland although generally more archaic in character than the latter.

The similarities are naturally most marked between Glenoe and the dialects of Mid-Antrim although those of N Antrim, which extend into NE Derry (at points L1, L2 and L3) are still very close. The speech of Magilligan, county Derry (L4) represents a 19th century expansion of the US dialect of the Laggan in E Donegal. Laggan itself diverges most widely

from the Glenoe norm, especially in preserving some apparent archaisms and in certain peculiarities related undoubtedly to the local Gaelic substratum, which must have differed in a few details from that of NE Ulster²⁷. Laggan links up in some typical features with the Mid Ards and a large part of the W Strangford US dialect, not, obviously, because of geographical contiguity but because county Down US has also in many areas preserved the same archaisms as Donegal.

It must be emphasised that there are an overwhelming number of points of agreement among the US dialects with regard to their reflexes of ME sounds. The main criteria by which they may be separated are the various developments of ME ȝ, which gave the subdivisions adumbrated above thus:

Reflexes of ME ȝ or Early Scots / Middle Scots ū

Laggan	Mid Antrim	North Antrim	Meaning
Mid Ards	North Ards	Northeast Derry	
West Strangford	Northwest		
Magilligan	Strangford		
[ə'bin]	[ə'bɪn]	[ə'ben]	‘above’
[śin]	[śɪn]	[śen]	‘soon’
[stil]	[stɪl]	[stel]	‘stool’

North Antrim and Northeast Derry have also a special treatment for the plural *houses*, which appears in these areas with medial [z] and the long close variant of /ü/, thus: [hü:zəz], over against Glenoe-type [hÜsəz] and the intermediate form [hÜzəz], found in various places to the south of the [hü:zəz] area.

The Questionnaires – Lexical and Phonological

The Lexical Questionnaire

In the early summer of 1960 a lexical questionnaire was drawn up with the purpose in mind of determining the geographical limits of the US dialect of the Laggan district in E Donegal. It was hoped that a number of the items would yield a bundle of isoglosses that would delineate the boundary between US and the UHE areas.

In compiling the list, recourse was had to the literature relating to Donegal dialects:

- (i) H. C. Hart’s *Notes on Ulster Dialect, chiefly Donegal*²⁸.
- (ii) H. Swan’s glossary in *Twixt Foyle and Swilly*²⁹.
- (iii) M. Traynor’s *The English Dialect of Donegal*³⁰.

The latter was particularly useful. It includes not only Hart’s items but hundreds of others – with etymologies – culled from a very full bibliography of Donegal dialect literature of all types.

In the final draft of this questionnaire many other sources were consulted, including the two lexical books circulated by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, Orton and Dieth’s questionnaire for the English Survey, Kurath’s items for the American Survey and Henry’s for the Irish Survey.

It soon became apparent, however, that many of the Scottish words had spread far beyond the original settlement area as described by the historians of the Laggan plantation, and that their rather haphazard distribution would clearly not give a satisfactory linguistic demarcation line³¹. In other words, for the very particular objective of this investigation, this questionnaire would not serve and something much more specific had to be devised. For purposes of comparison this first questionnaire is added here in full:

The Experimental Lexical Questionnaire³²

INSECTS

- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. ANT | 6. CENTIPEDE | 11. WOODLOUSE |
| 2. EARWIG | 7. DADDY-LONG-LEGS | 12. WILD BEES' NEST |
| 3. FLEA | 8. HORSE-FLY | 13. attercap |
| 4. FLY | 9. LOUSE | |
| 5. BEETLE | 10. SPIDER | |

WILD ANIMALS

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
| 14. SHREW MOUSE | 20. FOX | 26. GROPE |
| 15. MOUSE | 21. FROG | 27. leister |
| 16. BADGER | 22. NEWT | 28. POACH(ER) |
| 17. HEDGEHOG | 23. WORM | 29. SALMON LEAP |
| 18. STOAT | 24. MINNOW | |
| 19. RABBIT | 25. TROUT | |

BIRDS

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 30. CHAFFINCH | 37. LAPWING | 44. PHEASANT |
| 31. JACKDAW | 38. HAWK | 45. BAT |
| 32. SEAGULL | 39. WREN | 46. BLIND |
| 33. SPARROW | 40. HERON | 47. NESTLING |
| 34. YELLOW-HAMMER | 41. MAGPIE | 48. ROB (a nest) |
| 35. CROW | 42. OWL | 49. WHISTLE |
| 36. CURLEW | 43. PARTRIDGE | |

PLANTS

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------------|
| 50. FIR CONE | 59. NUTS | 68. APPLE |
| 51. BILBERRY | 60. DOCK | 69. scobe |
| 52. VETCHES | 61. FOXGLOVE | 70. PEAR |
| 53. HAW | 62. RAGWORT | 71. BRANCH |
| 54. ROSEHIP | 63. SORREL | 72. ROOT |
| 55. POISONOUS | 64. THISTLE | 73. CLIMB |
| 56. BRACKEN | 65. GORSE | 74. speel |
| 57. TOADSTOOL | 66. ELDER | 75. ROWAN |
| 58. CHARLOCK | 67. WILLOW | 76. lith |

FARM

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 77. FARM(ER) | 101. GUTTER | 124. LANE |
| 78. YARD | 102. scobe (thatch) | 125. vennel |
| 79. TOWN | 103. SHARPEN | 126. STREET |
| 80. HOME | 104. FIRE | 127. MEAL-BIN |
| 81. AWAY | 105. BLAZE | 128. CHEST |
| 82. HOUSE(S) | 106. POKER | 129. HASP |
| 83. DOOR | 107. TONGS | 130. DOG |
| 84. OPEN | 108. SHOVEL | 131. CAT |

85. LATCH	109. KINDLING	132. KITTEN
86. BOLT	110. EMBERS	133. BYRE
87. KNOB	111. CINDERS	134. PIGSTY
88. BRASS	112. ASHES	135. HENHOUSE
89. WINDOW	113. ashipet	136. STACK-YARD
90. PANE	114. coldrife	137. BUILD
91. GLASS	115. stoor	138. PROP
92. CATCH	116. RUBBISH	139. stale
93. FLOOR	117. SMOKE	140. PRIME
94. GABLE	118. CHAIR	141. FLIT
95. WALL	119. COUCH	142. RUSHES
96. PLASTER	120. CRADLE	143. UP/DOWN (to Belfast)
97. LADDER	121. UPSTAIRS	144. UP/DOWN (to Dublin)
98. ROOF	122. QUILT	145. SHED
99. RIDGE	123. BOLSTER	146. SHELTER
100. SLATE		

POULTRY

147. BROODY HEN	152. CROP	157. BEAK
148. NARROW	153. MOULT	158. WATTLES
149. BROOD	154. DUCK	159. whammle
150. PULLET	155. GOOSE	160. SUCK (eggs)
151. GIZZARD	156. GANDER	

NUMERALS

161. DOZEN	172. SEVEN	183. MOST(LY)
162. ONE	173. EIGHT	184. NONE (AT ALL)
163. TWO	174. ELEVEN	185. wheen
164. WHO	175. TWELVE	186. WHOLE
165. WHERE	176. TWENTY	187. lock
166. TWO POUNDS (stg.)	177. HUNDRED	188. OFTEN
167. TWO POUNDS (wt.)	178. THOUSAND	189. MANY
168. BOTH	179. MILLION	190. ANY
169. THREE	180. ENOUGH	191. (AN) OTHER
170. FOUR	181. TOO (MUCH)	192. ALL
171. FIVE	182. NO MORE	

FIELDS

193. FIELD	200. broo	207. FORD
194. BOUNDARY	201. TO TRIM HEDGE	208. HILLSIDE
195. STONE	202. MUD	209. PATH
296. STONE DYKE	203. CLAY	210. MOOR
197. sheugh	204. RIVER	211. KNOLL
198. slap	205. RIVER BANK	212. ROLL
199. bunker	206. BRIDGE	213. POLE

FARM ANIMALS

214. CATTLE	227. STRIPPING	240. grop
215. COW	228. BEESTINGS	241. DUNG
216. COWS	229. COW-CALL	242. DUNG FORK
217. BULL	230. QUIET(EN)	243. MANURE HEAP
218. HEIFER	231. CALF-CALL	244. CHEWING CUD
219. stirk	232. BUTT	245. SOW (n.)
220. mincher	233. MOO	246. SMALLEST PIG

221. HORNLESS	234. BELLOW	247. TROUGH
222. UDDER	235. boorach	248. SNOUT
223. MILKINGSTOOL	236. LOOSEEN	249. EWE
224. CREAM	237. LOOSE	250. RAM
225. CURDS	238. HALTER	251. DEAL(ER)
226. WHEY	239. COWMAN	252. SOLD

THE HORSE

253. STALLION	260. HARNESS	267. cowp
254. MARE	261. straddle	268. CHOCK
255. COLT	262. SADDLE	269. SMITHY
256. PONY	263. REINS	270. gazen
257. FODDER	264. WHIP	271. WHEEL-BARROW
258. NEIGH	265. COMB	272. shire (water)
259. BRAY	266. CART	273. QUENCH (thirst)

PLOUGHING

274. PLOUGH	287. GO ON!	300. HOLD
275. COULTER	288. BACK!	301. OLD
276. MOULD-BOARD	289. SOW (vb.)	302. SOLD
277. FURROW	290. SCARECROW	303. TOLD
278. RIDGE	291. CROP	304. FOLD
279. TOP STRIP	292. GROW	305. WILDERNESS
280. BOTTOM STRIP	293. HARVEST	306. SHELTER FROM RAIN
281. FURROW HORSE	294. SUMMER	307. smur
282. LAND HORSE	295. WINTER	308. SUDDEN FRIGHT
283. TURN LEFT!	296. THAW	309. ICICLE
284. TURN RIGHT!	297. COLD	310. WIND (n.)
285. TURN ROUND!	298. BOLD	311. coldrife
286. STOP!	299. GOLD	312. TWILIGHT

HAY

313. HAY	321. HANDLE	329. SQUARE STACK
314. FIELD	322. SWATH	330. STACK YARD
315. FLAT	323. WINDROW	331. PITCH FORK
316. LOW	324. AFTER	332. SHAFT
317. HOOK	325. AFTERMATH	333. GRASS
318. NOOK	326. COLE	334. MEADOW
319. STEAL	327. RICK	335. MOW
320. SCYTHE	328. ROUND STACK	336. BOTTLE

CORN

337. CORN	343. CELEBRATION	349. ROPE-TWISTER
338. FIRST SHOOTS	344. HARVEST HOME	350. FLAIL-JOINT
339. abraird	345. STUBBLE	351. CHAFF
340. SHEAF	346. CORNSTACK	352. POLE
341. LAST SHEAF	347. STRAW	353. SUPERSTITION
342. WITCH	348. STRAW ROPE	354. slomed

FAMILY

355. CHILD(REN)	364. SOMERSAULT	373. MOTHER
356. BOY	365. YOUNG MAN	374. BROTHER
357. GIRL	366. YOUNG WOMAN	375. SISTER
358. TWINS	367. MARRIED ON	376. SON

359. SCHOOL	368. swither	377. SUN
360. MASTER	369. tae her ain name	378. DAUGHTER
361. PLAY TRUANT	370. WIDOW	379. BROKEN PIECES OF CHINA
362. tawse	371. nae freen	380. EASTER EGGS
363. SEE-SAW	372. FATHER	381. LEAD PENCIL

BODY, etc.

382. HEAD	402. CORNERS	422. SHOES
383. birse	403. TOOTH (pl.)	423. BOOTS
384. PULL (HAIR)	404. GUMS	424. BRACES
385. FOOT	405. TOOTHACHE	425. THONGS
386. SPLAY-FOOTED	406. ARM	426. COUGH
387. TOE	407. SHOULDER	427. YAWN
388. CALF	408. armpit	428. SWEAT
389. THIGH	409. WRIST	429. SICK
390. EYE(S)	410. HAND	430. VOMIT
391. BLIND	411. TWO HANDS FULL	431. A BOIL
392. FIND	412. LEFT-HANDED	432. FESTER
393. SQUINT	413. DEVIL	433. (A COLD) on me
394. PEEP	414. FIST	434. ANKLE
395. LASH	415. FINGER STALL	435. SCAR
396. BROW	416. PALM	436. WRINKLE
397. EAR	417. THUMB	437. SPLINTER
398. DEAF	418. FINGER	438. PRICK
399. deave	419. RAGNAIL	439. dwalm
400. hear your ears	420. BLOOD	440. STAMMER
401. MOUTH	421. BONE	441. YAWN

FOOD

442. BREAD	454. CLAMP	466. TOUGH
443. bap	455. POTATO BREAD	467. WHISKEY
444. barn brack	456. farl	468. DROUGHT
445. PORRIDGE	457. CABBAGE	469. SALT
446. BOIL POINT	458. meal a crushie	470. SCALD
447. sowans	459. CHAMP	471. TEA
448. EASTER EGGS	460. CHIVES	472. meskin
449. POTATOES	461. SCALLIONS	473. WEIGH
450. TEEM	462. hum (food for baby)	474. SPREAD
451. SMALL POTATOES	463. DINNER (TIME)	475. BOWL
452. DISCARD SEED	464. HUNGRY	476. fog (FEED)
453. wale	465. STARVING	477. gorb

ABUSIVE DIALECT WORDS

478. attercap	485. spulpen	492. lig
479. ballion	486. ashipe	493. slooter
480. baghal	487. tory-rogue	494. amadan
481. gaam	488. coldrife cratur	495. footer
482. gaam(f)erel	489. taapie	496. foozhonless
483. gomie	490. gulpin	497. thraw
484. hurchin	491. glype	498. snool

WORDS PROBABLY OF GAELIC ORIGIN

499. barn brack	512. latrachan	525. bocan-bohan
500. geelog	513. ablagh	526. arcan
501. moily	514. fear gortach	527. bardugh
502. droily	515. giolar	528. cailleach
503. kittagh	516. ben-shee	529. broghan
504. greesha	517. meskin	530. brock
505. sowens	518. baghal	531. chay!
506. jelger	519. claaber	532. clachan
507. spulpin	520. bonny claaber	533. clib
508. gatha	521. brishney	534. loy
509. barnyagh	522. cashan	535. ailian (brood)
510. bouragh	523. gulpin	536. amsha (ill-luck)
511. (pig) craw	524. amadan	537. dul (snare)

The Phonological Questionnaire

An alternative questionnaire was then put into operation, based on some of the historical phonological differences that separate Scots from English dialects in general. These lists proved to be very successful, for it was quickly established that the typical Scottish phonological patterns had remained entrenched in the areas of intensive 17th century Scots settlement.

Far from encroaching on English-settled territory, however, these Scottish speech forms were now markedly recessive vis-à-vis the UHE dialects. In any case, the opposition between the Lowland Scots forms and those of English provenance provided almost everywhere a sharply-defined border.

As stated above, this phonological questionnaire was based on an analysis resulting from over thirty years of research on the US dialect of Glenoe in E Antrim. The starting point for this analysis was a detailed phonetic study,

leading to a synchronic phonological description, upon which firm foundation was based a retrospective diachronic phonological analysis. The latter yielded lists of words whose phonology diverged from and contrasted with that of UHE in general.

In compiling the Questionnaire these words were grouped mostly on the basis of the identity of the stressed vowel reflexes in the present-day dialect. Thus, it was hoped incidentally to elicit a spread of words sufficient to exemplify for each informant his full range of vocalic phonemes along with important variants.

The questionnaire based on the Glenoe materials was first plied in the Laggan, but was progressively modified and reduced to its essential core. It was then adopted for the rest of the investigations and gave equally good results in NE Down, throughout county Antrim in NE Derry and once again during a final visit to Donegal (to follow the chronological sequence of the various aspects of the fieldwork).

