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A Threshold in Children's Belief

Carole H. Carpenter

Children's beliefs are particularly disregarded amongst studies of that already under-studied genre—the folklore of children. A reasonable explanation for this situation might be that nostalgia, rather than a spirit of scientific enquiry, has pervaded a significant portion of folklore work dealing with children. At least some scholars and numerous interested others have more or less consciously communicated through their works a profound sense of loss rather than a preoccupation with the enduring reality.  

Belief material—typically ethnographic dynamite—provides access to some of the deepest concerns of any people and rather directly reflects their worldview. To study children's beliefs, then, is to deal with the actual child, not any idealised or reconstructed dream creature. But popular (and some scholarly) opinion militates against such study. The beliefs harboured by formative minds it seems, cannot be taken seriously by many. Even rather interested scholars often fail to consider fanciful childhood lore as significant or effective in functional terms at the same time as they deal with such material in comparative or longitudinal studies.  

An excellent example of such belief material is weather dites and in particular those concerned with thunder and lightning.

This paper will focus on these predominantly adult-derived traditional beliefs, though other children's and childhood traditions will also be included in the discussions. The study explores the nature of belief among children aged three to ten over the past decade in and around Toronto, Canada. The analysis will elucidate the types of belief involved and informants' attitudes towards belief and believing. The study documents a major alteration in belief and believing in the course of childhood that relates directly to significant changes in self-image and perceived relationship with the world.

My research on weather dites arose from combined interests in the folklore of children and the function of beliefs in general. In 1976-77 and again in the fall of 1978, I asked my students in folklore studies courses to collect these traditional sayings (from children, if at all possible) as well as to recollect them from their own childhood. Forty five items (with commentary) were submitted, thirty recollected by adults and fifteen
collected from children. In subsequent years, I have broadened the assignment to include other traditional children’s beliefs—in Santa Claus, the tooth fairy, the Easter Bunny, the bogeyman and the like. Over 100 additional items of belief have been recorded, approximately eighty percent of these from children. I have supplemented this material with numerous interviews with many youngsters aged three to ten and observations of my own children (currently five and seven) and their friends, particularly with respect to what they say about beliefs and how beliefs affect their actions. The informants have been of various ethnic and religious backgrounds (reflective of the multicultural makeup of Toronto), though primarily of European ancestry.

My students have typically reported considerable difficulty in eliciting traditional explanations from children; rather, in many instances they obtained realistic or scientific explanations or no explanations whatsoever, merely statements of the order, “My Mommy and Daddy told me not to be afraid of thunderstorms.” I have found such comments to be most frequently voiced by children of six and under. Some youngsters—generally in the upper half of the age range studied and most often without direct questioning—have expressed profound disbelief in any dites recounted to them in the effort to obtain traditional material. The collectors overall developed the impression that dites were more common in their youth than at present because most of them could remember such material being used on them by adults. But they also reported that a number of their young informants as well as some adults actively preferred and selected to use the “imaginative” traditional explanations over scientific information also available. These findings might suggest that the appeal of dites is not necessarily diminishing in the face of scientific knowledge even though their prevalence may be. Or, as my interviews have indicated, people may nowadays tend to associate the dites with fond memories of childhood, but only after a certain removal from that stage of life. Clearly, the dites, when reported, seemed to offer greater satisfaction or be of more significance than less colourful, more mundane, “realistic” explanations. Some of this appeal obviously rests in the content and in its artistic presentation, for here is, truly, a verbal art form, and one of a particularly imagistic nature.

By far the majority of explanations offered were traditional while only four were, it seems, individual fancy. One person reporting an individual explanation also had a traditional one, and one other (an eight-year-old) spontaneously invented an explanation that found immediate acceptance.
among his peers, namely: During a storm at summer camp, the boy said that “Spiderman [was] zapping people.” Other children quickly adopted this idea involving the then-current superhero and ran about pretending to “zap” one another.

As far as characters are concerned, the largest single group of weather dites collected refers to God or gods, followed by other heavenly beings. Impersonal heavenly or sky phenomena figure in the third largest group, while a miscellany of personages or causes are present in the remainder. Some of the well-known explanations offered concerning God, his moods, and activities were (briefly and in order of greatest frequency):

1. God is mad, with several variants, namely that thunder is the wrath of God; God is angry with the evil ways of man; lightning was God pointing his finger at us in anger.

2. God is bowling, with several variants: with the angels, because he's mad; he's having a bowling tournament in the sky with some of the Saints in Heaven.

3. He's moving furniture, with a variant, God and the angels are moving furniture.

4. God marches around heaven in iron boots (thunder) and his boots make sparks (lightning).

5. God is snoring.

6. He’s clearing his throat.

7. God is having a fight with the clouds because he's angry with them.

Some less common or otherwise noteworthy explanations referring to God include the following:

A. “When it thunders don’t be frightened—it is only the sound of God having spilled a wheelbarrow full of potatoes he has just picked. The thunder is the sound of potatoes rolling to the ground.” (collected from a thirty-year-old female Canadian)

B. “God is whipping his wife. The lightning was the lash of the whip. The thunder was the crack of the whip.” (collected from a twenty-year-old male of British background)
C. “Lightning is when the angels are playing ball with the clouds. Thunder is when God yells at them for making noise while he’s sleeping and rain is the tears of the angels because they’re sorry.” (collected from an eight-year-old Toronto girl of unknown ethnic heritage)

D. “Thunder and lightning happens when the angels set off firecrackers. The thunder is the noise made by the fireworks and the lightning is the glow of the explosion. Rain follows when God washes away the mess they make. It also puts out the fire, for just like children, angels shouldn’t play with matches or fire.” (collected from an eight-year-old Toronto Jewish girl)

Two of the four personal fancies (both recollected) involved God: “God is banging two garbagecan lids together” and “I used to phantasize that God had a huge computer in the sky and he pushed different buttons that caused all the occurrence in the world including environmental conditions. On very bad stormy days, I figured that God had fallen backwards on all the buttons at once.”

The next most common personages were angels, appearing about one-third of the time with God, otherwise by themselves. Other figures included giants, dwarves, dead people, “somebody up there,” as well as the beings in the following two examples:

1. “... little elves up in the clouds making shoes. When they hit the leather it was thunder. If these little elves miss the leather and hit the anvil then it is lightning.”

2. “When the weatherman gets hungry, he sends down a lightning fork and gets something to eat. He eats trees and cows and people. And lots of times his forks hit big buildings and TV aerials. That’s why he makes thunder. It’s indigestion!”

By far the most common occurrence in the collected dites is bowling, involving in order of frequency: angels, God, God and angels, God and saints, gods, giants, dead people, “Somebody up there” as well as “Dwarves in Heaven [who] were getting drunk and knocking down pins with bowling balls.” The specific activities in these heavenly bowling games vary as do the characters. For instance, thunder is generally the noise of the ball rolling (on the ground, in the clouds or down the alley) or the result of strikes, whereas lightning may be “the sparks that were made
when the balls hit the bowling pins," or a strike, or "the points' which God flashes down to earth." Rain, while not frequently mentioned, may be the tears of the losers in the tournament ("the heavier the rain, the worse the score") or explained as follows:

"As a child, I remember hearing about thunder and lightning being equated with the angels' games: Thunder was the noise produced by the angels rolling a ball on the ground; lightning was the spark given off when the ball hit a number of bottles full of water; and rain was the water spilled from the overturned bottles."

This recollection of a twenty-year-old Portuguese-Canadian girl continues:

"My parents were not the ones who proposed this explanation. Rather, I became familiar with it through children I went to school with. I do not recall actually believing that the Angels were bowling, but nevertheless, it was fun to joke about rainy days as being the Angels' bowling days."

It is notable that a number of informants emphasised some game-like active involvement with thunderstorms as a result of bowling explanations: for instance, "We called large storms ten pin storms; smaller storms, five pin storms"; [because of the points God flashes down] "were always aware of who is winning the game ... I can recall that sitting down and keeping track of the points of this heavenly bowling game removed a lot of fear". It is notable that a number of informants emphasised some game-like active involvement with thunderstorms as a result of bowling explanations: for instance, "We called large storms ten pin storms; smaller storms, five pin storms"; [because of the points God flashes down] "were always aware of who is winning the game ... I can recall that sitting down and keeping track of the points of this heavenly bowling game removed a lot of fear". 11

"I know that it was a private game in the sky and had nothing to do with the people on earth. Therefore I knew that we would never be hurt by these noises, we just heard them on earth." 12

Among those in the heavenly sky phenomena category, the following dites are noteworthy:

1. "Thunder was when two clouds were moving together and getting closer to each other. Lightning is when the two clouds start kissing and that causes a spark." 13

2. "Black clouds didn't like each other, so, when they got together they argued. Thunder was caused by their yelling at each other. Lightning was caused by the objects they threw at each other. The rain was sent by God to cool their tempers." 14

These examples are in keeping with the overall strong tendency to
personification in weather dites. Less than ten percent of those collected do not involve personification of the phenomena, examples being: “Clouds bang”; “Thunder’s a big earthquake coming . . . the whole world’s going to fall down”; and “Lightning is little girls changing their dresses.” Of these, the first is probably a fragment of a saying which quite possibly involved personalisation and the second is a common childhood fear rather than a traditional dite.

The remaining saying that deserves particular mention belongs in the “Other” category and was collected from a twenty two-year-old Toronto male of Scottish ancestry. Whenever there is one of Toronto’s frequent thunderstorms, someone in his family says: “Oh look, a short circuit and a cuss.”

It is important to note that a good quarter of the explanations incorporate anger, most often specified though implied about once in four times. Most frequently it is God’s anger. Several of the dites include a punishment of misbehaviour that has aroused God’s wrath. Rain is explained in about fifteen percent of the items collected, mostly as tears, specifically the tears of those who misbehave. Behavioural control is therefore often direct and frequently implied through such sayings. My own recollected thunder and lightning dite (learned from my maternal grandmother who was raised in the Northeast of England) is an excellent example:

“The clouds are having a fight. Lightning is their angry words, thunder is them banging their heads together and the rain is their tears.”

The clear implication—clear to me from my first remembrance of being given this explanation—is that those who fight will be sorry. Similarly, the following dite recalled by a twenty two-year-old Oshawa woman of British background illustrates bad behaviour and its unfortunate results:

“God and the angels were moving furniture in heaven. The angels were very clumsy and they constantly dropped things. Consequently, thunder is the result of dropping and breakage.”

In summary, then, the beliefs generally involve extraordinary beings engaged in relatively common activities, experiencing well-known emotions, and reacting to everyday provocations. What is left to the imagination involves less of the dark unknown than playful possibilities because relatively little is unexpected once one accepts the existence of the
personages concerned. Of particular interest is the nature of that acceptance, which brings us to consideration of belief.

Informants themselves commented on the nature of their belief in approximately one third of the recorded items, with an almost equal distribution of affirmative and negative expressions. Of those who professed actual belief in an explanation, only one definitely linked it to religion and one other implied a religious connection. Several informants offered a judgement about their belief changing “around age eight or so” from belief to disbelief. The children who made such comments were the majority of those who remarked about belief at all and they often specifically associated the change with the metamorphosis from, as they expressed it, “being little” to “growing up”. Further directed investigation was to clarify the ramifications of such seemingly simple remarks.

In almost as many cases as involved belief, the value of the explanation as a comforter and dispeller of fears was emphasised. “My mother was my informant and usually told me this when a storm was raging outside and I complained of being afraid. The saying was to allay my fears and calm me down”;

“this story was told to Jerry when he was about four years old. He was petrified one night during a violent storm and went running into his mother’s bedroom. She took him in her arms and told him this story which helped to ease his mind and let him sleep”; 

“When my mother told me that story I calmed down completely. It not only satisfied me but soothed me at the same time.” It is especially important to note that all such comments came from older children or adult informants; those under seven or eight were unable not only to articulate clearly the function of the material but also to objectify it sufficiently to comment on it much if at all.

Just as adults use these dites as comforters, so too are they accepted by children under age six (approximately, of course). Such youngsters do not question the material particularly, attempting neither to reason it out nor to work with it otherwise; rather, theirs is a passive acceptance of information from the adult world, proffered usually by an authority figure in a high-context communicative situation. They make a leap of faith, based on trust in the authority who may, sometimes, be an older child, but never, in this age range, a peer. No willing suspension of disbelief is necessary to allow the fantasy to work, for there is a vacuum which the traditional explanation fills, and so the belief functions for the youngster. The dites are obviously absorbed by young people, though not necessarily (and most likely seldom) believed at a conscious level. They provide
security in the face of the unknown, an extension of apparent adult power over the universe through knowledge and understanding. This is, of course, a form of belief but one decidedly different from a reasoned or deeply-felt belief. The dites function to amuse and distract children (hence the prevalence of play within the beliefs or some humorous juxtaposition of sacred creatures and intensely secular activities such as angels bowling). Thereby, these traditions relieve childish tension in the face of a frightening natural phenomenon which underscores their helplessness and ignorance.

Other childhood beliefs similarly enjoy little profound belief but widespread currency, partly because of their efficaciousness but more because of first, the strong element of play (verbal or otherwise) in them; second, the tendency towards amusement; and most of all, a passive but intense faith in adults, resulting from a sense of being worked upon, having little control over one's environment, and very little knowledge of selfness. Psychologists maintain that all childhood is a gradual progression towards self-realisation, but there is, as is very evident from the belief material studied here, a qualitative change in perception and expression of self shortly after entry into grade school. At this time, children do experience major changes in what society expects of them and how they are able to operate in the world—more chores, greater responsibility, the possibility of walking to school on one's own and so forth. Further, from what my informants have said, children see themselves as distinct from a younger group (preschoolers) and seek to express the differentiation they perceive. They are now in the process of becoming what they term “big kids” and must divest themselves of that which they associate with “being little”. So they enter a transitional stage of active enquiry, questioning the possibility of beliefs, which leads them to utter such remarks as the following: “Nobody can be bowling in the sky . . . the ball would fall”; “Santa can't be in so many places at once”; “How can the Easter Bunny get into everyone’s house anyway.” Most often, belief is dispelled not through counter evidence from science or other such “fact”, but from either the logical reasoning of the child him/herself or the purposeful intervention of an older child bent on making a sibling or neighbour “grow up”.

In the course of the transition period, children become increasingly involved in an active way with the beliefs. They play with these traditions, working them to advantage whenever possible and manipulating the environment through them as they do, for instance, by placing successive
teeth under the pillow despite growing certitude that the diaphanous Tooth Fairy is really Momma in her bathrobe.\textsuperscript{20}

The end of the transition period is marked by purposeful use of the beliefs by children themselves with others, specifically their peers, as when the girl joked with her friends about rainy days being Angels' bowling days. Use amongst adults at this point increasingly takes on a conspiratorial aspect, whereby secrets are preserved from little ones and, increasingly, identification is expressed with adults. This identification reflects a decided transformation in self-image and in worldview as a result. Belief, then, exists yet, but in the sense of practice or verbalisation, not cognition. But, it is important to remember, active reasoning \textit{never}—to this point—underlay the beliefs, rather passive acceptance. If questioned at this stage about belief, children will, and customarily with considerable vehemence, deny it and associate it instead with younger ones—the "little kids".

Next, they often set out to enlighten one or more of these identified "little kids", but typically very few will persist in such behaviour for long. When just a little older, most children use the beliefs with younger ones in appropriate milieux and with the same conscious intentions as were operative when the beliefs were used on them. In other words, they now behave as if they themselves were the "grownups", at least in so far as they perceive how "grownups" behave.

The supreme manipulation of belief is the creation of one, as eventually becomes possible and clearly reflects a child's perception of his/her nascent adulthood. By approximately the age of eight, children have a considerably increased sense of their own power—in mental, rather than physical, terms. They are actively engaged in expressing \textit{self} and attempting to exercise control over \textit{being}. In so doing, they start to shape their individual beliefs and select their degree of participation in the powerful pre-pubescent belief traditions.

The use, meaning, and function of oral belief traditions have undergone significant change. Children as well as adults know something has happened and both can and do comment on the transformations they perceive. The way in which the children, having crossed the threshold in belief, relate to and through these childhood traditions is a very good indicator of their altered worldview, one that now incorporates cognitive or reasoned—however faulty—belief. The young people identify themselves directly with and through such belief as adult, producing an elevation of their feelings of personal power—an attribute commonly associated with adults.
Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the American Folklore Society meeting in Baltimore, October 1986.
2. The very fine collection of Alice Kane's childhood reminiscences edited by Edith Fowke, *Songs and Sayings of an Ulster Childhood* (Toronto, 1983), is an excellent example of this orientation.
3. Even the Opies, for all their impressive collecting, do not deal with beliefs in terms of operative cognitions.
4. All the examples cited are included within the collections of the Ontario Folklore-Folklife Archive, currently located at York University in North York, Ontario.
5. To all the students who contributed to this project I express my profound indebtedness. Their collecting not only provided much of the raw material, but their reflections upon it offered much insight into the use, meaning, and function of the dites.
6. So-called, by the informants themselves.
7. This number represents less than three percent of the total collection.
8. Another, that may be traditional, was recorded from a thirteen-year-old girl who said that when she was small she used to believe that snow was God's dandruff and each time he brushed his hair it snowed. She believed this until she started school and the teacher explained, scientifically, how snow was formed.
9. Collected from a nine-year-old Scarborough girl of unknown ethnicity.
10. Collected from a seven-year-old Toronto area boy of Anglo-Scots background.
11. Recalled by a twenty two-year-old Toronto man of Anglo-Saxon background.
12. Recalled by a twenty one-year-old Toronto man of mixed Anglo/German/French background.
14. Recollected by an Italo-Canadian male of about twenty three years of age in Toronto.
15. This point is well worth remembering when dealing with aetiological legends, especially those of the Amerindians, which are frequently presented to children without consideration of this use in the traditional context of telling.
17. Recalled by a twenty three-year-old Canadian girl of Scots-Irish background.
18. See note 12.
20. My six-year-old son knew "the truth" and declared as much, agreeing not to
tell his four-year-old sister about Santa Claus only on the condition that he could participate in filling the family's stockings; that is, in contributing to the fantasy. He had been more than willing to go along with the practices of the tooth fairy as long as he was appropriately recompensed.

York University, Toronto
Gillian Bennett & Paul Smith (eds)
MONSTERS WITH IRON TEETH: PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY LEGEND Volume III

This volume is the third in the 'Perspectives' series, and brings together papers presented at the International Conference on Contemporary Legend held in Sheffield in July 1985.

The Sheffield meetings are designed to provide a forum in which scholars can discuss current research and exchange ideas. There is never any attempt to construct hard-and-fast models of legend processes or limit participants to any particular approach; rather, it is the hope that the interplay of voices will expand participants' awareness of the genre, increase their familiarity with the theoretical and practical problems it presents, and pave the way for a more sensitive understanding and a more subtle critique.

The papers in this volume reflect these aims and approaches.

Three main perspectives on contemporary legend are offered to the reader: considerations of theoretical issues; case studies of particular legends; analyses of legend and society.

Among the studies of theoretical issues are W.F.H. Nicolaisen’s ‘German Sage and English Legend: Terminological and Conceptual Problems’, and Edgar Slotkin’s 'Legend Genre as a Function of Audience'. Case studies include Mark Glazer’s 'The Superglue Revenge'; Maria Herrera Sobek’s 'The Devil in the Discotheque'; and Sandy Hobbs and David Cornwell’s 'Tracing the Monster with Iron Teeth' (from which the title of the volume is taken). Examinations of legend and society feature Linda-May Ballard’s ‘Three Local Storytellers: A Perspective on the Question of Cultural Heritage’; and Nancy Kammer Peters’ 'Suburban/Rural Variations in the Content of Adolescent Ghost Legends'.

Other contributors are Gillian Bennett, Keith Cunningham, Daniel Decotterd, Sheila Douglas, Bill Ellis, Marcia Gaudet, Marilyn Jorgensen.

The volume never underplays the problems inherent in the genre. For the editors and contributors alike contemporary legends are 'Monsters with Iron Teeth' - difficult creatures, to be approached with caution and treated with respect.

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C. 250PP
Newfoundland Berry Pickers "In the Fairies": The Maintenance of Spatial and Temporal Boundaries through Legendry

Peter Narváez

Where dips the rocky highland
of Sleuth Wood in the lake,
There lies a leafy island
Where flapping herons wake
The drowsy water-rats.
There we've hid our fairy vats
Full of berries,
And of reddest stolen cherries.
Come away, O, human child!
To the woods and waters wild,
With a fairy hand in hand,
For the world's more full of weeping than
you can understand.

W.B. Yeats, from "The Stolen Child"

Contemporary visions of "fairies" invoke images of either quaint folkloric figures, oftentimes associated with a popular children's literature based on folktales, or stereotypes of male homosexuals. In the first instance the figure is regarded as fantastical, while the second "straight" view of "fairy" is deprecatory, connoting malignance and provoking an anxious response to ambiguous identity. The kind of ambiguous identity associated with this latter and more modern usage, one which poses the threat of potential immorality and bodily harm, has made the fairy of tradition a powerful community figure in the folk cultures of Newfoundland's past. As vital aspects of a complex magico-religious belief system, fairies in Newfoundland have affected behaviour and worldview. This discussion will focus attention on a cluster of Newfoundland legends and personal experience narratives which, as oral survivals of traditional beliefs, reveal how fairies used to function as folkloric mechanisms for the erection and maintenance of spatial and temporal boundaries. As "survivals" these narratives reflect beliefs and customary practices which continue to be transmitted although
their earlier meanings and social functions have been rejected, altered, or forgotten. As accounts of past family and community incidents these stories relate events which are believed to have actually occurred to the protagonists. Most of the narrators, however, distance themselves from and are sceptical of the traditional supernatural interpretations which they report as integral elements of the narratives.

**Time Bias and Discontinuous Space**

These tales reflect ideas regarding space and time which are antithetical to those exhibited in a number of emergent “media legends” that I have examined elsewhere. In that study, the media concepts of Harold A. Innis were employed to argue that the “spatial bias” of modern technological media disposed a contemporary generation of Newfoundlanders to view time as being discontinuous and to perceive space as continuous. Accordingly, these ideas were illustrated in a set of Newfoundland legends that humorously condemned spatial incompetence, in depictions of the misuse and misunderstanding of modern media, while revealing a sense of disjunctive time through portrayals of “foolish” elderly protagonists. On the other hand, the fairy legends to be presented here reflect the “time bias” of sensory media, the predominant media of the folk societies of earlier Newfoundland generations, a shaping force which disposes a group to experience time continuously, that is, to expend energies on the conservation and transmission of cultural forms which are previously known and understood as perpetually relevant. In particular, the temporal bias of orality inclines a society to view geographical space as a discontinuous reality, a tendency which fosters a contractionist worldview.

**Liminal Space**

As orality (language use, dialect formation) nurtured notions of contractile space in the folk communities of Newfoundland’s past, specific folkloric mechanisms (e.g., mummering, ghost legends, Jack O’Lantern, mysterious lights, tokens, tragic sea ballads, strangers, fairies) established proxemic boundaries on the cognitive maps of community residents, boundaries which demarcated geographical areas of purity, liminality, and danger. “Liminal” is a term derived from the Latin *limen* meaning “threshold”. In the intellectual tradition of Arnold Van Gennep, it is usually associated
with that period during a rite of passage when a participant experiences the ambivalent realm between one social position and another. This temporal usage of liminality is here transferred to a spatial understanding of areas between known space (purity) and unknown space (danger) where one might experience the benign or the malignant. In commenting on such marginal territories, Van Gennep appropriately observed, “whoever passes from one [zone] to the other finds himself physically and magico-religiously in a special situation for a certain length of time: he wavers between two worlds.” The fairy narratives under consideration reveal that particularly for women, berry grounds in Newfoundland—zones of muskeg bogs, barrens, and marshlands on the inland geographic fringes of small communities—have constituted liminal spaces, territories on earth’s horizontal surface that have been inhabited by fairies who might be regarded as “liminal personae”, creatures of ambivalent status and inclination, who as will be shown, are themselves in the liminal vertical space of “Middle Earth”, betwixt Heaven and Hell. Forests, related liminal spaces of particular significance to men, will receive brief mention later in this discussion and have been noted elsewhere. Despite the limitations of a two dimensional medium, the intersection of these horizontal and vertical worlds might be simply diagrammed as follows:

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HEAVEN

Fairies

MIDDLE EARTH

PURITY
Known Space

LIMINAL SPACE
Berry Grounds
Forests

DANGER
Unknown Space

HELL
Fairies in North America

While fairylore has been extensively studied by European folklorists, it is generally assumed that fairies have not existed in North America. Dorson maintained that “these beings cavorted and made mischief throughout the isles of Britain, but failed to take passage with the emigrants sailing for America.” His rationale for the absence of fairies in the New World was that folk creatures “rooted in the soil” of their homelands could not make the crossing, whereas folk figures who knew no spatial confines, such as the Devil, witches and ghosts could.

The large amount of fairylore apparent in Newfoundland, currently the object of an intensive investigation at Memorial University, appears anomalous, therefore, and may be partially accounted for by the unique history of Newfoundland settlement, environmental factors, and folk theology concerning fairies. As part of the larger question of cultural continuity and the immigrant experience, Newfoundland’s peculiar patterns of economic development and settlement are of prime importance for understanding the survival of fairy belief. In Newfoundland, colonising through chartered companies, the procedure which typified the settlement of other New World British colonies, failed in the seventeenth century largely due to the inadequate development of secondary agricultural resources and because of conflicts with the vested interests of an established seasonal West Country fishing economy. From the late sixteenth century through the 1790s, English and Irish migrated through this West Country fishery, as official winter work crews, illegal migrants and as indentured fishing servants. The decline of the migratory fishery and the emergence of the inshore family fishery, the development of a town and urban centre, St. John’s, the granting of official status to Newfoundland as a British colony in 1824, and economic depressions and agricultural failures in Ireland, all contributed toward attracting increasing numbers of immigrants during the late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century. These immigrants only slowly and painfully melded into the merchant fishery economy but Newfoundland’s economic conditions were not altogether new to them, for as John J. Mannion has observed, “in southeast Ireland, and to a much greater extent in southwest England, the transatlantic cod fishery and concomitant supply trade ranked as the leading commercial ventures over a considerable period of time, employing great numbers of people in related activities in the ports, in the inland towns and villages, and on the farms.” Unlike their migrant
counterparts in other areas of North America who journeyed from their homelands as part of a socioeconomic experiment, for religious reasons, or to join an emergent industrial workforce, thereby encountering radically different cultural scenes, Irish and English settlers in Newfoundland often immigrated as an extension of their primary occupational pursuits connected with the fishery. On arrival, they encountered a cultural environment and economy that approximated to previously known conditions. This pattern of development resulted in a multitude of small isolated fishing “outports”, closely resembling the classic “folk society” model, which, not unlike their village counterparts in England and Ireland, served mercantile interests. Until the mid-twentieth century these economically undiversified communities could certainly sustain traditional fairy faith, for as George Story has observed, such “undisturbed” outports long remained “a rich repository of European customs and folkways on the very threshold of the New World.”

The environmental conditions of Newfoundland experienced by immigrant populations may also have been conducive to continued fairy belief because they appeared similar to Old World fairy surroundings. Walter Evans-Wentz has stressed the significance of weather and scenery in “shaping” the Celtic fairy faith of Ireland and Scotland. His description of the “rock-bound” and “storm swept” shores of the Outer Hebrides certainly portrays Newfoundland coastal conditions as well:

Commonly there is the thickest day-darkness when the driving storms come in from the Atlantic, or when dense fog covers sea and land; and, again, there are melancholy sea-winds moaning across from shore to shore... At other times there is a sparkle of the brightest sunshine on the waves... and then again a dead silence prevails... All these contrasted conditions may be seen in one day...

