Locating the Language in the Landscape:

Dialect in Exmoor National Park

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“When the bees’ feet shake the bells of the heather, and the ruddy strings of the sap-stealing dodder are twined about the green spikes of the furze, it is summertime on the commons. Exmoor is the high country of the winds, which are to the falcons and the hawks: clothed by whortleberry bushes and lichens and ferns and mossed trees in the goyals, which are to the foxes, the badgers, and the red deer: served by rain-clouds and drained by rock-littered streams, which are to the otters.

The moor knew the sun before it was bright, when it rolled red and ragged through the vapours of creation, not blindingly rayed like one of its own dandelions. The soil of the moor is of its own dead, and scanty: the rains return to the lower ground, to the pasture and the cornfields of the valleys, which are under the wind, and the haunts of men.”

Henry Williamson (1927) ‘Tarka the Otter’ pp. 180-181

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ABSTRACT

This case study uses documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews to investigate relationships between traditional local dialect and the landscape, in the context of Exmoor National Park. Against a backdrop of dialect attrition in England, it is argued that awareness of traditional dialects could contribute to deeper knowledge and understanding of landscapes and people's relationships with them. A collated glossary shows the significant dialect resource that has existed and may still exist in the Exmoor area; and the need for further research on dialect, particularly to monitor attrition, is identified. This glossary is used as the basis for a series of interviews with representatives from the Exmoor National Park Authority and other local organisations concerned with landscape and land management; with interview data coded and analysed according to emerging themes of interest. The considerable potential for dialect to contribute to the work of the Exmoor National Park Authority and other local organisations is discussed, and important roles for these bodies in conserving dialect are highlighted. The difficult relationship between dialect language and policy language is investigated, and opportunities for knowledge gained from dialect to contribute to better place-based policy making are suggested. Specific recommendations for the further conservation, use and celebration of local traditional dialect are made.

PREFACE

I currently work as Policy and Research Officer for National Parks England, the association of the English National Park Authorities, and have worked for this organisation since 2008. During this time my areas of particular policy focus have included landscape and heritage, and I have grown increasingly interested in the connections between the two. My job gives me close links with specialist staff working in the National Park Authorities, with whom I have well developed working relationships.

National Parks England has been my sponsor for this degree and therefore it was expected that I should choose a topic that would have relevance for the National Park Authorities in England. This dissertation is, however, a free-standing piece of work completed for the degree; it has not been commissioned nor is it explicitly connected to any project undertaken for my professional work.

The main practical limitation in carrying out this study has been the distance between my home and work in London, and the study area of Exmoor. The time that I was able to spend undertaking research and building connections on and around Exmoor was limited by the need to fit around full time work, and the fact that I was funding my own travel and accommodation.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The primary inspiration for this study was an essay by Robert Macfarlane, titled 'A Counter-Desecration Phrasebook' (Macfarlane, 2010). In the essay, Macfarlane uses the example of the Isle of Lewis to discuss the relationship between landscape and the language that we use to describe it. He describes how the language that is used about the landscape and the features within it by the people who live there has much to say about their relationship with the land, and how the land has been used.

This has prompted me to consider the place of language in my own work, in the context of National Parks in England. As protected landscapes, National Parks place landscape management and planning at the heart of much of their activity; as was recently underlined by a Landscape Declaration made at the Association of National Park Authorities Conference (North York Moors National Park Authority 2013). This declaration called for a greater appreciation and understanding of landscape, and recognised the importance of landscape to communities and individuals.

The contribution of language to our understanding and appreciation of landscapes is an area of enquiry that merits further attention, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 2. Taking Exmoor National Park as a case study, this research will seek to investigate the existence and nature of the language resource in the form of local dialect terms that relate to the landscape and its management. The assembly of a glossary of relevant local dialect terms will provide a resource that can be discussed in terms of its relationship with the landscape; and shared with Exmoor National Park Authority and other organisations with an active influence on or concern with the local landscape. Semi-structured interviews with representatives from these organisations will enable further discussion focused on the opportunities for dialect language to contribute to their work.

1.1 Aims and objectives

The aim of this research is to provide a case study in dialect language relating to the landscape of Exmoor National Park; identifying the resource that exists and exploring its potential significance both with respect to contemporary academic debates around the formation and exercise of knowledge; and Exmoor National Park Authority's responsibilities for conserving and enhancing landscape and cultural heritage.

