

Consultation contribution:

Spelling and Pronunciation Guide¹

The Ulster–Scots Academy Implementation Group Proposals

Introduction

Commenting on the fact that spelling proposals have been agreed by the committee, the guide tells us that: “As a result, the traditional spoken language is made more accessible in written form to public and academic bodies, and to the community at large.”

That begs the question of whether the previous written tradition was inaccessible.

The guide also informs us that: “Educationalists have long insisted that an agreed spelling system is an essential prerequisite to the teaching of the language in schools...” Who are those educationalists? What empirical evidence have they produced that the previous written tradition was wholly unsuitable for the teaching of the ‘language’ in schools?

The guide also tells us that: “When Ulster–Scots began to write in their own tongue again in the 1700s, they largely had to re–invent a Scots spelling system outside of academia.”

That contention is of course flawed, since those who wrote Scots in Ulster from the 1700s were part of the same literary tradition that existed in Scotland. ‘Ulster–Scots’ did not invent a spelling system — they simply employed the same conventions as their Scottish peers.

Those Modern Scots orthographic conventions, crystallised in the work of writers such as Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson, included many Older Scots conventions, some Standard English conventions not previously shared with Older Scots — particularly where writers felt that they adequately indicated a Scots pronunciation — and what came to be known as the ‘apologetic apostrophe’ to show supposedly missing letters.

Those conventions were by nature supradialectal, so that the spellings were not an accurate phonetic representation of any dialect in particular but shaped a literary language used by speakers of all dialects of Scots. In that literary Scots, the pronunciation was provided by the reader not the author, something that gave written Scots a sense of ‘languageness’. The graphemes used mapped to Scots ‘sounds’, not Standard English ones. Later more dialect–specific writing emerged. In that dialect writing, the pronunciation was provided by the author, usually by employing deliberate Standard English sound–to–letter spellings.

The guide informs us that: “Nowadays, most native speakers of Ulster–Scots have never seen their own language in written form at all, and when attempting to write often adopt phonetic spellings based on English vowel sounds.”

¹ Available for download at <http://www.dcalni.gov.uk/language-cultural-diversity-r08/ulster-scots.htm>

That results from the decline in knowledge of the established literary Scots tradition, something that also appears to be the case with the authors of the spelling guide.

The need for a spelling standardisation process

The authors of the guide appear to believe that Ulster Scots is a language in its own right (the issue of whether Scots as a whole can be considered a language in its own right is conveniently ignored here). However, the *Scottish National Dictionary (SND)* includes Ulster Scots, and Caroline Macafee, editor of the *Concise Ulster Dictionary*, has described Ulster Scots as ‘clearly’ a dialect of Central Scots. Indeed, the linguist James Millroy has described the dialects of Antrim and North Londonderry, in their strongest rural forms, as ‘barely distinguishable’ from Ayrshire dialects.

Scots in Ulster has not only been subject to the influence (both lexical and phonological) of Standard English, but also to the influence of more prestigious neighbouring non-standard dialects of English origin. As a result, traditional Scots forms may have been replaced by Standard English forms, or forms borrowed from neighbouring non-standard dialects of English origin.

If the aim of the Spelling Standardisation Committee is to promote (Ulster) Scots as a language in its own right, emphasising the traditional Scots forms would be paramount. Nevertheless, as forms and loans from the neighbouring (non-standard) dialects of English origin are now part of everyday speech, they should also be included, but clarification provided as to which is the traditional Scots form and which a loan from English.

The criteria used

Whatever the balance that the Spelling Standardisation Committee was seeking to achieve, the result is an incongruent, internally contradictory hotchpotch of a spelling system — if it can be considered a system at all.

The method

The methodology employed seems to have failed to analyse the underlying phonology of Ulster Scots (in isolation or as part of Scots as a whole).

Consequently, the Spelling Standardisation Committee appears to have been unable to examine systematically the most common or prestigious (supradialectal) orthographic representations of the underlying phonemes that can be found in the (Ulster) Scots literary tradition.

Such an approach — describing which phonemes map to which graphemes (and environments) — would produce a fairly straightforward description that would enable native speakers to spell most words by analogy rather than having to consult a bewildering

list of “approximately 60 different spelling ‘rules’” derived from Philip Robinson’s *Ulster–Scots Grammar*.

I might add that it seems rather surprising that Philip Robinson’s *Ulster–Scots Grammar* was taken as a basis at all, considering the reviews that it received after publication:

“Without a systematic treatment of the contrast between Ulster Scots and Scottish varieties, it is impossible for the reader to gauge the degree to which Ulster Scots can be understood as a fully-developed language in Robinson’s sense, or to the degree to which it is best described as a variety of Scots.”²

“This orthographic double-take is opaque, counter-intuitive, and confusing. In attempting to replace conventional symbolism with something, in intention, mimetically realistic, it ends up offering only more and worse symbolism.”³

The recommendations of the Spelling Standardisation Committee show little or no regard for the extant literary tradition. Instead of producing recommendations that emanate from, and facilitate the future survival of, the existing Scots literary tradition in Ulster, the members of the Standardisation Committee — seem to want to create a wholly new orthography in their own image.

Since the Standardisation Committee seems to have failed to analyse the underlying phonology of Ulster Scots, a brief outline is provided below. That will be referred to in comments throughout this document. It is from such an analysis that the usual Scots graphemes used to represent the underlying phonemes can be identified and a suitable selection made so that they may then be applied consistently by following easily defined ‘rules’ that produce a homogeneous literary (Ulster) Scots suitable for expository transactional writing. For a treatment of that and other spelling proposals see <http://www.scots-online.org/airticles/AwAeWey.pdf>. For a comparison of Scots in Scotland and Ulster see <http://www.scots-online.org/airticles/awaeoo.pdf>.

The corpus of Ulster Scots literature from which the quotations here have been taken was compiled from sources freely available on the Internet. Owing to time constraints they have not been checked against printed sources so the occasional typographical or transcriptional error may inadvertently have been included.

The consonants in Ulster Scots are much the same as those in other Scots dialects, with many also shared with Standard English, except:

The fricative /x/ usually spelt <gh> in Standard English cognates.

Interdental realisations of /d, t/ (/ɖ, ʈ/) before /r/, /n/ (/ɳ/) and bilabial /ɸ/ and /β/ for /f/ and /v/ may occur in varieties influenced by an Irish substrate.

² Kallen, Jeffrey L. (1999) in *English World Wide* Vol.20:1, pp. 157–167.

³ Kirk, John M. (1977) “Contemporary Literary Writing” in *Focus on Ireland* Jeffrey L. Kallen ed., Benjamins Amsterdam.

A glottal stop (/ʔ/) for /t/ may occur between vowels or word-finally.
The voiceless labiovelar fricative /ɱ/ <wh> has not merged with /w/.

The guide provides no direction on consonant doubling. However, contradictory practices are noticeable in some of the spellings suggested. The single consonant graphemes (, <c>, <d> etc.) are usually single after single and double vowels e.g. *wab*, *waik*, *bed*, *sweel*, *deil*, *bit*, *cot* and *cut*, etc., and doubled following a single vowel grapheme in the first stressed syllable in disyllabic words e.g. *waddin*, *siller* and *supper* etc. The graphemes <u, v, w> are not usually doubled and neither are the double graphemes representing a single sound (<sh> and <th>). A medial and root-final /k/ is usually represented <ck> rather than <k(k)>. A few exceptions to those 'rules' do, however, occur e.g. *mak~makkin*, *aff*, *bull*, *dwall*, *pull* and *yett*, etc.

The numbering system for Scots vowels developed by A. J. Aitken is used to describe the underlying vowel phonemes of Ulster Scots.⁴ From those, the most common or prestigious (supradialectal) orthographic representations of the underlying phonemes used in literary (Ulster) Scots can be identified, and a relatively straightforward description of which phonemes map to which graphemes (and environments) can be produced.

Vowel length is usually conditioned by the Scottish vowel-length rule and Ulster lengthening whereby the vowels /e, ε, a, ɔ/ are long in any monosyllable closed by a consonant other than /p, t, k, tʃ/.

The neutral vowel /ə/ occurs in unstressed positions.

1. /əi/ short. /aɪ/ long. However, it is /əi/ and after /w/ and /ɱ/. /e/ may occur before /k/ in words such as *like* and *dyke*. In some dialects /ae/ and /εi/ may also occur.
2. /i/
3. The original vowel has merged with vowels 2 or 4.
4. /e/ However, /ε(:)/ may occur before /r/.
5. /o:/. However, there are some mergers with vowel 18.
6. /ü/
7. In Mid Antrim, North Ards and North-west Strangford the original /ø/ has merged with vowels 15 (/i/) in short positions and vowel 4 (/e/) in long positions. In North Antrim and North-east Londonderry, especially before /n/ and /l/, mergers with vowel 4 often occur, and in Donegal, Magilligan, the Mid Ards and West Strangford mergers with vowel 2 also occur. Before /k/ and /x/ the realisation is /j)u/ or /j)ʌ/ depending on word and/or dialect.
8. /e:/. The vowel may also be /ε:/. or have merged with vowel 4.
- 8a. /əi/ or /aɪ/ after /w/ and /ɱ/. However, /ae/ may also occur.
9. /ɔe/
10. /əi/
11. /i:/. (root-finally)

⁴ See Traynor 1953, Gregg 1958, Macafee 2001.

12. /ɑː/ or /ɔː/ (often after /w/ and /m/ in eastern and central varieties) and /aː/ in western dialects. There are many mergers with vowel 17.
13. /əü/ is usually short before a voiceless consonant and before a sonorant followed by a voiceless consonant, but long elsewhere. Vocalisation to /o/ may occur before /k/.
14. /ju/
15. /ĩ/ or /ɪ̃/, /ĕ/ may also occur in Donegal. /ʌ/ may occur owing to an Irish substrate. There are some mergers with vowel 19 (/ʌ/) after /w/ and /m/.
16. /ɛ/
17. /a/ There are occasional mergers with vowel 12.
18. /ɔ/ There are some mergers with vowel 5.
19. /ʌ/

How to Use This Guide

The notes on diacritics state that the accents themselves “can be omitted without any change to spelling”. If that is the case, there is clearly no need for them.

“There are only three recommended for standard use.”

- a) ĩ = / ĩ/

Since what has traditionally been represented by the grapheme <i> in literary Scots in Ulster, will habitually be pronounced /ĩ/ by native speakers, there is no need for any orthographic innovation, as it cannot be confused with any other possible realisation of <i>.

- b) ü = /ʌ/

The grapheme <ü> for /ʌ/ is unnecessary because, if the sound-to-letter correspondences are regular, <u> will usually map to /ʌ/ anyway. It is Standard English that is irregular here.

- c) è = dental realisation of previous consonant

The use of <è>, etc. to show the interdental realisation of a preceding consonant is counter-intuitive, since diacritics normally represent stress or a modification of the vowel sound. Furthermore, how does one represent a word-final interdental realisation? The innovation is unnecessary, as the interdental realisation is marked by environment. Native speakers will habitually produce it.

Part 1

Older Scots spelling and its legacy in modern Ulster-Scots

The guide informs us that the “18th and 19th century Ulster-Scots writers did not use many of the Older Scots spellings. Robert Burns and the ‘Scotch Poets’ who preceded him in Ulster and Scotland were deliberately reviving a written form for what was to them only a spoken language. For this they almost always used English grammar and spelling rules. They were largely unaware of, or had lost contact with, the earlier spelling conventions of the 17th century and before.”

Burns followed Ramsay and Fergusson, who were among those who ‘revived’ literary Scots after the Union. All those individuals were well aware of Older Scots, since they made literary references to it; from that it is clear that they must have read Older Scots. Hogg even wrote some ‘pastiche’ Middle Scots pieces. Books written in Older Scots were not pulped in 1707; they continued to be read, and consequently many literate individuals of the time were well aware of, and had not completely lost contact with, the earlier spelling conventions. Ramsay himself was well-known as an anthologiser of works written before 1600, and Burns, introducing one of his most famous poems, *Tam o’ Shanter*, quotes Gavin Douglas (†1522).

Below is a selection of Middle Scots spellings, from later in the period, taken from the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*. They may not all be the most wide spread or common, but they were all certainly used and known at the time.

Vowels/diphthongs

fine, fire, knife, like, wife but also byre, dyke, fyle, syne, wyte

biold, chief, dreich, skeich, neist, speir, sweir

freend, greet, keep, seek, weet

bere, here, hie

beir, heid, deid, deif. Note: forms such as bere, hede, dede and defe also occurred.

gear, leave, quean, season. Note: forms such as gere~geir, leve~leive, queen~quein and seson~seisoun also occurred.

ane, bane, hale, hame, lane, stane

brae, sae, frae, gae

afore, note, poke, thole, troke, coal, coat, loan

about, broun, cou, dou, doun, drouth, house, mouth, nou, out, sou, toun

buird, guid, fuid, fluid, fluir, muir, puir, pruiue

beuch, beuk, eneuch, heuk, leuk, neuk, sheuk, teuch, teuk

braid, mair, saip. Note: forms such as brade, mare and sape also occurred
day, say

gey, quey, Mey, pey

noise, boy, coy

byle, pyne, spyle

dee, ee, dree, free, see, tree, three

be, he, she, we

baw, caw, faw, waw, blaw, braw, craw, slaw, snaw

faut, saut, auld, bauld, cauld, fauld, hauch

awa, twa, wha

bowt, gowf, howff, howk, howp, lowp

flowe, growe, howe, knowe, lowe, rowe

dew, few, new

bird, brig, drink, fit, hill, kist, licht, pit simmer, wid (wood), will, wirm

bed, bend, ebb, fecht, ferm, gled, hert, ken, lenth, seck, send, wecht

back, laft, lang, mak, tak, strang, want

athort, body, box, corn, on

bull, bund, drumly, dub, full, grund, hunder, pull, unce

Consonants

beuk, dyke, keep, seek, mak

back, seck, muckle

chief, wratch

beuch, dreich, eneuch, fecht, hauch, licht, skeich, teuch, wecht

gnaw

knee, knife, knowe

auld, bauld, bield, cauld, fauld

bend, bund, freend, grund, hunder, send

quair, quean

fish, she, sheuk. Note: <sch> also occurred.

kythe, that, the, thir

athort, drouth, lenth, mouth, thole, three

wha, whan. Note: <quh> also occurred but its use was in decline.

As those spellings predate the introduction of Standard English to Scotland, they cannot be phonetic adaptations of Standard English spelling convention. In fact they are traditional Scots spelling conventions, although some may have been influenced by practices further south. It should come as no surprise that Scots and Standard English spelling conventions are very similar, since the two varieties' orthographies have a common origin. As a

consequence, it is also unsurprising that many of those conventions are familiar to anyone literate in modern Standard English.

Many, if not all, of the spelling conventions illustrated above were also used by “Robert Burns and the ‘Scotch Poets’ who preceded him in Ulster and Scotland”, so the claim that they “were largely unaware of, or had lost contact with, the earlier spelling conventions of the 17th century and before” is unfounded.

a) *qhu* for ‘wh’

“... this *qhu*- spelling reflected a [*kwa*] pronunciation.”

The <*quh*> spelling represented /x μ /, later / μ / originating in Old English <*hw*>. The <*wh*> spelling was introduced by Anglo-Norman scribes by analogy with <*ch*>, <*sh*> and <*th*> etc. The spelling <*quh*> occasionally represented /x/, as can be seen in the spellings *Farquhar*, *Urquhart* and *Buquhan* for *Buchan*.