The Final Phonological Questionnaire as used throughout the survey³³List 1

1. BOUGHT	18. NIGHT	34. dight
2. BRIGHT	19. OUGHT (pronoun)	35. dreegh
3. BROUGHT	20. RIGHT	36. forfoghen
4. COUGH	21. ROUGH	37. greeshagh
5. DAUGHTER	22. SIGH	38. hough
6. DOUGH	23. SIGHT	39. laghter
7. DRAUGHT	24. SOUGH	40. laigh
8. EIGHT	25. STRAIGHT	41. paghle
9. ENOUGH	25a. THOUGHT	42. pegh
10. FIGHT	26. TIGHT	42a. scraigh
11. FOUGHT	27. TOUGH	43. sheugh
12. HEIGHT	28. TROUGH	44. spleughan
13. HIGH	29. WEIGHT	45. spraghle

14. LAUGH	30. WRIGHT	46. styaghie
15. LIGHT	31. WROUGHT	47. weght
16. MIGHT	32. baghle	
17. NEIGH	33. brugh	

List 2

48. ABOVE	65. groop	81a. SHOE (horse)
49. AFTERNOON	66. GUM	82. *SHOES
50. BEHOVE	67. HOOD	83. SHOOT
51. BLOOD	68. JUST (adv.)	84. SOON
52. BOARD	69. loof	85. SOOT
53. BOOT	70. MOON	86. SPOON
54. BROTHER	71. MOORS	87. STOOL
55. cloot	72. MOTHER	88. TO
56. COOL	73. MOVE	89. TOO
57. CUD	74. OTHER	90. TOOTH
58. DONE	75. POOR	91. ENOUGH
59. FLOOR	76. PUT	92. HOOK
60. (DOOR)	77. ROOD	92a. flyuggy
61. FOOL	78. ROOST	93. NOOK
62. FOOT	79. ROOTS	94. PLOUGH
63. GOOD	80. SCHOOL	95. sheugh
64. GOOSE	81. SHOE	96. TOUGH

List 3

97. BEHIND	106. STUBBLE	115. BUILD
98. BLIND	107. SUMMER	116. BRIDGE
99. CLIMB	108. SUN	117. RIDGE TILES
100. FIND	109. TUP (ram)	118. trig (neat)
101. BULL	110. ASUNDER	119. CHEST
102. DOZEN	111. TRUNDLE	120. RED
103. DUN (colour)	112. RUN	121. TOGETHER
104. NUT	113. *SUCH a	122. TREMBLE
105. SON	114. BRIDGE	123. VETCH

List 4

124. AFTER	144. JACKDAW	162. HARM
125. AFTERGRASS	144a. LADDER	163. HARVEST
126. APPLE	145. MAGPIE	164. MARBLES
127. AXLE	146. MANNER	165. MARCH (DYKE)
128. BLADDER	147. MASTER	166. *MARRIED TO
129. BLADE	148. MATTER	167. NARROW
130. BRASS	149. PANE	168. PART
131. CRADLE	150. PLASTER	169. PARTRIDGE
132. FAMILY	151. RATHER	170. SHARP
133. FATHER	152. SACK	171. STARVING
134. FLAT	153. SATURDAY	172. TART (adj.)
135. GANDER	154. SHAFT	173. YARD
136. GATHER	155. TRAVEL	174. BRANCH

137. GLAD	156. WASH	175. HAUNCH
138. GLASS	157. ARM	176. STANCHION
139. GRASS	158. CARRY	177. DINNER
140. HALTER	159. CART	178. KINDLING
141. HAMMER	160. FARM	179. EITHER
142. HAMES	161. GARDEN	180. NEITHER
143. HASP		

List 5

181. ALLOW	208. COARSE	234a. OUT
182. BOW (v.)	209. COUNCIL	235. OWL
183. BROW	210. COUNT	236. PLUM
184. (RIVERBANK)	211. COUNTY	237. POACHER
185. COW	212. COURSE	238. POISON
186. *COWS	213. COURT	239. POUCH
187. FLOUR	214. CROWN	241. POUR
188. FLOWER	215. DISCOURSE	242. POWDER
189. HOUR	216. DOUBT	243. PROUD
190. HOW	217. DOWN	244. ROUND
191. NOW	218. DROUGHT	245. RUST
192. POWER	219. DROWN	246. SCOWL
193. SHOWER	220. drook	247. SHROUD
194. SOUR	221. DUCK ¹ (dodge)	248. SNOUT
195. SOW (n.)	222. DUCK ² (drench)	249. SOUND (n.)
196. THOUSAND	223. DUCK (n.)	249a. SORREL
197. BLUE	224. foisonless	250. SOUTH
198. LUKEWARM	225. footer	251. SPOUT
199. PLOUGH	226. GOWN	252. SPROUT
200. FULL	227. HOUSE	253. stoon
201. PULL	228. *HOUSES	254. STOUT
202. COULTER	229. LOUD	255. SUCK
203. SHOULDER	230. LOUSE	256. SUPPLE
204. (POWDER)	231. MOUSE	257. TOWN
205. ABOUT	232. MOUTH	258. THUMB
206. ACCOUNT	233. OUR (stressed)	259. TROUT
207. BROWN	234. OUR (weak)	260. GOLD

List 6

261. QUILT	277. WILL	292. (ANY)
262. SWITCH	278. WIND	293. burn (stream)
263. SWITHER	279. WINDOW	294. FOUND
264. TWENTY	280. WINNOW	295. GROUND
265. TWINS	281. WINTER	296. MOUNTAIN
266. TWISTER	282. WISH	297. MOURN
267. WHIN	283. WISP	298. POUND (stg.)
268. SHIP	284. WIT	299. POUND (lb.)
269. WHISKEY	285. WITCH	299a. POUND (animal)
270. WHISKERS	286. WITHER	300. BRITTLE
271. WHISPER	287. WITHY	301. chullers
272. WHISTLE	288. WIZARD	302. CINDERS

273. WHITLOW	289. WRINKLE	303. lum
274. WHITTLE	290. WRIST	304. STEADY
275. whittret (stoat)	291. MANY	305. STITHY
276. WILDERNESS		

List 7

306. attercap	325. KNOB	344. TONGS
307. caup	326. LOBSTER	345. WRONG
308. CHOP	327. LOFT	346. QUIT
309. CROP (harvest)	328. OFF	347. SWELL
310. CROP (of bird)	329. OFTEN	348. TWELVE
311. DROP	330. SOFT	349. WEATHER
312. HOP	331. TOM	350. WEB
313. LOPSIDED	332. BOTTLE (hay, etc.)	351. WEDDING
314. PROP	333. FOND	352. WELL (n.)
315. SHOP	334. MUST	353. WET (adj.)
316. slap	335. PORRIDGE	354. (WETTING)
317. SOB	336. ALONG	355. WHELM
318. STOP	337. AMONG	356. WHELP
319. TOP	338. BELONG	357. WREN
320. OPEN	339. LONG	358. WRESTLE
321. BOB	340. SONG	359. WADE
322. HOB	341. STRONG	360. wale
323. HOBBLE	342. THONGS	361. RUSHES
324. JOB	343. THRONG	

List 8

362. ALL	378. TALK	394. CLAW
363. *AT ALL	379. WALK	395. DRAW
364. BALL	380. BLOW	396. HAW
365. CALL	381. CROW (n.)	397. HAWK
366. FALL	382. CROW (v.)	398. JACKDAW
367. HALL	383. MOW	399. JAW
368. miscall	384. ROW (series)	400. LAW
369. SMALL	385. SNOW	401. SAW (v.)
370. WALL	386. SOW	402. SAW (n.)
371. BALK	387. tawse	403. BARROW
372. BEHOLDEN	388. thrawen	403a. logg
373. dwalm	389. thraw hook	403b. moghy
374. SALT	390. AWAY	404. TASSLE
375. SCALD	391. TWO	
376. scald	392. WHERE	
377. STALK	393. WHO	

List 9

405. BEESTINGS	421. keek	436. DEAD
406. BLAZE	422. KING	437. (DIED)
407. BREAST	423. LIE (n.)	438. DEAF
408. BRIAR	424. LIE (v.)	439. *DEAFEN

409. creepie	425. LIVE	440. freeet
410. DEVIL	426. MEADOW	441. HEAD
411. DIE	427. reek	442. LEAD (n.)
412. DRIP	428. SICK	443. MARE
413. EYE	429. speel	444. nieve
414. *EYES	430. STREET (farmyard)	445. PEAR
415. FIELD	431. SWIM	446. PHEASANT
416. FLY (n.)	432. THREAD	447. SPREAD
417. FLY (v.)	433. WET (v.)	448. SWEAR
418. FRIEND	434. WIDOW	449. WEAR
419. greet (cry)	435. BREAD	450. WELL (adv.)
420. HIGH		

List 10

451. ALONE	471. NONE	491. DEATH
452. blate (bashful)	472. NOTHING	492. EASTER
453. BONE	473. ONE	492a. ELEVEN
454. BOTH	474. OWN (adj.)	493. FLEA
455. blaе	475. ROPE	494. NEAT
456. brae	476. SLOE	495. QUIET
457. BROAD	477. SO	496. REAPER
458. CLOTH	478. SORE	497. REASON
459. *CLOTHES	479. spaе	498. SCHEME
460. COMB	480. STONE	499. SEASON
461. FROM	481. STRAW	500. SEAT
462. GABLE	482. TOE	500a. SEVEN
463. graip	483. WHOLE	501. SHEAF
464. HOME	484. BEAK	502. SHED
465. KALE	485. BEAST	503. SPECIAL
466. LOAD	486. BEAT	504. TREAT
467. LOAN	487. CHEAP	505. weans
468. MORE	488. CHEAT	506. hain
469. MOST(LY)	489. CREAM	507. WEAK
470. NO (adj.)	490. CREATURE	

List 11

508. boke	514. glomin	519. ROCK
509. bole	515. gopen	519a. scobe
510. CORD	516. hoke	520. SHORT
511. CORN	517. lonin	521. snoise
512. DOG	518. MORNING	522. SORT
513. FROTH	518a. NOT	523. thole

List 12

524. AY (always)	547. WHEY	557. PIE
525. BAY	548. BOIL (n.)	558. STAY
526. BRAY	549. AY (always)	559. STY (for pigs)
527. CLAY	550. AYE (yes)	560. DIE
528. gey	550a. BAY	561. DYE

529. HAY	550b. BUY	562. EYE
530. MAY	550c. gey	563. I
531. PAY	550d. GUY	564. LIE (fib)
532. quey	551. MINE (n.)	565. LIE (recline)
543. REINS	552. MINE (adj.)	566. FIFE
544. STAY	553. MAY (month)	567. FIVE
544a. STEEP	554. MY	568. PRICE
545. WAY	555. NEIGHBOUR	569. PRIZE
546. WEIGH	556. PAY	

List 13

570. BOLD	590. KNOLL	602. goup
571. COLD	591. MOULD (BOARD)	603. GROW
572. FOLD	592. POLE	604. LOOSE
573. HOLD	593. ROLL	605. LOOSEN
574. OLD	594. SHOULDER	606. lown
575. SCOLD	595. SOUL	607. loup
576. SOLD	596. BESTOW	608. OVER
577. TOLD	597. CHEW	609. PONY
578. BOLSTER	598. coup	610. THAW
579. BOLT	599. EWE	611. TOW
580. BOWL	600. FOUR	612. moily
581. COLT	601. gowl	613. stoigh
582. JOLT		

List 14

614. DO	632. CAN'T	649. TAKE
615. DON'T	633. COULDN'T	650. TOOK
616. I DON'T	634. MIGHTN'T	651. TAKEN
617. DOES	635. SHOULDN'T	652. BEGAN
618. DOESN'T	636. WON'T	653. BEGUN
619. DIDN'T	637. WOULDN'T	654. HIT (pt.)
620. HE MADE ME DO IT	638. AMN'T	655. LET (pt.)
621. HAVE	639. ISN'T	656. SIT (pt.)
622. HAVEN'T	640. AREN'T	657. SET (pt.)
623. HAVE TO	641. WASN'T	658. IS/ARE THERE?
624. HAS	642. WEREN'T	659. WAS/WERE THERE?
625. HASN'T	643. BREAK	660. I'll have to go
626. HAS TO	644. BROKE	661. Where are you going to?
627. HADN'T	645. BROKEN	662. I'll not be able to get
628. HAD HAD	646. GIVE	663. It doesn't matter about it.
629. BEHOVE TO	647. GAVE	664. Is there any more bread?
630. DARENT	648. GIVEN	665. He made me cry
631. MUSTN'T		

A detailed discussion of the lists that make up this Phonological Questionnaire now follows:

List 1

For the purpose of discriminating between the US and UHE dialects, the most important consonant by far is /x/, the reflex of the velar fricative in OE and ME. It is well preserved in all the US areas, not only in dialect words of a Scottish type such as *sheugh*, *pegh*, *spraghlē*, etc, but – characteristically – in a large number of Standard English words that have a UHE equivalent in which [x] → [f] or zero:

	US	UHE
<i>daughter</i>	[dɔ:xtər]	[dɔ:tər] etc
<i>high</i>	[hix]	[hɛi]
<i>tough</i>	[tʌf]	[töf]

List 2

The words in this list had ɔ̄ in ME, but evidently had ɪ̄ in Early Scots and Middle Scots. This Middle Scots vowel has a number of different US reflexes which have a more or less clearly defined regional distribution. In some cases where we find them grouped geographically with other peculiarities we might be tempted to think in terms of the four or five different US reflexes found in words such as:

above, afternoon, done, good, school, shoes:

- (i) /i/ occurs in the mid-Ards along the boundary with S Ards HE, and in two out of every three of the places investigated to the W of Strangford Lough. The same reflex is found in all parts of the Laggan and also in the Magilligan area, settled in the 19th century by Lagganeers. This present-day distribution interpreted in the light of our knowledge of settlement history and of the dialectal situation in Scotland would suggest that this reflex represents the most archaic form. The Laggan district, in W Ulster and further removed from Scottish ports of disembarkation, was definitively planted in the early years of the 17th century, and chiefly from Ayrshire and the SW Scottish hinterland. The areas concerned in county Down were likewise planted from the same parts of Scotland and at the same period; and they are furthest removed from Donaghadee (Montgomery's port) and Bangor (Hamilton's port) through which the Scots settlers entered and through which contact with Scotland was maintained.

The characteristic forms for these areas are:

[ə'bɪn]	[dɪn]	[skɪl]
[e:fɪr'nɪn]	[gɪd]	[sɪn]

The absence of a [w]-glide with preceding velars is a good reason for dismissing any direct connection with NE Scots

(Buchan), which has [gwid], [skwil]³⁴.

Evidence of the existence of [i]-forms similar to those of US has (as stated above) recently been discovered by the Linguistic Survey of Scotland on the border between Lanark and Dumfries³⁵. The fact that this pocket has been found in a rather remote area would argue once again in favour of the archaic nature of this reflex, which may have been normal 17th century SW Scots.

- (ii) /i/ occurs in the N Ards, on the fringes of the UHE boundary W of Strangford Lough and throughout most of county Antrim. Its similarity to current SW Scots, and its distribution close to the ports of entry through which contact was kept with Scotland, would suggest that this was an innovation which came in from SW Scotland some time after the original settlement but never reached the perimeter of the Scots-settled areas. Typical forms with [ɪ] are:

[ə'bɪn]	[dɪn]	[skɪl]
[e:fɪr'nɪn]	[gɪd]	[sɪn]

- (iii) /e/ occurs in N Antrim and the adjacent parts of NE Derry. This seems to represent a development of /i/, for in the same dialects we find /e/ as the vowel in the morpheme *-ing*, e.g., *fishing* ['fæ:ʃɪŋ]. Sometimes /e/ is realized as [eə]. Characteristic forms from these areas are:

[ə'be:n]	[de:n]	[ske:l]
[e:fɪr'ne:n]		[sé:n]

- (iv) /ü/ occurs in alternation with /i/ and /ɪ/ in a few localities in the Mid Ards and W of Strangford Lough. These forms may represent a hyperurbanism on the part of a few dialect speakers who, knowing that dialectal [nɪn] or [nɪn] corresponds to standard [nün], by analogy make [ə'bün] to correspond with [ə'bin] or [ə'bɪn].