In addition to similar coastline environs, European associations of inland berry grounds and fairy habitations, particularly well documented for Ireland in connection with the ancient Celtic harvest festival of Lughnasa, were well suited to Newfoundland and Labrador which abound with areas of blueberries and bilberries (also known in Newfoundland as “hurts”), partridge berries, bakeapples (cloudberries), raspberries, squashberries, and marshberries.

Despite unique historical patterns of migration and the presence of environments which appeared hospitable to fairies, the survival of fairy faith amongst European immigrants in North America required an
interpretive frame that allowed for one or more of the following possibilities: 1. fairy emigration; 2. fairy propagation in conjunction with mortals; 3. native fairy inhabitants in the new land. In the first regard, Dorson's view that Old World fairies are "rooted in the soil" is correct—theories of fairy origin generally do not allow for fairy transplantation. Secondly, if theories of fairy origin were entertained that emphasised genealogical links with mortals, such as the idea that fairies are unbaptised children or spirits of the dead, the development of a fairy population would have required settlement of considerable duration. In contrast, the predominance in Newfoundland of belief in the "fallen angel" theory accounts for indigenous fairy inhabitants. This etiological mythic narrative begins by recounting the casting out of Satan and his angels from Heaven as biblically portrayed in Revelation (12.7-9). The "folk Bible," oral traditions which derive from and expand upon Biblical texts, then maintains that St. Michael appealed to the Almighty to stem the exodus of angels. God rescinded his previous order, and as Katharine Briggs has summarised, descending angels "were arrested on their fall through the universe towards Hell, and stayed where they fell, some in the air, some in the rivers, the sea or lakes, some on earth, and some under the earth." Given adherence to fallen angel folk theology, therefore, we can surmise that until fairies experience their fate on the Day of Judgement they might be encountered anywhere on Middle Earth. In Newfoundland, this folk theology has been so taken for granted that on one occasion, during an interview, a Newfoundland informant voiced surprise when an "educated" folklorist appeared to be ignorant of such well acknowledged "fact". As with Irish and West Country usage, fairies in Newfoundland are often referred to as the "little people" or the "good people", phrases which convey both fear, the tabu of calling fairies by name, and in the latter case, respect for beings who are believed to derive their powers for detriment or benefit from both satanic associations and former angelic status.

**Berry Picking**

While berry picking as a supplemental food source probably commenced with settlement, patterns of picking berries assumed customary form with the advent of the family fishery in the nineteenth century. Depending on seasonal weather conditions, the region, and the particular kind of berry to be picked, berry picking has usually taken place from late July to mid-
October. Whether a day's outing or a week in the bush, traditionally women have been the predominant pickers.

Women usually went in groups of two or three for blueberries, sometimes taking along smaller children who picked berries as well. Rarely did family groups go blueberry picking.\textsuperscript{34}

A way back in the twenties and thirties the wife and children usually went berry picking while the husband went fishing.\textsuperscript{35}

About four or five women and their children went and we camped out for a week. Sometimes there would be a couple of elderly men among us to help to haul up the boats in stormy weather.\textsuperscript{36}

Although traditional berry picking has most often involved women and children obtaining berries for such domestic uses as preserves, jellies, jams, baked goods, and wine, the significance of blueberries, bilberries, partridge berries for income supplement, as some of the narratives to be considered indicate (Narratives 10, 13, and 21), should not be minimised. From at least the second decade of the nineteenth century some berries were occasionally commercially traded for merchants' goods, but it was when the development of freezer facilities by the fishing industry (1927) coincided with the unemployment of the 1930s that the Newfoundland blueberry industry commenced.\textsuperscript{37} The ensuing development exploited the availability of inexpensive labourers, both men and women, who either received cash—ten cents per gallon of blueberries—or more often, obtained credit.\textsuperscript{38} During periods of intensive effort, Hilda Murray recalls that men picked with large wooden "berry boxes" and tended to go "farther away from the community and [travel] over more difficult terrain, where the women with their buckets and hoops [yokes] would find it difficult to go."\textsuperscript{39} She has also described the typical credit procedure:

Berries were "shipped" or sold to the local merchants, or merchants who were agents for St. John's-based firms. No money changed hands at least until the 1950s. Those who sold berries were given a "berry note" indicating the amount of berries shipped and the price per gallon. The value of the note had to be "taken up" in goods in the store where the berries were shipped. A family of five or six good berry pickers could, in a good season, provide the family with some necessary food items purchased from the store—flour, margarine, sugar, molasses, beef, pork, etc.—and get winter clothing as well.\textsuperscript{40}

Material inducements during hard times often drove berry pickers into
realms of danger. Hegemonic mercantile pressures and traditional worldview sometimes clashed. The resulting anxieties are captured in the recollections of a participant, Hubert Brown Abbot of Newman’s Cove:

Back in the thirties there were many people who got lost in the woods. They claimed that the reason they got lost was because the fairies led them away. There were search parties sent out with lanterns to look for the lost person. They would probably spend most of the night in the woods searching before they would find the person they were looking for. They would find them sitting by a fire which they would make once they knew for sure they were lost. In most cases we would find them with their caps turned inside out because it was said if you were led away by fairies, turn your cap inside out and the fairies would go away.41

For both mortals and fairies berry grounds were cultural scenes in liminal space involving varying degrees of group participation and solitude. The most common forms of preventive magic used by berry pickers to protect themselves from fairy encounters were to turn articles of clothing inside out42 or to carry pieces of bread,43 breadcrumbs, or “fairy buns”.44

My grandmother told us, “when you go berry-picking or any other time in the woods, wear some kind of bandana on your head, because if you get lost the fairies will lead you astray, but they can’t get you if you turn your bandana, or any article of clothes, inside out.”45

Well when I was growing up that’s all we used to hear about—the fairies. If you was going berry-picking over in the woods the old people would tell you to put bread in your pocket so the fairies wouldn’t take you. So if you put bread in your pockets the fairies wouldn’t come handy to you. Or, if you never had bread to put in your pocket, you put silver in your pocket and that used to keep the fairies away. The fairies are little people. They are only about two foot high, two foot tall.46

Encounters were sometimes characterised by mortal perceptions of the actual physical presence of fairies, but more often by an awareness of a dreamlike, psychic presence which caused pickers to lose their sense of time and get lost by being “taken astray” or “led astray”, “fairy-led”,47 or by being “in the fairies”.48 The psychic nature of this type of encounter is explained by a resident of Upper Island Cove:

Although berry picking sounds safe enough, it does have its hazards. There were cliffs, foxholes, upturned roots, but by far the most dangerous were the “fairies”. . . . Once they had you in their powers they could keep you in a trance for days. Sometimes you would wander around aimlessly or sit on a rock by the stream.
... Even though no one can remember "being in the fairies", many can remember being one place one minute then someplace else the next and never being the wiser of how they got there. There were many instances of "fairy-taking" in my town and when I was a youngster my parents were always worried this could happen to me.49

Once "in the fairies", the victim might sometimes successfully take protective measures during the ordeal, as previously cited in Abbot's account, but on other occasions mortals might be captured, experience fairy scenes, suffer mental and physical injury ("fairy-struck")50, obtain artistic gifts. For any of these states time was a variable and often imperceptible dimension.

Legends and Personal Experience Narratives

The following legends and personal experience narratives are broadly arranged in terms of the nature of the encounters.51 The majority have been reported from notes and tape recordings by student interviewers, seventeen to twenty two years of age, as collected from elderly family members and friends of Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths.52 In some cases the interviewers have recalled narratives from their own experiences or collected from younger informants who in turn have recalled them from the performances of family elders. One legend, Narrative 18, is presented in five variant forms.

Benign Encounters

Narrative 1

This little story concerns a woman from Carbonear, Florence White who is about sixty-five. Florence belonged to North River. She and her sister and father would go in the boat to get to the place where they were going to pick berries. The woman heard talking going on behind her. So she said she was picking away at the berries. She said she heard a lot of talking and she thought it was her sister who was talking to her and when she turned around she saw six little people and they all had little dippers, each picking berries. Apparently she got scared and ran away to her father. She said it was really true that she did see them. They say
they are called “good people” and that they were fallen angels whom God cast out of heaven and they had to spend a certain amount of time on earth.\textsuperscript{53}

\textit{Narrative 2}

One day me, Charlie [brother], and a few friends were up on the hill picking blueberries . . . when Charlie seen a load of people in the distance and he called me over to see if we could recognize them. We couldn’t believe our eyes. There was about ten or so, about four feet tall with no faces. We all tried to catch them but we couldn’t get any closer to them. Every time we moved, they moved.\textsuperscript{54}

\textbf{Lost Mortal Sustained by Fairies}

\textit{Narrative 3}

This is a story which was told to me by my mother many a year ago [forty-five years]. It’s about a little girl that was lost in the woods in the middle of the winter. She wandered off and she was gone for many a day and her parents and her friends they sent out a search party to search for her. She was gone around two weeks. When they finally found her they found her up in a tree and she was partly frostbitten. Well, they took her to hospital and a couple of days after she had both of her legs removed. And a couple of days after she told a story about the fairies how they saved her and they fed her berries and many a piece of food that they could get their hands on and that’s what kept the little girl alive.\textsuperscript{55}

\textbf{Mortal Temporarily Lost by Being Physically Led Astray}

\textit{Narrative 4}

There was a woman from Carbonear who went up over the hills by the Battery Rock to look for her cow. The hills were on the north side of Carbonear. She was taken astray and was gone fourteen days and fourteen nights and your great-grandmother dreamt where the woman was. Meanwhile the priests and the
townspeople were having masses said in hopes of her safe return. So they went down and got Patty Hogan who went in with the horse and carriage and he took another woman with him and he told her to take extra clothing in case they found her and her clothes were torn. They went to the spot great-grandmother had dreamt of and the woman was there. They found her and threw clothes to the woman. They asked her how she survived and she told them she had a small piece of bread with her and she would have a small crumb of it every day and pick berries. She said she was taken astray by the fairies. She was surrounded by the forest and couldn’t find her way out. She was alright when she came out. She went to Boston after that and lived to be about eighty-five.\textsuperscript{56}

\textit{Narrative 5}

In 1940 at Cupids, \textit{_____}, who was deaf and mute all his life went blueberry picking with his family. During this time, \textit{_____} got lost from the rest of the family. Suddenly my uncle heard throaty squawks and he went to find \textit{_____}. When he got to him he was out of his mind and very distraught. When they got him home and had calmed him down they gave him a paper and pen to draw what had happened. On the paper the boy drew a picture of a very short man with a red pointed hat and a long beard. He resembled a dwarf.\textsuperscript{57}

\textit{Narrative 6}

About fifty years ago in Clarkes Beach Mrs. Mildred Parsons’ mother went berry picking (bakeapples) in the marsh in Clarkes Beach along with her friends. When it was time to come home her two friends were leading the way and Mrs. Parsons’ mother said that they were going the wrong way. She looked down to the end of the marsh and saw a herd of red horses. Her friends knew then that the fairies were leading her so they took her home. It wasn’t until they got out over the hill that she knew where she was because the fairies chased her all the way out. If her two friends weren’t there she would have gone in the woods.\textsuperscript{58}

\textit{Narrative 7}

A common belief of older members of Fox Harbour is the belief in
small “shrunk” people no more than two feet high in stature called fairies. They are denoted by their frequent repetitive laughter and their ability to “take you away.” No one seemed more obsessed with this concept than Mary King, commonly called “Mary Charlie” (Charlie is her husband’s name given to her to distinguish her from the ten other Mary Kings in Harbour). One year in August when the bakeapples were ripe, she set out to go berry picking alone. When she failed to show up that evening they became worried and by nightfall a full search was carried out in the worst weather. It was raining torrents and the thunder and lightning persisted throughout the night. She was found in the morning in an area called the “Sound” in a condition, as Jim Spurvey describes as “only in her bloomers.” Her clothes were nowhere in sight. She was obviously in a frightened state and ran from the ones that found her. They gave her a sweater and a pair of pants. After being taken home and treated for broken ribs, she claimed the fairies had beckoned to her, “come here! come here!” She remained in bed for months and wouldn’t dare move outside the confines of her home.59

Narrative 8

One day Nan was berry picking by herself far up in the woods. She started to go astray. Nan knew she was going astray but couldn’t turn around. “The fairies had me my dear,” she said. Nan noticed it was getting duckish [twilight] and she was getting scared and began to cry. Then she remembered something told to her by her grandfather. He told her take off her coat and turn it inside out if anything like this ever happened. When she did the next thing she knew she saw her house. “I had no blueberries,” Nan said, “but at least I was home!”60

Narrative 9

A woman was once taken by the fairies and when they found her a week later, she was badly bruised but still alive. They saw that the fairies had taken her into the woods and kept her alive on berries. She couldn’t remember anything that had happened to her.61

Narrative 10

When I was just five or six years old, I was allowed to go berry
picking with the family. This was a necessity for our family. It meant money for school supplies, shoes, church dues, hospital fees and other necessities. I wasn’t expected to pick many berries, just to help everyone. Come “boil up” time, Pop gave me the kettle to fetch a kettle of water at the pond, which was only a stone’s throw away, while he lit the fire to prepare the tea for lunch. This should have taken me about three or four minutes. When I did not return after ten or fifteen minutes, he shouted out to me—no answer. He then went looking and couldn’t find me. Soon, all the other members of the family were looking for me. They knew I couldn’t have drowned because I had gone to the brook down from the pond. Lunch forgotten, they left berries and buckets and went looking for me. Soon, other pickers had joined the search. They looked, shouted, followed tracks and finally, late in the evening, I was found with the kettle, my cap and apron full of berries, just sitting down about seven or eight miles from where I had left, over bogs, ponds and rivers. I was none the worse for my trek—not tired but I did not know how I had gotten where I was. My parents thought that the good fairies had taken me. No harm was done. All I could remember was getting water and seeing my reflection in the water and then someone calling my name. It was like a dream. This story has been told to me quite often by my family.62

Narrative 11

Aunt Gracie Puddester, as she was fondly known, went across the brook to pick a dipper of berries to make a pudding for supper. This was round two p.m. When her husband and two sons came in from fishing, the pot was on the stove cooking for supper but no sign of “Mother.” They asked neighbours and someone had seen her going with her dipper. By dark, when she hadn’t returned, a search party of neighbours went looking for her. They found her about two o’clock in the morning on a big rock, five miles away, singing “Jackie Walsh’s songs.”63 She had never sang in her life and she couldn’t remember anything after she crossed the brook, although, her dipper was full of berries. It’s claimed that the fairies took her. She was none the worse for her ordeal.64

Narrative 12

That’s around thirty-five [1935] … and he went in picking
raspberries and didn’t come home. So, all hands went looking for him that night yelling out in the woods, so on and so forth—no sign of him. So that created quite a stir the next day. It was quite a crowd the next day. I’ll never forget it because when I was leaving to go me father said, “Pat, down in the cupboard now there’s a drop of rum; take it because you might come across him you know in the woods and you know you’ll have something to give him.” So I got with a bunch from this part of the cove and went in over the hills here in this direction. ... There was people going in from all directions. People gone in very very early that morning ... It was coming around half past nine or ten o’clock when we saw the old gentleman walking in ... up through the country, a little bit past where he should be picking berries because he was out of the berry picking area. Now ’twas no trouble to know this man. He was a noticeable man anyhow—his stature ... Now this is very hilly country; sometimes he’d be in view sometimes he wouldn’t be in view. When we’d be in a hollow, he’d be on a hill. And we started singing out “Skipper! ... hey! hey! hey!” like you would. But he kept dodging on, dodging on. Now it wasn’t till about probably twenty minutes before we found out that we should be catching up on him. ... But we weren’t catching up on him! ... We suddenly realized that there was something astray there. Every time that he’d come in view he’d be just dodging slowly with this tub in his hand and we’re running like blazes! ’Twas nine or ten of us. We’re all around yet. ... By and by two or three men who had gone in earlier coming out ... We slowed up then because ... he was going to be met by those characters coming out. Now here’s where it gets tricky. ... They passed each other. The boys coming out ... didn’t see him! ... “Didn’t you see [him]?” “What in the name are you talkin’ about?” ... Well there it was ... Petten’s Pond, now that’s where they found the skipper at the foot of Petten’s Pond. ... So here he was with a full tub of berries. ... This old gentleman did experience, he experienced music he said ... and the music used to entice him this way and that way and the other but that’s all he could explain. ... He wasn’t conscious of any time.65
Mortal Led Astray, Returns and Transforms into Fairy

Narrative 13

K_____ Milley ... she used to go berry picking often. She was only a young girl. ... About eighteen, nineteen. Well, she could have been older than that. I don’t know. She wasn’t married, and her parents used to always try to ... keep her from like going out around anywhere. They let her go berry picking because a gallon of berries then was five cents, so that’s all she was allowed to do. And she went berry picking one time. ... They were picking blueberries, and there was a lot of blueberries and K_____ was the kind of person, she’d roam off by herself. ... She used to go—there was a place we used to call “Gallus Wood Ridge” and not too many people would go there alone. ... There was a lot of stories told about ghosts. There was people, they walked on Gallus Wood Ridge in the fog. They would never return. ... And K_____, well you know, “I gotta go try it,” right? She did. ... She left on a Monday ... morning. She went berry picking because they used to pick berries down there for the minister. ... The minister used to let them take a day off to go berry picking and whatever money you got when you sold your berries you come back and give it to the church. ... So K_____ did that and she went in and she was berry picking for at least ... an hour and a half and nobody could find her. They said, “K_____.’s gone again. She’s gone off by herself.” ... She was missing for about two days. ... And they said, “Well Jesus,” you know, “where’s she gone?” So they called in the RCMP from Harbour Grace and they had dogs out from St. John’s and everything like that and “God! Where’s K_____ gone?” Well ... K_____ was a pretty little girl, really pretty and she was about nineteen, twenty years old. ... You may not believe this but if you ever go to Burnt Point ... look at her picture. ... You’ll see that ... within four days after they found her, she turned into a fairy ... really a fairy too because her face and everything where she was lost ... she looked like she was about eighty years old. ... She was found in ... Little Gull Pond down behind Gull Island ... laid down ... in the grass under a spruce tree. ... It was about ... four miles from where she was berry
picking to. And she had a little bucket of blueberries and she had . . . a small bucket of partridge berries. . . . She told everybody . . . she was walking along and, . . . like she fell asleep. She said that the only thing that she remembers . . . was when someone woke her up when they found her under the tree. . . . And the little girl had to go for fifty years, live like an eighty year old woman.66

**Attempted Abduction of Mortal by Actual Fairy**

_Narrative 14_

[Mrs. Spurrell] said that even though a lot of people didn’t believe in fairies, they were real. “They are fallen angels and live underground and are called ‘good people.’” She told me this story about a group of people who had seen a fairy. She said they were going berry picking. There were two groups. She was in the last group to leave. The first group were far ahead so she yelled for them to stop. The group had already stopped by a little pond. [She said], “when they heard us yelling to them, they turned around.” When she caught up to them they told her what they saw. They said they had seen a fairy. They said it was a little boy without hair. He had been standing there by the edge of the pond. They said they had never seen him before. He had offered them a mug but no one would take it. If they had taken the mug, the fairy would have taken them away. If he didn’t take them away there would be something wrong with them for the rest of their lives.67

**Abduction, Physical Captivity, and Release/ Escape of Mortal**

_Narrative 15_

About twenty-five years ago a woman from Clarkes Beach went in over the “Earth Hill” as it was called to pick blueberries and when six o’clock came she wasn’t home. It was dark by this time so a group of men went to look for her. It rained in torrents that night so the men returned without the missing woman. In the morning the search continued and this time they were successful in finding her. She was across a big river which would have to be crossed by
a boat and there was no boat in sight. They found her between two rocks. She was not wet and she said she was in a beautiful house all night with lots of food and lots of company. She said she was in a beautiful house all night with the fairies in the heart of the woods and had no explanation of how she got across the river.\textsuperscript{68}

\textbf{Narrative 16}

When Mrs. Kennedy was still only a child, there was a young boy in Trepassey by the name of Tommy \textendash. When Tommy was still a baby, his parents took him out to the marsh while they went to pick bakeapples. They left the child alone on the marsh. When the child grew up he never developed. He lived until he was ten. It was said that the child never grew because when he was left on the marsh the fairies got him.\textsuperscript{69}

\textbf{Narrative 17}

One little boy was picking berries down to the marsh and he was gone an awful long time. They looked for him but couldn’t find him. He was discovered hours later in the same place they had searched before. He couldn’t remember anything and his berries \ldots were all gone. They believe that the fairies had taken him.\textsuperscript{70}

\textbf{Narrative 18a}

About forty years ago Davy \textendash went into the woods on Middleton Avenue, Bell Island, to go berry picking. At this time the people believed that if you went into the woods you had to bring some bread with you to feed the fairies so they wouldn’t bother you. Well, Davy forgot the bread. One night some time later some friends of his asked him where he was going and he told them about the time he went into the woods without the bread and the fairies took him. He told them the fairies said he had to come back in the woods every night at twelve o’clock. Well this night his friends held him and wouldn’t let him go. The next night he went and never came back for three days and three nights. After he returned he could only say a few words and appeared to have gone “silly.” People then believed that the fairies had really taken him and up to the time he died a few years back they always said that this was the reason for his changed appearance after he came out of the woods.\textsuperscript{71}
Narrative 18b

The fairies took [Davy _____] and kept him for a couple of days. After he got back home they took ribbons of green grasss out of his leg.\textsuperscript{72}

Narrative 18c

Davy ____ from Bell Island as a young man got lost in the woods. When he was found he was all disfigured and scarred and simple-minded. While he was with the fairies he learned how to carve figures from wood. That’s what he began to do for a living afterwards until he died a few years ago. He carved a church about two feet high which stands in his garden and can be seen today.\textsuperscript{73}

Narrative 18d

Davy ____ was supposed to have been captured by the fairies while walking in the woods one day. He was mentally a normal person. He sold portraits for some company and took pictures as well. His physical characteristics were changed remarkably. One leg had a malformity; his face was acned and he had a strange “fairy-like” voice. He could carry on a fairly good conversation but the cause of his changes are not really known. He was apparently born normal.\textsuperscript{74}

Narrative 18e

When going in the woods berry picking you should turn some article of your clothes inside out or else the fairies will take you away. A young boy was taken by the fairies [Davy _____] and when he came back he had a limp and his face was pulled to one side. He is now a grown man and he still has the limp, the disfigured face and his speech is queer.\textsuperscript{75}

Permanent Captivity of Mortal

Narrative 19

When I was growing up in Seldom, I was really scared of the fairies. My grandmother always told me that if I wasn’t careful, the fairies would take me away. The only way to keep me from
being led away was to turn my coat or sweater inside out. I believed that the fairies could take me away because Grandmother said that one of her sisters was taken away by fairies. Her sister went berry picking and was never found. When she was gone for a while, some people went to look for her. All they could find was one of her red socks up in a tree and a dipper of blueberries on the ground. Sometimes when Grandmother told the story she said that it was a sweater that was found. When asked how she knew that her sister was led away by the fairies she would say, “Fairies always put a piece of clothing up in a tree to let people know that they had taken the child who was lost.”  

**Narrative 20**

This was back in the 1930s. It seemed like fairies were kind of a common thing around our community. And we used to be always told that there were such things as fairies and if children went on the barrens or anywhere alone they should always carry breadcrumbs in their pockets or something to protect them from the fairies. This little boy was seven years old and he went up picking berries one day in the summertime, about early July, bakeapple time I think, and anyway, he didn’t have any breadcrumbs. And he didn’t return home at night when he was supposed to. People went looking for him the next day and no sign of him anywhere. So they just figured that he was lost. He fell over a cliff or something. Anyway about a month and a half later, sometime in August, some people went up near the graveyard one night. . . . And they saw a little boy about seven years of age and it was like he was really enjoying himself. It was like he was out in the middle of a group of people and they could hear singing and dancing and accordion playing and everything. And he was out there like he was holding hands with all these people. And a couple of the people said that it was the same little boy that got lost. So anyway, everybody in the community then believed that he was captured by the fairies because they never did find any body or anything. They had police looking for him. He just disappeared. . . . There were lots of cases like that. He wasn’t the only one people thought was captured by the fairies. . . . It [this incident] taught me not to go around without breadcrumbs. I used to have to go looking for the cows in the evening about three or
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four o’clock and I always made sure that my pockets were loaded with bread or breadcrumbs so that if anything happened that I was always protected. ... I really did believe ... I always believed in that I suppose until I was about sixteen or seventeen. There were lots of fairies where I lived.77

Mistaken Captivity

Narrative 21

Back about eighty years ago my grandmother and two of her best friends, Mary and Jean, had planned to go berry picking. It was a beautiful sunny day and they had prepared a picnic lunch. The three of them headed in over the marsh and were talking, laughing, and enjoying the warmth of the sun. They stopped talking when they came across a blueberry patch about two miles from the road. Here they began picking and soon filled up their buckets. My grandmother said to me, “berries were plentiful back then and now you can’t get ne’er one to sell.” They sat down and began eating their lunch. It was so hot that Mary took off her new hat. After they had finished eating, the fog ... had crept in over the marsh. The girls felt the fog’s cold chill and all agreed to head home. Just as they walked about a half mile Mary remembered that she had taken her hat off. Granny and Jean refused to go back to get the hat so Mary went back herself. The girls waited while Mary ran back to get her hat. An hour passed before Jean and my grandmother decided to go back to the community and get some help, as the fog had become very thick. Granny and Jean were almost in tears and were afraid to go into the house. When they went into the house Mary’s mother was standing in the hallway. My grandmother and Jean were crying by now and all they were saying is that the fairies had taken Mary and they wouldn’t see her anymore. Suddenly, Mary walked out of a room and started laughing. My grandmother said, “I was so embarrassed, I went home and never left the house for a full week.”78

Narrative 22

It was a real foggy day and I was about eight or nine years old and I used to have me brother in the woods when we caught so many
rabbits and I would bring them home. One day I took the wrong path and ended up getting lost. I was gone for a few hours and the only company I had was me dog Tip. I was sitting down eating a few blueberries when I thought I heard me brother Dave calling out to me. At first I thought it was the fairies trying to get me but when I looked up who should be walking up the path but Dave! [laughter] ... Anyway, we both got a good laugh out of it and went home with our rabbits.79

Continuous Time and Absolute Morality

As the foregoing narratives reveal, berry grounds as liminal zones have presented the ever-present possibility of magico-religious danger and tragedy. These orally circulated stories undoubtedly have served as geographical markers on the cognitive maps of community residents and, therefore, demonstrated segmented, discontinuous space. But such narratives also left moral imprints as cautionary tales and agents of social control. As such, these tales reflect a sense of continuous time through the maintenance of tried and true traditional values which stress the importance of subordinating individual achievement to collective needs (obedience), and the necessity of yielding to the wisdom of generational pressures (the guidance of one's elders). Since temporal continuity and a sense of absolute morality are one and the same, threats to the moral order were ruptures in time, and this danger was an essential element in the "threatening figure" role of fairies in the berry grounds. In addition, however, it is important to consider that these stories may also have expressed youthful anxieties regarding courtship and illicit sexual relations. Lastly, they may have provided culturally acceptable justifications or excuses for potentially damaging "embarrassment".

The Danger of Not Subordinating Individual Effort to Collective Good

The longer the season is, and the greater the domestic and economic pressures to acquire berries there are, the farther from the community the pickers move, and the greater the likelihood of encountering fairies. The expansionary tendencies of this effort are at odds with the cultural imperatives of contractile space. But more than this, there is the danger of excessive individualism. Pickers go to the berry grounds together but once
they get there they scatter. The berry grounds become arenas for the
demonstration of individual competence in manual skills and competitive
pressures tempt good pickers to roam from liminality into dangerous
zones. The more successful picker fills her containers and then further
demonstrates her skills and sensitivity to collective obligation by assisting
others to fill their containers. A sense of limited good is apparent, however,
for if a good picker does too well she risks all. If led astray by the fairies she,
at worst, may be permanently lost to them, and at least, she may suffer the
sanction of community scrutiny. Hence, one of the morals of these stories
is that one must subordinate individual initiative to community good, for
an individual who becomes excessively involved in advancing her personal
prestige may over achieve, get carried away and come to ruin.