A /*kw*/ realisation for / μ / does occur in some Insular varieties owing to a Norn substrate. There is a similar interchange of /*kv*/ and /*hv*/ in Norwegian dialects.

b) ‘tw’ represented as ‘qw’

Aqween, *aqweesh*, rare *quice*, *quarthy*, *quunty* and *qual* for *twice*, *two* or *three*, *twenty* and *twelve*. *Hamely tongue*: *quust twist* and *quuster* ‘*twister*’ (of *straw-rope*)

The <*qw*> spelling most likely represents dialect variants realised as /*kw*/ rather than /*tw*/, particularly in North-east Central Scots (see *SND*: Q).

c) ‘Yogh’

Early Scots printers conflated the character <*ȝ*> /*j*/ with a cursive <*z*> and used <*z*>, when <*ȝ*> was not available in their font sets.

The sound /*j*/ was also the second element in *l* and *n mouillé* in, for example, *brulzie* and *senzie*, which were alternatively spelt *brulyie* and *senyie* to show the /*j*/ realisation.

d) Post-consonantal *-ie* for ‘-y’

Older Southern English also used <*-ie*> rather than <*-y*>. Later that was simply standardised to <*-y*>, c.f. John Hart’s “An Orthographie” (1569).

The *SND* describes <*-ie*> “as an adjective ending, corresponding to English *-y*” but also describes <*-y*> “as an alternative to the commoner Scots spelling *-ie*.”

e) Final *-ye* for English final ‘-ay’

Hey, wey, pey and *gey* rather than *hye, wye, pye* and *gye*. *Mey* as suggested.

Vowel 8a, occurring finally, usually regularised <-ey>, is the vowel in all those words, i.e. *hey, wey, pey* and *Mey*, all of which are headword forms in the *SND*.

“Champ’t up wi’ kail, that *pey* the planter” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr

“Blythe Bess *obey*’d the leal comman” — ‘Doddery Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“The bottle’s before us, we’re a’ *gey* an’ jolly” — ‘Air — A Wee Drap o’ Whiskey’, Samuel Fee Given

“The *wey* the auld four-poster shakes” — ‘The magic X’, James Mullan

f) *sh* for ‘s’, and *sch* for ‘sh’

The spelling <sch> is from Older Scots and was replaced by <sh> /ʃ/. See above. There is no need for <sch> in a contemporary orthography, since it has not been used for more than 300 years.

Shugger is an eighteenth-century English relic and may be a Mid-Ulster English loan. The Scots form is *succar* [ˈsʌkər].

Veshel, shew (sew) and ‘shune’ (soon) = *suin* (vowel 7). <sh> here represents a genuine Scots realisation, which is a development of /s/ followed by a palatal glide in words of French origin.

Sheuch, <sh> here represents a genuine Scots realisation.

Sall, suld and *shud*. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section h, English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots ui, below.

The <l> in the Older Scots spelling *suld* came to represent the vowel-length after vocalisation of /l/, i.e. [sø:d]. That has been replaced by Standard English ‘should’ [ʃud]. The spelling *shud* simply represents an unemphatic colloquial realisation. One might argue that a literary orthography would use the emphatic form *shoud*.

g) Interchangeable ‘v’, ‘u’ and ‘w’

In Older Scots those letters were simply interchangeable, representing the same sound. At the time all writers were aware of the general variant system, each making their own personal and sometimes idiosyncratic choices from the available alternatives.

That is the case in *giwe* and *hawe* (give and have) where <w> represents /v/.

Also in *adwise*, *cræw* (crave), *Dawid*, *Gawan*, *lewy* (levy), *wozd* (void), *elewint* (eleivent), *ansuer*, *auin* (awn), *duell*, *tua* (twa), *tuell* (twal), *away* (away), *vitt* (wit), *vas* (was), *vater* (watter), *ve* (we) and *varrent* (warrant).

The following are pronunciation spellings where <eu> = /ju/, <ue> = /u/, <ou>, <ow> and <ew> = /u/: *neuis* (news), *puer* (power), *sourd* (sword), *toune*, *perswade*, *trew*, *zow* (you), *dowble* (dooble) and *grows* (goose).

“Occasionally ‘f’ was substituted for ‘v’.

Such variants most likely represented pronunciations that varied between /f/ and /v/ particularly where /f/ was voiced to /v/.

The spellings *lo’ed* = *lued*, *co’erd* (covered) = *cuired* and *braw*, represent the Modern Scots outcome of Middle Scots v-deletion intervocalically and between a nasal/liquid consonant and a vowel.

That process produced many doublets, for example, *brave* and *braw*, both occurring in many Scots dialects.

h) Loss of English ‘v’

This is the Middle Scots v-deletion described above, resulting in Modern Scots *ower*, *gie*, *gien*, *hae*, *dou*, *sweel*, *deil*, *lea’* (also *leave*) and *siller*.

The <w> in *ower* is part of the diagraph <ow> representing the diphthong /ʌü/.

Part 2

Representation of vowel sounds

“Since the vernacular revival of Scots and Ulster-Scots literature in the early 1700s, ‘English’ vowel sounds (both as individual letters and in combinations) have been used to convey an approximate Scots pronunciation.”

As described above under Part 1, Older Scots spelling and its legacy in modern Ulster Scots, that is not wholly the case. As many of the spellings used predate the introduction of Standard English to Scotland, they cannot be phonetic adaptations of Standard English spelling conventions but are, in fact, often traditional literary Scots spelling conventions, although some may have been influenced by practices further south. It should come as no surprise that Scots and Standard English spelling conventions are very similar. The two varieties have a common orthographic origin.

The guide claims that “distinctive vowel sounds have proved to be difficult to represent”.

The literary record shows that was not the case in the past. The writers of the time were not attempting a phonetic transcription — they were writing as in any literary language, expecting readers to interpret the graphemes according to their own pronunciation. Other writers did, however, choose to write dialect deliberately, whereby the author provides the pronunciation rather than the reader.

There is no need to borrow “innovative devices”. As the literary record amply demonstrates, all the graphemes necessary to represent Ulster Scots already exist in the Scots literary tradition.

a) The short ‘i’ represented by ì

This refers to vowel 15. That vowel has traditionally been represented by the grapheme <i> in literary Scots from Ulster. Native speakers will habitually pronounce it /i/, and there is no need for any innovation because <i> cannot be confused with any other possible pronunciation. The introduction of <ì> appears to be no more than an excuse to be different from English (and Scots).

If the spellings *pag*, *hat* and *bag* for traditional Scots *pig*, *hit* and *big* are not intended to represent /i/, they may represent /ɛ/, which occurs in some Mid-Ulster English varieties. The spellings *pug*, *hut* and *bug* may represent an Irish substrate producing /ʌ/.

The realisation /ʌ/ after <w(h)> is predictable but not universal. Since the /ʌ/ realisation will be produced habitually by those native speakers that have it, there is no need for <u> in a literary orthography. Using <u> would be characteristic of phonetic dialect writing.

The guide mentioned the innovation <ä> proposed by Gregg and Adams. Their system was for phonetic transcription rather than literary use. They had to make use of the symbols that the typewriters of the time provided. With computers we can now use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to show exact pronunciations.

b) The short ‘u’ represented by ü

This refers to vowel 19. The grapheme <ü> for /ʌ/ is unnecessary because, if the sound-to-letter correspondences are regular <u>, will usually map to /ʌ/ anyway. It is Standard English that is inconsistent here. In order to know when to use <ü>, one has to use Standard English as a frame of reference, which ultimately undermines the claim that Ulster Scots is a language in its own right.

The Scots form of bush is *buss*.

c) Aphæresis

Lastic, *lectric*, *lapse*, *leven*, *legiance* and *lotment* etc.

The initial vowel is most likely just a barely audible /ə/ in unemphatic colloquial speech. It is, however, still there and should be represented in a literary orthography. That is also the case with *possle* (apostle) and *rithmatick*, but those would be better spelt *apostle* and *arithmetic* in a literary orthography. Showing the simplification of the cluster /st/ to /s/ and respelling with final <ck> are characteristic of pseudo-phonetic dialect writing.

Ledge and *prentice* are examples of aphetic forms of *allege* and *apprentice*, respectively, and have historical pedigree. *Greeance* is from Old French *gréance*.

d) Shared English and Ulster–Scots words with different spelling systems

Meat, eat, cheat, seat, beat, clean, cheap, beard, cheat, seat, sheaf, treat, beast, and fear rather than *baird, chait* or *chate, chaip* or *chape, sait* or *sate, shaif, trait, baist/baste, bait/bate* because all have an underlying vowel 3 but *faisible, maisles* and *traison*. However, depending on word and/or variety/speaker the <ea> is realised either /i/ or /e/ (see pp. 47–48 in Wilson, J. (1926) *The Dialects of Central Scotland*, Oxford) having merged with vowels 2 or 4.

The <ea> digraph is suitable for both realisations. Standard English manages fine with *beat, beak, fear* and *great, break, pear*, not to mention *head, read* (pt.) and *sweat*. Literate native speakers know how to pronounce those words.

“Than o’ his **meat**”

“I think I **hear** the hail–stanes rattling yet”

“Or **fear** yer ***** shou’d be mad cald” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“Cam’ at the hour, tho’ win’ an’ rain **beat** sair”

“An’ gies a **cheap**, safe recipe, they try” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“Cauld **fear** made cake, an’ crudle” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“But yet wad **eat**, for a’ that.” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“In quest o’ **meat!**” — ‘The Auld Wife’s lament for Her Teapot’, David Herbison

“That was baith **cheap**, an’ sturdy mettle”

“An’ fidgin’ wink’d at Bess tae **treat**”

“Till mony a wife was chang’d tae **beast**”

“Tak’ counsel imps, an’ dinna **fear**.” — ‘Doddery Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“Tho’ dim we shine; sae **clean** they scour” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston

Alternatively, one could use <ei>, which is usually used for the underlying vowel 3 in words such as *heid, breid, deid, threid* and *deif*. See Part 3, 'Words spelt with the vowel 'e' in English', section c, below.

If the intention is to show either an /i/ or an /e/ realisation, one should at least spell them consistently using the usual digraph for the vowel with which they have merged, though <ei> may be a better choice for the vowel 2 /i/ realisation than <ee>, with <a-e> for vowel 4. However, since the realisation of many of those words varies between /i/ or /e/, <a-e> (or <ai>) would not be a suitable representation of an /i/ realisation.

Waik (weak) has vowel 4 and, as suggested, is usually spelled *waik*.

Green, teen, meet, beef and *week* (the Scots form was (*w*)*ouk*) all have vowel 2, and, as suggested, are usually spelt <ee>.

“Wi’ **beef**, cram well yer money–saul” — ‘An Elegy’, Robert Starrat

“Alang the heath beskirted **green**” — ‘The hawk and the Weazle’, Samuel Thomson
 “An’ lasses made cockades o’ **green**” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
 “An’ wife, in a fear ay, that jilts **meet** her dearie” — ‘The Spae-Wife’, James Orr
 “We’ll **meet** again, for a’ that” — ‘A Song on marriage’, Hugh Porter
 “Baith black an’ **green**.” — ‘My Auld Mither’s Address’, Joseph Carson
 “Tae watch thon birdies’ crests o’ **green**” — ‘Chaffinches’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
 “**Meets** nae return but aye a sneer” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
 “The night been set tae **meet** again” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “Wi’ **beef** and meal” — ‘Address to Lettergull’, Sarah Leech

Hear seems to have vowel 2 only now.

“I think I **hear** the hail–stones rattling yet” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat
 “As wife’s wad be, wha’d see, or **hear**” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore
 “The fields wad ring to **hear** him sing” — ‘Answer to Burns’ ‘Lovely Jean’’, Hugh Porter

Quare would seem to be the Ulster Scots form of queer. However, David Herbison did use *queer* in ‘My Ain Native Toun’.

Part 3

Spelling guide to Ulster–Scots vowel sounds

The use of the word homonyms here is confusing. Perhaps the relationship between Scots and Standard English cognates is being referred to.

Words spelt with the vowel ‘-a’ in English

a) English ‘a’ to Ulster–Scots *ai* (before ‘r’)

The literary spelling for vowel 8 /eɪ/ words is usually <ai> initially and medially. Merger with vowel 4 may produce /e/, and Ulster lowering of short front vowels may produce /ɛɪ/.

Shairp, airm, airt, cairt, chairge and *pairt* as suggested.

“That **baith paid** weel, and counted **fair**” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat
 “An’ **braid** receipts for them he’ll fill” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle
 “I **fain** wad speak a word or twa” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “Sair–**skraith**’d, an’ quakin’.” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore
 “Lye **skail**’d in a’ directions” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
 “A mug, fae whaur the ear is **parted**”
 “Ma hale domain a **gairden** plot” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie
 “Guid **faith** I hae a min’ tae prent ye” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “And on, and past the aul’ grave **yaird**” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “The red **cairts** rattlin’ doon the brae.” — ‘The Invalid’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Herm and *ferm* rather than *hairm* and *fairm*, *herm* and *ferm* being common literary spellings for those words.

“An’ whaur’s the **herm** in this, noo?” ‘A rustic Love Making’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

“An’ a’s gaed wrang wi’ the **ferm**!” — ‘The Prodigal Son’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
“The **fermer** ploddin’ through his fields” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given

“An’ dae ye little **herm**” — ‘The Bicycle’, Adam Lynn

b) English ‘a’ to Ulster–Scots *e*

The literary spelling for vowel 8 is usually <ai>.

The <e> here may represent Ulster phonology. However, the /ɛ(:)/ realisation will be produced habitually by native speakers, as it is conditioned by environment.

Aiple, *kaip* and *haimer* rather than *epple*, *kep* and *hemmer*.
Faither and *maister* (less the diacritic) as suggested.

Cat rather than *ket*, as *cat* has vowel 17 usually spelt <a>. The spelling *ket* may represent the Mid–Ulster English raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ after /k/, a prominent feature of Belfast vernacular.

“Wha wad hae bell’d the **cat** awee” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
“They’re like the **Cat**, an’ a’ that” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter
“By **cat** or trap I’ll hae you taen” — ‘To a Mouse’, David Herbison

Lether and *efter* have vowel 16; as suggested here, the usual literary spelling is <e>.

“Did toom three aff the **lether**.” — ‘The Scare–Craw’, Francis Boyle
“**Efter** anither sweet repast” — ‘The Lint Pullin’, Adam Lynn

The spelling *ect* for *act* represents a Mid–Ulster English realisation, whereby /æ/ becomes /ɛ/ before velars. The Scots form is *act* with vowel 17.

“Quo’ I, ‘Honest foreman, **act** somewhat mair justly” — ‘The Weaver’s Triumph’, Edward Sloan

c) English ‘a’ to Ulster Scots *u*

Whit and *wis* rather than *whut* and *wus* because those words have an underlying vowel 15, which has traditionally been presented by the grapheme <i> in literary Scots in Ulster. The /ʌ/ realisation is conditioned by the preceding <w(h)> but is not universal. Since the /ʌ/

realisation will be produced habitually by those native speakers that have it, there is no need for <u> in a literary orthography. Using <u> would be characteristic of phonetic dialect writing.

Words spelt with the vowel ‘e’ in English

a) English ‘e’ to Ulster–Scots *i*

This refers to vowel 15, here not spelled <i>, thus illustrating the inconsistency and contradiction inherent in the guide. Good sense dictates that <i> be used in *iver*, *niver*, *ivery*.

Divil also has the form *deevil* and the doublet *deil*. The letter <v> is not usually doubled, cf. river. See Part 1, section h, Loss of English ‘v’, above.

“Did ye *iver* know wee Robert?” — ‘Sarah Ann’, William Forbes Marshal

“A’m *ivery* bit a patentee” — ‘The Bicycle’, Adam Lynn

“I *niver* get a bite o’ meat” — ‘The Old man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr

Yit is usually *yet* [jɛt] in traditional literature. The spelling *yit* may represent a [jɛ̃t] realisation.

“I think I hear the hail–stones rattling *yet*” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“*Yet* in the en’ we’re truly please’t” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

b) English ‘e’ to Ulster–Scots *u*

Let [lɛt] rather than *lut* as is usual in the literary record.