- (v) /æ/ or its equivalent occurs sporadically for certain items in the list throughout the US areas, but at least with one speaker (D4) it is the normal reflex in the whole of List 2, thus being identical with this reflex for ME ī, which is also /æ/.

The US dialect spoken by D4 illustrates clearly the kind of substitution that takes place among bilingual speakers, leading to the loss of a characteristic dialect vowel, viz. /ɪ/. Dialect speakers hear educated Standard English speakers consistently using [ɪ] and never [æ] as a reflex of ME ī, whereas they themselves use [æ] and never [ɪ] in the same circumstances in their 'broad' version of SE. This may lead to the idea that [ɪ] versus [æ] is a class dialect marker and that these two vowels are functionally equivalent, which in turn

leads to the loss of distinction within the dialect itself between [ɪ] and [æ] and, in effect, to the substitution of [æ] for [ɪ] in many instances.

This result of bilingualism had already made itself felt in MSc, especially in certain words such as *foot*, pronounced – as shown by the poets' rhymes – [fæt] (or something like it), alongside the traditional [fɪt] etc.

Characteristic of D4's forms are:

[ə'bæn]	[dæn]	[skæl]
[e:f'rə:næn]	[gæd]	[sæn]

Almost everywhere, of course, before /v/ and in open syllables the reflex is /e/:

[me:v] 'move' [de:] 'do' [sé:] 'shoe' [te:] 'to', 'too'

although *do* is [di:] in many parts of the Laggan. At the same time [di:] 'die', the usual US form, is replaced in the Laggan for the most part by US urban [dɔɪ], thus avoiding a homonymic clash.

In closed syllables before /r/ the same reflex, /e/, occurs, although frequently the actual sound realized is retracted to [é:], which may thus function as a lengthened allophone of [ɪ]. Examples occur in:

[bë:rd]	'board'	[flë:r]	'floor'
[më:rz]	'moors'	[pë:r]	'poor'

An outsider in this List, *door*, was included immediately following *floor*, because although the traditional US pronunciation [dɔ:r] is frequently in contrast with [flë:r], [fle:r], [flë:r], [fli:r], etc. sometimes, perhaps, as a result of semantic association, the vowels in these words are assimilated, e.g., in D4's [flë:r] and [de:r] and in the widespread Ulster reflexes of early SE forms: [flø:r] and [dø:r].

Apart from the general developments of this vowel as described above there were special, complicated changes in ESc and MSc when it occurred before a velar consonant. The final stages of these processes are evident in the various US reflexes of the types /jü/ or /jʌ/ in words (including #91 through #96) such as:

enough	[ə'nʌx/ ə'nʌx/ ə'n̩y:]
left-handed	[fl'ʌge/ 'fjʌge/ 'jʌge,] etc.
escarpment	[hjʌx/ չʌx]
hook	[hjük/ hjʌk/ չʌk]
nook	[n'ük/ n'ʌk]
plough	[pl'ŷ/ pjŷ:]
sheugh	[šjʌx շʌx]
tough	[t'ʌx/ tšʌx/ tʌx]

The forms [džük] 'dodge' and [d'ük/ džük/ d'ʌk/ dz'ʌk] 'duck' n. seem to fit in with this series.

It will be noted that the yod frequently coalesces with the preceding consonant to produce a palatalized version, and that occasionally this may disappear in the case of [l̩], leaving a simple yod, or it may pass on to an affricate, or the yod may disappear (as with *tough*, *enough*), perhaps by analogy with SE /t/ and /n/. The yod fronts [ü:] to [ŷ:] in open syllables.

In all the US dialects [bite] *behove to* has the archaic /i/ realized in a short, clipped form, and singular *tooth* has /i/, just like the plural *teeth*, in fact perhaps by analogy with the plural, which would also explain sporadic [gis] (D15) for *goose* in areas where [gɪs] would be expected.

Summing up List 2, then, we have archaism /i/, innovations /i/ and /e/, bilinguals' substitution /æ/, all from ESc/MSc ū (ME ȶ). In addition, we have conditional developments such as /e/ before /v/ and in open syllables, and the same vowel or a retracted version [é] before /r/. The /i/ in *behove* and *tooth* is anomalous or analogous. A yod followed by /ü/ or /ʌ/ has developed before velars.

List 3

The typical broad US vowel [æ] (or in Donegal the less open [ɛ]) occurs in these words with different ME sources and is in contrast with several UHE reflexes as follows:

[əi]	#97 – 100
[ø] (or [ö])	#101 – 113
[i]	#114 – 117 (further contrast: US /g/, UHE /dz/)
[e]	#120 – 121

Items #97, 98 and 100 tend to show the typical SW Scots loss of final [d] in the [-nd] cluster.

The US areas have preserved this Scots feature well but nonstandard UHE [ʌ] crops up occasionally in *bull*.

List 4

The US vowel [ɛ] is characteristic of all the words in this list and corresponds to UHE [a] or [ɑ] in most cases but to [e] in #129, 131, 142, 149; to [ɒ] or [ɔ] in #140, 156, 175; to [i] in #177, 178; to [i] or [əi] in #179, 180.

The medial consonant of #128 and #144a is [ð] in US, in contrast with UHE [d], nonstandard [ɒ]; in #153, the [r] tends to drop out, being 'implied' by the interdental [t]; in #157, 160, 162, the Laggan dialect of E Donegal has an intrusive schwa or else [m], thus [ə:rəm], [fe:rəm], [he:rəm]; or [e:rəm], etc. In Gaelic-speaking areas, or those till recently Gaelic-speaking, these items have [r] (with a single flap); [ə:rəm], etc.; in #139 and #161, palatalized velars, [K̩], [g̩], occur for the most part in Donegal; #163 frequently ends with [-is't]. #164 contrasts with UHE dialect [ma:rlez]. #166 generally has terminal morpheme /-t/. #169 mostly has loss of the first [r] by dissimilation.

Some speakers have a distinct schwa-glide between [ɛ] and a following consonant, thus D12, D13, D14, D33 and D39 all have [grɛəs] for *grass*.

The /e/, which is mostly near cardinal, is realized as a

closer vowel [ɛ] with D20 and as an opener one [ɛ] with D24, the latter being probably due to the influence of Belfast speech.

The word *farm* crops up sporadically as [fɔ:rm] instead of, or in competition with, the usual US [fe:rm].

List 5

Here we have words with ME/MSc ū, which generally becomes [ü:] in open syllables, in hiatus, and before voiced fricatives.

Following a yod or a palatalized consonant, a fronted variant, [ŷ:], occurs.

In complementary distribution with [ü:], in closed syllables, or, generally, in situations other than those defined above is a short, more open short variant, [Ü], and before [r] in all positions a long, even opener allophone, [ø:]. Morphological additions to a word form do not alter this patterning, thus [smü:ðər] < [smü:ð] *smooth*; but #203 and #204 are frequently [sÜðər] and [pÜðər], as they are solid morphemes.

The US vowels are in contrast for the most part with UHE /œü/ but for #202, 203, 208, 212, 213, 215, 237, 241, 260 with UHE /o/, and for #221, 222, 223, 236, 245, 255, 256, 258 with UHE /ʌ/.

List 6

ME/MSc ī following [w] generally gives [ʌ] or its rounded equivalent [ö] in US, as in Scots over against UHE [i], [ɛ], [æ], etc. In the case of *twenty* we must suppose a preliminary raising of *e* to *i* to explain the form ['twəntɪ]. Some of the US dialects have [ʌ] in words with initial orthographic *wr*, in which the *w* is now silent. Hence the change ī > [ʌ] must antedate the loss of the initial [w]. In Donegal [röst] *wrist* is particularly common, as is [rʌŋkl] elsewhere.

This change may represent the end result of the stages [i] > [y] > [u] > [ʌ]. As a dialect marker it is not too effective in Donegal, where the local Gaelic seems often to have a similar conditional change, e.g., *bhfuil* (is) is not [wil'] but [wöl'] in many places.

The words *any* and *many*, or rather Scots *ony* and *mony*, have the forms [ɔ:ne] and [mʌne] in US, the stressed vowel of the latter having probably developed from [ɔ] through [u] to [ʌ].

Items #294 through #299 represent words in which ME/MSc *u* – after lengthening – gives UHE [œü] (or [o:] in the word *mourn*) but US [ʌ].

List 7

Items #306 through #335 exemplify the characteristic Scots change by which ME *o* > *a* before or after labials. This change, which does not affect UHE, is well represented in US, not only in words which form part of the general vocabulary, such as:

[dra:p] ‘drop’ [pa:ritʃ] ‘porridge’

but also in dialect words, such as:

[ka:p] ‘caup’ [sla:p] ‘an opening into a field’

In items #338 through #345, US, like Scots, has kept unrounded /a/, in contrast with UHE /ɔ/ before the velar nasal /ŋ/. One general exception in US is #341, which is [strɔ:ŋ] and not [strɔ:tŋ]. The variant [ʌɛ:ŋ] often occurs for #342 in US.

The ME sequence *wě* > US /wa/, as in Scots, in #346 through #358, though we must assume *quit* to have gone through the stage [kwet/ before emerging as [kwa:t]. UHE is not affected by this change.

List 8

Items #362 through #370 bring out the contrast between the reflexes of ME *-al*, which gives UHE [ɔ:l] over against US [ɔ:], with ostensibly more archaic variants such as the Laggan [a:] or the widespread NE Ulster [a:] and [ow], all with loss of *-l*. Some speakers who use [aw] have [ɔ:] as a special development after /w/ and /m/ in words like:

[wo:]	<i>wall</i>	[ə'wo:]	<i>away</i>	[tvo:]	<i>two</i>
[wɔ:r]	<i>where</i>	[wɔ:]	<i>who</i>		

In #371 to 379, ME *-al* + Consonant gives mostly US [a:], which in some of the dialects is in contrast with a shorter vowel [ɔ] or fronter vowel [a] in pairs such as:

[ba:k]	<i>balk</i>	versus	[bak, bak]	<i>back</i>
--------	-------------	--------	------------	-------------

although in the Laggan occasionally this opposition may be marked mainly by a contrast in the consonants:

[bak]	<i>balk</i>	versus	[bak']	<i>back</i>
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List 9

These are words in which Scots and US have /i/ in contrast with UHE /e/, /ɛ/, /əi/, /i/. The Scots and US shortening of this originally long vowel is conditioned by the phonetic environment, [i] being now the main member, and the long variant [i:] being preserved only in stressed final open syllables, in hiatus, before voiced fricatives and before /r/. Compare [dif] *deaf* with [di:v] *deafen*.

Occasionally in words which may have a strong emotional connotation we find that the long quantity has been retained, perhaps for affective reasons, in spite of the following unvoiced plosives, e.g.:

[kri:pe]	‘a type of low stool’
[ki:k]	‘peep’

The long vowel has also been retained as a morphological marker or oristic signal which distinguishes pairs such as:

[di:d] died versus [did] dead; deed

List 10

The older forms of these words (#451 – 483) had *a* as stressed vowel, down to ME/MSc. The UHE reflex is /o/ or /ɔ/ over against the US /e/ (or /ɛ/ before /r/). In some versions of US a schwa-glide develops before final consonants in stressed monosyllables, as in:

[heəm] home [steən] stone

Contextual shortening or clipping of [e:] leads to [ɪ] in morphologically fused forms such as:

[hɪte]	<	[he:tɛ:]	have to
[dɪne]	<	[de:nɛ:]	do not
[nɪθən]	<	[ne:θɪŋ]	nothing

Although *own* (adj.) is generally [e:n] in US, the numeral *one* (< OE *an*) is represented by [e:n] only in parts of Donegal. The usual US version elsewhere is [jén] or [jaén], which is in contrast with UHE dialectal [wɔ:n]³⁶.

Before /r/ the open vowel /e/ occurs to the general exclusion of /ɛ/:

[mɛ:r] more [sɛ:r] sore

The form [STRE:] for *straw* seems to point back to an earlier *strā*; a – probably archaic – form [STRA:] actually occurs in some US areas. The contrasting UHE dialect form is [STRO:], probably from older N or W Midland English dialect sources³⁷.

List 11

These words show typically [o:] in certain dialectal words and in a few words with UHE /ɔ/, especially before /r/.

List 12

Here are listed a number of words (#524 – 547) that had one of the diphthongs *ei* or *ai* in ME/MSc, and that still have (representing both sources) a diphthong, /əi/, in US in contrast with /e/ in UHE. This narrow diphthong is always found to be in significant contrast with a broader diphthong of the type [æ], [aɪ], [aɪ], [ai], etc., in another range of words (#549 – 559).

This type of opposition does not belong to the UHE dialects proper, which usually have only one diphthong, of the type [əi], [eɪ], [æɪ], etc. USU and some versions of UHE on the fringe of the US districts, however, have a phonemically contrastive pair of diphthongs identical with the US pair but mostly with a different incidence (#560 – 565), thus:

US	[əi]	always	[æ]	yes
USU	[əi]	eye	[æ]	I

In US *eye* is [i:] and *I* is usually [a:].

In US and the other dialects which have two diphthongs, the phonetic environment may determine the choice of variant, final voiced fricatives calling for a preceding /ae/, thus (#566 – 569):

[fəif]	fife	[faev]	five
[prəis]	price	[præz]	prize

List 13

Items ##570 – 577 represent OE forms in -ald. In these US has consistently the reflex [-əül] (with loss of -d), although an additional form [-a:l] crops up occasionally in *old* and *cold*. Apart from the forms with /a/, these items do not give a sharp contrast with UHE, which may have /o/ but can also have a non-standard /əü/, ostensibly derived from Elizabethan or Jacobean English developments.

An /əü/ diphthong is characteristic of US in #578 – 611 (omitting #594). The post-vocalic /l/ may be lost in #578, 579, 581, 582, 593. It is always missing in #590, a word which is very common in place-names and not equated with the SE word *knoll*. The usual UHE equivalent of these items has /o/.

Items #596 – 611 have typically /əü/ in US but /o/, /ü/, /ɔ/, etc., in UHE, if parallel forms exist.

List 14

Peculiarities in the US verb system include the special morphological fusions of verb plus, e.g., the enclitic negative particle /-ne/, often with altered base vowel:

[he: + -ne:]	>	[hɪne]	haven't
[he: + -z]	>	[hɪz]	has
[he: + -z + -ne]	>	[hɪzne]	hasn't
[he: + te:]	>	[hɪte]	have to
[he: + -n]	>	[ə 'hn]	had (pp)
[de: + æt]	>	[dɪt]	do it
[ma:n + ne:]	>	[ma:ne]	mustn't
[ka:n + ne:]	>	[ka:ne]	can't

These are in contrast with UHE forms, similar to those of SE.

The forms of some strong verbs have special US developments:

give	[gi: / gin] (pt & pp)
take	[ta:k / te:n] (pt & pp)
begin	[be'gæn / be'gü:d] (almost obsolete)

The idiomatic *is/are there? was/were there?* in US are typically [ær,ðe:]? and [wər,ðe:]?