The Dangers of Solitude, Men, and Illicit Sex

In keeping with the traditional gender alignment of berry pickers, over
two-thirds of the protagonists in these stories are women and only four of
the narrators are men. When age is mentioned or alluded to, it is clear that
most of these women are young and subject to parental authority and
community norms regarding sexual morality. Thus, there are interdictions
about the dangers of going out alone without taking the proper precautionary
measures (Narratives 7, 10, 13, 19). But temptations to deviate from
these norms are strong and sometimes take the form of seductive voices
calling the woman's name (Narrative 10) or imploring "come here!"
(Narrative 7). Admonitions not heeded, the temptations of solitude prove
irresistible and the interdiction is violated (Narrative 8 "Nan knew she was
going astray but couldn't turn around. 'The fairies had me my dear.'"). Without the assistance of women friends (Narrative 6) the young woman is
led "astray", a term which commonly signifies either wandering off or
committing moral error. The psychic terror of this engulfment in evil is
personified by the figure of the "fairy", an image at once male and
remarkably phallic (Narrative 7 "shrunk", Narrative 14 "little boy without
hair", Narrative 2 "no face", Narrative 5 "red pointed hat and long
beard"). The initial results of this encounter fulfil the worst nightmares of
illicit sexual experience—physical punishments and humiliations to be
suffered at the hands of a seductive male (Narrative 4 "her clothes were
torn", Narrative 7 "only in her bloomers", "broken ribs", Narrative 9
"badly bruised"). But perhaps even more devastating are the possibilities
of permanent stigmas, marks of spoiled identity (Narrative 14 “there would be something wrong with them for the rest of their lives”) which might take the form of physical or mental impairment (Narrative 18), or perhaps more appropriately for young women, ageing prematurely (Narrative 13). Obeying parental advice before tragedy strikes, of course, is offered as the best solution (Narrative 8).

**Fairies as Agents of Embarrassment and Threatening Disrupters of Continuous Time**

As is clearly evident from the foregoing narratives, the advent of an individual being fairy-led is a serious temporal disruption to the routine of community affairs and the berry picking effort itself. While the search and subsequent finding of the lost picker may be viewed as a solidarity ritual in which community residents unify in face of crisis, from the lost person’s point of view, terror transforms into the ecstasy of relief but then into embarrassment and the need to exculpate oneself from possible censure and permanent stigma (Narrative 13 “she was the type of person, she’d roam off by herself”). These narratives, therefore, appear to represent the possibility of entering into a coalition with fairies in order to extricate oneself from potential embarrassment. The nature of this traditional mode of personal accountability might be better understood through the following citation of a recent news item.

**Woman fined on charge of mischief**

Sudbury, Ont. (CP)—A woman who admitted concocting a story about being kidnapped to avoid the embarrassment of getting lost and driving hundreds of kilometers in the wrong direction has been fined $1,500 for public mischief.

Elsa Boecker, 45, of Toronto pleaded guilty Tuesday after telling police she had been abducted in Detroit at a gas station by a man who forced her to drive him to Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., on July 14.

Boecker was heading back to Toronto after visiting her daughter in Detroit when she missed her exit on a U.S. freeway.

In the contemporary spatially continuous world, spatial incompetence of the above variety is especially culpable. The selfconscious distress of
embarrassment, an individual emotional reaction to critical group scrutiny, can be escaped by: 1. trivialising the matter and dismissing its significance, often through laughter; 2. transforming the group’s perceptions of one’s incompetence into an understanding that one’s actions have been meaningful after all; 3. achieving cognitive assonance by introducing the idea that accidental incompetence has resulted in serendipitous good fortune; 4. evading one’s personal responsibility for the occasion by revealing that one was victimised and could not exert any free will in the matter. Ergo, Ms. Boecker could have: 1. truthfully explained her mistake in a hilarious fashion and belittled it as “no big deal”; 2. indicated that in fact she had planned the extended excursion all along; 3. revealed that the sidetrip was an error, but because of it she discovered a lovely area which she plans to revisit. The excuse which the unfortunate Ms. Boecker opted for, however, was that she was victimised, an idea which took the form, in this age of terrorism, of armed abduction by unscrupulous kidnappers. She formed a “coalition with kidnappers”.

Likewise, and as aforementioned, it may “appear” as though the protagonists of these berry picker-fairy narratives might have chosen to coalesce with the psychic powers of fairies so that it might be understood that lost community time was the result of concomitant lost protagonist time as well (Narrative 9 “she couldn’t remember anything that had happened to her,” Narrative 10 “did not know how I had gotten where I was,” “it was like a dream,” Narrative 13 “she was walking along and . . . like she fell asleep”). It is doubtful, however, that the dramaturgic perspective of actors making choices applies very readily here. More probably, both protagonists and narrators have totally believed that fairies were responsible for these incidents. Thus, citing such accountability was not an excuse, so much as the only possible, rational, and culturally approved explanation for temporal disjuncture and embarrassment in such circumstances—an explanation all were familiar with.

It is important to stress that although berry grounds have largely been the domain of women, men have also coalesced with fairies in accounting for temporal disruptions in other liminal spatial domains, particularly the woods. The following striking narrative, from the fairy-ridden iron mining area of Bell Island, similarly accounts for discontinuous time by citing travel to fairyland. 82

Myself and me buddy were working on the buckets one day, you know. We had to wait for the ore to come up and dump it. It’s
getting on in the morning and he says to me at about eleven o’clock, “Tom, will you cover for me for ten minutes. I gotta go down in the woods for a while.” I said, “okay, Jim.” So he goes on down in the woods. Time goes by. Half an hour, hour. Still no Jim. I says to meself, “that son-of-a-bitch is down there sleeping.” So I rounded up a couple of me buddies and we went down for him, but we couldn’t find him. So we came back and told the foreman on the job and he goes and tells the big boss. I can’t remember his name now. Anyway, this is something big now, you know, cause Jim was never one to run away from work. The boss comes and forms a search party of about fifty men and we still couldn’t find him. Then he sent someone to get the police. It wasn’t the RCMP then. It was the local fellows. My son, we searched high and low. Had people come from town and everything but, you know, we couldn’t find Jim. This kept up for two or three days. Then one day when I was back to work, up walked Jim out of the woods, a-beaming like an electric bulb. I says, “where have you been?” He says, “Where have I been? I been down in the woods. That’s where I been. Sorry to be so long, but Jesus, no need to be mad. I was only gone an hour. I just met the nicest little people. You go on to lunch now and I’ll take over.” “Take over,” says I. “You son-of-a, where have you been this past three days? We was all worried to death over you.” “What are you talking about?” says Jim. “‘Tis only twelve o’clock. Listen. There goes the whistle.” And so it was twelve o’clock but three days later. Jim was telling me later that he met a whole pile of little people and they had food and beer, and danced and played the accordion. Real friendly, he said. Well, it was some going on when everyone found out he was back cause we all thought he was dead, you see. After falling off the back of the Island or something. Yes sir, he was the only one that was ever treated that good by the fairies. But people always thought him a little queer after that. And you know, he swore that was the truth right up until he died. And you know something else, I believe him.83

New Media and the Domestication of Liminal Space

Unlike the narrative survivals just considered, cultural conceptions of
continuous space are often apparent in contemporary narrative forms that circulate in Newfoundland. Some comments regarding a joke of recent vintage in Newfoundland, will serve to illustrate this final point. The recurring motifs of several versions which I have heard, and simply jotted down without recording in detail, are incorporated in the following reconstruction which reflects the gist of these variants:

These three fellas were sitting in science class in university. There was a German, an American, and a Newfoundlander. The professor asked them, “what’s mankind’s greatest achievement?” The German said it was flying—to make man able to cross huge distances in just a matter of hours. That just had to be the greatest achievement ever. The professor mulled that over a bit and said, “Yes, I suppose that is an important achievement.” Next he turned to the American, “What do you think was mankind’s greatest achievement?” “Space flight. Imagine, being able to send men into space, and then bring them back to earth; that’s the greatest achievement ever.” And the professor said, “Yes, that was pretty important, too.” Then he asked the Newfoundlander, “What do you think was mankind’s greatest achievement?” And the Newfoundlander said, without batting an eye, “The t’ermos.” The professor said, “What?! The thermos?” “Yep.” “Why do you think the thermos is mankind’s greatest achievement?” “Well in the summertime if you’re out in the woods cuttin’ a few sticks and it’s really hot, you opens ‘er up and the freshie is in there just as cold as when you put it in.” And the professor said, “Yes?!” “And if you goes ice fishin’ in the winter, freezing your arse off, you opens ‘er up and the tea in there is still steamin’!” And the professor said, “Yes. But why is the thermos mankind’s greatest achievement?” And the Newfoundlander says, “Well, how do it know?!!”

While the potential esoteric-exoteric social meanings of this narrative in varying performance contexts are complex, the humour overtly pivots on a popular contemporary theme in Canadian folklore: the depiction of the Newfoundlander as a foolish, old-fashioned, rural bumpkin in competition with the sophisticated, modern mainlander, most often a Torontonian urbanite. The language (usage, grammar, pronunciation), described activities (cutting sticks, ice fishing), and iconic preference (“t’ermos”) of the Newfoundlander all assist in achieving this impression. In addition,
however, differing spatial attitudes collide. The sophistication of the German and the American who assert the importance of media which provide spatial continuity (flying, space travel) is pitted against the seemingly backward, contractionist worldview of the Newfoundlander who lauds a humble medium which simply provides gustatory comfort while cutting sticks in the woods and fishing on a pond. From a structural point of view, laughter is prompted in the punchline through the cognitive dissonance achieved in the surprise reference to the thermos as a thoughtful entity. It should be noted, however, that within an all-Newfoundland performance context this “bisociation” of two self-consistent but incompatible cognitive frames, inanimate technological (vacuum flask) and animate intellectual (thinking vacuum flask), is propelled by a sense of truth. In a labouring environment without kitchen facilities on the geographic periphery of one’s experienced world, the vacuum flask not only symbolises but tangibly transfers the niceties of known domestic space. To an individual well used to a reality of harsh outdoor working conditions the thermos is of greater significance than flight or space travel. A final paradox which makes the joke humorous to most contemporary audiences is that the Newfoundlander uses the vacuum flask to domesticate his relatively small spatial reality in the same manner that the German and the American use air- and space-craft: faithful of technological function in extending our sense of space but ignorant of technological workings. The final, ingenuous, awesome question of the Newfoundlander is one which so perplexes the members of an advanced technological society that it is generally avoided as a matter of course.

The matter-of-fact acceptance and faith in the mechanisms which shape our sense of space and time has been of concern in the preceding discussion of how fairies in the berry grounds of Newfoundland have played a spatial and temporal role in the remembered past. The greatest threat posed by fairies to the folk cultures of Newfoundland was that in a cultural world of contractile space where the absolute morality of continuous time was revered, the appearance of a fairy might rupture and invalidate it. As boundary marker and bogey, therefore, the fairy played positive roles in spatially and morally integrating a society against pernicious external forces. While such popular beliefs of past generations may appear preposterous or “quaint” today, it is well to remember that our attitude toward the technological media which foster our sense of space and time continues to be one of faithful acceptance. Indeed, if any group dares to question an accepted “fact”, such as man’s landing on the moon, they are
quickly relegated to the "lunatic fringe". As a popular song lyric summarises our contemporary posture, "I know it's true . . . 'cause I saw it on TV." Until relatively recently, fairies in Newfoundland have been realities because news of them circulated in a vigorous oral tradition and firsthand evidence of their activities was readily available. Now that we have domesticated space and dismissed fairies from our view we are left alone to ponder our own technological devices. Truly, it is a time to ask, "how do it know?"

Notes

1. The most thorough semantic inquiry of "fairy" is Noel J. Williams, "Semantics of ‘Fairy’", Ph.D. diss., Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, The University, Sheffield, 1983. Portions of this article were first read as a paper at the Popular Culture Association, Seventeenth Annual Meeting, March 24, 1987, “Studies in Folklore Panel”, Montreal, Canada.

2. Although the fairy legends for this paper derive from communities on the island portion of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, i.e. Newfoundland, it is clear from the observation of Sir Wilfred Grenfell that there has been “a great belief in fairies” on the Labrador coast. See his A Labrador Doctor: The Autobiography of Wilfred Thomason Grenfell (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), p.143.

3. I would like to acknowledge the interest of colleagues, students, and friends who have provided me with data and suggestions for this paper. These helpful people include: Bruce Bourque, David Buchan, Anne Budgell, George Budgell, Ann Hart (Centre for Newfoundland Studies), Philip Hiscock (Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive), Janet McNaughton, W.J. Kirwin, Michael O'Dea, Barbara Rieti, Neil Rosenberg, Larry Small, Gail Weir, J.D.A. Widdowson, Bob Woolridge. Special thanks go to the student collectors and informants who are cited throughout.


6. On the relation of sensory media to tradition see Paul Smith, “Communicating Culture; or, Can We Really Vocalize a Brownie?” in Peter Narváez and Martin Laba, eds., Media Sense: The Folklore—Popular Culture Continuum (Bowling
Newfoundland Berry Pickers “In the Fairies”


16. Richard M. Dorson, America in Legend: Folklore from the Colonial Period to


24. Wentz, p.5; also see pp.41, 77 for references to fairies living amongst rocks.


26. Vincent Horatio Abbot, “The Berry Picking Tradition in Newman’s Cove, Bonavista Bay, Past to Present”, St. John’s: Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive [hereafter MUNFLA], Manuscript, 77-165); Elizabeth Goudie, Woman of Labrador (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1973), pp.61-2; Hilda Chaulk Murray, More Than Fifty Percent: Women’s Life in a Newfoundland Outport 1900-1950 (St. John’s: Breakwater Books, 1979), pp.21-3; Citations of “hurt” and variations are in G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson, eds., Dictionary of Newfoundland English (Toronto: University of
Toronto Press, 1982), p.262, hereafter DNE. At least two berry grounds and one pond in Newfoundland have placenames that reflect fairy habitation—"Brownies Flat", Newman’s Cove (Abbot 9), "Fairy’s Pond", Holyrood, "Fairy Knap", Flatrock. Ronald J. Maher, Flatrock, reports the following legend regarding Fairy Knap, as heard from Captain John Grace, former resident: “The story goes that on certain nights when the wind blew in a certain direction, music and happy laughter would be heard coming from a grassy hill overlooking the harbour of Flatrock. From the year 1818 it was generally acknowledged that the fairies were dancing there. The local citizens listened and did not interfere with the merriment. All were very cautious when going out at night to carry a piece of bread along in their pocket to give to the fairies to eat so as they would not be stolen by the fairies. One morning just after 1818, Denis Maher, the local school teacher, was on his way with his men to haul his trap or fish lines. On the shore a man was standing and he asked if he may come along and help his men. Mr. Maher needed more help and he agreed. The man worked very well and soon they had the boat loaded with fish. They were in the process of rowing home just passing Fairy Knap, when the new man looked at the hill and remarked, ‘many, many nights I danced there.’ Maher immediately guessed his identity. He was a fairy. The minute the boat touched land Mr. Maher ordered him from the boat. He jumped on the landing rock and disappeared completely from view. He was never seen again.” [written communication, February, 1987]. Despite E.R. Seary’s convincing argument that “Ferryland”, a community on the Avalon Peninsula, derives its placename from the Portuguese place name Fariham (steep rock), the common usage of “fairyland” in the sixteenth century, the occasional spelling of “fairy” as “ferrie” or “ferry”, especially in adjectival forms, seventeenth century spellings of the Ferryland area as “Feriland” and “Ferriland”, the orality of working class British culture at the time, the vigour of fairy belief, tempt this author to speculate that Ferryland might well have been regarded as Fairyland in the seventeenth century. See E.R. Seary, Place Names of the Island of Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp.27-28, 210-11; Briggs, p.173. Popular understandings of fairy and fairyland are reflected in some of the English and Scottish ballads compiled by Francis James Child. One useful discussion is Lowry Charles Wimberly, “The Ballad Fairy”, Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads (1928; rpt. New York: Dover, 1965), pp.167-202. The phonemic similarities of “fairy” and “ferry” are played upon in a recent riddle-jest circulating in Newfoundland which stereotypically links acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) with homosexuality—question: what is the difference between Port-aux-Basques and someone with AIDS? answer: one is a ferry terminal and the other is a terminal fairy.


28. Ó Súilleabháin, pp.82-3; Wentz, pp.85-6; Briggs, Tradition, p.143; MacNeill, p.397.


31. Thanks to J.D.A. Widdowson for this observation.


34. Murray, p. 22.


40. Murray, p. 23.


42. Briggs, *Dictionary*, p. 419; Keightley, pp. 300-301.


44. *DNE*, p. 167.


47. *DNE*, p. 167; also see “Pixie-led” in Keightley, pp. 300-301.

48. Ó Súilleabháin, p. 85.


50. *DNE*, pp. 168; Ó Súilleabháin, p. 47.

51. Notes to narratives indicate collectors, informants, ages of senior informants, principal residences of informants, and appropriate accession information for MUNFLA materials.

52. Approximately two thirds of the informants are Roman Catholic. Religious affiliation might play a role in fairy belief but official church doctrines have not supported fairy faith. The role of the priest in the outport community as portrayed by Newfoundland novelist Margaret Duley in *Cold Pastoral*, a work which is
predicated on the berry picker-led-astray-by-the-fairies theme, was one of attempting to discourage such “superstition”, for “he had never been able to eradicate the Celtic folk-lore [his people] mixed so strangely with religion” (Margaret Duley, *Cold Pastoral* [Toronto: Griffin House, 1977], p.21). On the other hand, the folk memory maintains that sometimes the priesthood disseminated and reinforced fairy belief. Consider the following narrative: “One August night my mother and her niece were travelling home from a garden party bingo with my grandparents. As they were coming down the lane, my mother who was eight, happened to turn around and there in the moonlight two little girls dressed in white were strolling behind. With great surprise my mother said to her parents, “two children dressed in white are following us!” My grandmother who is very superstitious reached into her pocket and took out some bread for my mother and her niece. This was believed to be a protection from the fairies or evil spirits. As my grandfather turned around there was nothing in sight. The very next day my grandmother told this story to the parish priest. He said they were lucky not to be travelling alone at night because if they were ever alone they would be taken by the ‘good people’ called the fairies” (Annette Roche from Rosella Roche, Branch).

53. Clare McGinty from Mrs. Frances Furey, 80s, Avondale.
54. Sharon Murphy from Mary Ellen Murphy, 72, Merasheen.
55. Rick Carey from Bridget Carey, St. John’s.
56. Clare McGinty from Mrs. Frances Furey, 80s, Avondale.
57. Doreen Nardini from Heather May, Cupids.
58. Kim French from Mildred Parsons, 73, Clarkes Beach.
59. Debbie Allen from James Spurvey, 75, Fox Harbour.
60. Alvina Drover re grandmother, Minnie Parsons, Bishops Cove.
62. Ursula Marie Wall, personal experience, fifty years ago, Northern Bay, MUNFLA 83-309, Ms., p.8.
63. Sometimes referred to as the “father of Newfoundland country and western music”, Walsh had a popular radio show during the mid-1930s on VONF.
64. Ursula Marie Wall from Elizabeth Mullaly, 93, Conception Bay, MUNFLA 83-309, Ms., p.9.
65. Ronald J. Maher from Patrick Shea, 60s, Pouch Cove.
66. Nicolette Willcott from Paul Delaney, Harbour Breton re local legend transmitted by his father who was from Gull Island.
67. Evelyn Spurrell from Effie Spurrell, 84, Bryant’s Cove.
68. Kim French from Mildred Parsons, 73, Clarkes Beach.
69. Margaret Keiley from Josephine Kennedy, 87, Trepassey.
70. Francis Murley, from Mrs. Pearl Penny, Tilt Cove, MUNFLA 72-117, Ms., pp.11-12.
72. Anon., MUNFLA, 72-95, Ms., p.11. The folk motif which will be referred to
here as “limb struck by fairy contains foreign objects” appears to be traditional in
Newfoundland and is sometimes referred to as “fairy blight” (see Briggs,
Dictionary, pp.25-27). The testimony of Will Quirk, Fortune Harbour, as elicited
by John Widdowson, MUNFLA 64-13, Tape, C66, reveals that “all kinds of stuff
came out” of a crippled arm—“needles and stuff like that.” The testimony of
Howard Smith, 59, Spaniards Bay, as collected by Jean Smith exhibits the motif as
well. A young girl “was going to school, see, with a crowd of other children in the
winter. And there’s an old house boarded up, no one lived in it. So one of the other
children hove her mitten in the house . . . and when she [the young girl] went in to
get it a little man cut her across the legs with a whip and she, she took sick. They
took her . . . to the doctor and her leg got sore and they took bones and rag and
everything out of her leg . . . And she was crippled for the rest of her life.” Bryan
Hennessey of St. John’s reports that “more than thirty years ago” the mother of an
acquaintance from Mahers “for a joke” threw dishwater at what she believed was
the lantern of someone she knew who was coming up the path by her house. The
light promptly struck her hand and within days her hand became swollen with the
“fairy blight.” When she had it lanced by a doctor in Cupids “feathers, twigs, and
dirt came out of her hand.”

73. Anon., MUNFLA 71-75, Ms., pp.21-2.
76. Olive Troake, Cobb’s Arm, MUNFLA 84-377, Card and Ms.
77. Jeannette Houston from Virginia Houston, St. Vincents.
78. Peter Kelly from Mrs. Jane Kelly, 95, Long Harbour/Fox Harbour.
79. Margaret Singleton from Selby Singleton, 60s, Tilton.
80. Two of the structural categories of this interpretation are based on the
functions of V. Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, trans. Laurence Scott. 2nd edn.,
82. On iron mines as fairy habitations see Briggs, Vanishing, p.82. Also see
83. MUNFLA, Ms., 81-55/pp.3-5; cited in Gail Weir, “The Wabana Iron Ore
Miners of Bell Island, Conception Bay, Newfoundland: Their Occupational
Folklife and Oral Folk History”, M.A. thesis, Department of Folklore, Memorial
University of Newfoundland, pp.163-64.
84. Soft drink made with fruit flavoured syrup and water.
85. Special thanks to George Budgell, Bruce Bourque, and Bob Woolridge for
this narrative.
86. For “Newfie jokes” see Gerald Thomas, “Newfie Jokes”, in Edith Fowke,
Folklore of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp.142-53.
87. On the mechanisms of humour see “The Jester” in Arthur Koestler, The Act

List of Folk Motifs

The following list of traditional folk motifs derives from Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955) and Ernest W. Baughman, Type and Motif-Index of the Folktale of England and North America (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).

C211.1 Tabu: eating in Fairyland.
D1896 Magic aging after years in Fairyland.
D1960 Magic sleep.
F230 Appearance of fairies.
F235.1 Fairies invisible.
F236.3.2 Fairies with red caps.
F239.4.2 Fairies are the size of small children.
F251.6 Fairies are fallen angels.
F261 Fairies dance.
F262 Fairies make music.
F316 Fairies lay curse on child.
F328 Fairies entice people to their domains.
F340 Gifts from fairies.
F343.21 Fairies give mortal skill in music.
F362 Fairies cause disease.
F369.7 Fairies lead travellers astray.
F369.7(a) Persons who are led astray by fairies break spell by reversing an article of clothing: coat, glove, etc.
F370 Visit to fairyland.
F377 Supernatural lapse of time in fairyland.
F377(c) Person joins dance of fairies, is in fairyland for duration of dance. Dance seems to last a few minutes, actually lasts weeks, months, or years.
F385. 1 Fairy spell averted by turning coat.
Hermann Gunkel

THE FOLKTALE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT
Translated by Michael Rutter
Introduction by John W. Rogerson

Gunkel's classic work of 1917, here translated for the first time into English, is a systematic investigation of the OT in the light of the then emerging principles of folktale scholarship; he makes use, for example, not only of the contributions of the Grimm brothers but is aware of the research into classifications of tale types represented by the ground-breaking work of A. Aarne in 1910 and subsequently.


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Patricia G. Kirkpatrick

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND FOLKLORE STUDY

Since Gunkel, folklore studies have exercised a great influence upon theories of the oral composition and transmission of the patriarchal narratives. Dr Kirkpatrick subjects the underlying premises supporting many of these theories to a careful examination in the light of the most recent folklore research.

Along with Olrik’s ‘laws’, for example, most other supposed ‘hallmarks’ of orality, such as formulaic language, epithets, folktale motifs and a special oral ‘mentality’, are found wanting. There are no adequate criteria for detecting an oral narrative behind the written text of the patriarchal stories. Nor is this necessarily a great loss from the point of view of reconstruction of Israel’s pre-history, for research shows that oral tradition constantly re-interprets the past in the light of the present.

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Historic Texts and Interpreters, 6
An Almond title
Adynaton Symbols in Igbo Proverbial Usage

Damien U. Opata

It is now more than fifteen years since Ronald Grambo (1970) introduced the concept of adynaton symbols in paremiological discourse. In an article titled: “Adynaton Symbols in Proverbs: A few Fragmentary Remarks” which appeared in the special issue of Proverbium devoted to Archer Taylor, Grambo raised specific and important issues which have not been followed up. He emphasised the need firstly to determine “how old the stylistic device is”, and secondly to provide more “information about the geographic dissemination of such symbols”. In concluding his very brief essay, Grambo (1970: 42) says:

Finally, I must stress once again the fact that these are only fragmentary remarks aiming at presenting a certain problem that deserves the attention of paremiologists. I hope that competent scholars will tackle the problem very soon. Maybe we shall find out that the use of adynaton symbols in proverbs is geographically restricted.

In this article, I do not pretend that I have the enabling knowledge-competence to discuss the “geographic dissemination” of adynaton symbols in proverbs throughout the world. What is attempted here is to establish the fact that adynaton symbols also exist in Igbo proverbial lore. It is hoped that in the process an additional piece of information about the geographical distribution of this fascinating aspect of proverbial usage will be provided. Furthermore, the article seeks to investigate the general uses to which the Igbo put these symbols and also to adduce reasons for their uses in different contexts. The issue of how old the use of adynaton symbols in proverbs is does not receive attention here; nonetheless, suffice it to be hypothesised that in the evolution of proverbial idiom, adynaton symbols must have followed closely behind. In other words, adynaton symbols in proverbs are not coeval with proverbs per se.

Adynaton symbols are, according to Grambo, “symbols of impossibility”. They are seen by him as metaphors which “designate tasks that are impossible to do, such as to pour water by means of sieve or to make ropes of sand”. While agreeing with this definition, one would also like to see these symbols as generally belonging to a category of purely idiomatic expressions which are indicative of feat-achieving actions. Thus, in Igbo traditional minstrel performance, when a woman sings of how her mother
“used an egg to crack palm-kernel nut for her” or when a mother sings of how her son “brought water in a basket to her”, these actions which are ordinarily prejudged impossible are then not only seen to be possible but also to have been actually accomplished. This accomplishment is to be understood under an extensionally and highly imaginative analogical contextualisation of extremely difficult tasks that have been successfully accomplished. Such tasks could rank with Jason’s bringing of the golden fleece or Perseus’ slaying of the Medusa. The ability to accomplish such tasks as subsumed under these adynaton symbols not only elevates the actors to great heroic proportions, but also marks out the beneficiaries as unique, distinguished, and differently destined from others. Thus, it stands to reason that a woman who mothers a son who can bring water in a basket stands out head and shoulders above other women. In addition, it signifies that such a son is no ordinary person. In interpreting such symbols, it must be borne in mind that the user has an associative but private meaning for them. In this article then, adynaton symbols will be seen not just as symbols which designate tasks that are impossible to do, but also as idiomatic expressions (embedded in metaphorical language) in which seemingly impossible tasks are made possible.