“*Let*’s drink a bumper o’ the best” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“Or *let* it rive” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“As if they griev’d to *let* her gang.” — ‘Crochan Hill — A Scotch Sang’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“Who ne’er wad *let* us meet the gither” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“Wad hardly *let* a haet be heard.” — ‘The Wanderer’, James Orr

“We needna *let* it dally” — ‘Written the Next Morning’, Hugh Porter

“A sang we may a’ *let* alane.” — ‘A Song for February’, Thomas Given

“An’ juist niver *let* on you.” — ‘Toothache’, Agnes Kerr

It is of course also possible that *lut* represents the past–tense form *luit* [lit] (vowel 7), with a /ʌ/ realisation owing to an Irish substrate.

War rather than *wur*. The traditional literary form is *war*. The /ʌ/ realisation represents the unstressed form in colloquial speech.

“Ye’d thocht ae time my guts **war** churnin’” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston

c) English ‘ea’ To Ulster–Scots *ei*

This is usually vowel 3. See part 2, section d, ‘Shared English and Ulster–Scots words with different spelling systems’, above.

The usual literary spelling is <ei> in *heid*, *breid*, *deid*, as suggested.
Threid and *deif* rather than *threed* and *deef*.

“Sets his **heid** tae the side, wi’ its feathers agee” — ‘A Song for February’, Thomas Given

“She **weirs** nane noo, sure onyways”

“If he’s alive, sin’ if he’s **deid**” — ‘The Magic X’, James Mullan

Heard rather than *heerd* because the infinitive is *hear* [hi:r]. Forming the past tense regularly would give *heard* [hi:rd] (heard), although it may also be *haurd* [ha:rd].

“The blythest lilt that e’er my lugs **heard** sung.” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“As wives wad be, wha’d see, or **hear**” — ‘To A Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“The fields wad ring to **hear** him sing” — ‘Answer to Burns’ ‘Lovely Jean’, Hugh Porter

“Wad hardly let a haet be **heard**.” — ‘The Wanderer’, James Orr

“Tae **hear** o’ witty tales or cracks” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“**Heard** ye no tell o’ Stumpy’s Brae” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander

Beasts rather than *beece*, which is a phonetic dialect spelling of *beasts* showing the simplification of the final cluster /sts/ in the plural *beasts*. As is usual for vowel 3, *beast*, may have /i/ or /e/.

“Thou feeds our **beasts** o’ ilka kin” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr

“Till mony a wife was chang’d tae **beast**” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“Noo a’ the **beasts** about the hoose” — ‘The Magic X’, James Mullan

d) English ‘ea’ to Ulster–Scots *ai*

This is usually an underlying vowel 3. See Part 2 ‘Representation of vowel sounds’, section d, above.

Rear, *beard*, *meal*, *seat*, *sheaf*, *cheat*, *treat*, *beat* and *meat* rather than *rair*, *baird*, *mail*, *sait*, *shaif*, *chait*, *trait*, *bate* and *mate*, but *maisles*,

“Than o’ his **meat**” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“May milk and **meal** ne’er fail ye”

“Ye hae been better **treated**” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“Wha here first **rear**’d ye.” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr

“The ragged coat, an’ hamely **meal**” — ‘Fragment of an Epistle to Mr W.H.D.—’, James Orr
 “Cam’ at the hour, tho’ win’ an’ rain **beat** sair” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr
 “Their **seats** maun be cushioned” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
 “In quest o’ **meat!**” — ‘The Auld Wife’s Lament for her Teapot’, David Herbison
 “An’ fidgin’ wink’d at Bess tae **treat**”
 “They **beat** the fern, the scrog, an’ scaur” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “Tae **meal** this day.” — ‘The Weaver Question’, Thomas Given
 “The **beaten** pad an’ freenly grove” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given
 “I niver get a bite o’ **meat**” — ‘The Old Man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr

However, underlying vowel 3 does not occur root-finally, as *tea* is a later addition to the language from the Amoy word *tê*, so the word should be spelt *tea* rather than *tay*. The <ea> represented the [te:] realisation at the time the word entered the language. Later sound shifts led to the [ti:] realisation elsewhere. As vowel 3 can be represented by <ea>, the spelling *tea* is adequate. Native speakers know how to pronounce it.

“Wi’ **tea**, ye’r chief diversion” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “Or else if ye cleek up, an’ toss my delft **tea** cup” — ‘The Spae-Wife’, James Orr
 “The wee drap **tea**” — ‘The Auld Wife’s Lament for her Teapot’, David Herbison

Hert rather than *hairt*, as that usually has vowel 16 /ɛ/. The literary spelling for it is usually <e>. However, for some speakers, *hairt* would also be phonologically accurate.

The spelling *wake* (weak) contradicts the spelling *waik* suggested above. *Waik* has vowel 4 and, as suggested above, is usually spelled *waik*.

e) English ‘e’ and ‘ea’ to Ulster-Scots *a*

This refers to vowel 17, usually spelt <a>.

Wall rather than *wal*.

Dwallin, *waddin*, *wab*, *twal*, *wat*, *wather* and *walth* as suggested.

“Three **twal** months sine fortall his deed” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat
 “To strip my **wab** o’ life.” — ‘Epistle to S Thomson of Carngranny’
 “Had I your walth, I hame wad tak’ wi’ me” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr
 “To speak about a **wadin**’ day” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter
 “And cut, o’ my guid **wab**, a bout” — ‘To a Mouse’, David Herbison
 “It aften strike’s **twal**, whan it shudna strike twa” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
 “Will to your **dwallin**’ homage pay” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg
 “But ane, an’ that’s the **waddin**’ way” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “In **wather** dry or drackey” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given

Walcome rather than *walcum*. *Come* is the usual literary spelling. The spelling *cum* is characteristic of (eye) dialect writing.

“**Come**, tak your bicker, never think” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“**Come** furth, and stretch your limbs a while” — ‘The Gartan Coutship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“Be meek; an’ firm whan crosses **come** your road” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“The day is **come**, my bonny bride” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

Wrastle rather than *wrassle*, which simply shows the simplification of the cluster <stl> to /sl/ and is characteristic of pseudo-phonetic dialect writing.

“To tell me how ye **wrastle** thro” — ‘Epistle to S Thomson of Carngranny’, James Orr

Such simplification of the cluster <stl> also occurs in other words.

“Cou’d **whistle** back an auld dead wife frae hell” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“By biggin’ **castles** in the air” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“O, **nestle** close aside my heart” — ‘The True Heart’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

As suggested, the traditional literary form is *whan*, an /ʌ/ realisation perhaps being the unstressed form or having arisen by analogy with vowel 15 after <w(h)>.

“**Whan** chiels wha grudg’d to be sae tax’d” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“Wha’s e’e soon fills **whan** told about the pain” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“**Whan** I was a boy in my ain native toun.” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison

“Aye **whan** our theme’s a bonny lass” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg

“**Whan** youthfu’ vigour ower ye creeps.” — ‘Doddery Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“**Whan** writ wi’ a big capital” — ‘The Magic X’, James Mullan

“But **whan** he keekit ower the wa” — ‘Jamie Smith and the Grogan’, W. Clarke Robinson

Whether rather than *whather*. Forms with /ɪ/ or /ʌ/ may be unemphatic or occur by analogy with vowel 15 after <w(h)>.

“But **whether** this account be true” — ‘To a hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson

“He’s flitted, an’ **whether** for waur or for better” — ‘An Epitath on a Miser’, C. K. Pooler

Help rather than *halp*. The form *halp* may be an archaism from Hiberno- or Mid-Ulster English.

“For if they crav’d his **help** in time o’ need” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“Wi’ the **help** o’ an Eastern breeze” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander

“She’ll **help** ye, whaivver ye be” — ‘Miss Maud’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Whaur rather than *whar* (where), which indicates a merger of vowels 12 and vowel 17. The underlying phoneme is vowel 12 (/ɑː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect), usually spelt <au> initially and medially. The literary form is *whaur*.

“A mug, fae **whaur** the ear is pairted” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie

“That **whaur** the Tory chieftain fell” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“THE snug wee hoosie **whaur** she lees” — ‘The Invalid’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Shade, as suggested, has vowel 4 /e/, and is usually spelt <a-e> initially and medially.

Words spelt with the vowel ‘i’ in English

a) English ‘i’ to Ulster–Scots *ī*

King and *pin* rather than *king* and *pin*. This is vowel 15, which has traditionally been presented by the grapheme <i> in literary Scots from Ulster. Native speakers will habitually pronounce it /ī/, so there is no need for any innovation. <i> cannot be confused with any other possible pronunciation, since it is usually /ī/. The introduction of <i> appears to be no more than an excuse to be different from English (and Scots). The forms *keeng* and *peen* with vowel 2 may also occur.

Sax rather than *six*. *Six* may be a Mid–Ulster English loan; the traditional Scots form is *sax* (vowel 17).

“Then ilka day in **sax** hours gaun” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

Quat rather than *quät*. The <ä>, a suggested alternative spelling for the vowel realised /ī/, contradicts the suggestion to use <ī>. The result is that three possible spellings for vowel 15, <ī>, <ä> and <i>, are suggested where one would suffice. The last is the only one ever to have occurred in traditional literature.

Both *quit* and *quat* forms exist.

“Ha! Crummy, ha! trowth I man **quat** my sang” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

Meenistry rather than *männystrie*, as it would normally have vowel 2 in Scots, usually spelt <ee>. The <ä> represents /ī/, a Mid–Ulster English realisation; the following <y> is no better a representation of the vowel than the traditional <i>. Some may think that the <y> has been used for comic effect. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘i’ in English, section c, English ‘i’ to Ulster–Scots *ee*, below.

“Is it at the **deveesion** o’ the land a’ll get it” — ‘Betsy Grey’ W. G. Lyttle
“tak a drap o’ this tae rise yer **speerits**” — ‘Daft Eddy’ W. G. Lyttle
“let the **meenister** ken” — ‘The Auld Meetin’ Hoose Green’ Archibald M’Ilroy

b) ‘i’ after ‘w’ or ‘wh’ spelt with *u*

Witch, Willie, wind, whin, switch and *whistle* rather than *whutch, Wullie, wun, swutch* and *whussle*, since those words have an underlying vowel 15. The realisation /ʌ/ after <w(h)> is predictable but not universal. Since the /ʌ/ realisation will be produced habitually by those native speakers that have it, there is no need for <u> in a literary orthography. Using <u> would be characteristic of phonetic dialect writing. See Part 2, section a, The short ‘i’ represented by i, above.

The Scots cognate of which is *whilk*.

“Nor Habby’s drone, cou’d with thy **wind**-pipe please”
“Cou’d **whistle** back an auld dead wife frae hell” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat
“but **whilk** in **whilk**, let fate decide.” — ‘The Gout and The Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
“On some auld **whin** or thorn accurst” — ‘To a Hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson
“Her ban or **switch**” — ‘Elegy on a Loquacious Old Woman’, Sarah Leech
“The **Witch**-bush-bog, an’ a’ sae black”
“The burn that **Willie**’s mill’s weel feedin’”
“A **whimper** mair’ll ruin a’” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
“And white wi’ foam and black wi’ **wind**” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander

c) English ‘i’ Ulster Scots *ee*

Leeve, seek, sweel, jeeg as suggested, with vowel 2, usually spelt <ee>.

Eediot reflects its Latin origin from *idiota* better than *eedyit*. Native speakers know how to pronounce it.

Sweem as suggested. Another Scots form, *soum*, also exists.

“On the tip-toe o’ hope to auld **Leezie** gae **jeegin**” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner
“O, happier **leeve** the wee-bit birds” — ‘The Wanderer’, George Francis Savage-Armstrong
“Then meat tae gar the wee yins **leeve**” — ‘The Weaver Question’, Thomas Given

Many Romance words have vowel 2. Where it was represented in traditional literary writing, <ee> was invariably used.

“Words of Romance origin retain this vowel [i] in Sc.” (Grant and Dixon 1921: 41)

Peety as suggested.

Airtifeecial and *parteecular* rather than *artyfeecial* and *parteeklar*. The <y> in *artyfeecial* may give the impression of being used for comic effect.

“Noo hear the pair man’s **peetious** wane” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie
“what has led me intil this **pheelosophy**” — ‘The Repealer Repulsed’, William M’Comb
“there’s a sma’ error I maun crave **leeberly** to correct”
“whilk ye ken is just a **ceevil** name for robbery” — ‘Letter II’, William M’Comb
“tak a drap o’ this tae rise yer **speerits**” — ‘Daft Eddy’, W. G. Lyttle
“I’ll be for iver **ableeged** tae ye” — ‘Readings by Robin’, W. G. Lyttle
“let the **meenister** ken” — ‘The Auld Meetin’ Hoose Green’ Archibald M’Ilroy
“Ye’ll see nae **veesions** in thon gless, A doo’t.” — ‘The Elder’s Experience: The Haunted Glen’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English

a) English ‘o’ to Ulster–Scots *a* or *ai*

English ‘o’ to Ulster–Scots *a*

Stane, *hame* and *bane* as suggested, with vowel 4, usually spelt <a–e> initially and medially.

“I think I hear the hail–**stanes** rattling yet” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat
“stumping about on the **banes** o’ his knees” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat
“And tend your squeakin pups at hame” — ‘To a Hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson
“Na, haste ye **hame**; ye ken ye’ll ‘scape” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
“Tae bring **hame** luxuries tae me” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie
“On cauld flags o’ whin**stane** to hae a while’s chat” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
“And elf–shot **stanes** your kye ne’er blight” — ‘Address to Lettergull’, Sarah Leech
“An’ **stanes** fu’ mony, mony brained.”
“I’m sure ye kent that your aul’ **banes**” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
“An’ new gat hame” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
“stumping about on the **banes** o’ his knees” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander
“Gees his neb a bit dicht on a **stane**” — ‘A Song for February’, Thomas Given
“Sae bide at **hame** an’ keep yer moss” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham

Ane rather than *yin*. The traditional literary form is *ane*. The [jɪn] realisation arose in some dialects owing to the stress falling on the second vowel of an earlier form [iən] so that the first vowel became weak and eventually became [j]. In some dialects that also occurred in words such as *ale* and *aits* (oats). The literary spelling *ane*, pronounced [jɪn], can be seen as analogous to Standard English one pronounced [wʌn] rather than rhyming with bone. It is something that literate native speakers master effortlessly.

“As **ane** wad wish, just a’ beneath my ee” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“Why do the POETS, **ane** an’ a” — ‘To the Criticks’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “Ilk **ane** his house — there ye maun bide” — ‘The Gout and the Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “**Ane** half, alas! wad fear’d to face” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
 “Then, in hin–hairst, when wee an’ big **ane**” — ‘To the Potato’, Hugh Porter
 “Are baith now souther’d up in **ane**” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter
 “When this **ane** calves, and that **ane**’s dry” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
 “Are her children **ane** and a’.” — ‘The Irish Widow’s Lament’, David Herbison
 “Betocken’t that Nannie wad never get **ane**.” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner
 “When youngers scamper, **ane** by **ane**” — ‘Address to a Cricket’, Sarah Leech
 “Ye bachelors baith **ane** and a’” — ‘Address to a Bachelor’, Sarah Leech
 “But spun by **ane** frae loom or pleugh” — ‘An Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg
 “By **ane** sae vile, the plague o’ caddies” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “And aff tae Hell the base **ane** flappit” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “if ye meet **ane** there as daylight flees” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander
 “Mair aft than ony **ane**.” — ‘The Wee Lassie’s First Luve’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
 “It’s guid when **ane** is growin’ auld” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham

Ae [e] is the adjectival form before nouns. It may be realised [je].