Notes

- 1 Henry, P. L., 'A Linguistic Survey of Ireland', *Lochlann: A Review of Celtic Studies* 1 (1958).
- 2 Orton, H., and W. J. Halliday (eds.), *Survey of English Dialects Vol. I The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man* (Leeds, 1962).
- 3 Marshall, W. F., *Ulster Sails West* (Belfast, 1941), 31.
- 4 A survey of this Ottawa Valley dialect was begun in 1975 under the direction of Dr. Ian Pringle and Dr. Enoch Padolsky, both of Carleton University, Ottawa. The present writer is acting as a consultant, with the specific purpose of identifying features of Ulster origin in the speech of the informants.
- 5 Gregg, Robert J., 'Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect, Part 1: Synchronic', *Orbis* 7 (1958), 392-406; Gregg, Robert J., 'Notes on the Phonology of a County Antrim Scotch-Irish Dialect, Part 2: Diachronic', *Orbis* 8 (1959) 400-424.
- 6 Gregg, Robert J., 'Scotch-Irish Urban Speech in Ulster', in Adams, G. Brendan (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium* (Holywood, 1964), 163 - 192.
- 7 Grant, William, 'Introduction', *Scottish National Dictionary*, volume 1 (1931), xxxvi, xxxviii.
- 8 As pointed out by Mr. Trevor Hill, a member of the LSS at the time in question (1961), the opposite holds good for Ayrshire.
- 9 [See endnote 7.]
- 10 Joseph S. Wright (*English Dialect Grammar*, Oxford, 1905) cites the form /jō/ for ws. Yks., Lin., Lei., w. and s. Wor., n. Wor., Glo., e. Oxf., n. and m. Buck., n. Ken., s. Sur., Sus., I.W., Dor., w. and s. Som., e. Dev. This form /jō/ is also widespread in E. Canada, specifically in Ontario. A letter of inquiry published in 1962 in the *Beeston Gazette and Echo* elicited five replies, all of which confirmed /jō/ (to rhyme with 'Joe') in local use at places such as Ripley and Matlock in Derbyshire; at Fenton in the Potteries near Stoke-on-Trent; at Eastwood and Carrington near Nottingham; at Rainworth and Mansfield in n. Notts.; at Immingham near Grimsby in Lincs. The form /bō/ appears in Wright for se. Nhb., ne. and es. Yks., em., sm., sw., ms. and s. Lan., s. Chs., n. and nw. Der., n. and w. Lin., Cmb., Nrf., c. Dor. It also survives at Fenton and Eastwood, (v.s.). The forms /strō/ and /sθrō/ in Wright are given for sw. Nhb., ms. Lan., se. Yks., em. Lan. It also survives at Fenton and Eastwood, (v.s.).
- 11 Gregg, op. cit. (1964), 186-189.
- 12 Moody, T. W., *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609-1641* (Belfast, 1939); Phillips, T., *Londonderry and the London Companies* (Belfast, 1928).
- 13 Pearson, A. F. Scott, 'Puritan and Presbyterian Settlements in Ireland 1560-1660' (Larmor thesis, unpublished three-volume typescript on deposit at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast).
- 14 Marshall, op. cit.
- 15 Hume, Abraham, *Remarks on the Irish Dialect of the English Language* (Liverpool, 1878).
- 16 *Does be* here reflects the Irish Gaelic *bionn*, the consuetudinal present tense of the verb *bheith* 'to be'.
- 17 The interference of Gaelic in the English of informant Mrs. Gaynor (originally of Magheraneany) was very apparent. The interview with her was unfortunately incomplete.
- 18 For a full account of these diphthongs, see Gregg, Robert J., op. cit. (1964); Gregg, Robert J., 'The Distribution of Raised and Lowered Diphthongs as Reflexes of ME /ɪ/ in two Scotch-Irish Dialects', *Phonologica* (1975); Gregg, Robert J., 'The Diphthongs [əi] and [aɪ] in Scottish, Scotch-Irish, and Canadian English', *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 18 (1973), 136-145.
- 19 Maps (in the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum), compiled by G. Brendan Adams and based on the 1911 census figures for Gaelic speech, show a Gaelic-speaking 'corridor' linking the Glens of Antrim Gaeltacht with the Sperrins Gaeltacht. Such a corridor, stronger in earlier times, must have acted as a barrier between the Scots settlers in N. Antrim and those in central and S. Antrim.
- 20 A sample of this dialect – often quoted locally – is as follows: 'Gi'e yer haan's a rib in the tib an' come in for a kip o' tae'.
- 21 Adams, G. Brendan, 'An Introduction to the Study of Ulster Dialects', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52C1 (1948), 22 ff.
- 22 See many of the maps on which this overflow of Ulster-Scots forms down the eastern side of the tip of the peninsula is a very marked feature, especially with D43 and D44.
- 23 See map in Dami, Aldo, *Frontières Européennes de 1900 à 1975: Histoire Territoriale de l'Europe* (Geneva, 1976).
- 24 Gregg, Robert J., op. cit. (1958, 1959).
- 25 The verb *thrive* is actually a test case. For some speakers it is weak, and they pronounce it [θraev].
- 26 Gregg, Robert J., op. cit. (1958).
- 27 See studies on Donegal Gaelic: Quiggin, E.C., *A Dialect of Donegal* (Cambridge, 1906); Sommerfelt, Alf, 'South Armagh Irish', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap* 2 (1929); Evans, Emrys, 'Some East Ulster Features in Inishowen Irish', *Studia Celtica* 4 (1969); Evans, Emrys, 'The Irish Dialect of Urris, Inishowen, Co. Donegal', *Lochlann* 4 (1970). Compare these to studies of Antrim Gaelic such as Holmer, Nils, *On Some Relics of the Irish Dialect Spoken in the Glens of Antrim* (Uppsala, 1940); Holmer, Nils, *The Irish Language in Rathlin Island, Co. Antrim* (Dublin, 1942), 7-8, 25.
- 28 Hart, H. C., 'Notes on the Ulster Dialect, Chiefly Donegal', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London, 1899).
- 29 Swan, H., *Twixt Foyle and Swilly* (Dublin, 1949).
- 30 Traynor, M., *The English Dialect of Donegal. A Glossary* (Dublin, 1953).
- 31 Cp. the isogloss for DAUGHTER with that for *sheugh*.
- 32 Dialect word-forms are printed in lower case.
- 33 Dialect word-forms are printed in the lower case.
- 34 See Dieth, E., *The Buchan Dialect*, p. 9, Note 2.
- 35 Reported in 1963 by Mr. Trevor Hill, at that time on the staff of the LSS.
- 36 The latter form may reflect interference from the Irish Gaelic *amháin*, phonetically [ə'wə:n].
- 37 See note 8 above.

The Feature ‘Dentality’ in Ulster-Scots Dialects and its Role as a Sociolinguistic Marker*

Robert J. Gregg

It is part of our normal basis of articulation that, in spoken versions of Standard English, we have a large set of coronal consonants – phonetically specified as alveolars, viz., /t, d, n, s, z, l/ – which corresponds to the set of dentals found in many other languages (See Table I, Set A).¹ We have in fact only two coronal consonants – /θ/ and /ð/ – that can accurately be labelled dental or interdental (See Table I, Set B). These two dental consonants are phonologically contrastive with the corresponding alveolar continuants, /s/ and /z/, and it should be observed that, when either of the latter occurs with one of the dentals, *assimilation does not take place*. On the other hand, this small dental set seems to have some kind of hierarchical priority over the other alveolars in the matter of assimilation. Members of the alveolar set – apart from /s/ and /z/ – adjust their articulatory position to a following /θ/ or /ð/, in other words, by a kind of anticipatory coarticulation they acquire a feature that might be called ‘dentality’, marked in Table I, Set B, by the conventional I.P.A. subscript symbol /_̪/.

TABLE I

Set A						
Alveolars	s z	t	d	n	l	ɹ
			↓	↓	↓	(↓)
Set B	Dentals	θ	ð	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Dentals	θ ð	t̪	d̪	n̪	l̪	r̪

The assimilation works regressively across morpheme boundaries, within a word form, e.g.

eit	eight	eɪθ	eighth
waid	wide	wɪðə	width
ten	ten	teŋθ	tenth
wel	well	weɫθ	wealth

This assimilatory rule also operates regressively (as far back as two segments, if the first is /n/ or /l/) across word boundaries as in:

kʌt̪ ðɪs	cut this	haɪd̪ ðæt̪	hide that
bɪ'gʊn̪ ðɪs	begin this	fɪl̪ ðæt̪	fill that
ɹɛnt̪ ðɪs	rent this	bɪld̪ ðæt̪	build that

It should further be noted that, for many speakers, the flapped r [ɾ] – surviving from an earlier phase of English – belongs in Set B, as it is maintained in the environment of a preceding /θ/, whereas preceding alveolars call for the now generalized approximant r [ɹ] thus:

trast trust θrast thrust

In addition to these dental assimilations in contact with /θ/ and /ð/ which are general among native speakers of English, there are several types of dialectal English that have a further domain in which the dentality feature crops up, namely in the environment of a following /r/. The latter dialects include those spoken in

- (1) northwestern England
- (2) southwestern Scotland²
- (3) the whole of Ireland

Since the dialects of English spoken in Ireland derived mainly from (1) and (2), the latter regions may be the source of this extension of the dentality phenomenon. The actual phonetic realization of the dentals (or more accurately the interdentals), however, is identical with the corresponding set of substratum or adstratum Irish Gaelic ‘broad’ (i.e., non-palatalized) dental consonants, frequently transcribed by Celtsists as /T, D, N, L/. These Irish sounds, of course, do not arise from the assimilatory process. They are independent functional units, in phonological contrast with corresponding ‘slender’ (i.e., palatalized) consonants: / t̪, d̪, etc./. It is noteworthy, however, that in loan words from English, Irish Gaelic speakers (e.g., in Donegal) use an alveolar /t/ initially in words like /tɪk̪ed̪/ (from English *ticket*), although alveolar /t/ is foreign to the Irish consonant system. On the other hand they use their ‘broad’ /T/ (i.e., t̪) in contact with /r/ as in the loanword /t̪rəɪsɪk̪əl̪/, which is thus identical with the neighbouring Hiberno-English and Ulster-Scots forms.³

Apart from links with the northern English dialects which may have provided the dentality pattern, it thus looks as if there is a very strong connection with the indigenous Irish Gaelic, whose preference for the ‘broad’ dentals in the proximity of /r/ seems to have influenced all the incoming English and Scottish dialects.

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The occurrence of the dentality feature in the northwest of England was noted almost a century ago by Alexander J. Ellis⁴. It was observed also by many other writers in their descriptions of individual dialects in the northwest region⁵, as well as by Joseph Wright in his *English Dialect Grammar* (1905). Eduard Kolb's *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Region* (1966), based on Harold Orton's dialect survey material, shows that this dentality still persists in NW England down to the present time⁶.

In the earlier dialects of this region that spread to Ireland in the 16th and 17th centuries the occurrence of dentality was probably much more widespread if not universal, for it crops up still in all Hiberno-English dialects, including the Ulster-Scots in the province of Ulster⁷. Thus we find everywhere in Ireland – in the environment of a following /r/ – forms such as:

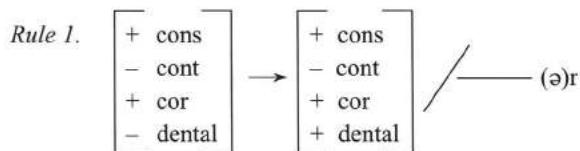
tri: tree 'ladər ladder

For many speakers in the southern Irish provinces, however, the situation is complicated by the fact that the English continuant θ → t (i.e., loses the continuant feature) and ð → d, which means that the two words quoted above are phonologically identical with *three* /tri:/ and *lather* /ləðər/. In contexts other than that of a following /r/ the dental stops, /t/ & /d/, however, as in /tʌn/ *thin* and /ðen/ *then*, are in general phonologically opposed to the simple alveolars as in /tʌn/ *tin* and /ðen/ *den*.

In the dialects of Ulster, whether they originated in England or in Scotland, the dentalized consonants have the same distribution as those of NW England, while /θ/ and /ð/ are generally given their normal articulation as fricatives.

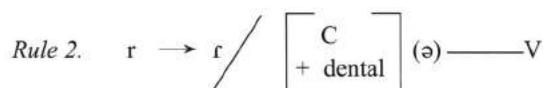
The main purpose of this present study is, first, to explicate linguistically the phonological rules that govern dentalization in two Ulster dialects, viz., Ulster-Scots Rural (U-S R) and Ulster-Scots Urban Non-standard (U-S U N), and to discuss the sociolinguistic implications of its use in these dialects *vis-à-vis* Ulster-Scots Urban Standard (U-S U S) speech, in which this type of dentality never occurs.

The most general rule can be simply stated as follows:

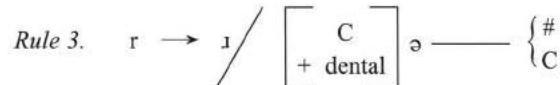


i.e., immediately before /r/ (or /ə + r/), the alveolars /t, d, n/ become /t̪, d̪, n̪/ respectively.

At this point a corollary needs to be stated thus:



and an ‘elsewhere’ rule:



i.e., the unspecified underlying form of /r/ is realized at the surface level as a flap – [r] – when preceded by a dentalized consonant and followed by a vowel, whether or not a schwa intervenes between the dentalized consonant and the /r/. In other environments, namely when final or before a consonant, the /r/ is realized as a continuant – [ɪ], for example:

Exx 1

tri: tree draɪ dry heŋre Henry

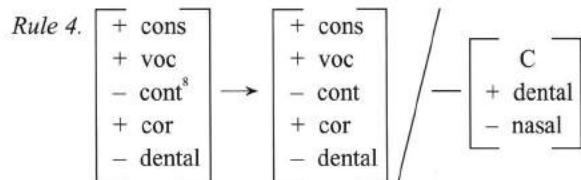
Exx 2

batərə battery ʃʌðərən shuddering skʌðərən sickening

Exx 3

bʌtər butter ʃʌðərd shuddered skʌðərə sicken

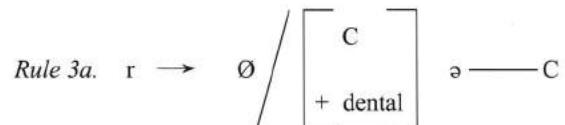
A special rule is needed to cover the case of the lateral:



i.e., alveolar l becomes l immediately before another dentalized consonant (t̪ or d̪) as in:

Exx 4 ʃɛltər shelter 'bo:lðər boulder

Note in relation to Rule 3 that there is an optional rule as follows:



e.g., ʃʌðəd shuddered is in free variation with ʃʌðərd.

Unlike the general rules for assimilation in standard English outlined at the beginning of this discussion, the special Ulster dialect rules for dentalization do not operate across a perceived morpheme boundary. This difference leads to internal and external dialectal contrasts such as the following:

		U-S Urban (standard)	U-S Urban (non-standard)	U-S Rural
flatter	(< flat)	t	t	t
flatter	(vb.)	t	t̪	t̪
better	(< bet)	t	t̪	t
better	(< good)	t	t̪ ⁹	t̪
assist 'er		t	t	t
a sister		t	t̪	t̪
starter	(< start)	t	t	t
barter		t	t̪	t̪
quilter	(< quilt)	lt	lt	lt
filter		lt	lt̪	lt̪
sprinter	(< sprint)	nt	nt	nt
splinter		nt̪	nt̪	nt̪
redder	(< red)	d	d	d
rudder		d̪	d̪	d̪
rider	(< ride)	d	d̪	d̪
spider		d̪	d̪	d̪
recorder	(< record, vb.)	d	d	d
order		d̪	d̪	d̪
builder	(< build)	ld	ld	ld
bewilder		ld̪	ld̪	ld̪
spender	(< spend)	nd	nd	nd
fender		nd̪	nd̪	nd̪

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to summarize the social distribution within the Ulster dialect system, and the sociolinguistic implications of the dentality feature described and analysed above. All forms of the standard language and all dialects share the general assimilatory processes in contact with /θ/ and /ð/ outlined at the beginning of this study. No contrasts emerge in this area, and thus speakers are in general quite unaware of the dentalization involved. On the other hand, only the rural and non-standard urban dialects share the dentality feature Rules 1-4 above, which consequently form a contrast with the standard urban speech.

As a result of this distribution, speakers of all these Ulster dialects tend to be – consciously or subconsciously – aware of the dentality involved with these rules. For educated urban speakers it is a clear-cut marker of non-standard or rural dialect and hence stigmatized. It belongs to what they would call 'talking broad'. With non-standard urban speakers, conflict may arise, for, as part of the normal education

process, they are under pressure – among other things – to give up their dentality. If they are interested in upward social mobility it is mandatory. For girls this seems easier to accept than for boys, who may feel that the non-dental forms sound affected or snobbish.