There are two aspects of this type of usage: positive and negative. The examples we have seen of bringing water in a basket or cracking palm-kernel nut with an egg are all positive. In each case, what has been accomplished is seen to be desirable. There are other instances in which adynaton symbols in proverbs express impossibilities of negative tenor. For instance, when two people are quarrelling, it is not uncommon, within the Igbo setting, to find one of the parties threaten the other thus: “After I have dealt with you, you will have seen your ears with your eyes”—i.e. “Mmecharu gi ife, iwere anya gi fụ ntị gi”. Ordinarily, one cannot see one’s ears, but in this context it is assumed that this impossible task can be made possible. Another example is the idea of making another touch his tongue with his ankle. In both cases, one would need to undergo an extraordinary physical contortion in order to bring about the desired result. The symbols are then understandable as meaning the act of subjecting another to highly unbearable and insufferable conditions or hardship. What is important is that this meaning has been expressed through the use of symbols which ordinarily designate tasks that are impossible to do, but which in the contexts in which they have been used have been made possible.

Contraposed to this is the idea where one finds that concepts which ordinarily would have been thought possible are made to appear
impossible through the use of adynaton symbols. Some titled men in Igboland, for example, have such titular names as “Ụkwụ ama onye ovu”—literally meaning that “the leg, does not/cannot know whom it carries/is carrying”. Within the situational context in which this proverb is used as a titular name, it could mean that a leader does not or cannot know his subjects. Commonsense would dictate that a leader know his subjects. One has to recognise, however, that an understanding of this proverb would depend not only on the context, but also on the epistemological and quantitative value attached to the verb know.

Generally, adynaton symbols in proverbial usage are employed for a variety of purposes: (1) as rhetorical devices in traditional verbal art, (2) as a stylistic device for making definitive assertions, (3) as titular names, and (4) as a vehicle for expressing the unbridgeable gulf between appearance and reality. These are not meant to serve as a categorical classification of adynaton symbols in proverbs, but merely to indicate some of the functions which these symbols serve in proverbial usage.

First, adynaton symbols appear in rhetorical proverbial sentences. In such forms, they are usually metaphorical and their stylistic effectiveness is realised through their ability to bring the desired image of impossibility into a very distinct and pungent focus. It does appear that adynaton symbols are favoured in rhetorical proverbs as many of the symbols are found to occur in this form. The following are some of the examples that occur in this manner.

Okwute Ọ na-agba Ọbala?
Does/Can a stone bleed?

A na sụma aja Ọwọ ụtara?
Can you obtain fufu by pounding sand?

Akpụ Ọ na-agbakata ọ iroko?
Can growing very tall and huge make the cotton tree turn into an iroko tree?

Oke Ọkụ Ọ na-eyi akwa?
Does/Can the cock lay eggs?

As has been observed earlier, when adynaton symbols appear in rhetorical proverbs, they tend to heighten the desired sense of impossibility that is being conveyed to an audience. This poignancy is made very highly effective by the fact that it is the members of the audience who have to discover the intended impossibility by themselves and for themselves,
individually. This discovery is achieved through the response they provide to the rhetorical questions, and the response is always a categorical, definitive “No.” This negative response, which normally derives from a literal processing of the posed question, is made richer by its analogical relevance to the context of speech and subject matter of discussion. It is actually the process of spontaneous but multifaceted mental selection (from a welter of conflicting knowns about the subject matter under discussion) of relevant motifs upon which the negative response is grounded that leads to a deeper rootedness of the speaker’s desired image of impossibility.

Second, adynaton symbols appear in proverbs which express definitive assertions about our understanding of the world in which we live. In this group of symbols, we have the following examples:

Dinta anági agbas nnnwu bere ya n’isi egbe
The hunter does not/cannot shoot a bird perching on his head.

Akwa agbasara ka ọ kọ n’anwu anági ashoonyu anwu
The cloth spread out to dry in the sun does not/cannot exhaust the source of the sun’s energy (heat).

Onwero ka a na-emeg ọnwa eshidogu
There is nothing any person can do to prevent or reverse the evil which any new moon portends.

Anági achi ụkwụ n’abọ enyehe ogwe/ekpe ofu ọge
One does not cross over a log of wood/a short wall with two legs at the same time.

These proverbs when used in oral verbal art add a clear sense of finality to points or issues of discussion. One of the proverbs just cited above deserves special explanation. This is the one about there being nothing anybody can do about a moon that appears to portend evil. Implicit in this proverb is the belief among the Igbo that there is a proper, perhaps an ideal, way in which a new moon should be sighted, failing which it could be predicated of the particular moon that its positional stature is not good. When such is the case, there is nothing any person can do to correct whatever shortcomings have been observed; this is because the moon phenomenon is absolutely beyond human control. The use of such symbols in proverbs creates an impression of helplessness, and could be used in a variety of discourse contexts. For example, if there is an influential person who is not liked in a society to which he belongs, probably because of the person’s perceived
untoward behaviour, and the members of such a society are always complaining about this, even in the person’s presence, the person could speak such a proverb to the people. When such is the case, the person is telling the people that he recognises the fact that they do not love him, but that they are in a helpless position because there is nothing any of them can do to make him behave otherwise.

The third way in which adynaton symbols in proverbs can be used is as titular names. Many titled men, chiefs, and traditional rulers take on titular names which designate symbols of impossibility. Such titular names include the following:

\[ \text{Ụdọ akpụ enyi} \]
An elephant cannot be fastened with a tether.

\[ \text{Ụzụ akpụ nwa} \]
The blacksmith cannot forge a child.

\[ \text{Igwe ehegi obi} \]
The heavens do not/cannot move house/change abode.

\[ \text{Mmiri eri azụ} \]
A fish cannot be drowned/does not drown in water.

While some of these proverbs express the philosophies, requests, or aspirations of the people who take them on, others merely express indubitable facts which do not necessarily reflect any philosophical or attitudinal commitment on the part of the individuals who answer to such names. A chief who chooses to answer to “Ụdọ akpụ enyi” is impliedly comparing himself to an elephant which cannot be fastened with a tether. In other words, the chief is attributing some undisclosed immense energy to himself. In the same vein, a ruler who decides to take on the title “Mmiri eri azụ” could be said to be concerned that his chosen course of action would not be the cause of his death. In another sense, the person could be said to be merely expressing an indubitable fact. Although these titular proverbial names designate symbols of impossibility, their emphasis is not on asserting the impossible; hence, such symbols could be said to be weak.

Finally, adynaton symbols are used in proverbs which express an unbridgeable gulf between appearance and reality. The following proverbs are illustrative of such ideas:

\[ \text{Eluigwe dịri nso ka anya si ele ya, a ga ejigi mbe enyi ya?} \]
If heaven were as close as it is perceived by human eyes, would a ladder not be used in climbing it?
Aka bụru nkụ, nnụnụ agwụ n’igwe.
If hands were wings, birds would disappear from the sky.

Anyị mmiri diri nso, okụkọ kwa ya
If shedding tears were easy, the fowl would do so.

Ọ bụru na isi na-awa igwe, egbe igwe ga egbugo ya.
If heaven suffered headache, thunder would have killed it.

What these proverbs do is that they bring into sharper focus the impossibility of the fruition of some acts of wishful thinking. For instance, looking at heaven, it would appear that it is reachable by means of a ladder, but that is impossible. In normal life, many things appear achievable, but actually they are not. What makes the symbolism particularly interesting is not because anything unique or novel has been expressed; it is the linkage of what is possible in one aspect of life with what is impossible in another. Thus ladders are used for climbing, but they cannot serve the purpose of climbing to heaven; shedding tears is presumably easy for human beings, but not for the fowl—especially the hen whose chickens are always being carried off; the human hands structurally occupy the position of wings, but they cannot function as wings; thunder is always rumbling across the sky, producing more than sufficient noise to cause headache, but sickness cannot be predicated of the sky. The proverbs in this category are all conditional sentences, and in each case, the antecedent portrays the appearance, whereas the consequent portrays the reality, the not-obtainable, or the impossible.

There are other uses to which proverbs which express adynaton symbols could be put. C. Nze (1985:13), in a different context, has mentioned one of these. He cites the following Igbo proverb as illustrative of logical opposition:

Ogwụ achọghị igwọ agwọ
Ka-asị sị weta inyi nza bejiri; mobụ
Ka-asị sị weta mpi nkịta; mobu
Ka-asị sị weta ụtaku agwọ.

When one does not actually want to prepare a medicine, one prescribes a piece of inyi tree (a very hard wood) which was broken by the wren, or a dog’s horn, or the leg of a snake as a prerequisite.

Commenting on this proverb, he says: “surely, this is a deliberate demand for the néant, nothingness, the non existent, the impossible, a retardation”.

Proverbs such as this exist in Igbo proverbial lore and they are generally used to prevent the giving of a categorical negative response to requests while at the same time not being seen as doing so. Another proverb which serves this function is this:

Ma čorụ igbụ mmadụ ọ wa onye afụ njọta puru mpi.
When a god wants to kill a person, it asks for a dog with horns.

G. Igwe (1986:138) also cites another Igbo proverb which expresses the same related adynaton symbol: “whenever a child is about to die, whatever his mother does to prevent his death, he requests that a bow be made for him with the veins in the head of a powerful man”. In each of these proverbs the impossibility of carrying out the prescribed tasks makes it inevitable for the unwanted action to take place.

From what has so far been said, it is obvious that adynaton symbols in proverbs exist abundantly in Igbo folklore. The symbols usually touch on parts of the human body, animals, or on natural objects and phenomena. The proverbs in which they are found are observation sentences whereas some of them can comfortably pass for logical statements. There is no single instance of any of the proverbs that is a judgmental statement about human values of good and evil. There is also evidence that some of these symbols cut across cultures; for example, to bring water in a basket and to pour water in a sieve. Even within a culture there are variants of the same adynaton symbol; for example, a healer asking for the horn of a dog as a prerequisite for curing a patient and a god demanding the same horn of a dog so as to spare the life of a human person. All this and more provides further scope for research on the part of scholars interested in adynaton symbols.

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**THE IRISH TRICKSTER**

Irish Gaelic has one of the oldest vernacular literatures in Western Europe as well as the most extensive collection of folklore and folklife material, providing unique evidence of European culture for nearly fifteen hundred years. This book seeks to explore that evidence to throw light on tricksters and entertainers in the Irish tradition.

In the study of the trickster, similarities can be seen in accounts of medieval buffoons, seasonal disguised entertainers, holy madmen and troublemakers (human or divine), in terms of dress, behaviour and how such characters are perceived. They are often seen as demonic, yet are tolerated, and this ambivalence is typical of society's attitude to the trickster. Society tolerates those who 'represent' evil so that its eventual and inevitable victory over them also 'represents' the belief that good will triumph over evil. The manifestations of the trickster are often dramatic and the trickster is closely associated with words like 'rite', 'ceremony', 'festival', 'entertainment' and even 'drama'.

In the book we meet such diverse tricksters as Bricriu the mischief-maker, Mac Conglinne, the holy madmen, and O'Donnell's footsoldier. The origins, functions and analogous activities in popular custom of the *crosán* or buffoon are also discussed, as are the contributions of popular entertainers and their special brand of humour to the development of comic literature. In short, although the book deals with the evidence in one language primarily, it also contains much of relevance for students of popular customs and festivals, medieval drama and literature, humour in general and tricksters in particular.

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_Mistletoe Series, 20_
The Survival of the Traditional Dole in Hampshire Today

Nicholas James

In the small village of St. Briavels in the Forest of Dean every Whit Sunday evening an unusual spectacle can be witnessed, when a group of men standing on a ten feet high wall throw food from large baskets down on the villagers as they leave the evensong service at the parish church. This remarkable “scramble” for food was apparently instituted in celebration of the rights granted by King John to the villagers to graze their animals and to gather wood from an area of land in the village, after the Countess of Hereford had, according to the legend, ridden naked through the village in support of the villagers’ claims. This annual custom is in fact one of many such traditional doles of food, money or clothing which continue to be distributed throughout Britain long after their original function to sustain the poor of the parish has disappeared. During the course of my research in 1986-7, I discovered at least thirty five surviving traditional doles in England alone, yet the custom as it stands has received little attention from folklorists and writers, and even where mention is made, the reports are often secondhand and inaccurate, with the result that accounts of the custom of the traditional dole remain in a state either of obscurity or inaccuracy. It is the purpose of this brief paper, to redress the balance a little, and to describe the basic form and function of three representative traditional doles which I have witnessed myself, and which will hopefully indicate that this custom far from being “a worthless relic of a bygone age” is actually flourishing in villages and towns throughout Britain today.

The custom of providing a dole of food, clothing or money for the poorer members of a parish dates right back to the early medieval period when churches and rich landowners were expected to ensure the wellbeing of their fellow villagers, who might otherwise be left to starve to death during a bad harvest for instance. No doubt this provision of a dole was mainly instigated by the lord of the manor for the practical purpose of keeping the workers fit for work, although the Church’s involvement clearly indicates that the religious doctrines of charity were also an important factor in the establishment of a dole.

A generous man will prosper; he who refreshes others will himself be refreshed. (Proverbs 11:25)
Even today, it seems that many of the extant doles are retained in remembrance of the religious ideal of charity.

After the medieval period, however, the nature of the doles begins to change, so that those established during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are nearly all in the form of donations or wills made by individuals rather than institutions, with sums of money provided for a dole to be regularly distributed to the poor of the parish. Thus whilst most of the medieval doles are associated with an important religious festival, these “newer” doles presented in memory of a benefactor’s death, often lose much of their fundamental Christian significance, and become established more through a desire to perpetuate a benefactor’s name. The final stage in the evolution of the traditional dole is marked by the Industrial Revolution, and especially in the nineteenth century which, as in so many areas of folklore, played such an important part in the breakdown of traditional customs, as the older tightly knit social groups became lost in the massive conurbations, particularly in the industrial north. Nevertheless, many of the traditional village doles remained, probably encouraged by a desire to maintain social integration, and it is predominantly in the rural areas of England, where the Industrial Revolution had least effect, that our surviving doles are most evident.

In order to provide a broad overview of the custom of the traditional dole and to understand why so many of these doles continue to be distributed, I shall concentrate attention on three very different examples, one of which is attached to an important Christian festival, another which is associated with a benefactor’s name, and a third which is distributed as a continuous “service” throughout the year, but all of which are connected in some way with my home town of Winchester.

The Royal Maundy ceremony is without doubt the most well known of all the surviving doles, as extensive television coverage has helped to beam this annual event throughout the world, and in 1979 the ceremony took place at Winchester as part of the 900 year anniversary celebrations of the famous cathedral. Despite its connection with royalty, the Maundy dole is in fact very similar to other surviving doles both in its original charitable function of providing sustenance and comfort to the poor, and its more recent modification as an historical remembrance and popular tourist attraction. Whilst purists might object to the demands of tourism and television coverage, it cannot be disputed that both help to preserve the custom in its traditional form and to retain an event which now serves the
The Survival of the Traditional Dole in Hampshire

important function of recognising the sterling community service of Christian men and women.

The dole of silver Maundy money can trace its origins as far back as the beginnings of Christendom, and the opening words of the ceremony taken from Christ’s “mandatum” to his disciples clearly indicate the origin of the name “Maundy”:

If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another’s feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done unto you. (John 13:14-15)

In the earlier Maundy ceremonies, the Royal Almoner, as well as distributing gifts of money and clothing, also washed the recipients’ feet, hence the white towels which now adorn the waist and shoulder of each member of the Almonry at the service. Another distinctive feature of the Maundy ceremony with origins in the past is the carrying of nosegays of flowers by the principal participants which were intended to protect them from the smell and disease of the “commoners” during the feet washing, or “pedilarium”.

Although the washing of feet has now been forgotten, each of the recipients, whose number always equals the age of the monarch, receives three leather purses, one containing £3.00 as an allowance for clothing, another £2.50 as a substitute for the royal gown and provisions, and a third purse containing the famous Maundy pennies whose value is equal to the age of the monarch. Although this dole is now more of a symbolic recognition of Christian service, it should not be forgotten that the Maundy money is still legal tender, and could of course be sold for a good profit in conditions of extreme financial hardship.

This dole of Maundy money is therefore an excellent example of that category of surviving doles which are based on a desire for Christian charity and are consequently associated with an important religious festival, in this case Easter. Indeed, the Easter period proved to be by far the most popular occasion for the distribution of traditional doles, and as a result the connection between a surviving dole and the Eucharist of the Church is clearly important. At the same time, both the tourist interest and the public’s desire for authentic historical tradition have certainly encouraged the preservation of such customs in their original form, whilst the need to reward Christian service to the community, as well as a more general desire for stability in a rapidly changing society, might supply some
of the answers to the intriguing question of why such an “outdated”
custom still survives.

As I mentioned earlier, many of the extant traditional doles are
associated with an important local benefactor, and as an example of this
category I should like to outline the basic form of the Tichborne Dole,
which consists of a distribution of a gallon of flour to each inhabitant of the
villages of Tichborne and Cheriton, near Winchester. The origin of this
dole is expounded by a well-known local legend which tells how in the
thirteenth century the Lady of the Tichborne Manor House, Lady
Mabella, made a request to her husband that a dole of flour should be
provided each Lady Day for the local villagers who had supported her
during her lifetime. Sir Roger Tichborne, her husband, clearly not sharing
his wife’s charitable nature, pulled a burning brand from the fire and,
recognising his wife’s weakening strength, vowed that whatever area of
cornfield she could walk around while the brand was still alight, would be
used to provide flour for the villagers as she had requested. Despite being
close to death, the legend tells that Lady Mabella managed to crawl on her
hands and knees around a field of about twenty three acres, which even
today is known as “The Crawls”. Having completed her arduous mission,
Lady Mabella soon died, and her husband kept his promise by establishing
an annual dole of flour which is still distributed on the steps of Tichborne
Park in exactly the same fashion today.

Unlike other surviving doles, however, the Tichborne dole of flour is far
more than a symbolic remembrance of Christian charity, since a
reasonably sized family can expect to obtain enough flour to satisfy their
needs throughout the year, and may in fact never need to buy this
commodity from a shop. The provision of this dole must of course be a
significant burden on each successive descendant of the Tichborne family,
and when asked why the dole is still distributed, the present owner openly
admits that she is afraid of the curse which Lady Mabella had laid on the
dole, which stated that if it was ever neglected, a generation of seven sons
followed by a generation of seven daughters would cause the family to die
out and the house to fall into disrepair. Indeed, in 1796 the dole was
temporarily discontinued because of “rowdy behaviour”, causing the
warnings of the curse to be fulfilled, with the collapse of the southern wing
of the house still observable today. Whilst this traditional dole lacks the
direct Christian purpose and tourist interest of the Royal Maundy dole, the
need for a small community to be integrated by its distinctive annual
custom and of course the desire to mark each year with a recurring event to
look forward to, ensure that the Tichborne dole, like many others throughout Britain, will continue to be distributed for many years to come.

The Wayfarer’s Dole of ale and bread can still be received at the Porter’s Lodge of the Hospital of St. Cross in Winchester, and unlike most other traditional doles, its distribution is not restricted either to a certain day or to certain recipients—the dole is offered to anyone who requests it at any time of the day. It was originally established for travellers on the path from Salisbury to Winchester, and dates back to 1136, when Bishop Henry de Blois first instituted the Hospital as a charitable haven for thirteen poor men, and for an unlimited number of passing wayfarers. In his book on the Hospital, Paul Cave notes that St. Cross is “a place where time seems to stand still”, and indeed once inside the precincts of the medieval hospice, with its robed incumbents and traditional dole of ale and bread, one is immediately transported back eight hundred years or so.

The distribution of the dole is carried out by a senior member of the St. Cross brethren, and consists of about one fifth of a pint of ale and a small chunk of white bread, which, like the Maundy money, is far more of a symbolic token than the edifying refreshment which it would once have been for the original wayfarers. Many people have noticed the close resemblance between this dole and the Holy Communion of the Church, and the Christian ideal of charity is certainly an important reason for continuing to preserve the ancient custom. At the same time, the dole is supported by tourist interest and a desire to understand our historical past, which can always be brought to life more vividly by such authentic customs. The present Porter of the Hospital is certainly aware of the importance of the dole today, and would argue that without its traditional custom the Hospital would lose much of its identity and purpose as a symbol of Christian charity in an age when the value of giving rather than taking needs to be emphasised more than ever. It is important to recognise that these last surviving remnants of the custom of distributing a dole are not merely picturesque customs useful only as fodder for the tourists, but are living events in the life of a community, often serving as a vital means of social integration or as a reminder of the importance of charity and Christian fellowship.

Whilst recognising that this brief account does not do justice to the whole range of fascinating traditional doles still in existence in modern-day Britain, I hope that my very recent firsthand knowledge of three representative traditional doles will serve as a reminder that the custom is
alive and flourishing in many towns and villages, and that its present-day function, whilst often greatly modified, is vitally important to the survival of the charitable ideal which originally prompted the establishment of each dole. As in most areas of folklore, the custom is represented throughout the country in a variety of forms, with a variety of functions, ranging from the needs of the tourist industry to the expression of Christian ideals of charity and thanksgiving. Without exception, however, each dole reflects the desire of us all to perpetuate age-old customs and to provide a recurring stability by which one may counteract the bewildering vicissitudes of the world around us.

Note


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An Example of Survival in Sheffield Speech

Martin Spray

For the bicentenary of the birth of the Rev. Joseph Hunter of Sheffield, CECTAL published a facsimile of The Hallamshire Glossary\(^1\), Hunter's collection of words and expressions current in the Sheffield area at the opening of the nineteenth century. His collection has the antiquarian flavour common to much writing of its age, but does seem to have been compiled and discussed with somewhat better scientific care than some other collections of the period. "In preparing a collection such as this", writes Hunter, "there is often difficulty in determining what words to admit and what to reject. A dictionary of archaical words is not a dictionary of slang or of mere vulgarisms". He is thus trying to distinguish words and expressions, and variant spellings and pronunciations, which represent an older language. He finds it often difficult, however, to tell archaism from vulgarism: "I had long thought the coyille for coal was a mere vulgarism till I met with it in an abbey-lease of the reign of Henry VII; that the word egg, the verb [to egg on], was mere slang, till I found it in good use in a chronicle of the reign of Henry VI...". Widdowson and Smith, in their introduction to the facsimile, explain the significance of the Hallamshire Glossary, and to some extent analyse its content. They set out six categories, which are useful context for the comments I offer below:

1. Words and expressions obsolete in 1790-1810 which have since disappeared in the locality; e.g. 
   anparsy, fridleys, lundy, span-new, unbethink;
2. Those which then appeared archaic, but which survive in Standard English; e.g. 
   ajar, grime, kidnappers, nick-name, untidy;
3. Those which then appeared archaic, but which survive in slang or colloquial usage; e.g. 
   bang, jabber, loose-end, puke, whiz;
4. Items of local dialect which have since been lost; e.g. 
   aud-farand, carl, gifts \(^2\), moskered, sancome;
5. Over 200 items of local usage "which have been retained within living memory until the present day"; e.g. 
   addle, clomp, lilli-lo, spink, tyke;
6. Examples of local pronunciation; e.g. 
   acker, eit, mun, sen, wesh.
(A seventh category contains those entries which give details of local traditions, games, dress, etc.)

My interest in the *Glossary* is not from the point of view of a linguist or dialect scholar, but as a native of Sheffield whose parents have all their lives had their homes in that city, and who have for several years provided me with an abundance of traditional linguistic material for the CECTAL archives. My father, now in his late seventies, has always had his home in the formerly largely working class but now much more mixed suburb of Walkley, on the western side of the city. His work has included laundry lad (working with horses), driver, storekeeper, and university porter. Much of his leisure time has been absorbed by gardening, fishing, sport, and the countryside. Indeed, my own professional interest in ecology and the countryside has its origins in my parents’ interests.

My father’s speech is in many ways typical of that of older members of his community, and his vocabulary includes many nonstandard terms and pronunciations. The notes below are a comparison of my father’s speech with Hunter’s *Glossary*. I had hoped, on visits back to Sheffield, to spend time working through the list with him, but it proved possible to deal with only a small number of items—including the more uncertain ones—this way. For most of the entries, I have relied on more than three decades of memory of his speech, and notes made for CECTAL’s Survey of Language and Folklore. In most cases where it is noted that a word or expression is not known to him, I have no recollection of him using it in my presence, and no evidence of its use elsewhere. Asking directly whether or not a term is known, and what its meaning is, does not always produce clearcut evidence: there is too strong an element of suggestibility in this approach, unfortunately. In general, however, I am confident of the comments offered in the notes. Those items in the *Glossary* that my father appears not to know are not included below, except where they are subordinate entries, are cross-referenced, or seem in some way peculiar. Spelling in quotation marks is my own, although in a number of cases the spellings are those that he or my mother have used.

My mother, also in her late seventies, is herself a native of Sheffield, although in her youth she lived in several parts of the city besides Walkley. Her speech is noticeably closer to Standard English than my father’s, at least when with strangers; and she is much more sensitive to what Hunter regarded as “mere vulgarisms”. Neither of my parents uses “vulgarisms” unless extremely provoked, but my mother does regard a number of expressions my father uses as slangy—yet he himself is sensitive to all
forms of slang. There is a small but significant difference between the vocabularies they understand; in particular some technical and rural terms that my father knows, and the influence of my mother’s somewhat wider social contacts. Brief notes in brackets indicate my perception of the differences in the list below. Where their usage agrees, the item is merely marked [m]. In most cases where there is no note in brackets, my mother does not use the term, although in the majority of cases she understands it. A few instances are noted where only my mother uses the word or expression. The table shows examples of some different usages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>father</th>
<th>mother</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“coal” and “coylle”</td>
<td>“coal”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“rosin”</td>
<td>“resin”</td>
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<tr>
<td>gorse (“gorse”), furze, occasionally whin</td>
<td>gorse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maul; maulers</td>
<td>maul (infrequent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrush and thristle</td>
<td>thrush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuz-ball (normally puff-ball)</td>
<td>puff-ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“upsidown”</td>
<td>“upside-down”, rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“upsidown”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beastings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(stiddy known, not used)</td>
<td>(boggard known, not used)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The notes attempt to distinguish items that are used regularly—that is, they are (i) the only or (ii) the normal ways of saying something: e.g. (i) mantel-piece, (ii) mad (also angry)—and irregularly used ones—e.g. moyte (“mote”; usually speck (sometimes fleck)(of dust/dirt)). These groups are in fact not especially distinct, at least when the persons spoken to are taken into account. As with everyone’s speech, in some cases usage varies markedly according to what type of person is being conversed with: what the notes do not attempt is a systematic separation of familiar usage—that is, within the family and with close friends—from the non-familiar. “Ought”, for example, is often said within the family, whereas more formally and with strangers “anything” is used. Even such a word as ought used within the family, my father tends to reserve for a clearly jocular mode: my mother only uses this particular word jokingly, especially in “Is there ought to eat?”.
A-but. Not so used. "Ah-but!" is used instead of Aye-but, and implies stronger reservation than Hunter implies—often used enthusiastically when a mistake/fault/unseen implication has come to my father's notice.

No-but—not used, but understood.

Acker—usually acre, but sometimes pron. 'acker'.

Ageean—"agen" or "egen".