“**AE** windy day last owk, I’ll ne’er forget” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat
 “**Ae** Sunday ev’ning, after mass” — ‘The Gout and the Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “To town **ae** morn, as Lizie hie’d” — ‘The Hawk and the Weazle’, Samuel Thomson
 “Gif thou’d withdraw for **ae** camping” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr
 “In **ae** short sentence — serve baith man an’ God.” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr
 “What e’en **ae** night can bring about?” — ‘Written the Next Morning’, Hugh Porter
 “They pray’d to **ae** God, and in peace pass’d awa” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
 “Wi’ **ae** request o’ mine agree” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg
 “Ye’d thocht **ae** time my guts war churnin’” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “**Ae** day a bee and an auld, grey stane” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham

The adverbial form is *ance*, a regular formation from *ane*. That may be realised [jɪns] or [jɪnst], the latter often spelt *yinst* in deliberate dialect writing.

“It happen’t **ance** in Donaghadee” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle
 “An’ only “kiss the cup” an’ hardly **ance** break bread.” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr
 “**Ance** mair death bother’t, thank ye, thank ye” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “Again it comes, ay, **ance**, twice, thrice” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Muive, which has vowel 7, rather than *mave*. The spelling *mave* represents the long realisation [me:v] before /v/ (in North Antrim and North–east Londonderry the general

realisation of vowel 7). See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section h, English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots ui, below.

English ‘o’ to Ulster-Scots *ai*

Saip, raip, baith, claith, maist and *mair* as suggested. Although there is an underlying vowel 4, early merger with vowel 8 led to the literary spelling <ai> becoming established.

“That **baith** paid weel, and counted fair” — ‘An Elegy’, Willaim Starrat

“But yet **mair** famous for his cures” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle

“Steal out, my dear, and slip them **baith**.” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“A braid-**claith** coat I aw ye” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“An’ want **baith** taste an’ skill.” — ‘Epistle to S Thomson of Carngranny’, James Orr

“Before the looking-glass a **claith** they cast” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“In tryin’ times, **maist** folk, you’ll fin” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“**Mair** lown,” quo’ she — “thir’s woefu’ times!” — ‘The Wanderer’, James Orr

“But part o’ **baith** mix’d up thegither”

“At least mak **mair** o’t for the money” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter

“An’ thief an’ liar **baith** he made him” — ‘Epitath for the Same’, George Dugall

“Wi’ conscience than his face **mair** black” — ‘An Epistle — To The Crochan Bard’, David Colhoun

“**Baith** milk an’ butter” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley

“**Baith** but and ben.” — ‘The Auld Wife’s Lament for her Teapot’, David Herbison

“And something **mair**” — ‘To a Mouse’, David Herbison

“**Baith** black an’ green.” — ‘My Auld Mither’s Address’, Joseph Carson

“As brave a lad as e’er wore **claith**”

“Wi’ **mair** o’ bogles, an’ sic craft” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“Queels maun be wun when **claith** is wroucht”

“Nae **mair** this day.” — ‘The Weaver Question’, Thomas Given

“Guid-bye tae ye neebours, I’ll noo say nae **mair**” — ‘The Weaver’s Triumph’, Edward Sloan

“An’ gaithered moss **baith** nicht an’ day” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham

b) English ‘o’ to Ulster-Scots *a*

Sab, lang, aff, drap and *shap* as suggested, with vowel 17, usually spelt <a>.

Appen rather than *apen*, which may suggest [epən].

Saften rather than *saffen* because inflected forms generally keep the root form. The spelling *saffen* is characteristic of dialect writing.

“**Lang** e’er he deed.” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“And thrive sou **saft**, on drams, and wine.” — ‘The Gout and the Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“But **saftly** whisper’d in his ear” — ‘Simkin’, Samuel Thomson

“Hae we been mute sae **lang**” — ‘Epistle to S Thomson of Carngranny’, James Orr

“A **drap** o’ milk tae them we add” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie

“For flesh an’ bluid can bear nae **langer**” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter
“His sighs and his **sabs** are unheard by the crew” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
“Tae bed the cobler **aff** was bore”
“Unto a cobbler’s **shap** careerin’.” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Wha and *twa* as suggested. This is vowel 12 (/aː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect). *Wha* and *twa* are the established literary spellings. Part 3, Long ‘a’ represented by á, aa and aw, below.

“**Wha** o’ his drink took far more care” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat
“**Twa** or three days in Hornbook’s care” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle
“The **twa** auld wives ayont the fire” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
“As wife’s wad be, **wha**’d see, or hear”
“But we **twa** will hae haudins there” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore
“His thrapple ate in **twa**” — ‘The Hawk and the Weazle’, Samuel Thomson
“The leuks o’ wheens **wha** stay’d behind” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
“Wha fain our necks wad tread” — ‘Written the Next Morning’, Hugh Porter
“Anither page or **twa** o’ paper” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter
“**Wha**’ scoured the muirs, through snaw and sleet” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
“O’, **wha** the wife could wyte, or blame” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
“As catch yoursel’ a moose or **twa**” — ‘The Old Man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr

c) English ‘o’ and ‘oe’ to Ulster-Scots *ae*

Tae and *dae* as suggested. Both have vowel 7, <ae> representing the long realisation. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section h, English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots *ui*, below. The spelling <ui> in final positions never established itself in literary Scots. It was the *tae* and *dae* spellings representing the typical Central Scots realisation whose written forms that eventually established themselves.

“**Tae** furnish it nae flocks o’ geese” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie
“Stan’ toughly **tae** the healin’ trade”
“**Dae** ye intend that chaps like me” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
“Is nou about **tae** go” — ‘The Auld School and the Pun’ Thomas Given
“Fareweel **tae** ye, Robin; adieu **tae** your foreman” — ‘The Weaver’s Triumph’, Edward Sloan
“It isna **tae** be compared” — ‘Toothache’, Agnes Kerr
“What will I **dae** wi’ you ava?” — ‘The Old Man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr

Sae, *nae*, *gae*, *tae* (toe), *wae* and *fae* as suggested. All have vowel 4, usually spelt <ae> root–finally.

“To Canigate **sae** gash thy gab–trees gang” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat
“**Nae** ill he said, but bad the neist” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“Sae, bonny Jenny, are ye there?” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “Nae money ye shall get frae me” — ‘Simkin’, Samuel Thomson
 “We’ll mak’ nae fire; the picquet bauld”
 “I wad preserve my greatest fae” — ‘The Wanderer’, James Orr
 “For flesh an’ bluid can bear nae langer” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter
 “Sae for your credit dinna speak o’t.”
 “An’ scrapes an’ worries Peggy’s taes” — ‘With a Little Dog’, George Dougall
 “Meets nae return but aye a sneer” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
 “Nae pride was amang us, nae boastin’ o’ gear” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
 “That wad sae spite her.” — ‘Address to Bachelors’, Sarah Leech
 “May wae befa’ them, that would gie” — ‘Address to a Cricket’, Sarah Leech
 “E’en let them gae” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg
 “By ane sae vile, the plague o’ caddies”
 “Nae dou’t but it will gar ye smile” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston

d) English ‘oa’ to Ulster–Scots *oa*

The spelling <oa> usually represents an underlying vowel 5.

Loat, loss, born, cost, corn, boag, rock, pocket rather than *loast, loass, boarn, coast, coarn, boag, roak, and poaket*, which have vowel 18 /ɔ/, usually spelt <o>. The use of <oa> is a phonetic (eye) dialect spelling illustrating how some dialects merge vowel 18 with vowel 5 /o:/. The spelling <oa> was extremely rare for an underlying vowel 18 in literary Scots. Native speakers who merge vowel 18 and vowel 5 will habitually produce an /o:/ realisation

“It seems ye hae been born in lent” — ‘To Disapointment’, Hugh Porter
 “I hae a pickle groats o’ corn” — ‘To a Redbreast’, John McKinley
 “Whaur the rock–abysses deepen” — ‘Macananty’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
 “Gin I get nane its nae great loss” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham

Collie, the established literary spelling, rather than the (eye) dialect *coallie*. *Collie* comes from the Older Scots for coal, i.e. black. *Coalie* would be a consistent, if unrecognisable, regularised Modern Scots spelling.

“Some paidlin’ collie on the trodge” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Dog rather than *doag*. The Scots form is usually *dug* with vowel 19.

“Wae worth the silly worthless dug” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston

e) English ‘ow’ to Ulster–Scots *-owe*

Growe as suggested, and *bowl* rather than *bowle*. This is vowel 13 /əʊ/. The digraph <ow> is usually used initially and medially and <owe> root–finally.

“And lanesome Ringwood **yowls** upon the brae.” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“Poor silly **gowks**” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“Mair **lown**,” quo’ she — “thir’s woefu’ times!” — ‘The wanderer’, James Orr

“They’ll grunt, an’ grane, an’ greet, an’ **glower**” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“Wi’ ourie **rowt** an’ empty wame” — ‘Descriptive Fragment’, Geroge Dougall

“Despoilin’ your coffers o’ **gowd** and o’ gear” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner

“And **dowie** I am left alane” — ‘Address to a Cricket’, Sarah Leech

“Frae Willie’s **howe** tae Ebby’s thorn”

“And on the crack mair joyfu’ **flowed**”

“Till bowl on **bowl** they’d heaped on ither” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“The aiks the **knowes** hae shaded” — ‘A Summer’s Want’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

f) English ‘o’ to Ulster–Scots *i*

Brither, *ither* and *mither* as suggested. Here the suggestion is to use <i> rather than <ī>, although both are used to represent vowel 15. It appears that <ī> is only used where the use of <i> would produce a spelling identical or very similar to that of Standard English. That implies that a hypothetical learner of (Ulster) Scots who had no English would have to gain literacy in English first in order to know how to spell (Ulster) Scots. The frame of reference here is clearly Standard English, undermining the claim that (Ulster) Scots is a language in its own right.

“I doubt ye darna for ye’r **mither**” — ‘The Gartan Coutship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“They pass by weans an’ **mithers**” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“No’ just sae dear, but rhymin’ **brithers**” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter

“His **mither**’s o’ the terrier breed” — ‘With a Little Dog’, George Dugall

“My poor auld man the **ither** night” — ‘My Auld Mither’s Address’, Joseph Carson

“Anither, yet **anither** dram” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“Come hame tae yer puir auld **mither**” — ‘The Prodigal Son’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

“An’ yet they ken a **brither**.” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given

“**Anither** ane runs in the race” — ‘The Magic X’, James Mullan

Tither as suggested, usually in the collocation ‘*the tither*’.

“And aye **the tither** cup they’re drainin’” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Sin certainly represents a common realisation of *son*. However, differentiation of the homophones *son*, *sun*, *sin* and *sin* (since) should perhaps be considered.

g) English 'ow' and 'ou' to Ulster-Scots *oo*

Toun, cou, broun, nou, allou, croun, flouer, pouer and *doun* rather than *toon, coo, broon, noo, alloo, croon, flooer, pooer* and *doon*. Those have vowel 6 /ü/. The traditional Scots spelling is <ou>. The spelling <oo> is a dialect spelling borrowed from Standard English, where it usually represents the Standard English outcome of what became vowel 7 in Scots.

“Ambition and folly wad imp at the **croun**”

“Or sad times we’ll hae in my ain native **toun**.”

“And dear they will be till my banes are laid **doun**” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison

“**Nou** grammal at display.” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

Craw, blaw, snaw and *raw* rather than *craa, blaa, snaa* and *raa*. Those have vowel 12 (/aː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect), which is usually spelt <aw> root-finally in literary Scots. The spelling <aa> usually occurred only in deliberate dialect writing aiming to represent the realisation in Northern and Insular dialects. The use of <aa> here may indicate a merger of vowel 12 with vowel 17.

“Frae rain an’ **snaw**” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“I rise e’er the cocks **craw** day” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“Folk wha lay list’ning ‘till the cock wad **craw**” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“The gentle breezes **blaw**” — ‘Answer to Burns’ ‘Lovely Jean’’, Hugh Porter

“See roun’ the ingle, in a **raw**”

“When surly winter ‘gins to **blaw**”

An robe himself wi’ frost and **snaw**” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley

“Far, far awa, frae lands o’ **snaw**.” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

English 'ou' to Ulster-Scots *oo*

The spelling <oo> is a dialect spelling borrowed from Standard English, where it usually represents the Standard English outcome of what is now vowel 7 in Scots. The traditional literary Scots spelling of vowel 6 /ü/ is <ou>. However, in the words below the resulting spelling may now imply a Standard English realisation so there is some justification for the use of <oo>.

Clood, aboot, oot, oor, hoose, moose, mooth and *cooncil* as suggested.

Roond rather than *roon*. See Part 4, Modified Consonants, section n, ‘Loss of final ‘-d’ in ‘-nd’ words, below.

“While Dodderly gaped wi’ **mooth** an’ een” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“An’ she’s tender wi’ man an’ wi’ **moose**” — ‘Miss Maud’, George Francis Savage-Armstrong

“Yet sure the auld scenes o’ **oor** youth” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

“And shut their **mooth**.” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given

“Day in an’ day **oot** on his auld farrant loom” — ‘A Song for February’, Thomas Given
 “It was but yestreen I had **oot** my bit claith, man” — ‘The Weaver’s Triumph’, Edward Sloan
 “They murred **about** the bump” — ‘The Bicycle’, Adam Lynn
 “Noo a’ the beasts **about** the **hoose**”
 “Of coorse they didna see the singin’ **moose**” — ‘The Magic X’, James Mullan
 “‘Ere he spak’ **oot**.” — ‘A Country Lad’s Observations at the Hiring Fair in Ballymena’, Adam Lynn
 “As catch yoursel’ a **moose** or twa” — ‘The Old Man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr

Dout rather than *doot*. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section g, English ‘ow’ and ‘ou’ to Ulster–Scots oo, above.

“Nae **dou’t** but it will gar ye smile” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston

Plou rather than *ploo*, an elided form of *pleuch*, arguably with vowel 6.

Fund rather than *fun* with vowel 19. See Part 4, Modified Consonants, section o, ‘Loss of final ‘-d’ in ‘-nd’ words, below.

Sowel rather than *sowl* (a person, i.e. a soul). *Saul*, the soul in a spiritual sense. *Sowl* would, however, be acceptable.

h) English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots *ui*

The spelling <ui> became the established literary spelling for vowel 7 except before /k/ and /x/. An alternative Older Scots spelling <u-e> may also be found in Scots literature, especially where the vowel occurs before nasals. The <oo> spelling from Standard English cognates also occurred.

In Mid Antrim, North Ards and North–west Strangford the original /ø/ has merged with vowels 15 (/i/) in short positions and vowel 4 (/e/) in long positions. In North Antrim and North–east Londonderry, especially before /n/ and /l/, mergers with vowel 4 often occur, and in Donegal, Magilligan, the Mid Ards, and West Strangford, mergers with vowel 2 (/i/) also occur. In Mid–Ulster English cognates before /r/, /ü/ may occur in words such as floor and board.

Buit, guid, guiss, muin, ruit, schuil, puir and *bluid* as suggested.
Stuid and *fluir* rather than *stud* and *flure*.