The country dweller who speaks a broad rural dialect has a different problem. As part of his education he has to become bidialectal by learning the standard language which, of course, has the non-dental forms that he will be expected to acquire. To him it is perhaps clearest that each style of speech has its proper place. What *he* scorns is the pretentious rural speaker who mincingly tries to imitate standard urban speech but keeps mixing it up with his broad dialect. This is called speaking 'silk and drugged'¹⁰. Equally to be scorned – he thinks – is the urban speaker who mixes styles when he attempts to use dialect words, pronouncing [skʌnərɪ] instead of [skʌnərɪ] 'sicken', [galdərɪ] instead of [gʌldərɪ] 'an incoherent shout' or [tuɔ:x] instead of [trɔ:x] 'trough'. Only the skilled and sensitive bidialectal speaker will know how to switch the dentality rules so that his speech is suitable to all social environments, and he avoids the opprobrious possibility that every time he opens his mouth some other Ulsterman will despise him.

Notes

- 1 The term *basis of articulation* is a translation of the German term *Artikulationsbasis*, used in the late 19th century to refer to the concept (elaborated by phoneticians such as Eduard Sievers, Otto Jespersen, Henry Sweet, etc.) that for each language variety there is a characteristic articulatory configuration of the speech organs:
 - For English, styled as *cacuminal*, i.e., with the tip of the tongue raised towards the alveoli and with the upper tongue surface concave
 - For French and German, *dorsal*, with the tongue tip in contact with the lower front teeth and the upper surface of the tongue convex
 - For Irish Gaelic, *rim* articulation, with the tongue flat and spread laterally.
 Nowadays, with the improved facilities provided by the modern electronic equipment of our phonetics laboratories, this concept has been refined and extended, and the currently preferred term is *articulatory setting*. [See Beatrice Honikman (1964) and John Laver (1984)].
- 2 The advancement of alveolars to a dental or interdental articulation in the environment of a following /θə/r/ is not so well documented for Scotland as it is for Ireland and NW England. It is, however, said to be characteristic of some southwestern Scottish dialects (the main source of Ulster-Scots speech). See T. Wright (1929). The dentality phenomenon is also described by William Grant (1914), who attributes it to Gaelic speakers (Note that Ayrshire and Galloway still had remnants of Gaelic speech in the 17th century or later). The main purpose of Grant's book is to 'correct the faults' of Scottish teachers in training who were expected to acquire a 'standard' pronunciation.
- 3 The Donegal Irish examples were given to the writer by Dónall Ó Baoill in a personal communication. See also D. Ó Baoill (1975), 19 ff., for contrastive examples in Gaelic. A detailed description of the articulation and distribution of the Irish dentals in an Inishowen (NE Donegal) dialect may be found in Emrys Evans (1970).
- 4 Ellis, Alexander J., *On Early English Pronunciation* (London, 1889), 542-3.
- 5 CUMBERLAND: *Penrith* (P. H. Reaney, 1927); *Lorton* (B. Brilioth, 1913)
WESTMORLAND: *Kendal* (T. O. Hirst, 1906)
LANCASHIRE: *Adlington* (A. Hargreaves, 1904)
YORKSHIRE: *Hackness* (G. C. Cowling, 1915); *Nidderdale* (M. L. Annakin, 1922)
Note that the county boundaries have recently been re-drawn to create the new entity named *Cumbria*.
- 6 Kolb, Eduard, *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Region* (Bern, 1966). A review article on Kolb's *Atlas* (G. B. Adams, 1967) draws attention to the dentality feature common to Ulster dialects and those, particularly of the western part of the region, mapped by Kolb.
- 7 See Henry, P. L. (1957), 54 ff; Gregg, R. J. (1958), 401 & 405; Gregg, R. J. (1964), 184 ff.; Todd, L. (1970), 22, 30 & 31; Nally, E. V. (1971), 36-38; Sullivan J. P. (1976), 61-72.
- 8 The feature 'continuant' is questionable for the lateral [see Chomsky, Noam, & Morris Halle, *Sound Pattern of English* (1968), 318]. See also Wells, J. C., 'A Scots Diphthong and the Feature "Continuant"' in *JIPA* 1:1 (1971).
- 9 In this case the form *better*, being irregularly derived from *good*, is perceived by rural and non-standard urban speakers as a solid morpheme.
- 10 The word *drugget* (pronounced /drʌgət/, of course, by the rural US speaker) refers to a coarse, woollen material.

A Brief Guide to Ulster-Scots*

G. Brendan Adams

Origin and History

Scots is the northerly form of Northumbrian English which became differentiated from the dialects of northern England and even more from those of other parts of England following the stabilization of the Scottish border in the 13th century. Its original core area lay between the River Tweed and the Firth of Forth, whence it spread in two directions: (1) westwards to Strathclyde, where it replaced Cumbro-Welsh, then to Galloway, where it replaced Gaelic and Norse and finally to Ulster, where it replaced Irish and blended with other types of English; and (2) northwards to Fife and Angus, where it replaced Cumbro-Welsh and Pictish, then to Buchan, where it replaced Gaelic, and finally to Caithness, Orkney and Shetland where it replaced Norse. Slowly since the 18th century and then more rapidly since the end of the 19th century it has faced competition on its home ground from standard English spoken with a Scots accent. It reached Ulster in the 17th century and has survived as the rural speech of three areas while influencing the development of Ulster English over a much wider area. These three areas were delineated by Professor R. J. Gregg in 1960 as follows:

1. Most of Antrim and the adjacent north-east quarter of Londonderry, with a short north-eastern boundary running in a circle from Ballycastle to Carnlough against a small area where English replaced Irish roughly between 1830 and 1930, and a long south-western boundary running from just north of Whitehead through Straid, Parkgate, Carnerney, Portglenone, Ringsend to Myroe on Lough Foyle;
2. The north-eastern quarter of Down bounded by a line running from Groomsport past Conlig, Ballymiscaw, Gilnahirk, Drumbo, Annahilt, Derryboy, and across Strangford to Ardkeen and Cloughy;
3. The north-eastern quarter of Donegal bounded by a line running from Muff to Inch and across Lough Swilly through Milford, Kilmacrennan, Churchill and Ballindrait to the Foyle, bounding on Irish or the English which has replaced it during the last sixty years on the north and west, and on other forms of English to the east and south.

Throughout this area, but especially in the towns, it is in competition with various forms of Ulster English, on the development of which, however, it has exercised some influence. The total rural population of these three areas is about 170,000, not all of whom would be speakers of Ulster-Scots, though some of the latter would be resident in towns within the area. Almost all speakers of Ulster-Scots are now bialectal, using the regional form of standard English, or a close approximation to it, as an alternative to their native dialect under certain circumstances. Some are more conscious of the difference between dialect and standard usage than others and are better able to switch from one to the other according to their audience.

Literary Use of Ulster-Scots

In the 18th and 19th centuries there was a limited degree of literary cultivation of Ulster-Scots, particularly by local poets, parallel to that of Scots in Scotland and mainly in north-east Down, east Antrim and mid-Antrim. Local poets who flourished, mainly between 1770 and 1870, were Samuel Thompson of Carngranny, Francis Boyle of Gransha, Andrew McKenzie of Dunover, Hugh Porter of Moneyloan, Peter Burns of Kilwarlin, William Bleakley of Ballinaskeagh, Joseph Carson of Kilpike, Robert Huddlestone of Moneyreagh, Hugh Tynan of Donaghadee, Henry Fletcher of Moneyrea, James Orr of Ballycarry, Thomas Beggs of Ballyclare, David Herbison of Dunclug, James Campbell of Ballynure, John McKinley of Dunseverick, Thomas Given of Cullybackey, and Sarah Leech – the only woman among them and the only vernacular writer from east Donegal. Prose is more scantily represented by *The McIlwham Letters*, written from Rathfriland to James McKnight, editor of the *Belfast News-Letter*, and *Robin's Readings* by W. G. Lyttle of north Down. In the present century this local vernacular literary tradition has become much thinner, but is represented by John Clifford of Larne.

Spelling

There is no established orthographic system for the spelling of Ulster-Scots in literary use, and indeed one object of this paper is to make some tentative suggestions for a system of Ulster-Scots spelling. Two aspects need to be considered:

* Unpublished typescript on deposit at Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, c.1967.

(a) *The Scottish Background*

Scots and English developed their standard literary forms from the 14th century onwards. There were minor phonetic differences – which increased with the passage of time in some cases – in the pronunciation of individual single letters, but in principle they each represented the same phonemes and differed only where English and Scots used different phonemes in a given phonological situation, e.g. English *stone* versus Scots *stane*. The main difference was in the use of digraphs and trigraphs for sounds not distinguished by the traditional alphabet. Scots used the trigraphs *sch*, *tch*, *quh* for the English digraphs *sh*, *ch*, *wh*, and *ch* in place of *gh*, which later became silent or came to be pronounced like *f* in English but retained its original velar fricative sound in Scots. Among the vowels Scots used *ui* or in certain cases *eu* where English used *oo*; *ae* was used for English *oe*, particularly when final; Scots distinguished between *ei* or *ou*, which were long vowels like modern English *ee* and *oo*, and the diphthongs *ey* or *ow*, whereas in English *ey* and *ow* had the same sounds as *ei* and *ou*, being merely positional variants as in the case of *ai/ay* and *au/aw* and *oi/oy*; Scots did not use *ea* and *oa* to distinguish what were originally more open long vowels than *ee* and *oo*.

During the 17th century when the use of Scots as a separate literary language was declining, English spelling conventions increasingly invaded the spelling of Scots written records. When Alan Ramsay began the Scots literary revival early in the 18th century by republishing the works of older Scots poets, he adopted most of these features as modernizations of their older spelling, and in the course of the 18th century these innovations became general among writers of Scots. The English *sh*, *ch*, *wh* were adopted instead of older Scots *sch*, *tch*, *quh*, though *ch* generally survived to indicate what had become a different pronunciation from English *gh*. Among the vowel digraphs English spellings were generally adopted where Scots and English pronunciation were alike, though Scots spellings were generally retained where pronunciations differed, but there was variation from one writer to another.

In the present century writers have broadly followed the precedents established in the 18th and 19th centuries, but there have been two sources of dissent from this practice. Firstly, some writers have reverted to the distinctive practices of older Scots, even when they do not necessarily indicate distinctive Scots pronunciations. Secondly, writers of the more divergent Scots dialects, especially north-eastern and north-insular Scots, have frequently diverged from more traditional spellings to indicate distinctive local pronunciations in much the same manner that English dialect writers do in writing in the local dialects of northern England.

(b) *The Ulster Situation*

The regional form of standard English which is in competition with Scots in Scotland and which has almost replaced it in certain sections of Scottish society is pronounced with a Scottish accent whose phonetic features are derived from Scots. In working out an orthography for any form of Scots, even those dialects that differ more than most from the general norm, many distinctive features do not need to be specially represented since all Scots, whether Scots dialect speakers or speakers of Scottish English, would pronounce them alike.

The situation of Ulster-Scots is different. Within its own immediate local area, indeed, there are people who speak the regional form of standard English with an Ulster-Scots accent, so that their standard and dialect pronunciations have exactly the same phonetic basis. In general, however, the regional form of standard English is spoken with the generalized type of northern Hiberno-English accent whose phonetics derive from western forms of early modern English adjusted to the original speech habits of those who acquired it over the last couple of centuries or more, whether their original language was Irish or Scots as spoken beyond the present limits of the Ulster-Scots dialect area. It follows that the phonetic basis of the majority of speakers of the regional form of standard English is rather different from that of Ulster-Scots and that certain spelling differences between Scots and English in Ulster are desirable which are not necessary between the two in Scotland.

The point may be illustrated by considering the two words *rat* and *rot*. In English, including standard English and many local dialects in Ulster, they are both pronounced with short vowels, an open front-spread vowel [rat] in *rat* and an open back vowel with very little or no lip-rounding [rat] in *rot*. In Ulster-Scots, Scottish Scots and standard English in Scotland they are pronounced respectively as fairly long vowels, open back unrounded [ra:t] in the case of *rat* and half-open back rounded [rɔ:t] in the case of *rot*. In Scottish Scots these words simply retain their traditional spelling since there is no difference between Scots and standard English in Scotland in their pronunciation, and it is accepted that the Scottish and Anglo-English pronunciation of standard English differ somewhat phonetically. In Ulster the Ulster-Scots pronunciation of each word differs from the regional form of standard English and from other forms of dialect English spoken in the region, so it seems logical to change the spelling even though this imposes a seemingly unnecessary spelling difference between Ulster-Scots and Scottish Scots. Otherwise the proper pronunciation of Ulster-Scots would not be clear to the majority of people in Ulster. There are two ways in which this can be done:

1. Retain the traditional spelling but place a circumflex accent over the vowel-letter, *rât*, *rôt*, to warn the general reader that the dialect pronunciation is different, which may have some advantage in retaining the general appearance of words but gives no clue as to what the difference in pronunciation is since such accents do not form part of English orthographic tradition.
2. Change the spelling to *raat* and *raut*, which express the differences in pronunciation in terms that are intelligible to the general reader. In this work we follow this second practice, with the reservation that we confine this orthographic device to words of one or two syllables and do not extend it to the long polysyllabic words of Latin and Greek origin which do not form part of the every-day dialect vocabulary but where of course such pronunciation-spellings would be equally valid.

The operation of this rule adds to the number of distinctive Ulster-Scots word-forms as compared with standard English

and also – on paper at least if not in pronunciation – as compared with traditional Scots, but there is another source of difference from traditional Scots, namely new phonetic developments of certain Scots sounds in Ulster. For example, Scots *ui* – corresponding to English *oo* – has become unrounded either to the sound of *ae* when remaining long or to a short *i* sound when shortened, as it usually is in Scots, thus *shae* ‘shoe’, but *shin* ‘shoes’, from *shuin*. To retain the latter traditional Scots spelling would hardly convey the pronunciation (despite words like *build*, *guilt*), so *shae*, *shin* must be established as the Ulster-Scots forms irrespective of what is written in Scotland. There are of course some local Scots dialects in Scotland where exactly the same sound-change has taken place. The short unrounded *ui* then usually falls together with original short *i*, which in Scotland is a lower and more retracted sound than in England. In Ulster-Scots, however, this is not the case because original short *i* has become so much lowered and retracted that it is pronounced like Ulster English short *a*, thus original Scots *shuin* and *shin* become *shin* and *shann* respectively in Ulster-Scots. In the latter case it is generally desirable to double the consonant after *a* to emphasize that this vowel is short, partly to distinguish Ulster-Scots words from standard English words of like sound but different meaning, e.g. *fatt* ‘fit’ versus standard English ‘fat’, which would be *faat* in Ulster-Scots, and partly because traditional short *a*, while short in some words, has become lengthened in others in Ulster English pronunciation, whereas this new Ulster-Scots short *a*, arising from historical short *i* by lowering and backing, is always short. Thus in Ulster-Scots we write: *batt* ‘bit’, *badd* ‘bid’, *baat* ‘bat’, *baad* ‘bad’, with single *a* standing for a short front, or fairly front, vowel and *aa* standing for a longish back vowel. The Scots phrase *a guid bit* has become *a gid batt* in Ulster-Scots. In this matter Ulster-Scots resembles some of the more marginal Scots dialects in Scotland itself which have undergone special local developments in pronunciation differentiating them from traditional standard literary Scots.