A-jar—only in the joke "When is a door not a door?" [m]

A-jee—not known. [m]

All-along—Yes; esp. in e.g. "I've known that all along." Always finishes the clause. [m]

Alley—Yes. Usually as "alleyway". Not for passage between pews—"aisle" would prob. be used here. [m]

Alley = alabaster "marbles"—I think not known.

An-all—Yes.

Asky—always "(h)asky"—implies a dry, "tickly" throat, or a dry cough. [m, occasionally]

Ass-midden—"Midden" is still occasionally heard. "Ash-midden" is known. [m]

Aud-farand—Yes. Always "old fashioned". [m]

Ax—Yes, but jocular only.

Baby—never "babby". [m]

Band—only in "Band of Hope"; and "rubber/elastic band". [m]

Bar—"all bar"—esp. in stock phrase "It's all done/over bar the shouting"; never in sense of "forbid". [m, jocular only]

Barm—the normal name, although "yeast" used frequently. See Appendix "Yeast". [m, much more frequently]

Baste—? I think I have heard this infrequently, meaning to beat (hit) (someone): e.g. the winning boy in a fight bastes his opponent.

Batch—used more generally than just for bread. [m]

[Bezzle—No. "Guzzle" used here. "Embezzle" is used as in S.E. [m]]

Black-clock—Yes—for large purple-black beetle—but ? also for cockroach. [m]
Boggard—understood, but not used. [m]
Boggle—Yes; but only in the expression “the mind boggles”. [m]
Bonny—implies “healthy-looking and fairly robust”—not necessarily also pretty. Babies of both sexes can be bonny; but of older children, or adults, only female. [m]
Botch—Yes, and not just of garments. The normal term for an inept, or merely impromptu, repair. [m, very rarely]
Bother—as in “don’t bother me now”. [m, more frequently.]
Boulders—pron. “boolders” = large stones, free rocks.
Boun—“bound”: “I’m bound to do it” means “I am certain to (“sure to’) do it.” Also “bound for home.” [m]
Bouze—Yes: “booze”. “Boozing” and “boozer” are the normal terms. [m, occasionally]
Bracken—is specific for Pteridium. [m]
Brag—Yes. Usually as “Don’t brag about it.” [m]
Brock—known but not used, except as character name B—the Badger. [m]
Brown-shiller—? not known. Usual names are “cobnuts” or “new nuts”, as well as hazel nuts.
Burn—in a party game of seeking objects someone is thinking of, the sequence of “clues” given is: freezing, cold, warm, hot, burning. (No other clues are given.) The term “burn” for person finding/guessing object is not used. [m]
Burras—borax = “boracic”. [m]
Burrs—Yes. Sometimes of the seedheads of cleavers and a few other plants. [m]
Calf-licked—really my mother’s expression; my father rarely uses it.
Canker—understood, but rarely used, to mean a “stain” (oxidation) on metal; not specifically rust. Also used, frequently, of certain plant diseases. [m. very rarely]
Cap—used in expression “to cap it all” (much as in “cap (building) off”) and occasionally e.g. “that’s capped him”, meaning (?) “that’s stumped him.” [m]
Causey—always “causeway” = raised sidewalk; never in any other sense. [m. more inclined to say “pavement”]
Chary—No. To be chary is to be nervously cautious. Rarely used. [m]
Chavel—so pron., or as “chovel” (short ‘o’). To bite quickly and repeatedly. Mice and hamsters often chavel. [m, occasionally.]
Chimley—v. occas. used so, or as “chimbley”, but only jocularly. [m.
more prone to use “chimbley”]
Chopping—only in “chopping and changing”. [m]
Chuck—baby-talk for “chicken”; not used as term of endearment. Also
about the most frequent term for “throw”. [m]
Chuck-full—always “chockfull”. [m]
Clam—not so. Only in expression “(to) clam up”, meaning to (perhaps
abruptly) be/become silent, even when pressed to talk about
something. [m]
Clam—“clamp” (never plural).
Clap—v. occasionally—to “clap (something) down” is to put down
hard.
Clarty—Yes, e.g. of clay soil on boots or hands. Either in form “(This is)
clarty” or, more usually, “I’m all clarted up.”
Clatter—occas. used in this way. [m]
Cletch—“clutch” only. [m]
Clocking—pron. “cluck” only. [m]
Clomp—Yes. Almost always in form to “clomp about”. [m, rarely]
Clout—a blow to the body; usually but not necessarily to the head. Also to
strike an object hard, e.g. “Give it (engine) a clout and see if it’ll
start!”
Sense of “piece of cloth” known, but not used—except in the line
“Cast ne’er a clout till May is out.” [m]
Cloyse—always pron. “close”—long open “o”. [m]
Clump—most small, isolated, groups of trees are “clumps”. [m]
[Clumpst—not known.]
Cob-nut—see “brown shiller”. Cob-nut is always the hazel bush/hazel
nut. Knows of no game with them—used conkers. [m]
Coke—Yes: esp. the core of an apple—“apple coke”. Also remnants of
grindstones. [m. normally says “core”]
Coke the fuel—but not the cinders.
Cotter—only “cotter pin” of machine etc.
Cousin—not nephew/niece. [m]
Cower—rarely used, and (so far as I remember) only in form “(to) cower
behind (someone)”. [m]
Cowled—known, but not (I think) used. [m. rarely uses this.]
Coyle—so pron. in jocular mood: usually “cole”. Still sometimes uses
term “coyle ’oyle” for coal shed or chute into cellar for delivering
coal.
Crack—only in forms “crack a joke”, and a “wisecrack”—which means the joke not the joker. [m, occasionally]  
Cree—understood but ? not used.  
Cronk—not known. Uses (rarely) “crow over”.  
Croodle—not known.  
Crozzils—I don’t think I’ve ever heard this in sense of half-burnt coals, but when the “crackling” of bacon etc. is crisp this is said to be “crozzy”—and one is asked by my mother “Does anyone want the crozzy?” [m]  
Cuckoo-spit—Yes. [m]  
Cute—implies “quick” or clever, or “somehow different”; rarely used. Also occasionally of children, meaning they are attractively alert or clever. [m]  
Dad—the usual word, sometimes “pop”; “father” is both formal and informal when talking to third person. [m, occasionally. Normally uses “father”; never “pop”.]  
Daffa-down-dillies—my father refuses to use this other than as a joke, although mother occasionally uses it spontaneously in response to the flowers.  
Damage—“What’s the damage?” or, usually, “Let’s know the damage.” Occasional. [m]  
Dandy-cock—Yes; rarely used. Also a person may be “spruced up” as a “dandy”. [m]  
Dank—Yes. Frequent. [m]  
Dee—occas. so pron., but usually “die”. [m. always “die”]  
Deuce—v. occas., and only in “What the deuce (was that)?”  
Dike—not so used, except in the form e.g. “(He) fell in the dike”—which does not necessarily imply a river. Used only infrequently. Specifically, a dike is used for a large drain or a slow canalised river—again, infrequent.  
Din—a loud unpleasant noise—incl. shouting or loud talk. [m, rarely]  
Dint—“dint”, not “dent”. [My mother’s pronunciation is ambivalent.]  
Dip—known, but I think not used. Not necessarily sweet. [m. uses occasionally.]  
Dither—“to dither” is to hesitate over a decision—esp. in movement/ direction. To be “all (in/of) a dither” is to be in a state of excited confusion. [m]  
Dole—besides The Dole, is used in expression “dole (it) out”—i.e. to give out an allocation of something. [Is this related to “dollop”, which
is my father’s common expression for an allocation of food, and
sometimes other fluid/semi-fluid substances?[m, rarely]

Don and Doff—known but not used. [m. uses occasionally, ? only in
context of acting.]

Door-cheeks—No: usually “door jomes” (for *jambs*); sometimes “door
stoops” [m. says “door frame”].

Down—Yes, as verb: e.g. of boxers.

Down-fall—always of a person’s state; not of weather. [m]

Drabble—“drabbled”—yes. [m, I think, does not use this.]

[Drate—a person’s voice “grates” if it is harsh (and esp. if also
monotonous). *Drates* not known. [m]]

Drizzle—fine rain: “drizzling”; not(?) “drizzly”. [m]

Dry—“thirsty”—yes. Sometimes says “parched”. [m. does not use
“parched”].

Ducks and drakes—Yes, knows this name, but v. rarely uses it. Usually
the game is just called “skimming”—with “skimmers”.—Sense of
“squandering” not known. [?m]

Easily—in this sense, only in the expression “Ease it (e.g. vehicle; bolt) in
(to parking space, garage; screw-hole or nut, for instance)”, and
“Take it easy” (which can also mean “Take a rest”). [m]

Egg on—Yes. [m]

Eilet-hole—not small holes: they are holes, perhaps metal-bound, e.g. for
passing strings through. [m]

Eit—*familiarly*, this is the most frequent pronunciation. Otherwise “eet”
[m. always “eet”]

Entry—Yes. [m]

Eye-sore—Yes. [m]

Fall out—Yes. [m]

Fancy—I think only v. rarely used in this sense. [m, more frequently]

Fasch—this is called “flash”. [m]

Favour—has heard “favour of” for resemble. Does not use it.

Fend—*only* “fend for (oneself)”. [m]

Fettle—only in expression “(He’s in) fine fettle” [m, rarely]

Filly-foal—only as “filly”.

Flit—to “flit” is used almost as frequently as to “move”—which is much
more frequent than to “move house”. Never “remove”: “Flitting”
is not necessarily secret—a secret move is called a “moonlight
flit”. [m, less frequently]

Fon/fun—“fun” is sometimes so used, but *only* jocularly. Never “fon”.
**For-because**—occasional. *only* in mock-formality.

**Frame**—implies “settling (down) into a job”: is *only* used in expression “Now you’re framing!”, when a person starts to do (a job) properly or successfully. Most often applied to a child. [m, occasionally]

**Fromity/Frumity**—a sort of porridge. [m. says her mother “always made it in the oven”].

**Full drive**—No: *“full tilt”*

**Fuss**—No: one *“makes a fuss”*, but is not *“in a fuss”*. [m]

**Fussy**—Yes. [m]

**Fuz-ball**—Yes, although usually called *“puff ball”*. [m. only uses *“puff ball”*].

**Gantry**—used to mean a platform walkway in a building (?or outside). (Also *“gantry crane”*.)

**Gee**—*only* in humour, e.g. *“Gee it us, then.”; “A’ll gi’ thee a thump!”* (mock threat).

**Gibberish**—known; but so far as I remember not used. Not just of children. [m]

**Gibbeted**—v. infrequently makes reference to this, and to local gibbet sites.

**Gifts**—my father knows this, as my mother occasionally uses the term; but he never uses it.

**Glum**—Yes. Implies sadness. [m, occasionally]

**Goster**—my mother knows this term as a noun meaning *“bighead”*. My father may know, but never uses it.

**Goyt**—Yes.

**Grime**—Yes: *“Dirt deeply insinuated”* is an excellent description. [m. tends to reserve this for industrial dirt.]

**Grindle-coke**—see *coke*.

**Groats**—known, but not used. [m]

**Gronny**—always *“granny”* but prefers *“nan-nan”*. [m]

**Grun**—I *think* he sometimes uses this pronunciation.

**Grunsel**—Not so. [This is the pronunciation he uses for the plant *grounds*el.]

**Haigs**—No: Always called *“hawthorn berries”* or (v. occas.) *“haws”*. [m]

**Han**—No. Always *“have”*. [m]

**Hask**—of a throat when dry, and feeling *“rough”*; *“hanky”* (not *“hask”*). [m]
Heft—always “haft”.
Heps—always “hips”—the fruit of any rose. [m. says “rose hips”].
Higgle/haggle—always the latter. [m]
Hitch—used in three or four ways: [m]
  —e.g. “hitch horses”/etc. (to a vehicle).
  —“hitch a lift”.
  —“get hitched” (married).
  —and one “(h)utches up” one’s trousers or skirt, when slumped around hips.
Also often says “(H)utch up!”—i.e. “Make room (on seat/etc.).”
Maybe “(h)utch” is var. of “hitch”.
Hodge-podge—always “hotch-potch”. Sometimes of food; more often of e.g. layout of a room or a garden. [m, occasionally.]
Hoo/Shoo—No: always “she”. [m]
Hop—known, but not used. I think he knows “penny hop”. [m.
ocasionally uses both.]
Hopscore—always “Hopscotch”. [m]
House—Yes. [m—but rarely used]
Hoyle—this pron. is familiar only. See coyle.
Huddle—this is only a self-embrace when cold, or of standing/sitting/lying close together without embrace. To embrace would be to “cuddle”.
[m. Also very occasionally says “(go into) a huddle” of a group of people talking closely together.]
Hug—Yes, to embrace; not to carry in arms (except as an embrace). [m]
Inkling—Yes. [m]
Intack—known but rarely used. Also “intake”. [m]
Irks—Yes. [m]
Jabber—Yes: implies rapid speech. “(to) jabber away”. [m]
Jam—Yes. [m]
Kale—Yes. Often says “It’s my/your/his/etc. kale.”
Kestrel—No: this is species, not age of bird. [m]
Keys—Yes, but (?) always “ash keys”. [m]
Kindle—known, but not used.
Knatter—Yes; but normally “nattering” is persistent casual talk, and used only in this sense. [m]
Knip—“nip”. [m]
Knock-kneed—Yes. [m]
Knock-knobbler—Not known.
Knob—for the “head” is used occasionally, esp. in expression (a toast) “(And) One for his knob!”

Knur—knows “knurr and spell”, but does not use the name.

Kuss—jocular only. Usually “kiss”. [m. always “kiss”]

Lady-bird—Yes. “Lady cow” not known.
Mother often recites the rhyme:
Ladybird, Ladybird, fly away home,
Your house . . . etc . . . ,
and my father very occasionally.

Lake—knows “laiking”, and has used it v. rarely. Uses “lark”, esp. as “larking about” for boisterous, usually adolescent, play or “fooling about”.
Also the expression “What a lark!” , used both humorously and contempuously. [m. rarely says this.]

Lakin—not known, but see Lake above.

Langsettle—known as “longsettle”, but term not used. “Squab” not known. The two words used, both normally, are “settee” and “sofa”.

Settle is known and used—but is reserved for antique items. [m]

Lat—knows “lat” and “lath”, and I think has used both— but “lath” normally. “lattice” or “lattice work” also known, but seldom used. [m. uses “lattice” occasionally.]

Learn—sometimes used instead of “teach”; but these two words usually distinct. [m. always distinguishes “teach” and “learn”.

Let drive—v. occasionally: usually “let fly”/”let fly at (somebody/something)”. [m, rarely]

Lick—means to win a conflict, e.g. “He’ll lick him hands down” means “He will win easily.” [m, jocular only]
Uses “lick into shape” as though derived from this word.

Licorice—this concoction not known.

Lickorish—my mother uses this term, but father not.

Like—in frequent as a terminal. [m. does not use this.]

Like as obligation—No. [m]

Lilli-lo—Yes: my father is my only source for this word! Christmas-tree lights, for example, or candle flames. [I do not recall my mother using this term.]

Lines—Yes; but also means the words of the vows. [m]
Ling—uses this for Erica species, reserving “heather” for Calluna.
Lite upon—known but not used; also used of e.g. a butterfly “lighting” on a flower. [m]
Locked/Locker—No: however, hair is sometimes (poetically) “locks”; also “lock of hair” (rarely). When hair is matted, it is said to have “lugs”—for example, dogs often form “lugs” around the collar. [Otherwise, “lug” (q.v.) is jocular term for ear.] [m]
Loose-end—Not quite: it refers to someone who is temporarily listless and unoccupied. [m, frequently]
Lope—not “to leap”; means to move with a loose, relaxed dog-trot pace. One usually “lopes along”. [m, rarely]
Lords and Ladies—a name known (probably from me) but not used. Usually “wild arum”; sometimes “cuckoo pint”. [m]
Loyse—normally “lose”, but familiarly and jocularly sometimes “loyse”. [m. always “lose”]
Lugs—See Locked. Jocular form for the ears, used only within family and/or especially to children. (See Appendix I.) Also uses term “lug (h)oles”, only with children.
Mack—Makeshift—not really a “substitute”, but an improvisation used in the absence of the “real thing”. Temporary or permanent. [m]
Mad—Yes. [m. frequently uses “(something) gets me (that) mad!”]
Mam—Yes, but normally “Mom”.
Manner—“All manner (of things)”—Yes. [m]
Manners-bit—My father knows the expression used by my mother—“(leave) a bit for Mr Manners”. Volunteered when I asked: I don’t think I’ve ever heard this used spontaneously.
Mantel-piece—Yes: the only term. [m]
Marred—not so; but occasionally, e.g. “mind you don’t marr that” for spoil (an object).
Marrow—thinks has heard used in “. . . the marrow of it”.
Mash—used (1) to describe process of making tea; (2) e.g. for “mashed potatoes”. [m] See mush.
Maul—? knows but does not use this for hammer—any size wooden hammer is a “mallet”. For “bruise” see Mow/.
May-be—Yes. He has heard “May-bees don’t fly this month.”
Mazy—Not known. Is this related to “muzzy”? e.g. “I’ve got a muzzy head” means “I have a persistent dull headache.”
Meal-time—This is the normal term for “time for eating.” [m]
Means—Yes, esp. in expression “a man of means”. [m]
Midge—reserved for the small biting flies, not including mosquitoes. See Appendix 1. [m]
Midden—*sometimes* “dung heap”; most often a domestic dry latrine and/or domestic refuse heap (by house). *Not* just any “heap”. [m]
Mits—Yes. “Mittens” are gloves with one section for thumb and another for all other fingers. “Mits” also used familiarly for “hands”. [m]
Moant—see “mun”.
Moider—Yes; but uses “moithered”; rarely.
Mowl—See *Maul*. Uses “maul” frequently, and often self-disparagingly, because of his large, rough hands. “To maul” is to handle roughly, e.g. “Don’t maul it (e.g. fruit).” [m. uses “Don’t maul it (about).”]
“Maulers” is commonly used for *hands*—again often of his own, e.g. after working in garden will often use stock phrase “Let me wash mi mucky maulers!”
Moyte—knows this, as my mother sometimes refers to “mote”, e.g. of a speck of dust in eye.
Muck—Yes. [m, rarely]
Muggy—No. This refers to (more or less) overcast, humid, “heavy” and “stagnant” weather. A stuffy room can also become “muggy”; but if the conditions become very bad, the air is “a fug”—which is never applied outdoors. [m]
Mummers—known, but rarely used. [m]
Mun—“*must*”. “*must not*” is “*munt*” (not “*moant*”).
Mush—applies to wet food; also to some decomposing substances. “To mush” is like “to mash” (e.g. potatoes), but wetter, e.g. “mush it all up”, “mushy peas”.
Nang—nail—No: this is “*Hang nail*”. [m]
Neb—more or less reserved for peak of a cap (frequent); and the nose (familiar and jocular). Has formerly used “neb” for beak of, e.g. swan, goose—but now uses only “beak” or “bill”.
Neet—sometimes, with family, pronounces this “*neit*” or “*neyte*”.
Nesh—Yes. Frequently used—a normal word. [m]
Nick-name—Yes. [m]
No—but—Yes, but rarely used for many years.
Nook—Yes. [m, rarely]
Chimney-nook—very occasionally; this is usually “chimney corner”. [m]

Odds and Ends—not “refuse” as now understood: “(collection of) unimportant items, fairly unordered”. [m]

On—“tell on . . . .” —yes; “heard on . . . .” —occasional; otherwise not normally used.

Ought—pron. “oat”—used familiarly only.

Owd—Yes; familiarly only.

Ower—No: always “alder”. [m]

Panshon—Yes, name of very large, shallow-sided, wide-topped (earthenware) bowl, used for bread-making. [m]

Peal—used only of bells. [m]

Pegs—always “tussie pegs”. [m]

Peg top—Yes. [m]

Pepperimg—buck-shot “peppers”; also hailstones, e.g. on roof. Not used of rain. [m]

Peys—Yes—but normally “peas”.

Pick—(1) No. [m]

(2) No: hay is “pitched” using “pitch fork”. [m?]

(3) Yes. [m]

Pick-a-back—“Piggy-back”. [m]

Pig nuts—Yes—the only name used for them. Occasionally eaten. (Conopodium majus.) [m]

Pin-fold—knows but does not use.

Pingle—known only as minor placename. [m]

Pips—flowers—no; cards—yes. [m]

Pluck—Yes. Courage is just “pluck”. [m]

Poke—knows only “pig in a poke”. [m]

Porridge—does not know the nettle version. [m]

Porringer—knows the term, but not use of the object; refers to some type of dish. [m]

Posnet—Used v. rarely(?).

Potter—Yes; but always uses “fire poker”. Not used for verb.

Proud-flesh—Yes; not used. [m]

Puddings—used only in sense of “content” (e.g. “stuffing”) or, esp., “length”; e.g. “Give us some more pudding!”, when needs greater length of rope released for securing items on car roof-rack. Always in singular. [m. infrequently]
Puke—only “to vomit”; known but not used. [m]
Punch—No: “to hit with fist”. [m]
Quandary—frequently uses expression “(I’m/she’s/etc.) in a quandary.”
Rack and Ruin—Yes. [m]
Raddle—known but not used.
Rank—these senses not known. “Rank growth” is dense, rather weedy, often fast growth of plants en masse: used rarely. [m]
Ravel—Yes: “(all) ravelled up” means, e.g. a skein tangled. “To unravel” is used often—esp. of “unroving” knitted garments, i.e. salvaging wool by winding up from loose end. Also one “unravels” tangled pieces of string. Knows sense of “unravelling a mystery”, but does not use it. [m]
“Unroving” is, I think, my mother’s term, which father had adopted.
Reek—v. occasionally used for “foul smell of smoke/burning (e.g. rubber).” Also as a verb [m, occasionally]
Render—Yes, but always “render down”. Used only infrequently. [m]
Riddle—Yes, but only of garden use. [m]
Rig—only knows placename Roman Rig.
Rinse—Yes. [m]
Rip—No. [but infrequently uses term “rip off”.] [m]
Rossil—No. Knows “resin” but always says “rosin”. [m. always says “resin”.
Ruck—thinks he has heard this.
Sad—bread or a cake can be “sad”. Mostly used by my mother.
Samplar—knows “sampler”. [m]
Sauce—the “sauce” (!), not the vegetables. [m]
“Sauce” also means “cheek”—“saucy“ for “cheeky”. the former used frequently; “saucy” used v. rarely. “Cheeky” also used [m]]
Say—Yes. [m]
Scar—rock face—yes. [m]

frighten—No: this is “scare”. [m]
“Scare-crow”. [m]
Scrag—Yes, usually “scrag-end”. Someone untidily dressed may be called “scraggy”—always applies to thin, gaunt person. [m, rarely]
Scrome—used frequently, but not for “long strides”; it has more the meaning of “ramble-plus-scramble” , e.g. I was often said to be “out scroming” as a child, when I was out in the country with friends.
Seconds—used of many things. [m]
Sen—sometimes uses “—sen” familiarly, but my father’s usual pronuncia-
tion is “—self”. [m. always says “self”.]
Settee—see “Langsettle”.
Shape—v. infrequently uses forms such as “shape up to (doing some-
thing)”. [m, rarely]
Sharps—perhaps. Certainly used occasionally for grain or sweepings for
fowl.
Shift—of changing dress—no. [mother seems to know this meaning.]
[ a “shift” is infrequently a term for a woman’s vest. [m]]
“Shift yourself!”, or simply “shift”, means “move!”, “Get out of
the way!” [m. infrequently]
Shift for (oneself)—Yes. [m]
Shoar—not used as noun; but often uses term “to shoar (something) up”.
[m, occasionally]
Shoo—Yes. [m]
Shut—Yes—only in form “get shut of”. [m]
Siles—Yes—only in form “siling down”—not necessarily perpendicular.
[m, occasionally]
Skellered—Yes; warped. [m]
Skew—bald—knows “skew-ball” (not “—bald”) as noun; but not used.
Skulk—Yes. [m, rarely; as “skulking about”, used of a place.]
Slappy—always “sloppy”. Used of e.g. over-wet mortar, mashed potatoes,
mud. [m]
Slash—Yes—only as verb. [m]
Slaver—Yes; noun and verb: my father spells it “slavver” (as do I!) [m]
Sleek—small coal, esp. with much dust—always “slack”. [m]
Smithy-sleck—not known. [m] In sense of wetting, this is always
“slake”: usually used in “slake (my) thirst”; one also “slakes” hot
metal, e.g. horseshoes; “slaking the fire” means “to dampen it
down”—but this does not involve water except for bonfires or
campfires, when the word can also be used for “extinguish”: one
can “slake” an old-fashioned domestic fire or oven by pushing in
the “damper”, a metal plate which controls size of throat into
chimney—this was, I think, almost always referred to as “pushing
the damper in”. [m]
Slop—Yes, e.g. out of a bucket, or tea from cup to saucer. Only of liquids.
[m]
Slouched-hat—known, but not used. “Slouched” used of a person, e.g.
“Don’t slouch!” if someone is slumped in a chair. (Most usually said by my mother!) [m]

Sludge—Yes. [m, occasionally.]

Smittle—No; but does use “smitten”—esp. of someone in love: “He’s been smitten.” This is occasionally used of someone who is thought to be “acting daft”, e.g. “pop singer” seen on T.V.; here the term implies mental deficiency— but it would not be used of a genuine mental defective. [m, rarely]

Sneck—Yes. Still occasionally says “Lift the sneck” even though of a modern type of fastener. [m. more likely to say “door catch”]

Snub—No; it means to ignore, “to walk past someone you know in the street and ignore them.” [m]

Soft—Yes; means silly, but with a friendly, approving connotation, e.g. “Don’t be soft!” Form such as “He’s a bit soft” is equivalent to “He’s daft”, and is an unfriendly remark. Also “soft in the head”. [m]

Sough—? not specifically a drain. Knows for “a little stream”; ? not used.

Souse—knows the term, but unsure of the recipe. Sometimes says a person “looks like souse”, meaning they are rather sternly miserable, never smiling. [m]

Span-new—v. occasionally uses “spanking new” instead of normal “brand new”. [m]

Spick and span—Yes, but seldom used. [m]

Spell—known.

Spice—uses this more or less as jocular equivalent of “sweets”. [m, jocular only]

Spink—Yes: the normal name. Sometimes “chiff-chaff” or “chaffinch”. [m. uses only the latter two.]

Stark—only in “stark naked”. [m; also in a dramatic form (e.g. “He was stark staring mad!”)]

Staunchions—Yes—usually of horizontal members (not only of windows), but also of vertical ones. If Hunter means “barred window”, I think my father uses this for larger items, e.g. a supporting girder or post. I am unsure about the material: seems to mean metal. Pronounced “stonshens”.

Stiddy—known but not used.

Stone jar—Yes. [m]
Stoop—Yes; e.g. a “clothes stoop” is post to which washing line is attached. [m]

Straddle—No: means to stand legs apart, across something, e.g. one each side of a small stream. Only v. infrequently used of an object across something, e.g. a log across a small stream. [m]

Streight—Yes: “straight”; e.g. “Put them straight”, of objects; “Let’s get it straight”, of facts or a statement. [m]

Swad—knows this; but always uses “pod”.

Swagger—Yes. “Swagger over” not known.[m]

Swap—Yes. [m]

Swillings—always “swill” or “pig swill”. [m]

Swinge—this sense not known. Knows “swingeing” (e.g. of “economic measures”), but does not use it. [m]

Sworn-brothers—Yes; “Sworn enemies” much more frequent—but both used rarely. [m. does not use either.]

Tally—knows this term for the process, not the object. [m]

Taw—Yes; ??for any marble—but “marble” is normal word.