“As **guid** as Johnny Ross could mak’” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“**Guid** God! is’t you? fair fa’ ye!” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“Wi’ han’s that reek’t wi’ **bluid** she’d shed”

“Gaun thro’ the **muir** awee ere”

“To hear a **cuif**, whase useless gold” — ‘Epistle to S Thomson of Carngranny’, James Orr

“For flesh an’ **bluid** can bear nae langer” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter
 “The **guid**man maks and coals the split”
 “Wha’ scoured the **muirs**, through snaw and sleet” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
 “As my auld wrinkled, **bluidless** skin” — ‘The Auld Wife’s Lament for her Teapot’, David Herbison
 “An’ sune deil haet ails the **puir** beastie ava!” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner
 “**Guid** faith I hae a min’ tae prent ye” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “Wi’ best **cluit** foremost on he slaps” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “Quo’ she, “**Guid** man ye needna turn sae pale” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’ Frances Alexander
 “Come hame tae yer **puir** auld mither” — ‘The Prodigal Son’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
 “O’ **puir**hoose jaw and vapour” — ‘The Weaver Question’, Thomas Given
 “An’ **juist** niver let on you.” — ‘Toothache’, Agnes Kerr

Beuk, *teuk* and *leuk* rather than *buik*, *tuk* and *luk*. The spelling <eu> became the established literary spelling for the outcome of vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/, realised /*(j)u*/ or /*(j)ʌ*/ depending on word and/or dialect.

“To slight my **leuk**”
 “In my new **beuk**.”
 “An’ **teuk** their fees” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle
 “Dear Reverent sir, here is your **pleugh**
 Her timber’s season’t weel **eneugh**,
 Cut aff the bank aboon the **sheugh**” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle
 “The grace being done, the fellow **leugh**” — ‘Simkin’, Samuel Thomson
 “The **leuks** in a glass, o’ the loun that’s in faut” — ‘The Spae–Wife’, James Orr
 “Some hade, like hens in byre–**neuks**” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
 “For this bit **Beuk**, that’s no worth tippence”
 “Wad make it aye **leuk** something cheaper” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter
 “She birles roun’ a cup, an’ she bids ye **leuk** in.” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner
 “They hardly please mysel’ **eneugh**”
 “But spun by ane frae loom or **pleugh**” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg
 “Stan’ **teughly** tae the healin’ trade” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “While caul’ December’s **cranreuch** breath”
 “The **pleugh** maun gae for next year’s corn”
 “They search’d ilk **neuk**, ilk hole an’ bore”
 “Ne’er fearin’ **sheughs**, or dykes, or gaps” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “Doon’ roon’ Portafarry; an’ on tae Barr **cleugh**” — ‘The Spectre of Knockdoo’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Fit as suggested, with vowel 15. An Irish substrate may result in [fʌt].

Wid (wood) rather than *wud*. The underlying phoneme is vowel 15. The realisation /ʌ/ after <w(h)> is predictable but not universal. Since the /ʌ/ realisation will be produced habitually

by those native speakers that have it, there is no need for <u> in a literary orthography. Using <u> would be characteristic of phonetic dialect writing.

“That wadna wat her **fit** for fish” — ‘A Sang for Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“Till ‘thout a staggerin’ **fit** or faggin’” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“The win’ nigh lifts ye aff yer **fit**” — ‘The Auld Airds Tramp’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

“As he spies a bit snaw drop at **fit** o’ the tree” — ‘A Song for February’, Thomas Given

Door rather than *dure*. *Door* originally had vowel 18 in Scots. The realisation [dūr] is most likely from Mid–Ulster English where /ü/ occurs before /r/ in words such as floor and board. The spelling *door* would suffice for both the [dɔr~dɔ:r] and [du:r] realisations.

“Is filled up with poor folk a’maist to the **door**” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison

“Nane pass’d her **door** without their dues” — ‘Address to the Bachelors’, Sarah Leech

“As frae the hen house **door** she steppit” — ‘Dodderly Willowiam’, Robert Huddleston

“And gi’ed the **door** a shake.” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander

“Wad open ony **door**.” — ‘The Magic X’, James Mullan

Wad, the traditional literary spelling rather than *wud*. The underlying phoneme is vowel 17. The /ʌ/ may represent an unemphatic realisation or have arisen by analogy with vowel 15 after w(h). The spelling *wud* is characteristic of dialect writing.

“I fain **wad** speak a word or twa”

“Who ne’er **wad** let us meet the gither” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“As wife’s **wad** be, wha’d see, or hear” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“Wha **wad** hae bell’d the cat awee”

“Ane half, alas! **wad** fear’d to face” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“Had I your walth, I hame **wad** tak’ wi’ me” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“But yet **wad** eat, for a’ that.” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“The fields **wad** ring to hear him sing” — ‘Answer to Burns’ ‘Lovely Jean’’, Hugh Porter

“**Wad** make it aye leuk something cheaper” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter

The fields **wad** ring to hear him sing”

“**Wad** hardly let a haet be heard.” — ‘The Wanderer’, Robert Huddleston

“Betocken’t that Nannie **wad** never get ane.” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Sarah Leech

Coud and *shoud* rather than *cud* and *shud*.

The <l> in Standard English could is a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century addition by analogy with should and would. As the <l> in could and should is also silent, those spellings were also often employed in literary Scots alongside forms using an apostrophe. An apostrophe-less *coud* and *shoud* would suffice for [küd] and [jüd] with vowel 6.

The spellings *cud* and *shud* represent the unemphatic pronunciations [kəd, kʌd] and [ʃəd, ʃʌd] that occur in colloquial speech. As such they are characteristic of dialect writing.

“Not he wha whilome with his harp **cou’d** ca” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“Or fear yer **** **shou’d** be mad cald” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“As guid as Johnny Ross **could** mak” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“**Cou’d** any saul of sense forbear” — ‘Crochan Hill — A Scotch Sang’, *The Ulster Miscellan*

“**Shou’d** court, and fleetch you to be free”

“This **should** be fix’d- fause criticks else” — ‘To the Criticks’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“**Cou’d** mak’ a nest sae feat, an’ fair?” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“**Should** rude men wrang ye, to forgie them strive” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“I cock’d, like — wha **could** tell what” — ‘Written Next Morning’, Hugh Porter

“Lest Nick **should** hae nae fire to gie him” — ‘Epigram on an Honest Gentleman’, George Dugall

“Nor frae him **could** they keep the jade” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley

“**Could** weel be read.” — ‘To a Mouse’, David Herbison

“**Should** prowlers by nicht or by day rype your biggin” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner

“Lest he **shou’d** loss his regal throne”

“What terror wild **cou’d** us affright?”

“And if thou **couldna** want a wife” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“Some hae succeedit as they **should**” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

“You **cou’d** hae dune better by it than by lan” — ‘The Weaving’, Agnes Kerr

i) English ‘old’ to Ulster-Scots *oul*

Auld, *cauld* and *bauld* rather than *oul*, *coul* and *boul*. Those have underlying vowel 12 (/ɑː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect), usually spelt <au> initially and medially. However, in Ulster Scots, diphthongisation to /əü/ may occur before /l(d)/. The traditional spellings are *auld*, *bauld* and *cauld*, the diphthongised realisation conditioned by the following <ld> (/l(d)/) and thus adequately marked by it. The <ou> spelling traditionally represents vowel 6 /ü/ in Ulster Scots, and the spellings *oul*, *coul* and *boul* are clearly borrowed from Standard English to represent the /əü/ realisation. That, and the elision of final <d>, is characteristic of dialect writing.

“I in the bield of yon **auld** birk-tree side”

“Poor **cauld**rife Coly whing’d aneath my plaid.” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“ARE ye strange, frightfu’ chiel, **auld** Nick” — ‘The Scare-Craw’, Francis Boyle

“The twa **auld** wives ayont the fire” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“The **cauld** house easin” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“On some **auld** whin or thorn accurst” — ‘To a Hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson

“We’ll mak’ nae fire; the picquet **bauld**”

“But I’ll sit up; my bed’s no **cauld**” — ‘The Wanderer’, James Orr

“I aft hae view’d **auld** Crochan’s side” — ‘An Epistle — To the Crochan Bard’, David Colhoun

“As my **auld** wrinkled, bluidless skin” — ‘The Auld Wife’s Lament for her Teapot’, David Herbison

“The **auld** clock is gane wi’ its time-honoured face” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison

“Shame fa’ th’ **auld** wife ‘twad no’ delight her” — ‘My Auld Mither’s Address’, Joseph Carson

“In the **cauld** kirk-yard of Raphoe” — ‘Address to Bachelors’, Sarah Leech

“He **tauld** o’ lovely courtin’ joys”

“That mak’s us **bauld** ower a’ our ill.” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“That winds me in its **fauld**” — ‘Twa Luves’, George Francis Savage-Armstrong

“He sung them a sang o’ the **auld** an’ the new” — ‘A song for February’, Thomas Given

“An’ chitters wi’ the **cauld**.” — ‘Winter’, David Cunningham

Houl: the traditional Scots form is *Haud*. The form *hauld* is most likely due to the influence of Mid-Ulster English reversing historical l-vocalisation. Nevertheless, *hauld* (rather than *houl*) would follow the established literary tradition.

“But we twa will hae **haudins** there” — ‘To A Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“**Haud** up the mirror” to the times” — ‘Fragment of an Epistle to Mr W.H.D—’, James Orr

“But **haud** ye there, Salts bans yeir skill” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston

“That nightly **haud** their glamorous routs” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“But, **haud** a wee! Ye men o’ wealth!” — ‘The Weaver Question’, Thomas Given

“But **haud** ye, a jiffey, my potstick-legged callan” — ‘The Weaver’s Triumph’, Edward Sloan

j) English final ‘ow’ to Ulster-Scots *-a* and *-ae*

This may vary between /e, i, i̇, ə/, the last being perhaps an unemphatic realisation or an influence from Mid-Ulster English.

It was spelt variously <a>, <ae> or even <ow> in Literary (Ulster) Scots. It might be wise to regularise it to <ae> so that it can encompass both the unemphatic /ə/ and /e, i, i̇/ realisations.

The use of <ae> was certainly common in words such as *windae*.

“An’ in its **windae** was a wheen” — ‘The Sweetie-Shop’ in *The Ulster Folk*, Padric Gregory

Elbae rather than *elba*.

Fallae and *yallae* rather than *fella* and *yella*; *swallae* as suggested. All have underlying vowel 17.

Nairae rather than *nerra*. Underlying vowel 8 /eː/ is usually spelt <ai> initially and medially with Ulster lowering before /r/ to /ɛː/.

Follae rather than *fallae*, with underlying vowel 18 /ɔ̃/.

Windae rather than *wundae*, with underlying vowel 15. The realisation /ʌ/ after <w(h)> is predictable but not universal. Since the /ʌ/ realisation will be produced habitually by those native speakers that have it, there is no need for <u> in a literary orthography. Using <u> would be characteristic of phonetic dialect writing.

Holla: the traditional Scots form is *howe*, resulting from Middle Scots v-deletion. See Part 1, section g, Interchangeable ‘v’, ‘u’ and ‘w’, above. *Holla* is most likely a Mid-Ulster English loan.

“Frae Willie’s *howe* tae Ebby’s thorn” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Words spelt with the vowel ‘u’ in English

a) English ‘u’ and ‘ou’ to Ulster-Scots *i*

Rin, *sin* and *simmer* as suggested.

Sin certainly represents a common realisation of sun. However, differentiation of the homophones *son*, *sun*, *sin* and *sin* (since) should perhaps be considered.

Sich: the traditional Scots form is *sic*. *Sich* may be a Mid-Ulster English loan or a hybrid form.

Here the suggestion is to use <i> rather than <ï> although both are used to represent vowel 15. It appears that <ï> is only used where the use of <i> would produce a spelling identical or very similar to that of Standard English. That implies that a hypothetical learner of (Ulster) Scots who had no English would have to gain literacy in English first in order to know how to spell (Ulster) Scots. The frame of reference here is clearly Standard English, undermining the claim that (Ulster) Scots is a language in its own right.

“*Sic* kilter pat me in a merry mood” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“An can prescribe *sic* dose or pill” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle

“This pleugh’s no’ made to *rin* on wheels” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“Yet young beginners, *sic* as me” — ‘To the Criticks’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“On *sic* a day.”

“By dread to staun, by shame to *rin*” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“In *sic* a takin’, weel I wat” — ‘The Wanderer’, James Orr

“For flaes ther’s nae *sic* thing about him” — ‘With a Little Dog’, George Dougall

“They come in the spring time, they come in the *simmer*” — ‘Lizzie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner

“Your verses *rin* as true an’ fine” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg

“*Sic* wark canna stan’, it maun fade awa soon” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison

“*Sic* time as ‘tis man, jump an’ *rin*”

“Yet roun’ her youthfu’ bloomin’ *simmer*.”

“On *sic* like night as we narrate” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Cup rather than *kip*, as the underlying phoneme is vowel 19 /ʌ/, usually spelt <u>.

“Or else if ye cleek up, an’ toss my delft tea *cup*” — ‘The Spae-Wife’, James Orr

“And aye the tither *cup* they’re drainin’” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Couple rather than *kipple*. *Couple* is the usual spelling, although it does have vowel 19.

b) English 'u' to Ulster-Scots *ü*

This is vowel 19 /ʌ/ usually spelt <u>. It is Standard English that is inconsistent here. Like <i> above, it appears that <ü> is only used where the use of <u> would produce a spelling identical or very similar to that of Standard English.

Push, pull, bull and *butcher* rather than *püsh, püll, büll* and *bütcher*.

Büsh. The traditional Scots form is *buss*.

Shügger. The traditional Scots form is *succar*. *Shuggar* ['ʃʌgər] and *suggar* ['sʌgər] are older forms surviving from eighteenth-century English and may be Mid-Ulster English loans.

"Fraught with the strength near of a **bull**" — 'Dodderly Willowaim', Robert Huddleston

"An' A got sae hard tae **push**" — 'The Bicycle', Adam Lynn

'The Lint **Pullin**', Adam Lynn

Loss of final 'e' ...

"The dropping of final '-d' in words like 'find' and 'blind' → *fin* and *blin* represents an actual vowel sound change in Ulster-Scots."

That has nothing to do with a vowel sound change. It is nothing more than simplification of the cluster <nd> in colloquial speech. See Part 4, Modified Consonants section n, Loss of final '-d' in '-nd' words, below.

Tak and *mak* as suggested.

"To **tak**' their mault"

"Come, **tak** your bicker, never think" — 'An Elegy', William Starrat

"To **mak**' them better." — 'Horbook's Ghaist', Francis Boyle

"Whan ploughmen whiles the hatchet **tak**" — 'On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman', Francis Boyle

"To **tak** a morsel, thick or thin" — 'Simkin', Samuel Thomson

"Had I your walth, I hame wad **tak**' wi' me"

"An' stap the lights to **mak** the bield be black" — 'The Irish Cottier's Death and Burial', James Orr

"At least **mak** mair o't for the money" — 'Poetical Attempts: Preface', Hugh Porter

"I'll **mak** you sing a waeful strain" — 'To a Mouse', David Herbison

"Had I your walth, I hame wad **tak**' wi' me" — 'Address to Lettergull', Sarah Leech

"But this the plan ye **tak**' tae sell" — 'On Salts', Robert Huddleston

"Flee! Dodderly, flee! **mak** speedy hame"

"That **mak**'s us bauld ower a' our ill."

"He maun it **tak**', nor langer tarry, 'Dodderly Willowaim', Robert Huddleston

"A dose yei'd gie's **tae** mak us weel" — 'On Salts', Robert Huddleston

"Folks **mak**' their bogies, gods, an' deils" — 'Jamie Smith and the Grogan', W. Clarke Robinson

Daur, *wauk* and *awaur* rather than *dar*, *wak* and *awar*, with underlying vowel 12 (/aɪ, ɔɪ, aɪ/ depending on dialect), usually spelt <au> medially and final. The spellings *dar*, *wak* and *awar* may represent a merger with vowel 17.

Scar as suggested, with underlying vowel 17, usually spelt <a>.

“Fou *scar*’d, when school–boys chanc’d to stare”

“An’ guile bewaur o” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“Brag how they lately did their rivals *daur*”

“But see what crowds to *wauk* the Cottier come!”

“For trifles devils disna *scar*.” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Wade rather than *wad*, with vowel 4 /e/. Ulster Lowering may produce /ɛɪ/.