To summarise the spelling of vowel sounds, there are four possible relationships between Ulster-Scots and English:

1. Both may have the same vowel sound, as pronounced in the regional standard English of Ulster, or at least a sound of the same quality though there may be slight variation in length depending on the nature of the following consonant or on the presence or absence of a following syllable. In such cases the standard English spelling of the vowel is retained except where a traditional Scots spelling would not be ambiguous for the general reader.
2. They may have different vowel sounds, with Ulster-Scots retaining an old traditional difference between Scots and English. In such cases traditional Scots spelling should be used, providing it is not ambiguous for the general reader; if it is, then the form should be respelt in standard English spelling conventions, e.g. *toun* may be allowed to stand for ‘town’ (instead of writing *toon*, though the latter is valid if desired), but *hoose* must be written for ‘house’. Otherwise the sound would not be clear, though it could be argued that *hous* might pass, since it is visually different from *house*.

3. They may have different vowel sounds, with Ulster-Scots retaining the traditional Scots vowel-sound which, however, differs from the vowel-sound of English origin used in other types of Ulster speech, e.g. *raat* for ‘rat’, *raut* for ‘rot’. Such words are respelt according to English spelling conventions to indicate their Ulster-Scots pronunciation even though no such respelling is considered necessary for Scots in Scotland.
4. They may have different vowel sounds, with Ulster-Scots differing also from Scottish Scots because of new local sound-changes. Such words are respelt according to the spelling conventions of standard English as pronounced in Ulster, e.g. *batt* ‘bit’, *badd* ‘bid’.

It should be noted that there are some words which are not respelt even though their Ulster-Scots pronunciation may differ slightly from their pronunciation in the standard English of Ulster, either because the phonetic difference is very slight or because there is no satisfactory way of representing it in ordinary spelling. This may be illustrated by words containing the blocked, i.e. traditionally short vowels, such as *rat*, *ret*, *writ*, *rot*, *rut*. Three of these are respelt as *raat* ‘rat’, *wrott* ‘writ’, *raut* ‘rot’, but the other two remain unchanged. In the case of ‘*ret*’, the vowel is of the same quality in Ulster-Scots and most forms (except certain broad urban varieties) of English in Ulster, being however always long in Ulster-Scots, but either variable in length according to the nature of the following consonant or always short in some areas in other types of Ulster English. Since there is no simple way of expressing differences in length that do not also involve differences in quality, the spelling of words containing historical short *e* when it is common to English and Ulster-Scots is not affected. In the case of *rut* the vowel is always short everywhere in Ulster, but its quality varies. In Ulster-Scots it has the same half-open back-central unrounded sound as in Scottish Scots. In other forms of English in Ulster it is rounded and is either half-open (as in east Ulster) or has the tongue raised to the half-close position (as in central and west Ulster), but these distinctions of quality cannot be represented in ordinary spelling so they are ignored and the spelling of such words remains unchanged.

It should be noted that certain little words which are always unstressed in pronunciation retain their traditional spelling unchanged, and likewise the unstressed syllables of longer words. Some monosyllables vary in pronunciation according as they are stressed or unstressed. In such cases the Ulster-Scots stressed pronunciation may differ enough for respelling of the stressed form to be desirable, though the traditional form may be retained when the word is unstressed.

One last point must be mentioned with regard to the spelling of vowel sounds. Scots, whether in Scotland or in Ulster, makes a distinction in the pronunciation of diphthongal ‘long’ *i* which is not made in English. Finally and before voiced fricative consonants and *r*, and also before the suffix *d*, it is a wide diphthong, phonetically [ai] or [ae], whereas in other positions it is a narrow diphthong, phonetically [ɛi] or [ɛɪ]. This distinction is normally ignored in traditional Scots spelling, though the narrow diphthong can also occur finally and before all consonants where it has a different origin, e.g.

corresponding to the English vowel usually written *ai* or *ay*. There is thus a distinction between *tide* [teid] and *tied* [taid], the latter having the wide diphthong because the *d* is a suffix, which should be represented in spelling, especially in the Ulster context where in other forms of Ulster English only the narrow diphthong occurs. It seems best to retain standard English spelling with *i, y, ie, ye* for the narrow sound [ɛɪ] and to devise a new means of writing the wide sound [aɪ], for which *aai, aay, aaie, aaye* appear feasible, thus we write *taaied* for the Ulster-Scots form of ‘tied’, but *tide* does not need to be changed.

Much less need be said about the spelling of the consonants. Ulster-Scots has 32 different consonantal phonemes as against the 24 of standard Anglo-English, but some of the other English dialects of Ulster have as many as 36 and even the regional form of standard English in Ulster has 28. The extra sounds are the following: (1) the voiceless bilabial resonant and the voiceless velar fricative, represented respectively by the digraphs *wh* and *gh* in standard English orthography, but both lost in Anglo-English pronunciation though both preserved in Scots; in the regional standard variety of Ulster English *wh* is preserved, though in some local dialects, e.g. Belfast working-class speech, it has been lost by falling together with *f* in pronunciation; (2) palatalized *l* and *n* (like Spanish *ll* and *ñ* or Italian *gli* and *gn* or Irish *ill* and *inn*), which replace English *l* and *n* plus ‘yod’ (the semi-vowel *y* or *i* before another vowel); (3) the emphatic dentals, i.e. *t, d, l, n* pronounced interdentally (tip of tongue between teeth) or ambidentally (tip of tongue behind lower teeth and blade of tongue against upper teeth) instead of with the light alveolar tap of the tongue-tip against the upper teeth-ridge. In Ulster-Scots the emphatics occur only before *r*, either immediately or with an intervening unstressed vowel, but the plain alveolar dentals may also occur in this position distinguishing words of different meaning, so they should be distinguished in spelling as separate phonemes. Emphatic *t* and *d* do not, however, replace fricative *th* in Ulster-Scots as happens in southern Hiberno-English, as in Ulster English generally historical *th* retains its voiceless and voiced fricative sounds. In the regional standard form of Ulster English emphatic *t, d, l, n* are normally lost, and replaced by the normal alveolar sounds, though most speakers can reproduce them in using dialect words or imitating dialect speech.

Overt and Covert Scots Features in Ulster Speech*

G. Brendan Adams

Scots and English are historically two dialects of one original language. At a certain point in their history, however, between the 15th and 17th centuries, they had diverged so far and were each so well established in their respective domains that they could be regarded as two languages, rather like Danish and Norwegian. Thereafter convergence set in again owing to the changed relationships between the two countries and the geographical expansion of English¹.

In the 17th century, towards the end of the period of greatest divergence, both were brought to Ulster by considerable numbers of native-speakers of each. Both in due time expanded at the expense of Irish, itself considerably influenced by Scottish Gaelic in the northern and eastern parts of Ulster. Then English began to encroach on Scots within Ulster, but the manner in which this happened differed from the position in Scotland.

In Scotland, English in the narrower sense was an imported prestige language which filtered very slowly down the social scale and from the printed word outwards to the spoken word as a language that one might read but would not normally speak, so that eventually what displaced Scots – in so far as it was displaced – was a regional variety of standard English spoken with a Scots accent. Scots remained at first the spoken language of government from the local level upwards, though not the written language of government, which during the 17th century was progressively anglicized, except in so far as those involved allowed the written style gradually to creep into their formal speech. From the 18th century onwards there was a limited revival of Scots for certain types of literary composition alongside the more general use of English as the written language. Until very recently Scots continued only very slowly to encroach on Gaelic round the margins of the Gaelic-speaking area. The recent rapid language-shift, however, has produced the phenomenon of Highland English, that is, near-standard English spoken with a Highland – originally Gaelic-based – accent in most of that area. Above all, however, there was no mass immigration of English-speakers into Scotland.

In Ulster the position was rather different. At first Scots and English both encroached on Irish, though in different areas. The Scots were originally more numerous than the English, perhaps as much as five or six times as numerous. The relative distribution of the two elements varied considerably, and in east Ulster at least the Scots continued to

keep up a close connection with Scotland. In some areas the Scots formed the great bulk of the immigrants and in due time their language came to prevail in such areas. Basic examples are those areas delineated by Prof. R. J. Gregg where an Ulster-Scots dialect is still spoken. Elsewhere the Scots and the English were more mixed, with one group or the other predominating and their combined speech encroaching on the Irish-speaking population, who might acquire a mixture of Scots and English features which they then passed on to the next generation. English was not only the language of the printed word. It was also the language of government from the local level upwards since this was confined on denominational grounds to the Anglo-Irish, who were either of English origin or people of the most varied origins who conformed to their standards as far as possible in language, religion and much else. There was indeed some literary use of Scots in the 18th and 19th centuries but it was confined to the central part of east Ulster and to a narrower social milieu than in Scotland. Though this has continued to a very limited extent at dialect level down to the present, there was no conscious association in Ulster with the Scots or Lallans literary revival that took place in Scotland in the first half of this century. The role of Scots in Ulster has thus been less prominent than in Scotland, but it has been widely diffused in the total spread of the English language (in the wider sense) in Ulster.

The principal contribution to the study of Ulster-Scots has been made by Prof. R. J. Gregg in his various works defining the area in which a Scots-type dialect is now spoken in Ulster². Yet from the nature of his work he has been concerned with recording Scots in its purest surviving form, with the result that he has not really examined features of Scots origin that are more widely diffused into areas which on his definition could hardly now be described as Scots-speaking. This is the type of problem that we are concerned to touch on here rather briefly by defining some of the Scots features that one is likely to find in areas no longer reckoned by Gregg as basically Scots-speaking. These features are almost entirely phonological. Scots words exist in plenty, but many have spread far beyond areas where Scots was normally spoken. Others have shrunk in use even within the Ulster-Scots dialect areas. Each word tends to have its own geography. In looking at the phonology, however, no attempt will be made to define the wider Scots areas exactly. This must await transcription, which has already begun, of the results of our Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Dialects³.

* Unpublished typescript on deposit at Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, c.1967.

As the argument in this paper depends on matters of pronunciation, it will be helpful to begin by stating how we propose to indicate the different vowel-sounds under discussion. The consonants are hardly involved. Vowels are described by the positions which the tongue takes up in the mouth-space when uttering them. Nine terms are used to explain this: 'front', 'central' and 'back' to denote the placing of the tongue in characteristic positions from near the teeth towards the back of the mouth; 'close', 'half-close', 'half-open' and 'open' to denote relative tongue-height from when the mouth is almost closed with the tongue near the palate to when it is wide open with the tongue lowered and 'spread' and 'rounded' to denote the contour of the lips when they are not neutral. Two more terms, of Hebrew origin, are used for special purposes: the Hebrew letter-name 'yod' denotes the consonantal sound found in e.g. *feud*, which has the same vowel as *food* but with 'yod' before it and might be written *fyood*. The Hebrew vowel-name 'shwa' denotes the indefinite vowel-sound we make when hesitating and not sure what to say next. It is also a common sound in English for all the written vowel-letters when they occur in unstressed syllables.

The mouth-space in which vowel-sounds are formed is of

irregular quadrilateral shape, and the relative tongue-positions for each vowel differ from one region to another. In Ulster they are approximately as in chart I. The code-words used on the chart to denote the vowels we are talking about are of two kinds, with different consonantal frame-works: *p-t* and *f-l*. The first group contains vowels that were historically always short, though in Ulster some of them are now often long. There are six of them and they distinguish e.g. the words *pat*, *pet*, *pit*, *pot*, *putt*, *put*. Any two of these words are called minimal pairs because their different vowels are the minimal phonetic features used to denote different meanings. Sounds that denote distinctive meanings in a minimal pair are called phonemes. The second group contains vowels that were originally always long or diphthongal. A diphthong is a sound in which the tongue shifts from one position to another. There are eight of these phonemes and they distinguish e.g. the words *feel*, *fail*, *fall*, *foal*, *fool*, *file*, *fowl*, *foil*. In all the vowel phonemes on the chart the tongue has a fixed position except those with an arrow leading from their starting-point towards the end-point in the movement of the tongue. These are the diphthongs. Some varieties of English have more diphthongs and fewer simple vowels than we have in Ulster.

CHART 1: Ulster Vowels

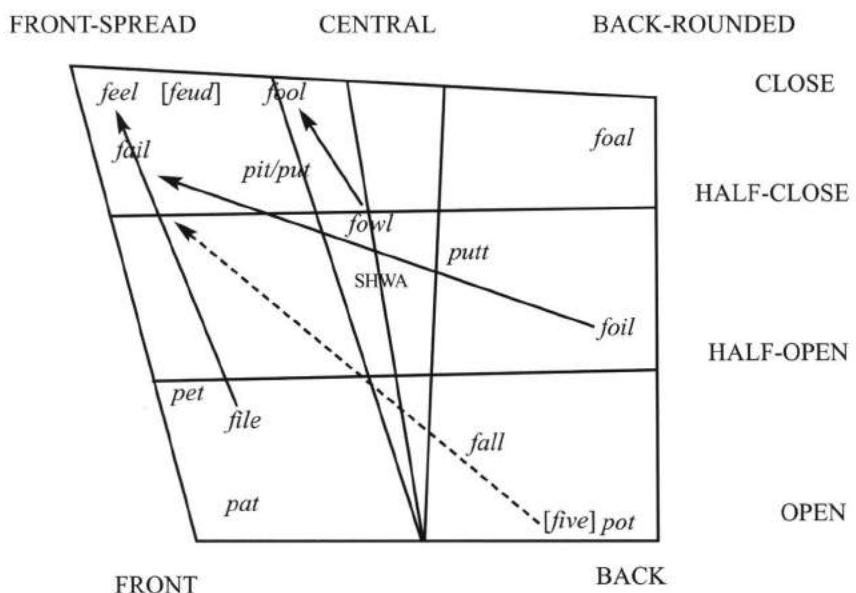
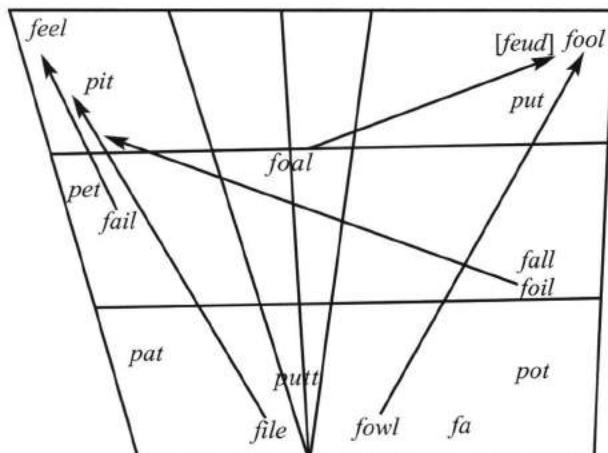


CHART 2: English (RP) Vowels



When different people have a slightly different pronunciation of a phoneme, these are said to be its diaphonic variants. Some people of course use completely different phonemes in a given word, but that is another matter. An important diaphonic variant of the *file*-vowel which occurs in certain words only as a covert Scots feature with some speakers in certain areas is shown in square brackets on the chart as the *five*-vowel. This is a wide diphthong with a much lower and more retracted starting-point than the *file*-vowel. It is not used by most people in Ulster. In my own pronunciation *five* has the same phoneme as *file*. Where the wider retracted sound occurs as a diaphonic variant of this, we might write it as *faaive*. But for the people who have this sound it is an extra phoneme, because they use the ordinary Ulster *file*-vowel in other words and minimal pairs can be found which prove that for them the two sounds are separate phonemes. To speakers who have only the one sound, this extra one is an allophonic variant where it occurs.

When a phoneme has slightly different pronunciations owing to the influence of adjacent sounds, especially certain consonants, these variants are said to be its allophones. One important allophone is shown on the charts, in square brackets, in the word *feud*. This has the *fool*-vowel, as in *food*, but because it is preceded by the 'yod' sound, as if written *fyoode*, its tongue-position is more advanced than usual. In fact, it is almost identical with that of the *feel*-vowel, but has lip-rounding instead of lip-spreading. In the same way the *pit*- and *put*-vowels have the same tongue-position, but the latter has lip-rounding whereas the former has not. These are, however, separate phonemes.