Teem—Yes: “Teem it in (or out)” means “pour (e.g. tea into cup)”. “It’s teeming” or “It’s teeming with rain”, means heavy downpour. [m]

Teeny—Yes; infrequent; “tiny” also infrequent. [m]

Tether—Yes: noun and verb—frequent. Also “end of (my) tether”—infrequent. [m]

Tharff-cake—my mother knows this; father never uses the term(?).

Thrift-pot—he probably knows this.

Throng—known but not used. [m, used rarely.]

Throstle—Yes; slightly more frequent than “thrush”. [m. uses “thrush” only.]

Throttle—Yes; but most often used of a tight shirt collar. [m. frequently]

Thump—Yes; almost always jocular, except when in anger. [m]

Thwack—for “hit hard (e.g. with stick)”, usually says “w(h)ack”. [m, “w(h)ack” only]

Tidy—Yes. Often in “neat and tidy”. [m]

Tiff—Yes: always domestic; usually between husband and wife or lovers. [m]

Tilt—forge—known, but used only in minor placenames and in term “tilt hammer”.

As verb—used of any object. [m]

Touchwood—Yes; used as tinder for a handwarmer in a clay lidded box
called a “touch burner”. My father taught me to make these when I was a child.

**Tramp**—Yes; implies rather wearisome or long walk. [m]

**Tramper**—this is always “tramp”. [m]

**Trap**—Yes. [m]

**Trapes**—this sense not known. My mother frequently uses verb “trapse” (this is our spelling, though the pronunciation is as for *trapes*) to mean an inconvenient tiring task involving walking, e.g. “shopping in town”: always in form “trapping around (somewhere)” — Is this related?

**Tup**—Yes; but v. rarely used. Rams, and also ewes and sometimes cows and bulls and sometimes said to “tup (something)” when they butt with an upward movement of the head. Of humans and other animals, this seems always to be “butting”, which is normal term. [m]

**Tustle**—Yes (“tussle”).

**Twitch**—not used in these senses. As noun and verb refers to involuntary minor muscle spasm, including tics. [m]

[Twitchil—not known: this is always “passage” or “alley” or “jennel” (always so pronounced). [m]]

**Tyke**—a “rough person”; or a character, *male only*, often used to imply a tinge of humour; sometimes of brashness. Sometimes used as a reproach. “Tykes” are characteristically early to late middle-aged; and usually characterised by odd dress and/or behaviour. [m. very rarely used]

**Untidy**—Yes. Used as adjective. Also in form “make untidy”. [m]

**Upsidown**—the normal pron. of “upside-down” (with long “i”). [m. usually says “upside-down”].

**Urchin**—known but not used. [m, rarely]

**Waits**—knows of this, but not that they were paid.

**Wap**—Yes—used jocularly; always pronounced “Wop”. [m]

**Wapping**—Yes—always pron. “wopping”; usually “wopping great”. Also the term “a wopper”, for something large: usually used as an exaggeration, e.g. of a fish: “That’s a wopper!” My father’s pronunciation implies that the derivation is from “whopping/whopper”.

**Water**—not specifically a river; but sometimes used in this sense.

**Welsh**—Yes: this is familiar pronunciation, but only used jocularly. [m, jocularly, rarely]
Wheel—Yes.
While—Yes: I think only in the expressions “quite a while” (i.e. “rather a long time”) and “in a while”; and as normal alternative to “till”: so “Wait while I’ve done this” can mean “wait until . . . .”, or “wait during the time I am doing this.”

Whinney—Yes.[m]
Whins—knows “whin”, but always uses “gorse” or (less often) “furze”. [m. only uses “gorse”.
Whittle—Yes. “Whittling” is most often an idle pastime—sometimes a compulsive activity induced by boredom. [m, occasionally]
Also e.g. “I’ll w(h)ittle you down to size!” is jocular form of saying “I’ll get the better of you!”
Also used as verb to mean “anxious or unnecessary nagging or chattering”, e.g. “Stop w(h)ittling, will you!”—often said to my mother if she is fussing over something. [m]

Wick—not used for alive: sometimes used to describe a person who is clever and alert. [m]

Wizened—Yes, “withered”; ? not used.

Woodenly—Yes, to mean “awkwardly”; but not used.

Yake—thinks he knows this as a variant of “yank”—to pull sharply; uses “yank”.

Appendix: Thoresby to Ray

I have noted only a few words here as ones which my father knows or uses. (I have not noted ones already in Hunter’s list.)

Barr—knows meaning, but used only in place and street names. [m]
Bezle—always “embezzle”. [m]
Blare—not used for the action, but this is sound sometimes made when putting out tongue in play (“making faces”) with children. [m]
Bleak—Yes; but only in such forms as “it’s bleak here”, or “this is a bleak place”. [m]
Brakons—always “bracken”. [m]
Bumper—only as in “bumper crop”. [m, rarely]
Cape—a wall is “coped” with “coping stones”. [m?]
Char—lady—general (normal) term for a (domestic) cleaner. Has not used this term, I think, for some years: now “cleaner” or “cleaning lady”. [m, rarely]
Clughe—sometimes uses “clough”, but usually just “valley”. [m?]

Coits—sometimes used familiarly; usually “coats”.

Cragg—Yes: usually refers to a prominent or isolated rock face. Also “craggy”. [m, occasionally]

Creak—Yes. Bone joints also “creak”. [m]

Darne—Yes (“darn”). [m]

Deal—Yes. [m]

Fag—Yes. Always as “fag end”. Occasional. [m]

Far—Yes.

Flask—used only of “Thermos flask”, and of large individual, metal flasks.

Fling—Yes. More or less only familiarly. [m]

Fodder—used only as noun. Mostly for animal food—but also in the stock phrase “Fodder fodder fire” (i.e. “fodder for the fire”). [m]

Fur—this pronunciation is as common as “far”.

Gaup—Yes. [m] [See “Gawm”].

Gawk-hand—Not known. Uses term “cack-handed” (but not “cack-hand”). [m]

Geen—No: familiarly often uses “gen” instead of “given”.

Geslings—always “goslings”. [m]

Glizzen—always “glissen”. [m]

Lag—Yes: usually “lag behind”. [m]

Lug—See main list. Ears—yes.

Used frequently for “pull (something heavy)”.

Moofin—“muffin” known for “oatcake”, but rarely used. [m]

Mucky—see muck in main list.

Parrisht—Yes: always “perished”. Also, e.g. “It’s perishing outside.” [m]

Pat—only in “(He’s) got it off pat!” [m]

Pucker—Yes. [m]

Quite—No: never means “entirely”, always used for “somewhat—but not much—less than entirely”. [m]

Scream—Yes. [m]

Shill—Yes: always “shell”. [m]

Skimmer—Uses “shimmer”—this always implies a movement, as “twinkling”. [m]

Smithy—Yes. Infrequent.

Snift—this is always “sniff”. [m]

Sod—usually “a turf with some soil”, but often used for “a lump of soil
(without the turf)”. [m, rarely]

Sonter—uses “saunter” occasionally. [m]

Squat—does not imply “cower”. [m]

Stawk—“stalk”. [m]

Stiddy—knows the word, but unsure of its precise meaning. Always uses “anvil”.

Streik—No: always “stretch”. [m]

Swaithe—Yes. Does not know “swaithe bauk”. [m, rarely]

Swamp—Yes: used indifferently for “marsh” and “bog”. [m]

Tipsy—Yes. [m]

Topple—Yes. [m]

Topsy-turvy—Yes. [m]

Wane—used only of the moon. Rare. [m]

Wee-bit—used only in baby-talk. [m]

Whamire—uses “quagmire”. [m]

White—see whittle in main list. Does not know “to white”. [m]

Yall—uses “yell” for “loud shout”. [m]

Yeast—usually called “barm”. [m]

Yews—this is pronunciation of ewes. [m]

Appendix II: Watson

The only words in this list known and/or used are:

Crag. [m]
Creese—“crease”. [m]
Cobbles. [m]
Dike. [m, rarely]

[Flaights—a Rivelin placename “Flatts” is used—I think this is not an “official” name. It is a rough area of scrub. [m]]

Gantry—see main list.

Gawm—Not known. The only use is in term “gawmless” (which we have always written gormless, I think)—meaning “daft”, “soft in the head”. Someone who “gaups” a lot might be said to be “gawmless”. [m]

Lake—see main list.

Spool—(but not a quill.) [m]

Soppy—things are “sopping wet”. [m]
The 759 main entries of Hunter's Glossary could be classified in a number of ways. One that is useful to my personal interest gives a fourfold scheme:
Examples from *Glossary* entries for letters F and G show how this scheme works.

(I) Known and used as in Hunter; regular term:  
*fall out, fend (b), fuss;*

(J) Known and used as in Hunter; irregular term:  
*fancy, flit;*

(G) Known and used; but either (i) *part of* Hunter’s item is used:  
*filly-foal [filly is used];*
*or* Hunter’s item is used *as part of* an expression:  
*fettle [fine fettle is used];*

(K) Known and used, but *not* as in Hunter; regular term:  
*feast, fit;*

(L) Known and used, but *not* as in Hunter; irregular term:  
*gantry;*

(E) Known, but *not used*; understood as in Hunter:  
*gifts;*

(C) Not known:  
*fain, farantly, feigh, fend (a), flaker, flasket, foomart, ....*

(B) Spelling and/or pronunciation variants:  
*fasch, fon/fun.*

Even if for some of the entries they are unreliable, taken en masse the categorisations are probably satisfactory as an “objective” analysis of the data. Figure 2 (opposite) offers a statistical analysis of my father’s knowledge of all the main-entry items in the *Glossary.*

What do these numbers mean? My father appears to know some 344 items—316, or about 42%, excluding items merely recording spelling and/or pronunciation variants. Of these 316, he *uses* the large majority (about 92%), and these mostly (well over 80%) with more or less the meanings recorded by Hunter. Whether or not these figures would be expected, I have no means of telling. That would require comparison with data for a number of other persons from the same locality. Readers might like to collect more samples ... They do, however, indicate that a significant proportion of the items Hunter collected in the early nineteenth century are still alive in the everyday speech of some Sheffieliders; and that there has probably been relatively little drift in the meaning of most of them.

There is a small residue of “known” items (about 8%) that do not appear in my father’s speech, although he understands them. This is an interesting group, composed of several elements. There are, first, a few that are part of my mother’s occasional vocabulary: e.g. *gifts, tharff-cake* (usually “parkin”).
An Example of Survival in Sheffield Speech

Figure 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a) number of items (x)</th>
<th>(b) percentage of total Glossary items</th>
<th>(c) percentage of preceding (x)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) 316</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>41.6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) 28</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(C) 415</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>54.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(D) 291</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) 25</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>(F) 244</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(G) 12</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>(H) 12.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) 154</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>63.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>(J) 36.9</td>
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<td>(K) 17</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>48.6</td>
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<td>(L) 51.4</td>
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</tbody>
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At least one item he has learnt from me: *lords and ladies* (usually "*wild arum*", sometimes "*cuckoo pint" — but I suspect the latter is also from me). *Wild arum* is a bookish name, whereas *lords and ladies* is vernacular
through most of England: *wild arum* has probably been adopted via my father’s gardening interests. A few other words in Hunter’s list he has probably net from reading (and radio and television), but not in local conversation: *brock, boggard, ?gibberish* (and “gibbering idiot”); and the distinctly bookish *don* and *doff, lite upon*, and *throng*. *Puke* is a “vulgarism”, and not used for that reason.

Unlike Hunter, he would perhaps not have found it difficult “to distinguish the archaism from the vulgarism”. Except, of course, that he does not consider himself archaic! ....

**Notes and References**

2. *Gifts* is in fact found in my mother’s speech.
4. Hunter’s *Hallamshire Glossary* has two appendices: (i) a collection of Yorkshire West Riding words gathered in 1703 and published by John Ray in 1718; and (ii) a list of “uncommon words used in Halifax” (YWR), published in 1775. These are annotated here, but have not been analysed except to note that some 12% of the 527 entries in the former and 8% of the 241 in the latter are understood by my father—sometimes not in the senses recorded.
5. One comparison that can be offered is with my own experience. A childhood in Walkley, an academic career, and a dilettante interest in words, enabled me to read through the *Glossary* and recognise about half the items included (49%). A number of these, of course, I understand in senses other than those Hunter recorded. About 30%, I estimate, I actually *use* (albeit rarely in many cases); 19% I would not use: I hear them in local speech—or I read them. With many of these words, “use” means *write* rather than speak.
Reviews


The role of “political jokes” in Eastern Europe has long been recognised as a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The political impact and role of what is essentially an anti-state verbal underground is undoubted. The cynical acceptance of a certain amount of informal, humorous criticism as a social safety valve is part of the mechanism of repression that is managed by the KGB and its equivalents in the satellite states. Party members share the jokes, and the system generally pounces only on jokers who are misguided enough to commit other offences against the hegemony of the regime (whereupon “slander” against the state is taken into consideration as a further offence).

After a brief introduction, Banc and Dundes offer a selection of each of the types of joke that they have defined. They give extensive notes to almost all of them, indicating how widespread in the soviet bloc are the same frustrations and concern which give rise frequently to the independent generation of the same joke in different countries (though a very rapid transmission system between countries also carries many of the stories out from a single source). The jokes represent the audible expression of the vast invisible and inaudible underground in the soviet system. One example, which in 1966 was current in Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest, Belgrade, East Berlin, Prague and Warsaw (with a different name in the “title role” for each country) runs as follows:

Three men meet in prison and one asks the other two why they are there. The first says, “I went onto the street and shouted ‘Down with Vasile Luca’”. The second says “Oh, I shouted ‘Long live Vasile Luca’”. They turned to the other one, inquiringly, and he said “I am Vasile Luca.”

By definition, this kind of humour is bitter within and pathetic (in the true sense) from outside. It is also the strongest oral system alive in Europe today, lying at the very heart of the living cultural tradition of over three hundred million people.

D.E. Bland

BREARS, Peter, Traditional Food in Yorkshire, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1987, 232pp., £8.50.

We are left in no doubt that the author, Peter Brears, Director of Leeds City Museum, is an expert par excellence on traditional food in Yorkshire. This book is a study of food and drink in ordinary Yorkshire homes in the nineteenth century. Each area in the county had its own distinctive way of life and the author compares
the lifestyles, working conditions, living conditions and meals of various workers. The authentic illustrations add greatly to the interest of the volume.

Having tried out some of the recipes and, indeed, recognised some recipes handed down in my own part of Yorkshire, I can vouch for the fact that they are economical, simple to make and quite substantial enough to satisfy those Yorkshiremen who still use the old West Riding ‘Grace before Meat—‘God bless us all an’ make us able ta eit al t’stuff what’s on this table.’”

A book to keep and treasure.

D. Bottomley


This book is an up-to-date and informative review of its field. There are attractive and useful drawings, both of building exteriors (there is a significant dearth of interior pictures) and of structural details. The organisation of the book is sensible and effective. Though there is a brief bibliography there are no footnotes: this makes more necessary the frequent references in the text to researchers on whose work the author draws.

Mr. Brown does not make any significant addition to the pool of knowledge about his subject: rather, he lays out what is known clearly in his own way. His book will be of use to those with a special interest in the field, and will induce in any general reader who picks it up a sound awareness of this important surviving feature of the English landscape.

D.E. Bland


The best thing about this book is its sheer credibility. Judith Cook has encouraged her subjects to talk (or has, in a couple of cases, taken diaries that qualify as memoirs) and has thereby made her own the memories of a wide range of British people. The result is as delightful as it is informative. Life in the past as it is remembered by living people involved physical and social dangers that have largely been overcome for younger generations, but the accounts of physical and psychological pain which form some part of virtually every contribution to the book are acceptable in their context which is that of the richness of simple life.

Those who gave Ms. Cook her information show how coherent in expression, profound in analysis and clear in perception “ordinary” people can be. Their memories are clear and virtually every sentence of recorded speech in the book rings true.
Thus there is here a significant contribution to oral history and social history, with wide relevance for those in related fields. The organisation of the book into three sections, on the “harvest” from mines and quarries, the harvesting of the sea and of the land (including the necessary process by which crops become beer), makes it possible to give shape to the reminiscences that might not otherwise be achieved so clearly: thus that works, as well, to make the book an all-round success. The patchy quality and relevance of the illustrations does not detract from the excellent impression that this book makes.

D.E. Bland


This is a matter-of-fact “life and times, of my mum”. The effective dates of the period covered are from 1893 to 1973, these marking the lifespan of Grace Bramall (née Spenceley). The “rural area” in which the book is set is that to the east and south of Penistone, an area that many folk in other parts of England would consider an industrial zone of the blackest kind. It will be helpful to readers from other parts of the country to see how the farmers who live between the industrial towns perceive themselves. The Bramalls could be farmer-butchers easily because their farmstead was in close proximity to the railway town of Penistone, the steel cities of Sheffield and Rotherham, and a dozen mill towns and villages. They were near their market but they felt themselves to be aloof from it, socially and in their perception of their social role. That their home was provided with electric power only after the accession of Queen Elizabeth II, when Queen Victoria had opened Sheffield Town Hall nearby using an electric switch, shows that there was substance in “Grace” (as the book always calls her) feeling herself part of an order distinct from that of the towns.

Everything else that happened to the Englishwoman of her day befell Grace: two world wars, widowhood and a child lost to illness; bad times and good friends; a close family and plenty of work to be done. The story is told simply and clearly: the tale of everywoman for everyone, “like it was”.

D.E. Bland


In late 1977 John Egerton set out in search of an American family whom he could present to readers as a metaphor for the United States of America. His research led him to the Lancaster, Kentucky, home of Curtis Burnam Ledford, aged 101, and
Addie King Ledford, 93, who had been married for seventy four years. With nine surviving children, thirty two grandchildren, and thirty nine great-grandchildren, this far-flung family was ideal for developing a family portrait that would embrace nine generations and two and a half centuries.

About a hundred members of the Ledford immediate family produced scores of hours of audiotapes and more than a thousand pages of transcription and notes. The result is a striking survey of the social history of an American middle-class family. Whilst giving this book an adequate recommendation for students of American Social History, it is regrettable that the impact of an otherwise interesting volume is marred by the often rather poor typescript format which is hard on the eyes. Patchy printed pages take the reader to the twelfth chapter called “Children of Burnam and Addie” which page 149 heralds in predominantly poor typescript. One feels bound to express a degree of concern at the deteriorating printing standards in such productions. It is hoped that the technological difficulties of printing will not impede the progress of artistic endeavours.

W. Bennett


If Rachael Feild had written a Collector’s Guide to Antique Cooking Equipment, it is clear she could have made a very good job of it. Her illustrations are mostly appropriate for such a venture, and when she is dealing with such data in the text her work is generally sound.

But, oh dear, when she attempts general history she is by turns annoying and embarrassing: annoying in her inaccuracy and embarrassing in the manner of her expression. Among the dozens of examples, we find that syphilis was introduced to Europe much earlier than history has formerly recorded:

“When the crusaders returned, with sodomy and syphilis, cinnamon and mace”  
(p.2)

When writing of pre-Norman England, we are told that certain dishes were “known as pottages” (not, presumably, to Saxon speakers). Norman England’s import of spices is contrasted with a (completely imaginary) isolation of Anglo-Saxon England from world trade (p.14). It is indeed generally accepted (as Ms. Feild asserts) that “until the end of the seventeenth century meat was tough and stringy” (p.54) from the cattle and sheep that were then bred and brought to adult life: but that is precisely why lamb, veal, sucking pig, poultry, rabbits and game were so popular. The description of black pudding making on page 56 is absurd; blood was drawn from the animal into a lading can, and then used later for the puddings (while Ms. Feild writes that “blood was caught in bowls filled with hot boiled corn, barley, oats or pulse”).
The foregoing selection is taken almost at random from extensive notes that were taken as one went through the book. And what a pity, because there is so much knowledge and sound sense in this book on cooking equipment since the accession of Queen Anne. If one could confine one's attention to that, one could enjoy this book and draw from it what is good: but the absurdities of the attempt to write a general history intrude continually, and devalue the whole thing.

D.E. Bland


This series of essays is divided into three parts, dealing with yokes and oxen, turf and seaweed manure, and turf and peat respectively. The varying role of oxen in ploughing in different parts of Britain through the centuries is examined in relation both to the types of land worked and the dependence on horses. The number and type of animals in a plough team varied with the need to fatten oxen for slaughter. The types of yoke found are illustrated in detail, resulting in a comprehensive collection which will also be of great interest to archaeologists.

The use of seaweed as manure depended not only on the type of seaweed, but also on the type of soil in the area and the distance and ease of transportation before use. These considerations also hold true for the way peat was cut and used for fuel; likewise the peat spades and tuskers varied with the strata in the peat formation and whether the peat-cutter had an assistant. Some spades were made commercially, others by local blacksmiths. Again there is an excellent array of detailed annotated drawings of the various implements. Very early examples of Scottish spades are shown, their shapes and designs preserved through their depiction on tombstones.

The final essay gives an account of peat cutting in Fetlar in the 1960s, and has the special merit of explaining many technical and dialectal terms used. Transportation of the peat was a significant factor as the supplies of good quality peat were some distance from the townships. Though this discussion refers to life within the last thirty years, it has drastically changed today, as virtually all the owners of the peat-houses have died and an age-old tradition is seen to be in rapid decline.

J.C. Massey


At first glance only, the inclusion of thirty short articles in an A4 format looks like
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an ephemeral exercise. That impression vanishes as the nature of the contributions becomes clear. This book is a very substantial tribute to the lady to whom it was presented, and (much more importantly) it is a collation of valuable pieces of writing on aspects of the history, archaeology, geology and lore of one of the finest and most individual counties of England.

The articles are selected to reflect the broad range of Mrs. Rudkin's own interests. There are some pieces by her fellow amateurs and others by professional scholars, curators and archivists. The evenness of quality across this spectrum reveals very well the community of scholarship that exists in local history and folklore studies: of course, the emphasis varies and the style differs, but every piece holds its place in a collection of permanent value.

Keith Miller's article on canine apparitions has its horrid fascination; the economic historian is feasted on enclosure and artefacts; the linguistics scholar benefits from pieces by John Widdowson and Stanley Ellis. This is just a small sample. The book is an essential for anyone interested in Lincolnshire: long may it be available.

D.E. Bland


For many years Professor Fowler has campaigned almost single-handedly for a more linguistic study of literature and he remains the doyen of those who write on this topic. Now that his message seems to be making a greater impact on literary critics, it is appropriate that he should distil much of his teaching in this new book. His readers are assumed to have some familiarity with linguistics and to have reached a certain level of sophistication as readers of literature. His book verges therefore somewhat to the theoretical in that he tries to show how in principle linguistics can help the reader of literature. In fact this book echoes some of the points made in his *Literature as Social Discourse* and is based on the premise that literature is primarily the mode of a realisation of discourse. In other words the language exists as an entity in itself with its own rules and structures. A writer, whether literary or not, can only exploit those conditions in his own work. Unless we understand the conventions of the discourse at the time the writer is working, we may easily fail to understand what he is trying to put across. Hence the book has to explain what discourse is and how it can be realised in a text. There are many examples, which are analysed with Professor Fowler's usual acuity. This is an excellent book to explain what discourse is and how an understanding of it can help appreciation of poetry. It is also a work which pays proper attention to the historical dimension of literature, for only a tiny proportion of what we read as literature is actually written in our own contemporary discourse.

N.F. Blake

This highly-adjectivalised book condenses the history of the Maya (so far as it is known), of their civilisation’s destruction by the Spanish and of the rediscovery of the survivals of that society since the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It is a useful general guide, with a lot of discernible if cheaply-produced illustrations. The map at the beginning is a useful guide to relative location, though not to topography or climatic zones. Like the overwhelming majority of books on this area of the world, it offers only the most vestigial phonetic guide to the Maya words that are used and thus leaves them incapable of being formulated in the reader’s aural mind. The impact of this almost-conventional omission is to ensure that the reader is incapable of spoken communication or discussion of the topic, which leaves the book unchallenged by the normal process of conversational criticism.

Despite the faults, if faults they be, that are listed above, the book succeeds in its objective of giving the reader a broad and adequate introduction to the subject which it covers. It makes no pretence to be a contribution to academic debate about the rise and (pre-conquest) fall of the Maya civilisation, but it does offer a racy and robust account that leaves the general reader generally better informed than he would be without it.

D.E. Bland


Professor Eugenio Garin, one of Italy’s leading Renaissance scholars, traces the nature and role of astrology in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As he describes the period when science became established as a separate discipline it is realised that the Renaissance was also the time when astrology was shunned and derided by both Church and humanist; its learnings were dismissed as mere superstition. The conclusions of Professor Garin have a relevance for astrology in our own time when one considers recent events. Russell Grant was refused permission to cast horoscopes for a charity fete recently and had his work dubbed as “the work of the devil” by the local vicar. The cleric went on to say that astrology was total superstition, his anxious tone conveying the fear he felt of the unknown.

In *Astrology in the Renaissance*, Professor Garin shows that the battle over astrology touched on every aspect of culture. He offers a decisive contribution to new scientific knowledge of conceptions of reality. Can astrology bridge the dichotomy between the “sciences” and the “ideals”? Can the poetic visions and the hope of men overcome scientific rationale? Should dreams and myths be ignored in critical reflection? He concludes that the struggle between the two sides of astrology—science and superstition, astronomy and divination—was more difficult
and prolonged during the Renaissance than is usually realised.

This lucid and incisive text was translated by Carolyn Jackson and June Allen with the subsequent translation further revised in conjunction with the author by Clare Robertson. Definitely a book for the scholar who wishes to develop a deeper understanding of the role of astrology and astrological ideas during the Renaissance period when science as we know it today was still in the cradle of pure rationalisation.

W. Bennett


This is an interesting piece of architectural exploration of one of the best known of English epistolary novels. It does not study the construction of the book, primarily, but seeks to erect a model of the “space” that is at crucial points taken away from the heroine. The house (whether Clarissa’s family home or Mrs Sinclair’s brothel) is open house to the limited public that is entitled to frequent it; within that space the individual member of the household maintains her freedom by having control of a private area. When that area is violated, a spatial analogy of rape mirrors the rape which the novel records.

The letters of which the novel is formed are the private communications that are written by a person who has the freedom of a private space in which to write them, implicitly addressed to a person who will open and assimilate them in an equally private environment. The thesis of this book on *Clarissa* is pushed to excess at points, not least in the quotation that heads Chapter Five, “Reception rooms are arranged in pairs”, but in general it is a well sustained and satisfying argument.

A great deal of background data on eighteenth century houses in their context (rural and urban) is brought to bear on the argument—all of it English, except for an obligatory citation of Palladio. The selection is so particular to the particular case that is being made in the book, however, that it cannot be recommended as a work of general interest on architecture in fiction in the eighteenth century. It is a book about a book, which is no more and no less than is promised in the title.

D.E. Bland


Towards the end of this book Mr Grice quotes a woman who knew Kilvert: “Yes, he was a good man; if he had not been a good man he would have been a very
dangerous man.” How accurate a diagnosis this seems! Kilvert’s diary gives his readers immense pleasure in the vivid scenes it portrays of rural Victorian life; the young curate is such a commendable and candid man, vigorous, dedicated and socially concerned. He captivates his readers, only occasionally disturbing them by the cloying nature of his affection and the quirks of his personality. But then out of the blue he remarks that the bare flesh of a girl’s buttocks, exposed on a swing, was “in excellent whipping condition”. The reverend gentleman obviously had a darker side to his nature.

Mr Grice has collected a great deal of information about Kilvert’s life and times, including anecdotal and additional material about the principal characters who appear in the diary. He includes several old photographs of people and places, which help to give a feel for the period and which perhaps confirm the adage that “beauty is in the eye of the beholder” as far as feminine charms are concerned. He also holds out hopes that further parts of the diary might yet be found.