“Through the floods we hae *waded* an’ swum” — ‘The Down Sodger’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Broke: the traditional Scots form is *brak*.

“The camp’s *brak* up. Owre braes, an’ bogs” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

The past–tense is *broke(n)*.

“Wi’ *broken* sighs, and ill redd phrase” — ‘Crochan Hill — A Scotch Sang’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

Also the past–tense form *breuk*, the [bruk] or [brʌk] realisations shown by the phonetic spelling <u> below.

“Heart–*bruck* by her lane he’rth–stane!” — ‘The Prodigal Son’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Divid (divide) represents an authentic Ulster Scots form.

Time, [t̪im] is simply an unstressed realisation of time. The spelling *tim* would be characteristic of dialect writing.

“Ye waste ye’r *time* awa” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“*Sometimes* he slept, and didna feel” — ‘The Gout and the Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“Ephie’s base bairn*time*, trail–pike brood” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“And auld *times* return to my ain native toun” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison

“They come in the spring *time*, they come in the simmer” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner

“I aft*times* wunner hoo it comes” — ‘Toothache’, Agnes Kerr

Long ‘a’ represented by *á*, *aa* and *aw*

Awa and *twa* rather than *awá* and *twá*, with vowel 12 (/aː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect), traditionally spelt <a> in those words, as well as in *wha* and *ava*. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section b, English ‘o’ to Ulster–Scots a, above. One can only wonder why <á> was ever considered in *awá* and *twá* but not in *wha* and *ava*?

“*Twa* or three days in Hornbook’s care” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle

“Ye waste ye’r time *awa*” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“I fain wad speak a word or *twa*” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“A day or *twa*.” — ‘To a Hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson

“An bear *awa*” — ‘To a Hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson

“Here they’re asleep — an’ there they slip *awa*’.” — ‘This Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“‘Twill drive your wits *awa*, that.” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“Anither page or *twa* o’ paper” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter

“Its no’ like ban’s *ava*, that.” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“But there *ava* you wadna rest” — ‘To a Mouse’, David Herbison

“What hell ‘bout devils, ane, *twa*, three”

“Ah! why man did ye speak *ava*” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“I maun hurry *awa* tae rehearsal, quo he” — ‘A Song for February’, Thomas Given

“As catch yoursel’ a moose or *twa*”

“What will I dae wi’ you *ava*?” — ‘The Old Man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr

Long ‘r’ represented by medial ‘y’

Meenister, *rideecule*, *peetifu* and *sacrifice* rather than *mannytstèr*, *ridicule*/*redycule*, *peetyfu*, and *secryfice*. Those all have vowel 2 in traditional Scots. The <y> in *mannytstèr*, *ridycule*, *secryfice* may be seen as having been used for comic effect. The <e> in *secryfice* represents a Mid-Ulster English realisation, whereby /æ/ becomes /ɛ/ before velars.

Many Romance words have vowel 2. Where represented in traditional literary writing, <ee> was invariably used.

“Words of Romance origin retain this vowel [i] in Sc.” (Grant and Dixon 1921: 41)

“Noo hear the pair man’s *peetious* wane” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie

“A thocht a *peety* o’ him” — ‘Paddy McQuillan’, W. G. Lyttle

“Ye’ll see nae *veesions* in thon gless, A doo’t.” — ‘The Elder’s Experience: The Haunted Glen’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Covenanter, *residence*, *accident*, *barrister*, *beautifu*, *manifest*, *maximum*, *uniform*, *massacre* and *manufactur* rather than *coveynantèr*, *resydence*, *eccydent*, *barrister*, *beautyfu*, *mannyfest*, *mexymum*, *massycrae*, *unyform* and *mannyfectèr*.

The spellings with <y> may be seen as having been used for comic effect. The <e> in *eccydent*, *mexymum* and *mannyfectèr* represent a Mid-Ulster English realisation, whereby /æ/ becomes /ɛ/ before velars. A final <ur> in *manufactur* would reflect the etymology better. See Part 5, Representation of the [yih] sound, section d, Words ending ‘-ture’, below.

Cruciffee rather than *crucyfie*. Traditional Scots has final <-fee> with vowel 11 usually spelt <ee>.

“[...] in the pronunciation of older people (fi, fi), but with the more modernised (fei) or (fɛi); terrify, older (tær 'əfi), newer (tær 'i fɛi).” (Murray 1873: 136)

Animal rather than *annymal*. Perhaps *ainimal*.

Long ‘o’ to Ulster-Scots ó

Road, *boat*, *coat* and *toast* rather than *róad*, *bóat*, *cóat* and *tóast*. Those have underlying vowel 5 /o:/. The disyllabic realisation will be produced habitually by native speakers who have it.

“A braid-claith **coat** I aw ye” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
“Be meek; an’ firm whan crosses come your **road**” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’
“The ragged **coat**, an’ hamely meal” — ‘Fragment of an Epistle to Mr W.H.D—’, James Orr
“Our **coats** were hame spun, and our sarks were the same” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
“Among the first you tossed your **coat**” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given

Góat. The traditional Scots form is *gait*, with underlying vowel 4 /e:/. However, early merger with vowel 8 /e/ established the literary spelling *gait*.

Part 4

Modified Consonants

a) *Ch* for English ‘gh’

Older Scots used <ch> for /x/. Both it and <gh> both occur in Modern Scots. However, <ch> became more prevalent because it better emphasised the Scots /x/ realisation. As /x/ only occurs medially and finally, initial <ch> /tʃ/ cannot be confused with it. Elsewhere /tʃ/ is more often than not spelt <tch>. The cluster <nch> is realised as /nʃ/.

Nicht, *richt*, *ticht*, *licht*, *bricht* and *sicht* as suggested. *Hicht* rather than *heicht* to show the actual pronunciation.

“Should prowlers by **nicht** or by day rype your biggin’” — ‘Leezie M’Minn’, Samuel Turner
“The **nicht** is set ye ken again.”

“An’ **ticht** the stirrup ower them laced” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “He’ll no’ be here the **nicht**.” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander
 “An’ here’s we hae mony mair big **nichts** as this is”
 “I’ll stand on my feet that ye’ll a’ get a **sicht** o’ me” — ‘Air — A Wee Drap o’ Whiskey’, Samuel Fee Given
 “By **nicht** or day.” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given
 “The **nichts** are **dreich** an’ lang.” — ‘Winter’, David Cunningham
 “I’m a’ **richt** here an’ here I’ll bide”
 “But what suits you **nicht** no’ suit me” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham
 “They tramp me left an’ **richt**”
 “Their feet **nicht** touch the mire.” — ‘The Bicycle’, Adam Lynn
 “But I ken **richt** weel if the A.B.C.”
 “I **nicht** coont up the length o’ ten” — ‘The Magic X’, James Mullan
 “I’m no’ juist the auldest, an’ I min’ **richt** weel” — ‘The Weaving’, Agnes Kerr
 “Seemed somethin’ held it **tichtly!**” — ‘Jamie Smith and the Grogan’, W. Clarke Robinson

An established literary spelling is *echt*, though realisation with vowel 4 /e/ exist. Ulster lowering may produce /ɛ:/.

Bocht, brocht, roch, wrocht and *ocht* as suggested.
Dochter rather than *dochtèr*.

“Ye’d **thocht** ae time my guts war churnin’” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “Could **nocht** e’en dae to please a lass” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “FOWER **dochters** in deein’ the lord o’ Knockreagh” — ‘Miss Maud’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
 “Should a’ oor noble **thochts** engage” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given
 “Sees **nocht** but rivers in a spate” — ‘Winter’, David Cunningham
 “I aye **wrocht** on the same auld way” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham
 “An’ **brocht** me intae fame.” — ‘The Bicycle’, Adam Lynn

Fecht and *wecht* as suggested.

Heich as suggested, with vowel 2, <ei> is the usual spelling before <ch> /x/.

“The **nichts** are **dreich** an’ lang.” — ‘Winter’, David Cunningham

Eneuch and *teuch* as suggested. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section h, English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots ui, above.

“Fair **eneuch** ye be” — ‘The Temptress’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
 “Juist **eneuch** for tae keep you twa days oot o’ debt.” — ‘The Weaving’, Agnes Kerr

Lauch rather than *lach*, with vowel 12 (/aː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect). The spelling *lach* may represent a merger of vowel 12 with vowel 17.

“Wha wad not **laugh** to hear him sing” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“An’ **laugh** at a’ the sons o’ care” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“Frae **laughin** scarcely fit” — ‘Simkin’, Samuel Thomson

“At them I aft **laugh** till my sides like to split” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison

“The robin gets up an’ he **lauchs** in his glee” — ‘A Song for February’, Thomas Given

Straucht rather than *strecht*. However, the latter may be a local variant.

“But what wi’ **straucht** rais’t raws can tally” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr

“An’ **straucht** fornent the gibbet moat” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

b) English ‘s’ to Ulster–Scots *sh*

See Part 1, section f, *sh* for ‘s’, and *sch* for ‘sh’, above.

Shew rather than *shoo* (sew), <ew> for vowel 6 being usual here.

Harnish and *nervish* as suggested. The <sh> here represents a genuine Scots realisation, a development of /s/ followed by a palatal glide in words of French origin.

Suit rather than *shuit* (clothes and ‘be convenient for or acceptable to’)

Suin rather than *shane*, which represents only the local North Antrim and North-east Londonderry realisation of vowel 7. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section h, English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots *ui*, above.

Breest rather than *breesht* with vowel 2.

“Yit gain sae rules the human **breest**” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie

The /ʃ/ realisation in *suit* (although of French origin), *suin* and *breest* is not universal. Native speakers who have it will habitually pronounce /ʃ/ anyway. Users of Standard English have no problem with the /ʃ/ in *sure* and *sugar*.

Least and *feast* rather than *leasht* and *feasht*, both with vowel 3. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘e’ in English, section d, English ‘ea’ to Ulster–Scots *ai*, above.

Priest rather than *preesht*. <ie> is the usual spelling of vowel 2 here.

The /ʃ/ realisation in *least*, *feast* and *priest* is not universal and may be due to an Irish substrate.

“For the first hour, nae new made **priest**” — ‘An Elegy’, Willaim Starrat

“They’ll no’ be bought by onie **priest**”

“Sald for five guineas at the **least**” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“At **least** mak mair o’t for the money” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter
“The **least** blast o’ win’ maks the tiny thing rock” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
“Tae **feast** the e’e an’ please the smell” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
“For this nicht at **least** I’ll gie him the go-bye.” — ‘Air — A Wee Drap o’ Whiskey’, Samuel Fee Given

c) *Qhu-* for ‘wh-’

See part 1 section a, qhu for ‘wh’, above.

Wha as suggested. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section b, English ‘o’ to Ulster–Scots a, above.

Whit rather than *whut* with underlying vowel 15. That vowel has traditionally been represented by the grapheme <i> in literary Scots in Ulster. The /ʌ/ realisation is conditioned by the preceding <w(h)> but is not universal. Since the /ʌ/ realisation will be produced habitually by those native speakers that have it, there is no need for <u> in a literary orthography. Using <u> would be characteristic of phonetic dialect writing. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘-a’ in English, section c, English ‘a’ to Ulster Scots u, above.

Whaur rather than *whar*, with underlying vowel 12 (/ɑː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect). This is usually spelt <au> initially and medially. The spelling *whar* represents a merger of vowel 12 with vowel 17. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘e’ in English, section e, English ‘e’ and ‘ea’ to Ulster–Scots a, above.

Whan as suggested See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘e’ in English, section e, English ‘e’ and ‘ea’ to Ulster–Scots a, above.

Why as suggested, with vowel 8a.

Wheen as suggested, with vowel 2.

While and *white* as suggested, with vowel 1.

Hure rather than *hoor*, originally vowel 7, now vowel 6. The literary spelling is *hure*. The word never had <hw> in Old English. The modern Standard English <wh> spelling arose in the sixteenth century by analogy with *who*.

Hale as suggested, with vowel 4, usually spelt <a-e> initially and medially. The literary spelling is *hale*. The word never had <hw> in Old English. The modern Standard English <wh> spelling arose in the sixteenth century by analogy with *who*.

“Will mak’ thee **hale**.” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle

“An’ want **hale** breeks to shift me” — ‘Epistle to S Thomson of Carngranny’, James Orr

“Ma **hale** domain a gairden plot” — ‘A Poor Man’s Petition’, Andrew McKenzie

“Ye’re **hale** an’ healthie now, an’ therefore” — ‘To Disappointment’, Hugh Porter

“An’ soon they’re **hale**.” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston

“The **hale** toon seemd tae be aware” — ‘A Country Lad’s Observations at the Hiring Fair in Ballymena’, Adam Lynn

d) Interdental pronunciation

Interdental pronunciations are not universal and are the result of an Irish substrate. The interdental realisation is marked by the following <r> so there is no need for a diacritic. Native speakers who have a dental realisation produce it habitually. See Introduction, How to Use This Guide, section c, è = dental realisation of previous consonant, above.

The use of <dh>, <th> and <tth> to show an interdental realisation was widely employed in Hiberno-English dialect writing. However, its use in literary Ulster Scots was, at best, extremely marginal (see Connolly 1981, Todd 1989).

Watter rather than *wattèr|watther*. A glottal stop is also possible here. See Part 4, Modified Consonants, section f, Glottal stop, below.

Shouder or *shouther* rather than *shoodèr|shooter* with vowel 6 from Middle Scots I-vocalisation, whereby /ul/ became /uː/. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section g, English ‘ow’ and ‘ou’ to Ulster-Scots oo, above.

Ledder or *lether* and *efter* rather than *leddèr, eftèr|efther*. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘-a’ in English, section b, English ‘a’ to Ulster-Scots e, above.

Wunner and *general* rather than *wunnèr|wunther* and *genèral|gentheral*.

The <th> may be mistaken for a /ð/ realisation, which does occur in the form *lether* (*ledder*).

Winter rather than *wuntèr* or *wuntther*. That has an underlying vowel 15, usually spelt <i>. The realisation /ʌ/ after <w(h)> is predictable but not universal. Since the /ʌ/ realisation will be produced habitually by those native speakers that have it, there is no need for <u> in a literary orthography. Using <u> would be characteristic of phonetic dialect writing. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘i’ in English, section b, ‘i’ after ‘w’ or ‘wh’ spelt with u above.

Gregg and Adams use of T and D was for phonetic transcription, owing to the fact that the typewriters of the time could not reproduce the IPA. Such devices were never intended to be part of a normal orthography.

“That four men **shouther**’d through the church-yard drear.” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“Stood nearly head an’ **shouther**” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

“I afttimes **wunner** hoo it comes” — ‘Toothache’, Agnes Kerr

Better, butter, coonter, denner, unner, dochter, wunner, (dum)foondert and *scunner* rather than *better, butter, dennèr, unnèr, dochtèr, wunnèr, (dum)foondèrt* and *scunnèr*.

Canister rather than *kenystèr*. The <e> before <n> is a Mid-Ulster English realisation, whereby /æ/ becomes /ɛ/ before velars. The <y> may be seen as having been added for comic effect.

Wander rather than *wannèr/wanther*. The /d/ may be pronounced by some speakers. It is easier to ignore an underlying written consonant than to insert one that is not shown. See Part 4, Modified Consonants, section n, Loss of final ‘-d’ in ‘-nd’ words, below.

“Whan **wandering** wi’ itther sculeboys to the scule” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
“Sae blest we **wander**’d” — ‘Chaffinches’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
“The bee o’ **wanderin**’ had his fill” — ‘The Bee and the Stane’, David Cunningham

Hunder and *rander* rather than *hunnèr* and *rannèr*. The /d/ may be pronounced by some speakers. It is easier to ignore an underlying written consonant than to insert one that is not shown. See Part 4, Modified Consonants, section n, Loss of final ‘-d’ in ‘-nd’ words, below.