With one exception the phonemes in *p-t* words must be followed by a consonant whereas the phonemes in *f-l* words can stand finally or before another vowel when another syllable is added. For example, the traditional names of the vowel-letters of the ordinary alphabet all end in a phoneme of the latter type. The exception is the *pat*-vowel, which now stands, lengthened in pronunciation, at the end of a few words of fairly recent origin, such as children's words like *pa*, *ma*, *da*, *ba*; exclamations and imitatives like *ah*, *bah*, *baa*, *blah*, *ha*, *yah*; musical note-names like *fa*, *la*; contractions like *bra*; and loanwords like *fleadh* 'musical competition' (from Irish), which rhymes with the foregoing. In Ulster these have the *pat*-vowel, whereas some other forms of English use an extra different phoneme, pronounced further back in the mouth, shown on chart II as the *fa*-vowel from the name of the musical note.

Chart II shows, for comparison with the Ulster vowels on Chart I, the vowel-system of present-day southern English Received Pronunciation (RP). By comparing the two charts one can see how much Ulster English and RP have diverged [from a common ancestor] since the 17th century. The vowels in *foil*¹ and *feel* are the only two vowel-phonemes that are virtually the same (not counting frequent shortening of the latter in Ulster), but as it happens these two words are not identical in English and Ulster pronunciation because the Ulster *l* is a 'clearer' sound than the English *l*. Among the thousand most frequently used words in the English language 7.5 per cent have the *feel*-vowel, not counting those where it is modified by a following *r*, and 0.9 per cent have the *foil*-vowel. If this group of words is typical of the vocabulary as a whole, it follows that English and Ulster speech have identical vowel sounds in approximately only one-twelfth of all words uttered. In eleven-twelfths of everything uttered the

texture of southern English and of Ulster speech differs phonetically, whether the latter is of English or Scots origin.

In defining the Ulster-Scots dialect area, Gregg took fourteen linguistic features as criteria for demarcating Scots from English. These were: one grammatical feature, the use of the Scots negative suffix *-nae* in auxiliary verbs in place of the colloquial English *-n't*; one consonantal feature, the preservation of the voiceless velar fricative, the so-called *egh*-sound, which is lost in standard English; and a dozen situations in which the Scots distribution of vowel-phonemes prevails over the English distribution. These may be briefly summarised as follows:

1. use of the *feel*-vowel, written *ei* in traditional Scots orthography or with English *ee* where *ei* would be confusing,
 - (a) for the *file*-vowel in words like *dee* 'die', *ee* 'eye', *heegh* (with audible *gh*) 'high', *breear* 'briar'
 - (b) for the *fail*-vowel in words like *bleize* 'blaze', *mere* 'mare'
 - (c) for the *pet*-vowel in words like *heid* 'head', *sweit* 'sweat', *frein* 'friend', *deid* 'dead', *weel* 'well' (adverb)
 - (d) for the *pit*-vowel in words like *seik* 'sick', *leive* 'live', *gee* 'give'
 - (e) for the *fool*-, *put*-, and *putt*-vowels in certain areas only (east Donegal, mid Ards, east-central Down) in words like *bleid* 'blood', *shein* 'shoes', *A hae loast ma geed beets abeen the skeel* 'I have lost my good boots above the school', as the small boy reported to his mother after taking off his rather too tight new boots to play in the long grass where he then could not find them.
2. use of the *fail*-vowel, variously written orthographically,
 - (a) for the *foal*-vowel in words like *hame* 'home', *stane* 'stone', *baith* 'both', *raip* 'rope', *tae* 'toe', *mair* 'more', *maist* 'most', *nae* 'no' (adjective), *bane* 'bone', *alane* 'alone'
 - (b) for the *feel*-vowel in words like *baest* 'beast', *raison* 'reason'
 - (c) for the *fall*-vowel in words like *braid* 'broad', *strae* 'straw'
 - (d) for the *pet*-vowel in words like *saiven* 'seven', *shaid* 'shed'
 - (e) for the *pat*- and *pit*-vowels in *hae* 'have' and *wae* 'with'
3. use of the *pet*-vowel
 - (a) for the *pat*-vowel before *ck*, *g* and *ng* in many words like *flex* 'flax', *leck* 'lack', *beg* 'bag', *cleng* 'clang'; and in a number of other words such as *kemp* 'camp', *kesk* 'cask', this, however, being an east Antrim feature which is not universal throughout the Ulster-Scots-speaking area in many of these words
 - (b) for the *pit*-vowel in words such as *denner* 'dinner', *kennelin* 'kindling'
 - (c) for the *file*-vowel in words like *feght* (with audible *gh*) 'fight', *ether* 'either', *nether* 'neither'
4. use of a somewhat centralized variety of the *pat*-vowel, which is always short no matter what consonant follows (unlike some other types of Ulster English, where it may

- be long before certain consonants); for which reason we designate it specifically as the *patt*-vowel
- for the *pit*-vowel in words like *batt* ‘bit’, *badd* ‘bid’
 - for the *pet*-vowel in words like *kasst* ‘chest’, *radd* ‘red’, *vatch* ‘vetch’, *trammel* ‘tremble’
 - for the *put*-vowel in *bal* ‘bull’ and for the *putt*-vowel in words like *dazzen* ‘dozen’, *natt* ‘nut’, *sann* ‘son/sun’, *summer* ‘summer’, *stabble* ‘stubble’, *rann* ‘run’
 - for the *file*-vowel before *nd* in words like *blann* ‘blind’, *fann* ‘find’, and before *mb* in *clamm* ‘climb’
5. use of an unrounded and lengthened variety of the *pot*-vowel, for which reason we designate it specifically as the *paat*-vowel
- for the *pat*-vowel in words like *paat* ‘pat’, *paad* ‘pad’
 - for the *pot*-vowel before labial consonants and *ng* in words like *taap* ‘top’, *raab* ‘rob’, *aaf* ‘off’, *laang* ‘long’, *wraang* ‘wrong’
 - for the *pet*-vowel after *w* and *wr* in words like *waal* ‘well’ (noun), *waat* ‘wet’ (adjective) – but *weet* for the verb ‘wet’ – *whaalp* ‘whelp’, *wraan* ‘wren’, *wraastle* ‘wrestle’
 - for the *fall*-vowel in many Ulster-Scots areas in words like *waa* ‘wall’, *faa* ‘fall’, *aa* ‘all’, *saat* ‘salt’, *scaad* ‘tea’ (scald), and likewise for the *foal*-vowel in words like *blaaw* ‘blow’, *raa* ‘row’, *craa* ‘crow’, and for the *fool*-vowel in words like *twaa* ‘two’, *whaa* ‘who’, but this is not universal as some areas have the *fall*-vowel in all such words, though not the *l* that sometimes follows it in the English form, and other areas have a long diphthong consisting of the *paat*-vowel moving towards the *fall*-vowel, e.g. *faaw* ‘fall’, *blaaw* ‘blow’.
 - for the *fail*-vowel in words like *maak* ‘make’, *waad* ‘wade’, *awaa* ‘away’
6. use of the *fall*-vowel, without the lowering and unrounding tendency found in some areas, for which reason we designate it specifically as the *paut*-vowel
- for the *pot*-vowel in words like *paut* ‘pot’, *paud* ‘pod’, *blauk* ‘block’
 - for the *pat*-vowel in words like *taussel* ‘tassel’, *baura* ‘barrow’, and for the *pet*-vowel in *auny* ‘any’
7. use of the *foal*-vowel
- for the *fall*-vowel (written *o* before *r*) in words like *shoart* ‘short’, *coard* ‘cord’
 - for the *pot*-vowel in words like *roak* ‘rock’, *no* ‘not’ (emphatic), *doag* ‘dog’ (in some areas only)
8. use of the *fool*-vowel or the *put*-vowel, usually according to the nature of the following consonant
- for the *fowl*-vowel in words like the following, either with the traditional Scots orthography *ou* or spelt with English *oo* where *ou* would be misleading: *toun* ‘town’, *broun* ‘brown’, *hoose* ‘house’, *coo* ‘cow’, *mooth* ‘mouth’, *drooth* ‘drought’ (with loss of *gh* and change of *t* to *th*), *doot* ‘doubt’, *roon* ‘round’
 - for the *putt*-vowel in some words like *roost* ‘rust’, *thoom* ‘thumb’, *sook* ‘suck’
 - for the *foal*-vowel in some words like *shoother* ‘shoulder’, *cooter* ‘coulter’, heard in the saying *he hes a neb on him like a cooter* (*neb* is ‘nose’)
- (d) for the *foil*-vowel in *pousion* or *poozhon* ‘poison’ and in *foozonless* ‘tasteless’ from the archaic word *foison* ‘plenty’
- (e) for the *put*-vowel with lengthening and loss of final *l* in words like *fou* ‘full’, *pou* ‘pull’
9. use of the *pit*-vowel
- for the *fool*-, *put*- and *putt*-vowels, except in certain marginal areas (see section 1(e) above), in words like *gid* ‘good’, *blid* ‘blood’, *lim* ‘loom’, *giss* ‘goose’, *shin* ‘shoes’, *A hae loast ma gid bits abin the skil* ‘I have lost my good boots above the school’ (cf. section 1e), *riff* ‘roof’
 - for various vowels in negative forms of verbs and contractions of prepositions with pronouns such as *dinnae* ‘don’t’, *disnae* ‘doesn’t’, *hinnae* ‘haven’t’, *hittae* ‘have to’, *wit* ‘with it’, *fit* ‘from it’ (from *fae it*)
10. use of the *putt*-vowel
- for the *put*-vowel in words like *putt* ‘put’, *cud* ‘could’, *wud* ‘would’; sometimes also for the *pot*-vowel in *dugg* ‘dog’
 - for the *pit*-vowel, especially after *w*, *wh*, *wr*, *qu*, in words like *twust* ‘twist’, *whup* ‘whip’, *wrust* ‘wrist’, *quult* (or *kwult*, to avoid the unusual letter-combination *quo*) ‘quilt’, *wunter* ‘winter’, *bruckle* ‘brittle’
 - for the *pet*-vowel in words like *twunty* ‘twenty’, *munny* ‘many’, *studdy* ‘steady’
 - for the *fool*-, *put*- or *putt*-vowels before *k*, *gh* and *g*, in which case it is preceded by ‘yod’ and written *eu* in Scots traditional orthography, in words like *beuk* ‘book’, *heuk* ‘hook’, *eneugh* (with *gh* pronounced as the *egh*-sound) ‘enough’, likewise *teugh* ‘tough’, but when the *gh* is lost as in *peu* ‘plough’ (where the *l* is also lost) the *eu* is pronounced with the second element long as in *feud*. Another word with the same phonology is *feuggy* ‘left-handed’.
11. use of the *file*-vowel
- for the *fail*-vowel, spelt with *ey* in traditional Scots orthography or with English *ie* where this is less ambiguous than *ey*, mainly when final in words like *hey* or *hie* ‘hay’, *pey* or *pie* ‘pay’, *cle* or *clie* ‘clay’, *reyns* or *rines* ‘reins’, *gey* ‘very’, *ay* ‘always’
 - for the *foil*-vowel in *bile* ‘boil’ (noun)
 - with the back open starting point of the *five* (*faaive*)-vowel replacing the ordinary *file*-vowel pronunciation when final or before *r*, *v*, *th*, *z* and the verbal ending *d* in words like *paay* ‘pie’, *faaive* ‘five’, *saaythe* ‘scythe’, *praaiize* ‘prize’, *taaie* ‘tie’, *taaied* ‘tied’ (as opposed to *tide* with the ordinary *file*-vowel)
12. use of the *fowl*-vowel
- for the *foal*-vowel in words like *oul* ‘old’, *coul* ‘cold’, *boul* ‘bowl’, *sowl* ‘soul’, *houl* ‘hold’, *powl* ‘pole’, *pownie* ‘pony’, *bestou* ‘bestow’, *grou* ‘grow’, *tou* ‘tow’ (noun) – or *groe* and *towe* for the last two on the analogy of *knowe* ‘small hill, knoll’, *ower* ‘over’, ‘too’. To represent this sound orthographically one can reverse the roles of *ou* and *ow* of standard spelling. Sometimes for the *pot*-vowel in *dowg* ‘dog’.
 - for the *fall*-vowel in *thow* ‘thaw’

- (c) for the *foul*-vowel in such words as *yow* 'ewe', *lowze* 'loose' (verb), 'loosen', *chow* 'chew'
- (d) for the *feel*-vowel in *loup* or *loup* 'leap'

The factors working for the anglicization of Scots in respect of these features are not quite the same in every case, particularly where the effect of written English on Scots pronunciation is taken into account. English *not*, and its older Scots equivalent *nat*, do not in either case represent exactly the normal colloquial forms, respectively *-n't* and *-nae* (or *-na* in some parts of Scotland). One could therefore go on using the Scots reduction without regard to the written form even when one had abandoned other Scots features, and this is exactly what one finds in many parts of Ulster except in very formal speech. The loss of the *egh*-sound in standard words, which is in any case preserved throughout Ulster in dialect words of Scots or northern English origin like *sheugh* 'ditch' and loanwords from Irish like *lough* would not be induced by the literary spelling, which preserves the *gh*, though *ch* is more commonly used in traditional Scots spelling. One could read a Scots pronunciation out of forms like *taught*, *weight*, *right* even better than an English pronunciation, particularly if one felt a native urge to distinguish them from their English homonyms *taut*, *wait*, *rite*, by retaining the original *egh*-sound. In the case of these two Scots features the force of the most familiar written forms would not count in the process of anglicization by way of producing spelling-pronunciations. This process would depend entirely on the adoption of a different spoken standard in a given grammatical situation or for a given set of words.

With the words in which Scots and English vowel phonemes differed the case was rather different because here there were old established differences in spelling. The use of literary English by persons who spoke Scots, especially the use of the Authorized Version of the Bible from the early 17th century onwards, made Scots-speakers familiar with English forms as reading pronunciations even if they never used them in natural speech. The Scots forms of such words may be called overt Scots forms, and it is precisely these that have in the main been lost in the process of anglicization.

Considered diachronically the Scots forms cited above with different vowel phonemes from their English equivalents can of course be explained historically in terms of the multifarious origins of each standard English vowel phoneme. Considered synchronically, however, these differences, which affect small word-sets and even individual words in different ways, seem to be largely random and unpredictable, apart from the special case of Ulster-Scots *paat*, *patt*, *paut* respectively for Ulster English *pat*, *pit*, *pot* – see sections 4(a), 5(a) and 6(a) in the list above – which will be discussed below. The Scots-speaker, wishing to make himself more widely understood, has learnt to make the appropriate English substitution, a process known as code-switching. There has been a long tradition of doing this, supported in part by the written word but also by the close proximity of traditional spoken Ulster English. Sometimes this has led to code-switchings that produce results at variance with standard English, because Ulster English uses dialect forms, mainly of English West Midland origin, that the speaker of Ulster-Scots has falsely assumed to be standard English. An interesting case is provided by the word *ewe*, which has the *feud*-allophone of the *foul*-vowel in standard English. The commonest Scots form is *yow* (which has the *fowl* vowel), but

the traditional Ulster English dialect form is *yoe* and there is a long-established convention that when speakers of Ulster-Scots switch to English with outsiders, they use the Ulster English dialect form *yoe* for this word and not its standard English form.

Again, it sometimes happens that Ulster English and Ulster-Scots occasionally share common features of dialect origin that are untypical of their standard forms. Thus words of the type *old*, *cold* have the *fowl*-vowel in both (though usually with loss of the final *d* in the Ulster-Scots forms). In the case of Ulster English this is a pronunciation of West Midland origin at variance with the East Midland *foal*-vowel of the standard language. In the case of Ulster-Scots it is an old type of pronunciation, surviving also in some marginal areas of Scotland, at variance with the more general modern Scots form with the *fall*-vowel. In such a case there was no need for code-switching on the part of Scots-speakers because speakers of Ulster English used the same phoneme anyway.