The book certainly adds to our knowledge of Kilvert’s world, but what we really need is a full-scale study of Clyro, based on the 1871 census return (the diary starts in 1870), large-scale maps and any other local sources of information about the remote parish where Kilvert served as curate. The diary is such an important source for social history that Clyro deserves full treatment in this way.

D. Hey


This book begins: “Here are a few questions for you to practice on . . .

Are you  a  living in the Peak District?
   b  a frequent visitor?
   c  exploring the area for the first time?
   d  passing through, en route to somewhere else?

If you answer ‘yes’ to any of these questions, this book is written for you—because . . .

   a  if you live in The Peak District, you will probably know so much about the region, you will enjoy confirming your knowledge by getting all the answers right.
   b  if you visit it often, but don’t feel that you are quite up to ‘Mastermind’ standard, you will enjoy getting most of the answers right.
   c  if you are visiting it for the first time, you will want to know more about it by looking up the answers,

and

   d  if you are just passing through, both questions and answers will make you want to return and explore its many delights for yourself.”
This book was no challenge to this reviewer as it reviews itself! As straightforward competition or as a personal information guide *The Peak District Quiz Book* is in a class of its own. Barbara Hall offers everyone the opportunity to find both the fun and the folklore abounding in this region of great scenic beauty.

**W. Bennett**


This book tackles a vast and complex subject. Although the bounds of Nigeria were set by Britain, the cultural and political entities that make up the country have great antiquity that matches their diversity. The creative impact of the "colonial interlude" is downgraded beyond what is reasonable, according to fashion, but in other respects the book is balanced as it is always well-informed.

The scholarship that underlies this study is impressive and profound. The book requires close and careful reading, because it makes few concessions to a foreigner's ignorance of the data; but it maintains both narrative pace and factual strength throughout its length. The decade that has elapsed since the end of the period the book covers has been no less exciting for Nigeria than any earlier spell of time, but may not have been to the author's taste in all respects.

The author succeeds in her purpose of presenting a "non elitist" account of the history of black Africa's greatest power.

**D.E. Bland**


This book was written as part of the publication peak that surrounded the ninth centenary of the preparation of Domesday. In this case, the objective is to try in a very small space to give an outline of the evidence that remains of human activity in England before the unique systematic review that was inaugurated by William the Conqueror.

It succeeds in introducing some things, with helpful illustrations. But it is necessarily selective, and in no sense does it go beyond first principles. All in all, this seems to be a book for an occasion rather than one with a purpose.

**D.E. Bland**

This book has been designed to fill a gap in our information about reading and spelling disabilities. Jorm points out that most books on dyslexia are “how to” remedial guides for parents and teachers, and as an alternative offers another approach to the problem. He sets out to describe and explain reading and spelling disabilities in terms of recent advances in cognitive psychology. Unless we understand the processes involved in normal reading and writing, he argues, we cannot begin to guess what is going wrong for the dyslexic child.

In the introductory chapter, the book begins by making distinctions between various types of literacy problems related to specific reading/spelling retardation (a term he prefers to the more common “developmental dyslexia”). Thus types of reading disability may be formulated as “general reading backwardness”, “specific reading retardation”, or “comprehension disabilities”. Among poor spellers he distinguishes two classes—those who are retarded in both reading and spelling, and those who suffer only from spelling disabilities. Four of the seven chapters which follow deal with the psychology of reading difficulties, one with comprehension disabilities and one with spelling. In a final chapter he discusses experimental studies which may throw light on remediation, prediction and prevention.

For each topic, the author gives brief and lucid explanations of current research in cognitive psychology which helps to elucidate what goes wrong when a child fails to read and write as well as may be predicted from his/her general level of intelligence. It is rather difficult to draw many firm conclusions here for much of the experimental work arrives at conflicting conclusions: but there are some areas of agreement. It would seem, for example, that reading retardates have a less well-developed left hemisphere of the brain, and, specifically, less responsiveness to stimulation in the left parietal region.

The other area of agreement seems to be that reading and spelling retardates have a deficiency in phonological coding. Though their memory for meaning is as good as a normal reader’s, their ability to translate meaning into sound quickly, and to hold that sound in memory, is less well developed. Specifically they appear to suffer from a deficiency in working memory related to the “articulatory loop” system (Baddeley and Hitch 1974)—that is, the process whereby information can be held for brief periods by repeating or recalling the spoken word. Thus dyslexic children, as well as failing to recall the word for the visual shape on the page, are also unable to repeat short messages verbatim, remember telephone numbers, reel off the months of the year in sequence, and so on.

As far as spelling disabilities go, one of the interesting points Jorm makes is that spelling-only disabilities may say more about the difficulties and inconsistencies of English spelling than about the nature of dyslexia. Children retarded in spelling-only make different sorts of mistakes than children retarded in spelling and
reading. The mistakes of the former group indicate no failure to understand sound-to-print rules: what they do show is that the child has not yet mastered the complex contextual rules which shape the representation of a given sound in English. Reading-and-spelling retardates, on the other hand, seem to have difficulty in even beginning to reason out how to spell a word, and succeed best where they can memorise the whole shape of a word as a visual image. With tongue-in-cheek, Jorm suggests that the best remedy for the disability is a good secretary.

In his concluding chapter, however, he proposes a less expensive solution. Current work indicates that potential reading difficulties can be detected early, before or on arrival at school: surely, he argues, it is not beyond the powers of educators to devise a teaching system for such children? He reviews three possible approaches to remedial teaching. One approach is to diagnose and remedy the basic cognitive difficulties in order to prepare the child for the acquisition of language skills. Another is “compensatory teaching” in which the educator learns to recognise the child’s natural abilities and creates a special reading programme geared to those skills. Alternatively, a teacher may simply give more time and individual attention to the slow reader. This last approach, Jorm claims, produces the best results, though compensatory teaching may prove in the future also to be useful.

Trainee teachers, parents of dyslexic children, and students of psychology and linguistics may all find this sober and lucid account of interest. It is only of recent years that the slow reader has been recognised as having problems not of his/her own making, the results of surliness, unco-operativeness or plain stupidity. Books such as this are extremely useful in expanding our understanding of a problem that brings misery to thousands of children and adults.

G. Bennett


Over 11,000 rural parishes in England and Wales were surveyed during the years after the passing of the 1836 Tithe Commutation Act. The large scale plans and schedules that survive in the Public Record Office and the ancient diocesan record offices are a major source for the study of the countryside upon the accession of Queen Victoria. The schedules record the names of owners and occupiers, field names, acreage and the uses to which the land was put. Together with the accompanying maps they provide a marvellous source for reconstructing the landscape and agrarian communities.

In this book two distinguished historical geographers give a full explanation of the tithe system, the 1836 Act, the nature of the records and the many uses to which the evidence can be put. They show how to reconstruct field systems, land
use, farming practices and rural social structure from “the most detailed and important national inventory” taken between Domesday Book and the twentieth century.

D. Hey


The more the reader knows about folklore scholarship and about the Isle of Man the more Margaret Killip’s book can be appreciated. Her history of folklore collection in the Isle of Man parallels that of many other areas and makes a good case study for the discussion of changing approaches to fieldwork. Similarly the conclusions of those chapters which explain how the traditional beliefs have been modified for the tourist trade, furnish data on the boundary between folklore and fakelore.

For those who know the island it is a delight to see a balanced account of Manx folklore which manages to avoid the pitfalls awaiting the unwary folklorist in the Isle of Man. She has avoided becoming excessively embroiled in the discussions of (i) Celtic and Viking origins, (ii) the influence of “come-overs”, and (iii) amateur studies of Manx lore. It is easy to treat Manx folklore as part of national identity and then label items as Celtic or Scandinavian or to claim that they are recent introductions by English “come-overs”. Margaret Killip tends to discuss her material in terms of Irish parallels but she is restrained in attributing Celtic origins. As a result, she omits reference to many amateur folklore studies which have taken a firm stand on this. Similarly, she avoids discussion of the recent revival of Scandinavian style rituals such as the Peel Viking festival. As this could be classified as fakelore she is justified in this, but because it does mean that she cannot explore the reasons for this revival. My suspicion is that until recently an emphasis on Celtic origins enabled the Manx to differentiate themselves from English visitors and “come-overs”, but today with the influx of Irish visitors this is ineffective and as a result a Viking emphasis has emerged in rituals, together with studies showing parallels between Manx and Viking culture and customs. She also ignores the folklore of the English “come-overs”. For example, she discusses traditional Manx witchcraft without reference to the briefly imported museum of black magic and the British style covens which may have originated with it. Similarly imported ceremonies like the Peel and Douglas carnivals are ignored.

As a result of her choice of topics and approaches she has produced a sound introduction to Manx folklore and a valuable vademecum. As a consequence of reading it my enjoyment and understanding of the celebration of Old Christmas Eve on the 5th of January 1987 in a Manx village were increased by her data on Christmas customs.
Manx folklore, while having similarities with Scandinavian, Celtic and English folklore, has had its own history and is uniquely Manx. Killip discusses many of the factors that make it different such as the Manx ecology and Manx Methodism but does not attempt to write a history of the folklore which results in the necessity of checking the dates of references to specify when items were current.

It is good to have a paperback reissue of this 1975 hardback volume on Manx Folklore, making it once more available to scholars and visitors to Man.

C.J.M.R. Gullick


This thoroughly nice little book tells a tale of which most people in the U.K. know a little: Scots oats are a well-digested part of the national diet. With a few relevant photographs and drawings, Wallace Lockhart outlines the methods that have been used to grow, mill and serve oats. The recipes at the back are extremely useful, ranging over the full spread of oatmeal and oat foods mentioned in the text. The versatility of this sometimes derided crop is thus well demonstrated. Though small, this is no slight book.

D.E. Bland


Holy wells of Ireland are still prized for their healing powers and are visited, particularly on the Saints’ or “Pattern” days. Walking barefoot or on hands and knees around a well, sometimes on a cold winter’s day, to promote healing might seem to some of us a painful way to cure complaints including backache, eye disease, headache, mental illness and childlessness (though perhaps less controversial to the Roman Catholic Church than modern medical methods). However, cases of various cures are quoted. The author chooses not to scoff at these sometimes miraculous cures or the belief in supernatural fish, moving stones and holy trees; but appreciates that these pilgrimages fulfil the spiritual and psychological needs of the people. In fact, he quotes the story of a Dr Ball who, wishing to demonstrate his scientific disbelief, shot a supernatural trout, whereupon a cloud obscured the sun and the trout.

Photographs of the crowds who sometimes attend, amounting to thousands we are told, would have added to the interest of this book. All the same, it is a fascinating work which gives us an insight into the customs attached to these Irish wells.

D. Bottomley
MacCOLL, Ewan and Peggy SEEGER, Till Doomsday in the Afternoon: the folklore of a family of Scots Travellers, the Stewarts of Blairgowrie, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986, £25.00.

In their magnificent Travellers' Songs from England and Scotland (1977), Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger made occasional reference to their longstanding friendship with Belle Stewart and her family, but said that their large repertoire of songs and stories would be given a volume to themselves. They have now made good that promise under a different imprint but at double the price of Travellers' Songs which, in a shameful practice which has become increasingly common recently, was remaindered within a year or two of publication. This is doubly regrettable because Till Doomsday in the Afternoon depends crucially on positions established in the earlier volume. It is a much less ambitious work, aiming at little more than making accessible a selection of the many tales, riddles, children's rhymes, traditional songs and "mak'-ye-ups" of this remarkable family. Their book is best seen as a slice of oral tradition relating to the Stewarts than as a study or compendium of their astonishing output.

The book opens with an introduction largely made up of the Stewarts' own accounts of their lives and ways. It is to a great extent unmediated; the details of Belle's birth, for example are given in her own words:

I was born in a bow-tent at half-past-two on a Wednesday morning, on the eighteenth of July, 1906. It was at a place ca'd Claypotts Farm, on the bank o' the river Tay no' far frae Dunkeld, and I was registered in the parish o' Caputh. My faither was pearl-fishing at Tay, and he got a braw pearl that day. Mind ye, I was the first lassie born to him, so he used aye to say to my mither: "Well, well, how could one man be so lucky? I got twa pearls in one day." (p.5)

This is an appealing speaking style, and transfers well into print, and MacColl's and Seeger's assurances of her "meticulousness" in such matters all but convinces us that this is equivalent to the more usual introductory biography. It comes therefore as a surprise to find that Hamish Henderson and James Porter, who both know Belle well, give 1902 and 1907 respectively as her birthdate. The editorial touch has certainly lightened considerably since Travellers' Songs.

It is good to find a frank acknowledgement of the alienated—and alienating—role of collectors and the ruinous effect of giving performances before totally unknown audiences. In the first case,

we have entered into the orbit of their family groups, bringing with us concepts, values and attitudes which have forced them to regard themselves in a new light. They have discovered that their songs and stories are held in high esteem by scholars. (p. 33)

The great popularity of the Stewarts, first among the many visitors to the Blairgowrie berryfields, then in numerous ceilidhs and at folk festivals in Britain and the United States, and since 1965 on numerous records, has been entirely
deserved. Belle's daughters Sheila MacGregor and Cathie Higgins, who are well represented in this book, have magnificent voices—indeed on a recent rare visit to the south of England, Sheila was described as "about the finest living traditional singer in Britain today".\(^2\) The price of being regarded by the mass entertainment industry as what MacColl and Seeger call "viable commodities" (p.33) has been high—it has killed the goose that laid the golden eggs:

Between 1968 and 1972 we succeeded in recording again most of the stories songs and ballads that we had first recorded in 1960. A comparison of the two sets of recordings shows that, as far as the songs are concerned, scarcely any melodic changes have occurred and the few textual changes are limited to an occasional word. Further recordings made between 1972 and 1979 produced similar results. Furthermore, during the entire period of our recording programme, a stretch of nineteen years, scarcely any new items have been added to the family repertoire of songs and ballads. From this it may be assumed that the Stewart family repertoire, and the individual items in it, had crystallised at some point before 1960. (p.ix)

The extent of the loss is clear from the main body of the book, which presents a fine selection of their repertoire, both spoken and sung. A selection of thirty-five folktales is included, many of them by Belle's late husband Alec (who appears in a (male) family group on the dust jacket and in one of the three plates; disappointingly, no photographs of Belle or Cathy are included). These tales are printed in "clean" texts—the editors have eliminated hesitations and incomplete sentences, and they do not follow J.P. Clark's pioneering example in *The Ozidi Saga* (1977) of including audience interjections and laughter. These tales represent only a tiny part of the family's store. Some have been printed elsewhere, for example in *Tocher 21* (1976), and understandably, they had to omit a rambling 54-minute version of "The Black Bull of Norrowa".

The 71 traditional songs are carefully printed (barring some impossible musical transcriptions, such as that for "Oxford City"). The editors are careful to point out that irregularities and "fragmentary" versions are often perceived as such only by collectors wading through a mire of standardised precedents—the Stewarts see them as coherent, and "irregular" stanzas—such as the second one of "The Overgate"—often stay that way in repeated performances. The headnotes are considerably shorter than in *Travellers' Songs*, where they often formed masterpieces of compressed insight (those for "The Wexford Girl" and "Died for Love", for example). Here the bibliographical detail has been moved to an Appendix, and no discography has been included at all. This makes it very difficult to place each printed performance in the dynamic context of the family’s total repertoire, particularly as only one version of each is given (again, unlike *Travellers' Songs*). Thus Sheila MacGregor’s "Twa Brothers" (Child 49) is one or sometimes two stanzas longer than her mother’s, but it is not given for comparison. Her set of "Blue Blazing Blind Drunk" is described as "learned from her mother", but without the crucial fact that Belle’s version has an extra stanza, dropped by Sheila, which justified the man's wife-
beating on the grounds that she was a fortune-hunter. MacColl and Seeger must have known this, even if Ailie Munroe’s text of Belle’s version in *The Folk Music Revival in Scotland* (1985) came too late for the bibliography, which gives no references at all for the song.

The final section of the book is made up of fifteen of Belle’s Mak’-ye-ups, poems and songs written after her children had grown up and married. They include the famous “Berryfields of Blair”. Many of these make use of travellers’ cant, and the most original and careful section of the book is the eighteen-page account of its origins and current usage. It is fascinating to read that

we showed the Stewarts a copy of *The Gulls’ Horn Book*, Thomas Dekker’s Baedeker of Elizabethan low life. They showed little difficulty in reading and understanding the canting songs printed therein. (p.38)

Here, as in the singing and tale-telling tradition, the continuity is much more evident than it is among the *gorgios*.


G. Porter


Those who are interested in linguistics should not assume that the discourse of the title of this book means what they understand by that word, though that should not be taken to mean that this book will have no interest for them. Although the definition of “discourse” offered on the first page is very much the same that linguists might use, it is related to interaction at a social and political level. The fact that discourse is social is linked with the concept that the society in which we live is based on exploitation. Hence discourse is very much a part of social “subjection”. In order to explain the background to this whole concept Diane Macdonell traces the development of the idea in contemporary French writings, particularly the work of Althusser, Pecheux and Foucault, though there is a critique of the views put forward by Hindess and Hurst. Although Macdonell’s primary aim is to explain the views of these authors, her book is much more than a résumé. She attempts to show what the gaps in the thinking of particular thinkers are and perhaps how they might be filled. For those who are unacquainted with the work of such authors, this book will be an instructive and helpful introduction. Macdonell writes fluently and with conviction. The views present a challenge to many existing disciplines, including linguistics, and
anyone who reads them will inevitably question the premisses of his own approach to life and work. Unfortunately the book is so brief that it does not get across the complexity of some of the ideas discussed, but that is probably inevitable in a work of this kind. The brevity may prevent some from being persuaded by the concepts which are described; but they can progress to the original writings, many of which are now available in English.

N.F. Blake


This “book of the series” run on BBC television sets out in a permanent record the gist of an interesting and necessary attempt to educate Europeans (and persons in other OECD countries) in an African perception of Africa.

From the point of view of this journal's readership, three aspects of the book are probably of particular interest. The first of these (though not in Dr. Mazrui’s order) is his thesis that Africa has lagged behind Europe in innovation due to the former continent’s lack of a true winter season. The social and economic provisions that winter demands are seen by this African author as the mainspring that has driven Europe’s advances. The richness of customs in preparing for winter (and living through it), which readers of this review will know, can be seen in a new light on the basis of comparison with a winterless world. The second aspect of interest is the argument that names matter, to the extent that an African Christian who is given a Christian name and who adopts a European-style surname is (usually unconsciously) surrendering his cultural and social roots. The third aspect of the book that is most relevant to the reader of Lore and Language is the mass of references to the African cultural tradition: one may well not agree with all the inferences that are drawn, but there is a strong basis of sound scholarship here.

Thus the permanent embodiment of a TV series is of interest and relevance for readers of this journal: The Africans is a good product.

D.E. Bland


This is the book of the television series, which consisted of ten programmes, each devoted to a different aspect of English. The volume contains the same ten chapters, each lavishly provided with illustrations and maps. The whole is printed on good quality paper, and for its price this is a good buy. But it must be said that television programmes do not transfer easily to book form—at least not without
rather more rewriting than has occurred here. Since the pictures in a book are silent stills, they also have far less to contribute to the overall effect of the book than the sound film of television. It is one thing to record on video the speech and lifestyle of some people who preserve an interesting variety of English; it is quite another to give a couple of photographs of them. Indeed, it is the spoken voice which has been lost in this book, and insufficient compensation has been made for that loss in the transfer of the story from film to print. Hence the sound of English is something which gets rather indifferent treatment here. This may be in part because the editors have wanted to keep the book as intelligible as possible to as many people as possible, and so they have not wanted to rely too heavily on technical features like the phonetic alphabet. The book, as is the modern way, pays considerable attention to varieties of English outside the British Isles, and it is to be welcomed for this width of treatment. It is written in a fluent style and should make the story of English available to many who had never bothered about it before. The editors have taken advice from many scholars and what they write is generally accurate, though perhaps inevitably more space is given to lexis than to other features of language. There are a few mistakes, but these are not significant. Notes at the end of the volume provide some references for those who want to follow up matters raised in the work.

N.F. Blake


*Guardian Angels* is a collection of short stories written for children by past winners of the *Guardian* Children’s Fiction Award. Since they include such classic children’s authors as Leon Garfield, Joan Aiken and K.M. Peyton, this book obviously arouses high expectations. Nor will these stories, all based around the central theme of the word “guardian”, disappoint, for they do indeed uphold the reputations of their writers—they are entertaining, well-written, and in many cases very thought-provoking. As, for example, “A Speck of Dust” by Peter Carter, set in South Africa and (inevitably—especially when one considers he is writing for an audience of future *Guardian* readers) about apartheid. Although it is very much in evidence, the author’s didactic intent does not detract, however, from a very poignant little story. In fact, “A Speck of Dust” is typical of the collection as a whole in that it assumes an intelligent and fairly well-informed young audience who will know about the basic facts of the apartheid system. In the same way, readers are obviously expected to pick up on the references to Arthurian legend in John Christopher’s “Dancing Bear”, and to understand that Richard Adams’ story “Argos” is based upon the *Odyssey*, told from the point of view of Ulysses’ dog. In the latter case particularly, a lack of knowledge of the story’s literary antecedents would make it somewhat confusing.
This demand for a fair degree of sophistication in the reading of some of the stories is at once an asset and a drawback. On the one hand, it makes them challenging and refreshingly uncondescending. On the other, the colourful cover and abundance of illustrations—as well as the extremely annoying tone of forced cuteness in the editor’s introduction (“You may already know the Guardian is a very old and famous British newspaper...”), which would not be out of place at a tea party for the under-fives—may mislead both parents and children into thinking that this book is for a younger audience than it really is, thus leaving them rather baffled.

However, not all the stories in this collection are examinations of contemporary issues or reworkings of ancient literary themes—many are simply fun and not especially intellectual. The funniest of these, in my opinion, is a spoof fairy-tale by Diana Wynne Jones called “The Fat Wizard”, closely followed by Peter Dickinson’s “Barker” and “Monkey Business” by Gillian Avery, about the fulfilment of what must be every child’s dream—a boy turns up for the start of term only to find that the school isn’t there!

In short, this is an extremely varied collection of very good stories which I am sure will give both children and (probably more to the point) parents, value for money, as its very sophistication and assumption of maturity guarantees that it will be read more than once. And Stephanie Nettell obligingly provides a list of the books for which each of the authors actually won the Children’s Fiction Prize, so readers can follow up other work by their favourite authors.

S. Gamble


Although a unit in the series called The Language Library, this book depends heavily on literary sources. Those sources are also the more conventional ones, with few soldiers’ memoirs or citations of sermons by lay preachers of any social origin.

Hence we have here a book on written language, including the language of grammars and books of etiquette, which offers a great deal that will prove useful to future competitors of George MacDonald Fraser in the growing market for historical fiction which masquerades effectively as history. The book also offers much interesting comparative data, both on the class distribution of words and structures and in their evolution between Jane Austen and the accession of Edward VII.

D.E. Bland

E.E. Ralphs has already produced a study of the cat in Russian literature and folklore and he has now turned his attention to the bear. In his introduction he notes that “There is a fond feeling for the Bear as a national emblem” and certainly there is plenty of material to back up this statement in the book.

The work begins with a lively translation of some of Krylov’s fables that deal with bears, and pieces from other Russian fabulists. The main body of the book is concerned with folktales, many of them coming from the collection by A.N. Afanasyev. Among these are the familiar tale of “The Three Bears”. These are clearly and concisely related.

The volume is brought to a close by a political allegory called “The Lion and the Bear”, *A Russian Christmas Story for English Children*, with Tsar Nicholas and Queen Victoria thinly disguised. All in all an interesting read.

M. Knight


The translator and editor himself warns in his introduction against Rodenberg’s account being taken as a sound and systematic survey of the customs that are reported as seen, the folklore that is reported to have been heard, the legends that are repeated in the text. Rodenberg was a late but enthusiastic romantic, later to rise to the highest level in German journalism, who spent his later twenties visiting a series of foreign countries to write books of romanticised reminiscence.

Hence although there is much on folklore and tradition, with close accounts of marriage and funerary customs, the whole thing has to be taken with large pinches of salt. What can be accepted without equivocation is Rodenberg’s affection for the people whom he met, and the impression made on him by the places he visited. As a romantic he was seeking that world which the Industrial Revolution had left behind: as the population gathered in cities serving the modern economy, romantics funded from those cities sought to establish the case that a purer, better life was still to be found where the penetration of the new system was least perceptible.

Thus village folk, ageless hills and old customs are good: holidaymakers from Birmingham, and Llandudno that caters for city folk, are bad. Such a simplistic view does nothing for Rodenberg’s credibility as a scientific student of society, but it makes his book what he wanted it to be.

D.E. Bland
RYDLAND, Kurt, *Vowel Systems and Lexical-Phonemic Patterns in South-East Cumbria. A Study in Structural Dialectology*. Studia Anglistica Norvegica 1, Bergen, Department of English, University of Bergen, 1982, xviii, 439pp., 60 maps, 10 tables, 34 figures, NKr.125.00.

This study presents a phonological description of the vowels of the traditional rural accents of South East Cumbria. The network consists of thirty seven localities: six primary localities, which were previously investigated for the *Survey of English Dialects*, and thirty one secondary localities. Whilst this work can to some extent be seen as a follow-up to *SED*, it is for the most part an independent study in terms of both data and analysis. As the author observes, “the purely phonetic recordings of *SED* often do not admit of complete structural analysis” (p.1, footnote 1).

A wealth of data is presented within the framework of structural dialectology, and the vowels of the primary localities are presented in terms of a structural diasystem. The author makes the point that “because most structural phonological studies are confined to a single accent, the diasystemic method has not been much used in structural dialectology” (p.48). In addition to giving a phonetic and phonemic account, Rydland describes the lexical incidence of the phonemes in terms of their Northern Middle English sources, draws conclusions concerning the accent areas of South East Cumbria, and adds a useful appendix on modified vernacular, although his investigation of the latter was not carried out in any systematic manner. Whilst the traditional accents of South East Cumbria are “highly diverse”, it nonetheless proved possible for Rydland to identify “five reasonably well-defined accent areas”; two in North Westmorland, two in South Westmorland, and one consisting of North Lonsdale and a part of South Westmorland (p.360).

The book is well set out and richly illustrated by means of maps, tables and figures. It also contains a word index and a useful bibliography. This excellent presentation of a wealth of data within the well-tried theoretical framework of structuralism results in a work which ought to be of use to dialectologists for many years to come. It is therefore unfortunate that one must entertain grave doubts about two aspects of the methodology and fieldwork.

First, in seeking to elicit particular words, Rydland found that “the questioning technique” (cp. *SED* approach) was often “rather cumbersome” (p.43). As a result of this, other methods were frequently used: informants were asked “... to ‘translate’ words or phrases from the author’s Standard English accent into the local idiom ...” (p.43). Whilst Rydland defends this translation technique, in particular for phonological surveys, it is nonetheless a technique which dialectologists rejected long ago, whether for analyses of single dialects or for geographical surveys, and one which they have since gone to great lengths to avoid. I need hardly rehearse all the arguments against it here. Suffice it to say, that it is a highly artificial technique, and that much might be missed through adopting it. Certainly, it is no substitute for the analysis of an adequate corpus of speech, and a poor substitute for a good questionnaire.
Second, Rydland's observations on the taping of connected speech give cause for concern:

"Later, taping was extended to connected speech; however, many informants were reluctant to talk freely in front of the microphone, and would only talk naturally and spontaneously if they were not aware that they were being recorded. Besides, those who seemed not to be inhibited by the presence of the tape recorder often switched from the traditional accent to the modified vernacular . . . when talking at length into the microphone. The taping of longer samples of the traditional native accent was thus rather difficult.