Shinders rather than *shunthers*, with underlying vowel 15. The /ʌ/ realisation is not universal and may be due to an Irish substrate. The /d/ may be pronounced by some speakers. It is easier to ignore an underlying written consonant than to insert one that is not shown. See Part 4, Modified Consonants, section n, Loss of final ‘-d’ in ‘-nd’ words, below. For /ʃ/ see Part 1, section f, sh for ‘s’, and sch for ‘sh’, above.

“Whaur turf an’ **cinders** smoulder” — ‘The Haunted Hill’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
“I glowered at the ape wi’ twa een like red **cinders**” — ‘The Weaver’s Triumph’, Edward Sloan

Daunder rather than *dannèr*, with underlying vowel 12 (/aɪ, ɔɪ, aɪ/ depending on dialect). The /d/ may be pronounced by some speakers. It is easier to ignore an underlying written consonant than to insert one that is not shown. See Part 4, Modified Consonants, section n, Loss of final ‘-d’ in ‘-nd’ words, below. The spelling *dannèr* represents a merger of vowel 12 with vowel 17.

e) ‘the’ and ‘they’ as *tha* and *the*’

The spelling *tha* for *the* [ðə] never occurred in the literary record. Why it is being used here is unfathomable. Is it simply a deliberate attempt to differentiate from (Standard) English (and Scots)? It tells us nothing about the pronunciation that ‘*the*’ does not. It is more likely to imply a realisation other than the habitual [ðə] produced by native speakers.

The day rather than *theday*, etc. ‘*The*’ is not from an abbreviation of ‘this’ but, according to the *SND*, a corruption of *tæ* (to). Native speakers usually interpret the components as separate words, so they should be written separately (except *thegither*).

“Please guid,” quo he, “before **the morn**” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
“BE hush’d my Muse, ye ken **the morn**” — ‘The Muse Dismissed’, Hugh Porter
“But part o’ baith mix’d up **thegither**” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter
“His hist’ry an’ himsel’ **thegither**” — ‘With a Little Dog’, George Dugall
“Ye’ll no tell tidin’s o’t **the morn**” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
“He’ll no’ be here **the nicht**.”
“We walk’d sae gled **thegither!**” — ‘The Moonlit Road’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

The spelling *the’* is simply an attempt to indicate the unemphatic form of *they* (the usual spelling in the literary record). The emphatic realisation is [ðe:], with vowel 8, usually spelt <ay> word–finally. From that, the spelling *thay* suggests itself. One would expect the emphatic form to be used in a standard orthography. Transcribing the unemphatic form would be characteristic of dialect writing.

f) Glottal stop

Glottal stops occur for an intervocalic and (sometimes) final /t/ and are adequately marked by the environment in which they occur, for example *watter* (water).

In the following glottalisation has nothing to do with the following <l>. It is because the underlying /t/ is intervocalic.

The usual literary spellings are *metal* and *petal* rather than *mettle* and *pettle*.
Bottle, *nettle* and *rattle* as suggested.

“Wi’ a pot–**metal** sock an’ reest” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle
“That he ran wi’ his **rattle**.” — ‘The Scare–Craw’, Francis Boyle
“Some **rattled** are, and rated” — ‘Tit for Tat; or the Rater Rated’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
“The cobler kept a nappy **bottle**” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

g) English initial ‘c’ to Ulster–Scots *k*–

The spelling <c> or <k> is due to established orthographic conventions conditioned by the following vowels rather than “vowel changes in some Ulster–Scots words. The *SND* describes the use of Initial <c> for /k/ “at the beginning of a syllable before the vowels *a*, *o*, *u*” and “before the consonants *l*, *r*, *w*” and the use of <k> “before front vowels and *n*” (where the cluster <kn> is etymological). Similarly for <sc> and <sk>.

Cairt as suggested, with vowel 8.

Cat and *catch* rather than *ket* and *ketch*, both with vowel 17. The spellings *ket* and *ketch* may represent the Mid-Ulster English raising of /æ/ to /ɛ/ after /k/, a prominent feature of Belfast vernacular.

“Wha wad hae bell’d the *cat* awee” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“They’re like the *Cat*, an’ a’ that” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“By *cat* or trap I’ll hae you taen” — ‘To a Mouse’, David Herbison

“Tae *catch* the traveller whan bemirk’d” — ‘Dodder Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“The red *cairts* rattlin’ doon the brae.” — ‘The Invalid’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

“As *catch* yoursel’ a moose or twa” — ‘The Old Man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr

Kaim rather than *kame*. Although vowel 4, early merger with vowel 8 led to the literary spelling with <ai>.

Keckle as suggested. *Keechle* may be a different word, but that is an acceptable spelling for it.

Kintra rather than *kintrie*.

“Just *kintra* weed” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle

Couple and *cup* rather than *kipple* and *kip*. See See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘u’ in English, section a, English ‘u’ and ‘ou’ to Ulster–Scots i, above.

h) English ‘-ing’ to Ulster–Scots *-in*

In Older Scots the verbal noun (gerund) and present participle were differentiated <ng/ing> and <and>. By 1700, the two had generally merged to /ən/. That was either spelt <ing> or <in’> in literary Scots. Since apostrophes are no longer considered acceptable, the spelling <in> is a reasonable suggestion.

Sleepin as suggested.

Walkin rather than *waakin*. If the intention is to regularise the spelling, it should be *waukin*, since it has an underlying vowel 12 (/aɪ, ɔɪ, aɪ/ depending on dialect), usually spelt <au> initially and medially. The digraph <aa> occurred only rarely in Scots Literature from Ulster, and in Scotland generally only in deliberately phonetic representations of Northern and Insular Scots.

Fouterin rather than *footerin*, from Old French *foutre*, with underlying vowel 6. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section g, English ‘ow’ and ‘ou’ to Ulster–Scots oo, above.

i) English ‘-ngth’ Endings

Lenth and *strenth* as suggested.

j) English medial ‘ng’

This has nothing to do with a “soft g sound”. That usually refers to a <g> realised as /dʒ/.

The cluster <ng> is always realised /ŋ/ in Scots. That is the realisation that native speakers habitually produce. The spellings <ng’r> and <ng’l>, which never occurred in the literary record, are more confusing than the established use of <ng>, as apostrophes usually indicate elision. How does one then represent word-final /ŋ/ in *sing*, *ding* and *lang*, etc?

Anger, *hunger*, *finger*, *dangle*, *ingle*, *single* and *stranger* rather than spellings with <ng’r> or <ng’l>.

Angle, *tangle* and *strangle* rather than *eng’l*, *teng’l* and *steng’l*. The <e> represents a Mid-Ulster English realisation, whereby /æ/ becomes /ɛ/ before velars. Why not in *dangle* and *stranger*?

“An some horn-fingered harpie” — ‘To a hegehog’, Samuel Thomson

“A’ roun’ the *ingle*” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr

“For flesh an’ bluid can bear nae *langer*” — ‘Poetical Attempts: Preface’, Hugh Porter

“See roun’ the *ingle*, in a raw” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley

“When their tears wi’ *hunger* fa’!” — ‘The Irish Widow’s Lament’, David Herbison

“And roun’ by the *ingle* we’ll joyful hurra.” — ‘O, Whiskey My Darlin’’, Robert Huddleston

“Dodds caredna it a *single* flee”

“He maun it tak’, nor *langer* tarry” — ‘in Doddery Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“O, I mind it weel, in my *younger* days” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander

“The puir wee *fingers* frail an’ white” — ‘The Invalid’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

“Why sae *tangle* *me*?...” — ‘The Temptress’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

k) English medial ‘-mbl-’ to Ulster Scots *-mm-*

In Early Scots the /b/ between /m/ and /l/ was lost or did not develop in many words.

Fumml, *humml* and *crumml* as suggested

Gemml rather than *gemml*, as the /b/ may be realised.

l) English medial ‘-mbl-’ to Ulster Scots *-mm-*

In Early Scots the /b/ between /m/ and /l/ was lost or did not develop in many words.

Nummer as suggested.

“And stacks frae aff their *timmer* coup” — ‘Doddery Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“Are hardly fit for *lumml*” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld **Nummer**’, Thomas Given

However, *member*, *September*, *November* and *December*, as the /b/ is realised.

“For she **remembers** wi’ a tear” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
“While caul’ **December**’s cranreuch breath” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
The place-name *Commer* (Comber) may well be realised [ˈkʌmər].

m) English ‘-old’ to Ulster-Scots *-oul*

Houl: the traditional Scots form is *haud*. See Part 3 section i, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, English ‘old’ to Ulster-Scots *oul*, above.

Cauld, *auld*, *sauld* and *tauld* rather than *coul*, *oul*, *soul* and *toul*. See Part 3 section i, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, English ‘old’ to Ulster-Scots *oul*, above.

n) Loss of final ‘-d’ in ‘-nd’ words

The /d/ is an underlying phoneme. The cluster <nd> is not always simplified in colloquial speech. The /d/ often occurs in derived forms so should be represented in the orthography. Native speakers habitually simplify where possible, as is shown by the fact that it is a “characteristic feature of all Ulster vernacular speech”. As the /d/ may be pronounced by some speakers, it is easier to ignore an underlying written consonant than to insert one that is not shown. Not writing the <d> would be characteristic of dialect writing.

Haund and *laund* rather than *han* and *lan* have vowel 12 (/ɑː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect), usually spelt <au> initially and medially, (except in compounds *-land* [-lən(d)]). The spellings *han* and *lan* may represent a merger of vowel 12 with vowel 17.

And always simplifies to /ən/, so the spelling *an* is acceptable.

Blind and *find* rather than *blin* and *fin*. See Part 3 Loss of final ‘e’ ... above

Pund or *poond*, *roond*, *fund* and *grund* rather than *pun* or *poon*, *roon*, *fun* and *grun*.

Pund, *fund* and *grund* have vowel 19.

Poond and *roond* have vowel 6. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section g, English ‘ow’ and ‘ou’ to Ulster-Scots *oo*, above.

kind and *mind* rather than *kine* and *mine*, both with vowel 1.

Cauld rather than *coul*, with underlying vowel 12. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section i, English ‘old’ to Ulster-Scots, above.

Field rather than *fiel*, with vowel 2 (<ie> is a common spelling before <l> and <v>).

“AE windy day last owk, I’ll ne’er forget”
 “Nor Habby’s drone, cou’d with thy wind–pipe please”
 “I in the biold of yon auld birk–tree side” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat
 “Here Nansy ends wi’ grief opprest”
 “For stopping o’ our dear freend’s breath” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat
 “Sic pleughs wad never till our fields” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle
 “To hinder the sma’ birds to pick” — ‘The Scare–Craw’, Francis Boyle
 “Or send them a’ to join the bikes” — ‘To the Criticks’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “That stounds me sae — and then wi’ a rair” — ‘The Gout and the Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*
 “As if they griev’d to let her gang.” — ‘Crochan Hill — A Scotch Sang’, *The Ulster Micellany*
 “Tho’ minds mair noble”
 “Frae some bit biold, whase leash is spent” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore
 “Portends some dire misluck that day” — ‘To a Hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson
 “The chief gets’t in his niece” — ‘Simkin’, Samuel Thomson
 “While a fand Wifie fast is fislin”
 “Upsettin’ England sudna ding” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr
 “Whan chieles wha grudg’d to be sae tax’d” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr
 “An’ there they’ll find a sting behin” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter
 “The fields wad ring to hear him sing” — ‘Answer to Burns’ ‘Lovely Jean’’, Hugh Porter
 “Forsake the fields, and seek the byre” — ‘Descriptive Fragment’, George Dugall
 “Wi’ twa’r three lines to recommend him” — ‘With a Little Dog’, George Dugall
 “And mends the fire”
 “An spendin nane” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
 “Peace she canna find ava” — ‘The Irish Widow’s Lament’, David Herbison
 “For a’ kind o’ wark we had plenty o’ cash” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
 “Dae ye intend that chaps like me” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “Far, far awa, frae lands o’ snaw.”
 “And on he creeps field side the dyke”
 “Wi’ mony a bellow, scrieve, an’ curse.”
 “And didna stap, ye may believe us”
 “Come, bind him fast, an’ gag him swith” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “The auld man’s head swam round and round”
 “And stump! stump!! stump!!! around the twa” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander
 “The bluebell–beds wi’ blindin’ light” — ‘Chaffinches’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong
 “The fermer ploddin’ through his fields” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given

o) Loss of final ‘-t’ in ‘-pt’ words

This is not ‘loss’ but simplification of the cluster <pt> to /p/ in colloquial speech. However, the /t/ occurs in derived forms, as shown by the suggested past–tense form *temp~temptit*.

As the /t/ is an underlying phoneme, it should be shown in the orthography. Native speakers simplify the cluster /pt/ habitually.

Kept, slept and *swept* rather than *kep, slep* and *swep*, as those are in fact past-tense forms. Also *keepit* and *sleepit*. The traditional Scots form of sweep is *soop*.

“Sometimes he **slept**, and didna feel” — ‘The Gout and the Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“While e’er you **kept** frae aff the loom” — ‘To a Mouse’, David Herbison

“Wha **kept** the beagles a’ in boun’s” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

“But **kept** the lasses in a lowe” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

Tempt rather than *temp*. The <t> is an underlying phoneme, as shown by the suggested past-tense form *temptit*.

“A **temptin’** wee hizzie is Betty MacBlaine.” — ‘Betty MacBlaine’, George Francis Savage-Armstrong

p) Loss of ‘l’ before ‘t’ and ‘d’

This is Middle Scots l-vocalisation, whereby /al/ (except intervocalically and usually before /d/) became /au/, finally merging with vowel 12 (/ɑː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect).

Saut and *maut* as suggested, with vowel 12.

“And well I wat **fause** swearing is a sin” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“His **maut** wi’ meel.” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“In the **saut** water” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle

“No’ to the **fause**, but to the true.” — ‘To the Criticks’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“Nor sloth’s **fause** smiles” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr

“Yet on the battle ilka **cauf**” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“An’ ithers, kneeling, stream’d a **saut, saut** flood” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“The leuks in a glass, o’ the loun that’s in **faut**” — ‘The Spae-Wife’, James Orr

“The stout **maut** did the strength retain, ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston

Moutur, shouder or *shouther* rather than *mootèr* and *shoothèr*, with vowel 6. See above.

“That four men **shouther**’d through the church-yard drear.” — ‘The Irish Cottier’s Death and Burial’, James Orr

“Stood nearly head an’ **shouther**” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

q) Final ‘-ic’ to Ulster-Scots *-ick*

There is no need for this. It may be seen as having been added for comical effect. Better *mathematic*, *Gaelic* and *arithmetic* (for the initial <a> see See Part 2, section c, Aphæresis, above.

Muisic rather than *musick* with vowel 7. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section h, English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots ui, above.

Pheesic and *paraleetic* rather than *physick* and *parlytick* with vowel 2. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘i’ in English, section c, English ‘i’ Ulster Scots ee, above. The <y> in *parlytick* may look like it has been added for comic effect.

r) Final ‘-all’ to Ulster-Scots -aa

Aa, *caa*, *baa*, *faa*, *waa*. The digraph <aa> only ever occurred rarely in Scots literature from Ulster, and in Scotland for the most part only in deliberately phonetic representations of Northern and Insular Scots.

The traditional way to represent l-vocalisation (see section p, above) was with an apostrophe, i.e. *a’*, *ca’*, *ba’*, etc. That is now, rightly, considered unacceptable. Since the result of l-vocalisation was a merger with vowel 12 (/aɪ, ɔɪ, aɪ/ depending on dialect). The usual grapheme for that, <aw> root-finally, provides a suitable spelling.

Aw, *caw*, *baw*, *faw*, *waw* and *haw*.