Behind the loss of these distinctive Scots forms then – a process not yet completed in many areas – lies a long period of semi-bilingualism with Scots as the spoken language but English as the written and formal reading language. So far as the vowel phonemes are concerned, the process of code-switching almost invariably takes place when one of the vowel phonemes involved, either on the Scots side or the English but more particularly on both, belongs to the *f-l* series of long phonemes. Where different Scots and English vowels both belong to the *p-t* series, there may be hesitation and sometimes even neglect of code-switching. This is most prevalent in the special cases we are about to consider below involving Scots *paat*, *patt*, *paut* for English *pat*, *pit*, *pot* respectively. Indeed this confrontation of disparate sounds is specifically an Ulster matter, because of the juxtaposition here of Scots and English, and it does not arise in Scotland, where the linguistic situation is different.

Of the thousand most frequently used words in the language roughly 30 per cent differ in their Scots and English forms, not counting the special differences involving Ulster-Scots *paat/patt/paut* for Ulster English *pat/pit/pot* that we have just mentioned. This includes words with consonantal differences such as the dropping of final *d* after *l* and *n* and the reduction of medial *nd* and *mb* to *nn* and *mm* where vowel differences are not involved. Words in which Scots and English differ in their use of vowel phonemes of the *f-l* series, though not counting the Scots use of the back-open *five*-variant of the *file*-vowel, that is, the group where code-switching is most likely to occur, amount to only 13 per cent of the thousand most frequently used words in the language. To these may be added words containing the *egh*-sound in Scots, where code-switching to the English form almost always entails a change in the vowel phoneme as well as the loss of *gh*. These amount to 2.1 per cent of the thousand most frequently used words. It follows that Gregg's criteria for distinguishing Scots from English in Ulster amount to a rather slender proportion of the most used vocabulary. We may suspect that as the total vocabulary increases the proportion of words with distinctive features where code-switching always occurs will diminish.

Scots features in the vowel system, however, are not confined to those that have long found expression in the spelling of standard English and of traditional literary Scots, which provides one motivation for code-switching. There are many phonetic differences between the vowel sounds of each

which were not felt to be sufficiently great to merit different spellings. In any case such small differences would have been hard to express through the ordinary five-vowel alphabet. In Scotland, where English when it eventually became established is spoken with a Scots accent, this has been of no significance because there are no large blocks of English-speakers interspersed among Scots-speakers, at least in rural areas. But in Ulster the case is different. Here Scots is in geographical and often social confrontation with English, deriving either from primary English sources or from English as a secondary language acquired historically by Irish-speakers. Consequently phonetic differences that do not occur within Scotland between speakers of Scots and speakers of Scotticized English can occur side by side and survive as well-marked features in Ulster. Unlike the older overt differences which form the basis of Scots/English bilingualism, they are accepted as differences of accent which do not prevent comprehension. People do not switch from one to the other, as happens when Scots-speakers switch from the overt Scots forms they would use when talking among themselves to the English forms they would use when talking to outsiders. The variants of these pronunciations which are of Scots origin are what we may call covert Scots forms, and they have persisted even when the overt Scots forms have been lost because they are not subject to code-switching in bilingual situations.

Before discussing these features we must look for a moment at the overall distribution of vowel phonemes within the standard language and then at the variety of English, as distinct from Scots, established in Ulster. Among the thousand most frequently used words in the language some 15 per cent contain vowels modified by syllable-closing *r*, which we have decided to ignore as not being strictly relevant to the differences between Scots and English in Ulster. Unlike their parent languages in Britain, where *r* operates quite differently on the preceding vowel, Ulster-Scots and Ulster English both have a reverted resonant *r* which modifies and usually lengthens the preceding vowel. In Scotland on the other hand a rolled *r* leaves the preceding vowel completely unmodified. In England, apart from Wessex, Kent, Surrey and the West Midlands, Lancashire and Durham-Northumberland, *r* is lost; preceding original short vowels have been lengthened and shifted in quality; preceding original long vowels and diphthongs have developed a shwa-glide after them to produce what are called centering diphthongs, that is, those in which the tongue moves from one of the clear vowel positions towards shwa, and in certain cases the latter then alters the quality of the vowel and is itself lost. The Ulster equivalents of all these developments need not concern us here.

In a very small number of words, about 0.5 per cent, the original vowel has normally been reduced to shwa because these little words are of the kind that almost always occur unstressed in the sentence. The distribution of vowel phonemes over the remainder of the most frequently used words – which can probably be taken as fairly representative of the vocabulary as a whole – is as follows:

	<i>p-t</i> series	<i>f-l</i> series	
<i>pat</i> -vowel	7.8 per cent	<i>feel</i> -vowel	7.5 per cent
<i>pet</i> -vowel	11.7 per cent	<i>fail</i> -vowel	7.9 per cent
<i>pit</i> -vowel	11.2 per cent	<i>fall</i> -vowel	2.4 per cent
<i>pot</i> -vowel	5.9 per cent	<i>foal</i> -vowel	6.2 per cent
<i>putt</i> -vowel	6.8 per cent	<i>fool</i> -vowel	4.7 per cent
<i>put</i> -vowel	1.4 per cent	<i>file</i> -vowel	7.1 per cent
		<i>fowl</i> -vowel	3.0 per cent
		<i>foil</i> -vowel	0.9 per cent
	44.8 per cent	39.7 per cent	

It is noticeable that the front-spread vowels and diphthongs, the sounds heard in *pet*, *pit*, *fail*, *feel*, *file*, though only five in number, are more heavily weighted than the remaining nine vowel phonemes. The least frequent vowel, the sound heard in *foil*, does not occur in native Germanic words of Old English and Old Norse origin. It is confined to words of Old French and, much less frequently, Dutch origin. The next most infrequent phoneme, the *put*-vowel, derives in equal proportion from what were originally allophonic variants of the *putt*- and *fool*-vowels. Though it exists as a separate phoneme in some types of Ulster speech (my own, for example), there are others in which its words are divided between these two other larger groups. Of the words containing the *pat*-vowel in Ulster, exactly one third of those most frequently used have the *fa*-vowel in RP. Of the 7.1 per cent of *file*-vowels, only 5.2 per cent have this vowel (or another substitute) in Ulster-Scots, while the other 1.9 per cent have the extra back-open *five*-diphthong in its place.

It has already been stated above that the largest group of features used by Gregg to distinguish Scots from English are those involving vowel differences where at least one of the vowels concerned belongs to the *f-l* series of phonemes, and that these amount to 13 per cent of the most frequently used words. It will now be seen that this is just about one third of the most frequently used words with phonemes from this group. Apart from the special case of the extra *five*-diphthong, still to be further discussed, and some diaphonemic variants of the *fall*-vowel, which are, however, not universal in Ulster-Scots, there are no phonetic variations between the Ulster-Scots and Ulster English versions of phonemes in the *f-l* series, at least so far as vowel quality is concerned. Whether there are variations in respect of length is a point we have not yet investigated.

Among the thousand most frequently used words in the language those that have code-switching between a Scots and an English vowel where both belong to the *p-t* series are decidedly less numerous and number only 5.5 per cent or about one eighth of the most frequently used words with phonemes in this group. Moreover, in such words code-switching sometimes fails to take place at all. The writer once knew a north Antrim man who consistently retained the Scots *putt*-vowel for the English *pit*-vowel when it occurred after *w*, *wh*, *wr*, *qu*, though he made the other Scots-to-English code-switches. One often hears other departures from the English-type vowel distribution with vowels from the *p-t* series in particular words which turn out on closer examination to belong to the Scots-type vowel distribution. Is it the case that people readily enough make code-switches involving vowels from the *f-l* series because fundamentally these phonemes have the same sound in both the Scots and the English systems

in Ulster, so that it is simply a case of reshuffling phonemes that are already native and familiar over a particular set of words? Conversely, is there a certain resistance to doing this with phonemes from the *p-t* series because the Scots set and the English set are slightly different phonetically and are felt to be not entirely native to the speaker's sound-system? This is a point of linguistic psychology that has not yet been sufficiently investigated. If the Scots and English versions of the *p-t* series of vowel phonemes persist as separate entities that broadly speaking are not affected by code-switching, then the Scots material in Ulster speech is much more widespread than was envisaged by Gregg and merits further investigation. On the showing of the thousand most frequently used words in the language this element affects just over 43 per cent of the vocabulary, omitting the small group of words that can have the *put*-vowel, since their status is questionable. On this scale the scope for tracing Scots elements surviving in Ulster speech becomes very much wider.

To turn now to Ulster speech of English origin, as well as being less numerous than the Scots, its speakers came from a greater variety of dialect areas, though one result of their mingling in Ulster has been that many of the more distinctive English dialect features, such as initial *z*, *v* and *dr* in place of *s*, *f* and *thr* among speakers from Wessex, have been obliterated. On the other hand most of them came from areas other than the East Midland dialect area, where standard English arose. A few did indeed come from the London area, from parts of East Anglia and from the Nottingham-Leicester areas, but they were greatly outnumbered by those from western England, mainly from the West Midland dialect area, with a lesser number of speakers of Wessex English from Devon, Somerset and Gloucester. The West Midland people came partly from its northern Lancashire-Cheshire-Derbyshire and south-Yorkshire portion and partly from its southern Warwickshire-Staffordshire-Shropshire portion. Speakers from the area north of the Humber-Wharfe-Ribble line, that is, from the Northern English dialect area, were less numerous, but as their Northern English dialect would have agreed phonologically, if not always phonetically, with Scots, they hardly affect the issue of Scots/English linguistic relationships.

The mainly western origin of Ulster English, however, means that it differed in many points from the East Midland variety out of which standard English has developed. In addition to that there is a chronological factor involved, in that many of the features that now characterize the RP pronunciation of English date only from the 18th century and had not yet developed when western English was transplanted to Ulster. Examples of this are: (1) the loss of *r* when not followed by a vowel; (2) the falling together of all originally short vowels except *a* and *o* as a long neutral shwa-vowel when followed by syllable-closing *r*; (3) the separation of the long back *fa*-phoneme as in *aunt* and *calm* from the short front *pat*-phoneme as in *ant* and *cam*. In Ulster English these four words all have the *pat*-vowel, though it is short in both *aunt* and *ant* and long in both *calm* and *cam* because of the nature of the following consonant. In addition to these points Ulster English is a type in which: (1) the *file-* and *fowl*-vowels are narrow diphthongs with a central or half-open starting-point instead of wide diphthongs with an open starting-point as in RP; (2) the *fail-* and *foal*-vowels are half-close long vowels (the latter shortened before certain consonants) and not narrow diphthongs as in RP; (3) the *fall*-vowel has not

normally fallen together with the *for*-vowel (with loss of *r* in the latter case), but is either somewhat centralized in its tongue-position or else much more open and often unrounded; (4) the *fool*-vowel is much advanced to the close central position, especially when preceded by the *yod*-sound as in *feud*, and is often shortened but not necessarily distinguished from the *put*-vowel; and (5) the velar consonants *k* and *g* have a distinctly palatal pronunciation, like *ky* and *gy*, before and after the *pat*-vowel. All of these features except the last bring Ulster English nearer to Scots than is the case with most types of speech in present-day England. They are not necessarily of Scots origin, but may be due to independent evolution – or more often lack of evolution – since the 17th century. Yet the two sound systems remain distinct, even apart from those Scots features which we have described as overt. It is mainly in respect of the historical short vowels that this is so.

Notes

- 1 Craigie, William, 'Scottish Language' in *Chambers' Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh, 1950), revised by A. J. Aitken, 1962.
- 2 Gregg, Robert J., 'The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster' in Wakelin, Martyn (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles* (London, 1972), 109-139.
- 3 For a collection of papers on the Tape Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English, see Barry, Michael (ed.), *Aspects of English Dialects in Ireland Vol. 1: Papers Arising from the Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech* (Belfast, 1981).
- 4 Sometimes pronounced [ai] in Ulster.

The Ulster 'egh' Sound*

G. Brendan Adams

The word *lough* occurs in many Ulster placenames and in general conversation. There are sea-loughs round the coast and many inland loughs ranging from Lough Neagh to quite small stretches of water. The term therefore covers the meaning of two words, *firth* and *lake*, that occur in Britain. It is the same word as that which is spelt *loch* in Scotland.

The difference in spelling between *lough* and *loch*, which are pronounced alike, is due to the difference between English and Lowland Scots spelling traditions. It is a loanword of Gaelic origin and the Scots have simply kept the Gaelic spelling. The English in Ireland, however, developed a tradition of anglicizing the spelling of Irish words. When this happened, probably in the 16th century, such English words as *cough* and *trough* would have rhymed with *lough*, so it was quite logical to spell it in this way, but in its own native words English has changed the sound of *gh* to that of *f* in some cases and lost it in most words. Since the word *lough* was not part of the general English vocabulary, it retained its original Irish pronunciation. The same is true of some northern English dialect words, like *sheugh* meaning 'ditch', that survive in Ulster, but are not part of standard English.

Of course, in the Ulster-Scots dialect of north-east Ulster the *gh* sound survives, pronounced like the written *ch* of German, Dutch, Welsh and Gaelic, even in words where it has become silent or changed to the *f* sound in standard English and most other dialects. In some areas, such as Ballymena, there is even a name for the old sound. The story goes that a school-inspector, hearing a county Antrim boy using the word *pegh* 'grunt', asked him to spell it. 'Pee-ee-egh-egh' came the answer, as quick as a flash. Between vowels the sound is often softened to *h*, even in Irish, as shown by anglicized spellings like *Doherty* and *Gallaher* for *Dougherty* and *Gallagher*.

One curious fact is that the Ulster-Scots dialect pronunciation of the word *trough*, rhyming with *lough*, has spread and is widely used by east Ulster speakers of regional standard English who would not dream of using the corresponding dialect pronunciations of words like *cough*, *rough*, *laugh*, *night*, *fight*, *eight*.

In a few areas some people are losing the ability to pronounce this sound. Most English people are unable to do

so unless they have learnt to pronounce the German *ch*. Dublin people also commonly replace the *gh* sound by the *k* sound and carry this over to the Irish *ch* when speaking Irish as a second language. The sound-change of *gh* to *k* or *g* has now begun to spread in the Belfast area, mainly among industrial workers with no rural connections. They say *lock* or *lawk* for the word *lough* and in proper names, where the sound is more common than in ordinary words, one will hear *Gallacker* for *Gallagher*, and *Donackadee* or *Donagadee* for *Donaghadee*. Occasionally one even hears the pronunciation *trock* for the word *trough*, where the Ulster-Scots dialect pronunciation referred to above has undergone the local Belfast development to produce something quite different from the standard English pronunciation *troff*.

One final point may be mentioned. Apart from proper names where the *gh* sound is traditional among all speakers except those who now turn it into the *k* sound, how do we spell words that contain the original *gh* sound in Ulster-Scots dialect, but have lost it or changed it to the *f* sound in standard English? If we retain the *gh* spelling it may not be clear that it represents the *gh* sound, while if we change the spelling to *ch* as the Scots often do it may be mispronounced as the *tch* sound. Luckily there is a neat way out of this problem. Standard English silent *gh* is always preceded by one of six vowel-spellings: *i, ei, ai, u, ou, au*. In the spelling of Ulster-Scots words this need never be the case because the vowel sounds are such that their spelling is better written in other ways. Thus we get the simple rule that the spelling *gh* is silent or pronounced as *f* after these six standard English vowel spellings, but has the old *gh* sound after all other vowel-spellings, e.g. *laagh* 'laugh', *sagh* 'sigh', *heegh* 'high', *naght* 'night', *feught* 'fight', *eight* 'eight', *laegh* 'low', *doagh* 'dough', *thoght* 'thought', *doghter* 'daughter', *eneugh* 'enough', *reugh* 'rough', *hoogh* 'shout', *blowgher* 'cough', *stoygh* 'stench'. In *reugh* 'rough', the *e* has become silent, but should perhaps be retained in the spelling since the spelling *rugh* might be misunderstood as rhyming with the name *Hugh*. Logically one should then write *logh* for the word *lough*, but logic is not a strong point in English spelling and the traditional spelling is perhaps best retained, unless like the Scots we revert to the original Gaelic spelling of this word.

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