In the secondary localities recordings of connected speech were not normally made." (p.42)

I would raise a number of points here. 1. It is unclear whether the author made sufficient effort to select suitable informants, and then, having selected them, to get to know them well before trying to record them. In a bidialectal situation, traditional vernacular is, of course, associated with friends and with informal situations. Certainly, in my own work, I found that it was possible to get people to talk freely in front of a microphone. However, one had to persevere, learn from mistakes, and often record informants several times. The amount of traditional vernacular in a recording often increases in proportion as the interview experience of the informant and/or the dialectologist increases! 2. The fact that informants, even when seemingly uninhibited, often switch codes, is no reason for not making recordings of continuous speech. As Gumperz has observed, different speech styles tend to shade off into one another in monolingual repertoires. Whilst a degree of idealisation is welcome in linguistic analyses, and is indeed essential to the generality of a description, should the dialectologist not in fact be describing precisely this variable reality which Rydland has noted, instead of indulging in an over-idealised exercise in linguistic archaeology? (The appendix on modified vernacular is a very small step in the right direction.) 3. Were some informants recorded without their knowledge? The passage is not altogether clear, but this would, of course, raise ethical questions. 4. Traditional vernacular, as the speech style associated with family and friends, probably has a much greater currency than many dialectologists seem to suspect. The fact that it will not always be produced to order, particularly not for educated strangers, not infrequently of a different class (or perceived as such by virtue of their higher degree of education, job prospects, etc.), and bedecked with the technical accoutrements of the trade, is, of course, another matter entirely, and ought not to be altogether surprising. Nonetheless, there are, I think, strong linguistic and historical reasons for wanting to describe traditional vernacular, and there is a certain statistical validity in the enterprise, for it is a speech style that many use for a significant portion of the day. Given, then, the desirability of describing traditional vernacular in the first place, and given secondly its association with informal situations, ought not Rydland to have made more effort to record extended interviews of free conversation? He writes:
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"Connected speech for taping purposes was often elicited by asking for more detailed information about the meaning and use of words and phrases given as responses. In this way many informants could easily be made to enlarge upon various subjects . . . " (p.44)

Word lists, translation techniques, questionnaires and discussions on semantics all seem far too formal to me. Traditional vernacular is associated with informal settings, not with this sort of thing. In a bidialectal society, formal techniques of elicitation will, by definition, elicit formal styles of speech. In my opinion, Rydland has not paid sufficient attention to the concept of style, and the implications of this for fieldwork and method.

It is, as I observed earlier, unfortunate that one must entertain such grave doubts about these fundamental aspects of Rydland’s investigation. The study is in other respects so thorough and well-presented. Yet all too often in dialectology, it seems that too little attention is paid to questions of fieldwork and method, or even that fieldwork is something to be got over as quickly and with as little fuss as possible. This brings us to a very obvious conclusion: a dialectological study will never be any better than the fieldwork on which it is based. Perhaps this simple little motto should hang above every dialectologist’s desk.

G. Shorrocks


The title of this book (which one trusts is not the selection of the author) is plainly a silly title, as it is untrue. None of the “arts” to which it refers is (or has been) “forgotten”. The National Trust does itself no credit by promoting such nonsense, and it is a great pity that a nicely got-up survey of traditional crafts has to exist under such a title.

This is not an academic book, but it is the sort of book that interests people of all ages and from all backgrounds. It tells the story of a range of crafts, in palatable little chapters which are attractively illustrated with both photographs and drawings. Virtually all the crafts that provided houses and farms and industrial buildings, and all their contents and working parts before the industrial revolution are represented here. The reader gets an impression of what the craftsman did, and of what his continuing successors still do (which is why the title is so bizarre). For most of these crafts have survived professionally in some parts of the country and the others (for example, traditional dyeing techniques) have been kept alive on a domestic basis. The recent renaissance of interest in crafts will now ensure the survival of most of the activities with which Mr. Seymour deals. This book will help to publicise them to many who will want to learn more, and that can only be a good thing in the leisure society.

D.E. Bland

The crafts of the British Isles as a whole look in a bad way, when a book like this has to be produced in Japan. It is nicely printed and well illustrated.

In several cases, the crafts that are referred to have recently been developed or restored to new life by the prosperity that followed Ireland’s entry to the Common Market. The small business boom of the eighties has helped as well, for many crafts operate as small businesses. Farmers have been able to pay for the rethatching of houses exposed to Atlantic gales as a result of the Common Agricultural Policy.

The sections of the book are based each upon a principal material (wood, leather etc.) and in each major section a series of individual authors contribute pieces on specific crafts, making specific products. The illustrators have excellently shown the processes that are described in the text, usually with a combination of photographs and drawings. Tools and products are illustrated and described, for every trade from thatching to fly tying and from metalwork to lace. Overall, the book makes a nice impression, and it is reasonably informative.

D.E. Bland


It is a pity that the title implies something much more general than the author himself offers in his introduction and delivers in the text and through his excellent photographs.

The book is one man’s account of his own interest in British “calendar customs”. From photographing them as visual events, his interest developed in the origins and history of the customs that he has recorded. To this lore he brings an affectionate scepticism that is entirely healthy and which adds to both the credibility and the attraction of his text.

The selection of events is from the well-known to the very well publicised, on the sensible ground that these are the typical customs which can be taken as representative of the genre. Something individual is recorded in the text on each custom, but nothing here present is the fruit of profound original research. Thus we have here another nice book about nice things, affectionately written and worth reading (as the photographs are worth viewing); but it is a book for a small coffee table rather than for the academic study of these aspects of cultural tradition.

D.E. Bland

Even since the postscript was added to this book, the decline in urban employment throughout Britain has led more young people to view crofting positively as a viable future way of life. The drift back to a mixed life of farming, fishing, craftwork and the entertainment of visitors is growing. As the leisure society becomes more prosperous, the attractions of crofts as places to pass the family’s third or fourth annual holiday will doubtless make the livings of those who are the permanent inhabitants of those dwellings more prosperous. Of course, with a different mix of sources of income and a much higher standard of living than their ancestors, recording their holiday visitors and keeping accounts on their microcomputers, the crofters of the nineties will in many ways be different from the forebears with whom the present book is chiefly concerned.

The story of the small farmer in the highlands and islands of Scotland, a country still feudal in its concepts of land tenure and lordship, has for the whole period since the Union of Scotland with England under Queen Anne been a source of embarrassment to the government. The Crofters’ Act of 1886, and subsequent legislation, sought to alleviate a dire situation caused by the repression following Prince Charlie’s rebellion, absentee landlordism, potato blight, the urban drift to Glasgow, emigration to America and Australasia, and local inertia. How things got bad and stayed bad is a story that has often been told, and Mr. Thompson restates it clearly though not without emotion.

D.E. Bland


This is a collection of pieces of oral history from various European countries. What is “common” about them is, apparently, the assumption that ordinary people remember times past in the rapidly changing world of the twentieth century. The reminiscences are topped, tailed, assembled and interpreted by intellectuals, who one presumes do not regard themselves as common people (though they would, in many cases, claim proudly to be of common descent). There is much that is interesting in virtually all the twenty one pieces, though it is unclear that there is much in common between them—even those grouped together under such headings as “The Peasantry” and “Family”. There is a section on “Women” of course, and (equally obviously) there is not one on “Men”.

The collation offers nothing that is novel, but it confirms much that is well known in the substrata of European history. And it does give access to other countries’ experience which (on this selection) is very much like our own.

D.E. Bland

The memories of nine men and women make up the essence of *Edwardian Childhoods*. Their early lives span a whole range of British society, from the poorest family in the slums of London or poverty in the English countryside right through to the debutantes and high society set. The Edwardian ladies and gentlemen are seen through the keen eyes of a child evoking the refreshing reminiscences of a vanished world.

This book is fully illustrated with 56 plates of contributors’ own photographs, remarkably well reproduced considering their age. *Edwardian Childhoods* is not the rambling, “popular” type of local history which we associate with recollective literature. Thea Thompson spent seven years pioneering research on oral history at the University of Essex before she sought the stimulation of social work—and this shows. However, it is none the worse for that! Students of Social History will find this study most beneficial; the person who reads it for pleasure alone will be transported from inner-city bustle to countryside contentment—from the world of Katharine Chorley’s *Manchester Made Them* to the land of George Ewart Evans’ village life and old agricultural methods. Thea Thompson has been inspired in her studies by stalwarts such as these, producing a sympathetic record, in their own words, of the nine participants who shared an *Edwardian Childhood*.

W. Bennett


When I commenced research on Amerindian myths in the late 1960s one of the major problems was finding comparative material from South America. Numerous
collections of myths recorded by anthropologists, missionaries and other travellers at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, had been published in obscure places. Particular tales were, however, difficult to locate as few guides were available. This situation was changing as Lévi Strauss had commenced his monumental *Mythologique* series which was to collate and publish 813 Amerindian myths (not counting the numerous variations) and since 1970 the Latin American Centre at the University of California at Los Angeles has been publishing the myths of various social groups in Latin America. As a result many previously obscure tales have been made available.

Each UCLA volume concentrates on a particular tribe or linguistic group and commences with a discussion of the sources and collection of items, a history of the peoples concerned, followed by the tales themselves, then detailed discussions of the motifs. The amount of analysis has increased in later volumes and recently a computer has been programmed to prepare even more detailed analyses. Volume 9 was the first to make use of this new technology. While Lévi Strauss has produced a more exciting study, the UCLA project is easier to use as the volumes concentrate on a limited number of peoples, give the tales in greater detail and have more useful indexes. Indeed it would be useful if the UCLA could use their computer program to produce a set of motif indexes for Lévi Strauss’s *Mythologique* series. (It should make a good M.A. thesis topic.)

The final volume in the UCLA project is intended to compare the tales given in the other volumes and their computer program will presumably be used to prepare much of the data for this. While analyses do not differ markedly around the time of the introduction of the computer, analyses in the first few volumes are less detailed. It will thus be a bonus if the final volume includes a discussion of the tales in the early collections which parallels the analysis given in the volumes under review.

Unlike the first volume in the series which was entirely made up of tales collected by Wilbert himself, volumes 8 to 10 are publications of works recorded and occasionally published by others. Volume 8 records 183 tales, volume 9, 110 myths, and volume 10, 150 narratives.

The Gê volume includes items collected by the late Curt Nimuendajú who pioneered Gê studies. While some of these tales have been published before, seventeen are from unpublished manuscripts. These tales were translated from the German by Robert Lowie. The other contributors to volume 8 are living and writing in various languages. The tales collected by William H. Crocker, Bartolomeu Giaccaria, Adalberto Heide, Julio Cezar Melatti and Lux Vidal have been translated from Portuguese; those by Gustaaf Verswijver, from French, while those by Anthony Seeger and Vanessa Lea were translated direct from their Amerindian language of origin into English. The Gê speakers are mainly found in eastern Brazil which explains why so many passed through Portuguese.

In contrast volume 9 includes many more tales recorded by earlier collectors such as Maggiorino Borgatello, Marcelo Bórmdida, Federico A. Escalada, Tomás
Harrington, W. Hughes and Ramón Lista. This is hardly surprising as the Tehuelche Indians of southern Patagonia have almost died out. What is amazing is, rather, that more recent ethnographers like Rodolfo M. Casamiquela, Mario Echeverría Baleta and Alejandra Siffredi, have found so many previously unrecorded tales. Ethnohistorians like Mario Echeverría Baleta and Manuel Llarás Samitier have also contributed items found during their researches into Tehuelche history. Most of the tales have been published before in Spanish though three were initially published in Gaelic.

Most of the Chorote tales have been translated from Spanish though the two texts by the late Erland von Nordenskiöld passed through Swedish. The Chorote volume includes more unpublished items than the other two volumes; the majority were recently collected by Edgardo Cordeu, Celia Mashnshnek, Alejandra Siffredi and Maria Alejandra Vema. The Chorote are mainly found in northern Argentina though some live over the frontiers in southern Bolivia and Brazil.

As a result of the UCLA project I, like other folklorists, have at last been able to make more valid comparisons of the tales collected amongst American Indians. The result of such new insights is that many earlier assumptions and analyses will now have to be questioned. For example items recorded in the UCLA project and others found in the Caribbean and Central America must raise some fundamental questions about the analyses of the Star Husband tales produced by both Stith Thompson and Lévi Strauss. The UCLA undertaking, because of its theoretical orientation, does not question the theoretical foundations of Thompson's work but necessitates new analysis within the paradigm. I suspect the impact on Lévi-Strauss's analysis might be greater; though his fundamental question about the relations between man and animals remains despite the attempts to answer it by the contributors to Urton’s volume from within a Lévi-Straussian parameter.

The presence of works by Wilbert and Crocker in both Urton and the UCLA volumes suggests that they consider both Thompson's and Lévi Strauss's approaches are valid and useful in South American folklore studies. In Urton's collection of papers Crocker discusses the way in which both Bororo parrots and men are the pets of the women in their matrilocal kinship system and Wilbert discusses the house of the Swallow-Tailed Kite, a Waro creation myth.

Other South American beliefs about the relationship between man and animals are also discussed in Urton's volume. Terence Turner considers the Kayapo myth of the Bird-nester and the origin of cooking which shows how man came down out of a tree and took civilisation from a jaguar. Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff demonstrates how the tapir can be seen as an ancestor, the deer a wife and the peccaries rivals. This overlaps with his paper on Dessana colour categories and would repay reading in conjunction with this chapter. Wilbert's analysis of a Warao myth about the birds and bees similarly builds on a previous analysis of Waro cosmology. Tom Zuidema and Gary Urton discuss the relations between the Inca and pumas, bears and foxes. Zuidema concentrates on the pumas while Urton
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considers all three. In addition there is a stimulating introduction by Urton and a thought-provoking discussion of the metaphoric process by Billie Jean Isbel.

The four volumes show the vitality and fascination of South American mythology and the wealth of folklore in the region. These books are to be commended for the way in which they make the mythology of the area available to readers who have not specialised in the study of the peoples concerned. As a result I hope that the various editors, authors and contemporary collectors involved in these volumes continue their efforts.

C.J.M.R. Gullick


In this anthology of West Indian proverbs, Lito Valls aims to capture the rhythm and life of that culture’s heritage. “This compilation provides standard English definitions to the Creole English sayings” runs the introduction. However, some of those “standard English” explanations are highly colloquial. Consider, for example, No. 426: “Lamp caan’ bu’n without wick—It takes two to tango”. No. 720: “Time will tell who kill Cock Robin—Murder will out”. For many of the proverbs no explanation is considered possible or necessary. After a somewhat confused glance at the introductory note which stated: “And yet, knowing that to those who understand no explanations are necessary and to those who do not understand no explanations are possible . . .” I settled down to a good chuckle at the relaxed style of the proverbs: “Don’ fart no higher than yoh behin’. Wha’ yoh stir-up will stink-up. Mout’ open; ‘Tory jump out”. Imagination depicts a Monty Python style Conservative leaping before he looks. *Ole Time Sayin’s*, with its glossary and bibliography, is informative, full of character, and most of all entertaining.

W. Bennett

WADE, Mary, *To the Miner Born*, Stocksfield, Oriel, 1984, 130pp., £6.95.

This is a story of life in a mining village in Northumbria, 1918-1945, told from a woman’s point of view. Partly autobiographical, the twenty four chapters cover in a most lively style a way of life which has changed greatly. Although the account begins two decades before my own childhood, I remember nonetheless many of the recollections of life in a mining community—the Co-op with its “divi” which mining families used to take an annual holiday; the remoteness of places such as London which were rarely visited in a day; and the dubbing of “exotic” names from
unlikely areas, such as Mary Wade’s nickname of “African Village” to apply to council housing and our nickname of “Majuba” on a dumping hill (finding out many years later than Majuba was the scene of a bloody battle in Africa). Similarities of pit villages throughout England abound with names in Mary Wade’s list of Pit Row, First Row and Long Row (I remember well the Long Row at Carlton, near Barnsley, where a knock starting at the top of the long row of terrace houses would tell the occupants that the “tallyman” was on his way and would be going on to Sparrow Barracks). To the Miner Born is an extravaganza of evocative enjoyment.

W. Bennett

WARNER, Elizabeth, Heroes, Monsters and Other Worlds from Russian Mythology, Peter Lowe, 1985, 132pp., illus., £5.95.

This very reasonably priced book is a scholarly but very readable account of Russian folklore by the Head of Russian at the University of Hull. It is beautifully illustrated by Alexander Koshkin.

Dr. Warner gives a brief introduction on “The Land of Old Russia” before proceeding to chapters on “The Old Gods” and “Spirits of Forest, Stream and Home” to quote but two. Some stories are familiar to Western readers, such as the tale of “Prince Ivan and the Frog Princess” and “The Tsarevich Ivan, the Firebird and the Grey Wolf”. Amongst the bear tales is “The Bear who lost a Leg” which appears in E.E. Ralphs’ A Bear Book, reviewed above in this issue of Lore and Language.

This well produced and attractive volume can equally well be enjoyed by children and adults.

M. Knight


This small classic tells the simple history of one of the most romanticised vehicle types in British history. The vans were not constructed by Gypsy craftsmen, but by wagon builders of completely conventional background who responded to a market demand (and ensured their cashflow by demanding deposits to be advanced by most of their customers). What made the vehicles special was their coachwork, incorporating into a modern structure many traditional and mystical symbols.

Ward-Jackson and Harvey succeed within a relatively small volume in being both descriptive and systematic in setting out the types of vehicle that were used and the decoration that covered them. The vans form both a part of Gypsy lore,
enabling that people well into this century to maintain their traditional mobility, and a part of the folklore of the people among whom they travelled. Thus there is broad interest in this topic, which is well served by this book.

D.E. Bland

WATSON, Harry D., *Kilrenny and Cellardyke: 800 Years of History*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1986, 244pp., illus., £10.00.

Mr. Watson gives us here a detailed account of the work and life of a fishing community in the east of Fife. The demanding work, always fraught with danger, made men of such communities likely pioneers in the colonies and also in operating sea defences in wartime. This very readable book will be enjoyed not only by those who have an interest in the fishing industry and those who love the Fife coast, but also by students of family and local history. It demonstrates how local archives can be used to build up a picture of previous generations, and how local newspaper records can provide much information, though there is no doubt that oral tradition plays a crucial role in such a close-knit community.

The interlinked families of the area give rise to two unusual types of byname. A man's name could be qualified by that of his boat, e.g. "Harmony" Rob, or by that of his wife's maiden name, e.g. Alexander Watson (Murray). This latter process of naming is not a forerunner of sexual equality, but rather an indication of how, in a community where men were away at sea and catastrophies were all too frequent, women played an important integral role, from their preparation of the nets to the gutting of the herring.

East Fife has excellent newspaper archives available, and it is pleasing to see so many well-documented photographs of bygone days being put to good use here and made available to a wider public.

J.C. Massey


*Albion: A Guide to Legendary Britain* is a gazetteer extraordinaire. It will capture the imagination of all those who enjoy the storyteller's art. Colourful legends, folktales and traditions of Britain are here set in the context of the locations from which they sprang. The book shows how myths came into being and how, over the generations, they have modified before coming to form an important part of Britain's heritage.

Representing the place of my present abode is the legend of *The Dragon of Wantley*: "In Yorkshire, near fair Rotherham,/ The place I know it well;/ Some two
or three miles, or thereabouts./ I vow I cannot tell/ But there is a hedge, just on the
hill’s edge,/ And Matthew’s house hard by it; There and then was this dragon’s
den,/ You could not chuse but spy it.”/ As the explanation of the end of the fight
between More and the Dragon reads: “... the end of the fight, when More kicks
him in the vent, Rosa Kleb-style ...” it is seen that this writing is “popular”
writing aimed at the general public rather than the academic folklorist. A popular
volume at a popular price, Albion is a glossy coffee-table dip-in book.

W. Bennett

WHITELEY, Opal, adapted by Jane Boulton, Opal, The Journal of an Understanding
Heart, California, Tioga Publishing, 1984, 190pp.,
£12.95.

The Journal of an Understanding Heart is the diary of Opal Whiteley, a child born
just before 1900 who lost her parents before she was five. She was given to the wife
of an Oregon lumberman, living in nineteen lumber camps before she was
twelve.

Published as The Story of Opal by Atlantic Monthly Press in 1920, this version
of Opal has been rearranged and characters introduced differently. Jane Boulton
has corrected the spelling, “except for a few words that are charmingly misspelled”,
and given the lines the form of poetry: “But the words are Opal’s”—one wonders ...

This American classic of rural simplicity is for all those who read with the
heart.

W. Bennett

WILIAM, Eurwyn, The Historical Farm Buildings of Wales, Edinburgh, John
Donald, 1986, ix, 202pp., £25.00.

This well-organised and well-illustrated book places the buildings in their
economic and social context very effectively. Imagination and good sense have been
combined by the author, in arranging his material in sections on the land, the
farmers, the building methods and then the functions which the buildings had to
serve for their industrial purpose.

At a time when the Common Market is leading to a new agricultural revolution,
reversing the late Victorian shift from arable to dairy farming for which the book
gives much evidence, a new threat to surviving farm buildings is coming both from
those who want them “converted” into holiday homes and from those who would
simply remove redundant structures. Thus this careful compilation of data from
the whole of Wales has a special contemporary value, and one dares to hope that
Mr. Wiliam’s book will contribute to the movement for the conservation of at least
a fair sample of this part of the national heritage.

As a descendant of Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire farmers, this reviewer recognises at many points in the book an echo of family stories and family pictures. This background enables one to be sure of the author's feel for his subject, in which he confidently fleshes out his observed data with social awareness. The book can be commended unreservedly for its content of economic, social and architectural history; but equally it will appeal to the general reader for its evocation of lifestyles and its contribution to the understanding of the Welsh past.

D.E. Bland

WILBERT, J.: see URTON.


Who said what, about where? Find the answers in The Travellers' Dictionary of Quotation! From early descriptions to modern epigrams, from the historico-political to the topographical, from the famous to the less familiar extracts. A wide variety of sources are consulted—journals and letters, verse and song, history, journalism, fiction and drama. A great deal of painstaking research has clearly gone into this paperback tome but I have reservations about its universal coverage. The world is a large place to cover in one volume and I feel that literary quotations and examples of the blason populaire tradition in Britain have had to be skimped. Such magnificent places as the Peak District have had to suffer the indignity of sparse, uncomplimentary comments, for example: “A countrey beyond comparison uglier than any other I have seen in England, black, tedious, barren ...”. The great county of Yorkshire gets about nine quotations while the popular city of Liverpool gets about nineteen. Shame! This is a book to rouse feelings of patriotism about one's own hometown and partisanship about a person's country. English chauvinism chortles at a Newfoundland example: “Although in cloathes, company, buildings faire/With England, New-found-land cannot compare”. Newfoundland's bad press continues with a comment from Lord Moran, quoting Winston Churchill, 2 December 1953: “We ... were flying over a desolate expanse of rocks and great pools. 'Bloody country' he ejaculated.” This book entertains and informs.

W. Bennett


First published in 1886, this dictionary is the standard source-book of the Anglo-Indian language and of great importance both linguistically and sociologically.
Readers get a glimpse into the world of nineteenth century scholarship whose exponents betrayed their fascination with words and their etymologies. On the sociological level, the dictionary opens up a window on the way of life in nineteenth century India.

The Indian origin of such words as bungalow and juggernaut are relatively well known but what about dungarees and shampoo? The progressive left-wing socialist may not be too happy with the definition of “home” here: “Home always means England” but as Anthony Burgess remarks in the foreword: “But Hobson-Jobson, which is scholarly enough (though no more than enough), must stand as a record of love. With the death of the colonial principle came the death of many kinds of injustice. But there was also the death of a segment of the British heart.”

W. Bennett


It would be easy to be misled by the cute and pretty picture which adorns the dust jacket of this book, a picture which belies the fact that this collection of nineteenth century fairy tales is primarily a work of scholarship. Nevertheless, it is scholarship of the most entertaining sort! Jack Zipes confines himself to a fairly brief (but invaluable) introduction, in which he explains that the value of these stories lies in their moral and social didacticism. The Victorian fairy tale implicitly criticises the world in which it was written: a world in which the values of the British Empire reigned supreme. The writers of such stories imagined idyllic pastoral landscapes through which they could assert the ethical imperatives they believed were being lost in the modern drive for power and progress. Having outlined his intent, however, Zipes lets the stories speak for themselves, arranging them chronologically in order to trace over sixty years of changing attitudes and intent.

Seen in such a light, even the most overtly moralistic stories become culturally informative. And some of them are very moralistic indeed! As works of literature, the quality of the collection is (inevitably) very uneven, ranging from the enchanting to the amusingly bad. The extreme contrast between the timeless appeal of the “true” fairy tale, and the dated absurdity that was the product of Victorian didacticism is nowhere better illustrated than in the difference between Charles Dickens’ story “The Magic Fishbone” and George Cruikshank’s “Cinderella and the Glass Slipper”. The two men were contemporaries and former friends, but their treatment of the fairy tale could not be more different. “The Magic Fishbone” is original and imaginative—but, by utilising all the best fairy tale conventions, at the same time remains reassuringly familiar. “Cinderella and the Glass Slipper”, however, is merely a vehicle for the author’s moral intent, being a routine retelling of the traditional Cinderella story, with an additional sermon on the evils of alcohol
tacked on at the end. While Dickens treated the fairy tale as a living form of literature that deserved respect, Cruickshank clearly regarded it as a literary curiosity that could be rewritten to fit his own requirements. Their opposing points of view embody the attitudes of their age, which produced some of the best examples of the modern fairy tale, as well as some of the worst.

To sum up: this is an interesting and informative collection of fairy tales, even though not all the fairy tales contained within it are good ones. But even period pieces, set within the framework Zipes has devised, are worthy of our interest.

S. Gamble
THE CENTRE FOR ENGLISH CULTURAL TRADITION AND LANGUAGE

The Centre acts as a national repository for material on all aspects of language and cultural tradition throughout the British Isles. It is located at the University of Sheffield, where it forms part of the Department of English Language. It has close links with the University’s Division of Continuing Education and the Departments of Folklore and English at the Memorial University of Newfoundland. The two Universities jointly sponsor the Institute for Folklore Studies in Britain and Canada.

The Centre aims to stimulate interest in language and cultural tradition, encourage the collecting and recording of traditional material and provide a forum for discussion on all aspects of language and folklore. Its Archives provide an extensive resource for reference and research. They include books, periodicals, monographs, dissertations, pamphlets, ephemera, photographs, slides, illustrations, audio-tapes, films and videotapes, along with extensive data on regional and social dialects, slang and colloquialism, blason populaire, occupational vocabulary, proverbs, sayings, childlore, custom, belief, traditional music, dance and drama.

The Centre sponsors and directs projects in children’s language and folklore and is conducting a systematic investigation of traditional verbal social control. Its national Survey of Language and Folklore continues to gather information on occupational vocabularies and traditions, calendar and social customs, traditional health systems, and the lore of cosmic phenomena, plants and animals. Folk narratives, anecdotes and jokes are also well represented. Close links have been established with the Traditional Drama Research Group. In the field of folklife the Centre is conducting a study of the traditional lore and language of food. Its Traditional Heritage Museum includes a representative collection of urban and rural traditional occupations, pastimes, arts and crafts.

The Centre contributes to both the postgraduate and undergraduate programmes in the Department of English Language which offers undergraduate courses in Folklore and Contemporary English. Postgraduate students may read for the Diploma and the degrees of M.A. in Modern English Language and English Cultural Tradition (by examination and dissertation) and M.Phil., and Ph.D. in Language and/or Folklore (by dissertation). M.A. degrees in Literature and Oral Culture, and in Local History, Literature and Cultural Tradition, and a Certificate in English Cultural Tradition are also offered.

For further information, write to: The Director, Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, The University of Sheffield, Sheffield S10 2TN (Tel: 0742-768555, Ext.6296).
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