“Now may we aw the trade gee o’er” — ‘An Elegy’, William Starrat

“Aboon him caw’d a flock o’ cra’s” — ‘Jamie Smith and the Grogan’, W. Clarke Robinson

The advantage of using <aw> reveals itself in regularly derived inflected forms such as *fawin*, *fawen*, *cawed*, *cawer* rather than *faain*, *faan*, *faa’n*, *faaen* or *caad*, *caa’n* or *caen*, *caaer* or *caa’r*.

Knowe results from Middle Scots l-vocalisation of /ol/ to /au/ followed by merger with vowel 13 /əü/. Also *howe*. The root-final spelling is usually <owe>.

s) English final ‘-ful’ to Ulster-Scots -fu

Pouerfu rather than *pooerfu*, with vowel 6. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section g, English ‘ow’ and ‘ou’ to Ulster-Scots oo, above.

Nievetfu, *wunnerfu* as suggested.

Peetifu rather than *peetyfu*.

t) English final ‘-ull’ to Ulster-Scots -u

Fou and *pou* rather than *fu* and *pu*. Both the result of l-vocalisation of /ul/ to /uɪ/, vowel 6. The two have the doublets *full* and *pull*. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel 'u' in English, section b, English 'u' to Ulster-Scots ü above.

"*Fou* scar'd, when school-boys chanc'd to stare" — 'To a Sparrow', Robert Dinsmore

"Would *pou* the fruit for a that" — 'A Song on Marriage', Hugh Porter

"Deil fill your belly *fou* o' soot" — 'To a Mouse', David Herbison

"*Fou* brow this day." — 'The Auld School at the Pun', Thomas Given

u) Ulster-Scots final '-it' for English '-ed'

A comprehensive verb table may be found at <http://www.scots-online.org/grammar/verbs.php>

In Older Scots, the past tense of weak verbs was usually formed by adding <-it> or <-yt> to the present tense. Since the Older Scots period, an ongoing process of simplification has been occurring, whereby the past tense often became <-t> or <-(e)d>.

That simplification process started with verbs ending in a vowel, whereby the past tense is now usually formed by adding <-(e)d>, or, if the vowel ends in <-e>, by adding <-'d>.

allou~alloued, caw~cawed, draw~drawed, follae~follaed, leeve~leeved, pey~peyed, rowe~rowed, hy~hyed, knaw~knawed.

dee~dee'd

Note: *say~said*

Simplification later followed after liquid, fricative and nasal consonants.

deal~dealt, gar~gart, skail~skailt, golder~goldert, scunner~scunnert, daunder~daundert, learn~learnt, fill~fillt, gaither~gaithert, plaister~plaistert, tell~telt|tauld

After final <-le>, the past tense is formed by <-elt> (or by adding <-d>)

wrastle~wrastelt, haundle~haundelt

lauch~laucht, catch~catcht

streetch~streetcht, aks~aks't

appen~appent, belang~belangt, jine~jine't, turn~turnt

In Modern Scots, the inflection <-it> now usually occurs only after the consonants /b, d, g, k, p/ and /t/.

wake~bakit, big~biggit, cairt~cairtit, greet~greetit, road~roadit, jouk~joukit, dunt~duntit, mind~mindit, act~actit, connect~connectit, droun~droundit, heed~heedit, hunt~huntit, lift~liftit, need~needit, pairt~pairtit, streek~streekit, saut~sautit, shift~shiftit, stert~stertit

As a consequence of the continuing process of past-tense simplification, the inflection in the above has also been reduced to <-t> in many words. The question arises of whether to represent the simplification as <-’t> or simply as <-t>.

cowp~cowp’t|cowpt, drap~drap’t|drapt, pick~pick’t|pickt, stap~stap’t|stapt

Both <-it> and <-’t/-t> forms may occur:

walk~walk’t|walkt, talk~talkit|tak’t|talkt

Past tenses in <-ed> are also possible (including the above).

wale~waled, thole~tholed, please~pleased

Where the verb root ends in a /d/ or /t/, the past-tense inflection is assimilated.

divide~divid

Some verbs have both weak and strong forms.

Strong Verbs

Strong verbs usually form their past tenses by a change of vowel and in the past participle usually add <-(e)n>.

The historic Germanic strong verb *ablaut* sequences are usually represented in six classes. Although many contemporary Scots strong verbs no longer fit neatly into those classes, showing the verbs in such groups, as far as possible, illustrates the sound and spelling changes of the conjugations better than *ad hoc* lists.

Those marked * indicate convergent past tenses where the past tense may take the same form as the past participle in colloquial speech.

*come~cam~come**

*drink~drank~drunk**

*gie~gied~gien**

*hing~hang~hung**

*rin~ran~run**

*see~saw~seen**

*sing~sang~sung**

sweem~swam~swum (soum~soumed)*

sweir~sweired~sweired (sweir~swuir~sworn)

beat~beat~beat(en)

eat~ett~ett(en)

brak~broke~broke(n)

faw~fell~fell

growe~growed|grew~growed|grew(en)

lie~layed~layed

*ride~rade~rid(den)**

*write~wrate~writ(ten)**

hit~hut~hut(ten)

*pit~pat~pit(ten)**

lat~luit~liut(en)

v) English final “-n’t” to Ulster-Scots *-nae*

The traditional literary spelling for the negative particle is <-na>, variously [nə, nɪ, ne]. The <-nae> represents a particular dialect realisation and, as such, is typical of dialect writing.

“Good God! what tuneless heart-strings **wadna** twang” — ‘A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay’, William Starrat

“An’ coulter-band that **winna** slack”

“Ye **needna** care wha does it see” — ‘On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman’, Francis Boyle

“He **sudna** scorn my mental pow’rs” — ‘Hornbook’s Ghaist’, Francis Boyle

“They **darna** look you in the face” — ‘The Scare-Craw’, Francis Boyle

“Come forth and **dinna** say me na.”

“I’ll warrant them, they **winna** miss ye.”

“I doubt ye **darna** for ye’r mither” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“And when he did, he **cou’dna** grip it” — ‘The Gout and the Flea’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

“But och! thy troublers **dinna** care”

“Thou **needna** think this outrage odd” — ‘To a Sparrow’, Robert Dinsmore

“Gudfaith thou **dinna** want for pikes” — ‘To a Hedgehog’, Samuel Thomson

“My head I’ll bestow ye, if I **dinna** shew ye” — ‘The Spae-Wife’, James Orr

“He **wadna** let me stay a’ night” — ‘The Wanderer’, James Orr

“Wha Point an’ Prataoes **downa** tak”

“Upsettin’ England **sudna** ding” — ‘To the Potato’, James Orr

“But **canna** sing.”

“I **needna** strive. My want and woe” — ‘Fragment of an Epistle to Mr W.H.D—’, James Orr

“A knot that **winna** draw, that.”

“Wha **wadna** toil to plant the tree” — ‘A Song on Marriage’, Hugh Porter

“We **needna** let it dally” — ‘Written the Next Morning’, Hugh Porter
 “But **dinna** turn him to the Meeting”
 “An’ if you **canna** cure him — hang him.” — ‘With a Little Dog’, George Dugall
 “The waefu’ cause she **needna** spier” — ‘A Winter Night in the North of Ireland’, John McKinley
 “They **winna** sit down as our forefathers sat”
 “It **canna** be ended without a law suit!”
 “The devil himsel’ **couldna** match sic a crew!” — ‘My Ain Native Toun’, David Herbison
 “It **wadna** vent the sma’est blade” — ‘The Auld Wife’s Lament for her Teapot’, David Herbison
 “For they **canna** work ava”
 “And we **needna** spin ava” — ‘The Irish Widow’s Lament’, David Herbison
 “But **dinna** turn him to the Meeting” — ‘My Auld Mither’s Address’, Joseph Carson
 “An’ tauntin’, say, “It **disna** clink”
 “But as for me, I **needna** think” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg
 “For trifles devils **disna** scar.”
 “Yon **canna** be nae out-post picket”
 “And if thou **couldna** want a wife”
 “Some weel ken’d youths I **darna** name” — ‘Dodderly Willowaim’, Robert Huddleston
 “What Muse O, **wadna** spread her wing” — ‘On Salts’, Robert Huddleston
 “**Dinna** ye mark a fir-tree stand”
 “The stumpy **canna** cross the burn”
 “Quo’ she, “Guid man ye **needna** turn sae pale” — ‘Stumpy’s Brae’, Frances Alexander
 “If ye **dinna** let me tak Maggie I’ll gang an’ list.” — ‘Readings’, W. G. Lyttle
 “But, ah! its builders **canna** move”
 “That **needna** noo be printed” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given
 “Some o’ thir names I **dinna** ken” — ‘The lint Pullin’’, Adam Lynn
 “I **canna** haud ane fur” — ‘The magic X’, James Mullan
 “It **isna** tae be compared” — ‘Toothache’, Agnes Kerr
 “You **canna** let a ha’pporth be.” — ‘The Old Man and the Cat’, Agnes Kerr
 “They **cou’dna** attend them wi’ bobbins ava” — ‘The Weaving’, Agnes Kerr
 “We **canna** weel say, nor it’s no muckle matter” — ‘An Epitath on a Miser’, C. K. Pooler

be~binna

bes~besna

is~isna,

wis~wisna

war~warnna

are~arena

dae~daena|dinna

daes~daesna|disna

did~didna

hae~haena|hinna
haes~haesna
haed~haedna

will~willna|winna
wad~wadna

can~canna
coud~coudna

sall|shall~sanna|shallna|shanna
soud|shoud~soudna|shoudna

maun~maunna

daur~daurna
daurs~daursna
durst~durstna

micht~michtna

w) Loss of 'r'

Frae~fae

The usual literary form is *frae*. However, *fae* is an acceptable alternative.

"I shanna bauk the like *frae* you." — 'A Pastoral in Praise of Allan Ramsay', William Starrat

"Nae Carle *frae* Congregation Tub" — 'An Elegy', William Starrat

"*Frae* rain an' snaw" — 'On Presenting a Plough to a Clergyman', Francis Boyle

"Or *frae* the horse's heels a lash." — 'To the Criticks', *The Ulster Miscellany*

"Fowk tell how thou, sae far *frae* daft" — 'To a Hedgehog', Samuel Thomson

"Ta'en twa rash gills *frae* Herdman's quart" — 'Donegore Hill', James Orr

"I hunted you *frae* room to room" — 'To a Mouse', David Herbison

"Blaws *frae* the North with whistling din" — 'Address to a Cricket', Sarah Leech

"Whan he *frae* out his aerial coach" — 'Dodderly Willowaim', Robert Huddleston

"The blackbird keeks oot *frae* the fog at the broo" — 'A Song for February', Thomas Given

"Tae creep *frae* place tae place." — 'The Bicycle', Adam Lynn

"A mug, *fae* whaur the ear is partied" — 'A Poor Man's Petition', Andrew McKenzie

"*Fae* gettin' new soles on my brogues" — 'Dodderly Willowaim', Robert Huddleston'

x) 'r' metathesis

Aupron~aupern rather than *apern* with initial vowel 12 (/aː, ɔː, aː/ depending on dialect), usually spelt <au>. The spelling with <a> represents a merger of vowel 12 with vowel 17.

Modren, gress~girse and *wastern~wastren* as suggested.
pretty~purty rather than *partie*.

Part 5

Representation of the [yɪh] sound

“once represented by yogh”

The letter <ɟ> was sometimes used instead of <y> /j/ in Older Scots.

a) Palatalisation after initial consonants.

Palatalisation simply means that the consonant is pronounced as if followed very closely by /j/.

Deuk rather than *deuck*, and *teuch*, *neuk* and *heuk* as suggested, all with vowel 7 before /k/ and /x/. See Part 3, Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section h, English ‘oo’ to Ulster Scots ui, above.

Eneuch as suggested, but *feugie* rather than *feuggie* (no doubled consonants after vowel digraphs).

In some dialects a /j/ glide may have developed after the initial consonant.

Moot, *nimp*, *knir*, *nirps* and *natter* rather than *myowt*, *nyim*, *nyir*, *nyirps* and *nyitter*.

Myowt may be an onomatopoeic alteration influenced by *miaow* as of a cat.

Yirn rather than *nyirm* (with intrusive initial n).

Nyaff as suggested.

Nyam may simply be onomatopoeic.

Speuch from *spleuchan*?

b) ‘Yoching’

What this is supposed to mean is anyone’s guess. Yogh <ɟ> is a letter. See Part 1 Older Scots spelling and its legacy in modern Ulster Scots, section c, ‘Yogh’.

Yowe simply has initial /j/.

Yin has nothing to do with yogh. The traditional spelling is *ane*. The adjectival form before nouns is *ae*. See Part 3 Words spelt with the vowel ‘o’ in English, section a, English ‘o’ to Ulster-Scots a or ai, above.

You~ye, your~yer as suggested, but *year* rather than *yeir*.

The above have nothing to do with ‘yogh’ as a letter. That is simply initial /j/.

“Yet mony a *year* afore I die” — ‘Epistle to Francis Boyle’, John Meharg

“A youthfu’ guide frae *year* tae *year*” — ‘The Auld School at the Pun’, Thomas Given

“I watched you weel in *years* remote” — ‘Poetical Epistle tae Cullybackey Auld Nummer’, Thomas Given

In some words (especially in Southern Scots) a /j/ realisation arose owing to the stress falling on the second vowel, so the first vowel became weak and eventually became [j].

Yill (ale), *yerl* (earl), *yird~yirth*

Earn rather than *yirn*.

Yon~thon as suggested.

Yonder~thonder rather than *yonner~thonner*. As the /d/ may be pronounced by some speakers, it is sensible to retain it in the orthography. Native speakers who simplify the cluster <nd> to /n/ do so habitually where possible. It is easier to ignore an underlying written consonant than to insert one that is not shown. Not writing the <d> would be characteristic of dialect writing.

“But *yonder* she’s tane up, you see” — ‘The Gartan Courtship’, *The Ulster Miscellany*

c) Palatalisation after ‘l’

Tulzie and *culzie* have vowel 7, and the letter <z> was used as a substitute for ‘yogh’ <ɝ>. Better *tuilyie* and *cuiilyie*. See Part 1, Older Scots spelling and its legacy in modern Ulster Scots, section c, ‘Yogh’, above.

Ceilidh rather than *kaylie* or *kailye*. The word ‘*kailie*’ is a known Gaelic loan, in the case of Ulster very likely brought from Scotland as part of Plantation Scots rather than adopted from Irish. Why respell it?

The spellings *polyute*, *colyeum*, *flyue*, *glyue*, *blyue* give the impression of having been created for comic effect. Better *pollute*, *column*, (*in*)*flu(en)za*, *glue*, *blue*. The <y> is simply the result of some speakers having developed a /j/ glide after the initial consonant. They will pronounce that habitually.

Fluit rather than *flyute* with vowel 7.

d) Words ending ‘-ture’

Standard English developed a palatalised pronunciation in that suffix. Here it is perhaps better to keep in line with the Latin etymology, therefore *pictur*, *naitur*, *manufactur*, *furniture* and *mixtur* rather than *pictèr*, *naitèr*, *furnitèr* and *mixtèr*.

The spelling *mannyfectèr* gives the impression of having been created for comic effect. The <e> before <ctèr> is a Mid-Ulster English realisation, whereby /æ/ becomes /ɛ/ before velars.

“Wha lang ere night lay *tortur*’d” — ‘Donegore Hill’, James Orr

“Och, *Natur*’ ‘t is that gi’es the law” — ‘A Rustic Lovemaking’, George Francis Savage–Armstrong

Part 6

The Hamely Tongue

The spellings in the Hamely Tongue are clearly intended to be phonetically accurate dialect spellings rather than a guide to literary Scots. The spellings used, sensibly avoided “awkward orthographic structures”. Any spellings reflecting literary Scots practice were most likely arrived at by coincidence rather than design.

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