This aim will be achieved through the following objectives:

- To compile a glossary of dialect terms relating to the Exmoor landscape and its management, drawing on a range of relevant historical and contemporary sources;
- To investigate the potential significance and value of such a glossary; considering its position in relation to contemporary fields of interdisciplinary investigation into relationships between language, landscape and people; and
- To consider the place of dialect in relation to Exmoor National Park Authority's activities and policies , and to identify potential opportunities for recognising and utilising the resource of dialect in a National Park context.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

As this literature review will demonstrate, the scope of this study is interdisciplinary; taking dialect terms for landscape features and management as a nexus at which a variety of contemporary geographical and anthropological concepts may fruitfully come together.

The literature review will outline current knowledge about local dialects and dialect loss; ways of thinking about connections between language and landscape; and attempts that have been made to incorporate cultural and perceptual elements of landscape into policy-making.

2.1 Dialect

'Dialect' refers to an assemblage of linguistic features encompassing pronunciation and accent, grammar, and the words used (Trudgill, 1999; OED, 2013). The present study is focused particularly on dialect words rather than other features of dialect language. It makes no claim to be informed by any expert knowledge of linguistics or dialectology; rather it is concerned with the implications of dialect for the management of landscape and cultural heritage in a National Park context.

2.1.1 Exmoor dialect

Dialectologists have divided England into 13 dialect areas, based on overlaying maps that identify pronunciation boundaries for a range of words; and Exmoor sits within the Western Southwest area according to this classification (Trudgill, 1999). Traditional dialects in this region derive largely from Saxon English and the sound of the dialect is broad and soft (Snell, 1923). Westcott (2011, p. 120) draws a parallel between the landscape of Exmoor and its dialect, describing both as "gentle, subtle and characteristic".

Historically many dialect studies have been based on a unit of scale related to the county and this was reflected in the type of source texts identified for this study, for example the Transactions of the Devonshire Association and Frederick Elworthy's 'West Somerset Word-Book' (Elworthy, 1886). Most substantial dialect glossaries of local vocabulary were compiled during the Victorian period and Elworthy's weighty 'Word-Book' is a typical example. Exmoor is an interesting case study as it straddles the boundary between Devon and Somerset yet is in itself a distinct and discrete landscape area, as recognised by National Park designation in

1954. Snell (1923) suggests that the dialect spoken on Exmoor belongs linguistically to Devon; though he notes that the recognisably Somerset dialect forms used by R.D. Blackmore (1869) in 'Lorna Doone' are suggestive of a more complicated picture, historically at least.

No recent comprehensive study of Exmoor dialect exists, so there is considerable uncertainty about the current persistence of use and comprehension of local and regional traditional dialect. The Exmoor National Park Authority (NPA) currently has no specific policy on local dialect, nor any projects that directly include or address issues of dialect. This is not unusual among the English National Parks; in over five years working with the English NPAs on landscape and heritage I have not seen any policies or projects that feature dialect as a significant element. In Welsh and Scottish National Parks there has been, perhaps understandably, a much more overt and concerted focus on language as a key part of cultural heritage activity and indeed the general approach and everyday work of the NPA. Examples of this include the Bwrlwm Eryri programme run by Snowdonia NPA (Snowdonia NPA, 2005); and Loch Lomond's specific policy on the use of Gaelic and other languages in interpretation (Loch Lomond and the Trossachs NPA, 2005).

2.1.2 Dialect death and lexical attrition

The starting point and inspiration for this study has been Robert Macfarlane's essay 'A Counter-Desecration Phrasebook' (Macfarlane, 2010). Macfarlane provides a compelling account of the possibilities that are lost when the language with which we describe the natural world is eroded, generalised and impoverished. This theme of losing knowledge about the natural world encoded in the form of language is one that emerges from the literature time and again. Lopez and Gwartney (2006) are among those who have sought to resist this loss by gathering language words – in this case words for American landscape features – and presenting and celebrating the detail they represent.

John R. Stilgoe describes his 'Shallow-Water Dictionary', a slim volume that navigates specific estuarine terms, as "a sort of salvage operation of words drifting from dictionary language" (Stilgoe, 2004, p. 8). He laments the loss of detail and practical explanation in American dictionary definitions, and the resultant loss of possibilities for understanding the environments of shallow water and marsh. Stilgoe notes that "landscape - or seascape - that lacks vocabulary cannot be seen, cannot be accurately, usefully visited. It is not even theoretical, if *theory* means what the Greek root *theoria* means, a spectacle, a viewing" (Stilgoe, 2004, p. 54-55). Where marshland vocabulary has endured, Stilgoe states, this has

been a result of the need for those who live in and make use of the landscape (for fishing, hunting and boating) to be able to speak about and understand its features precisely.

It is widely recognised that traditional dialects, i.e. those which differ considerably from Standard English (which can be considered a dialect in itself), are now spoken by a small and diminishing proportion of England's population (Trudgill, 1999). The reasons behind this are manifold, with major influences being the increased mobility of the population and modern communicative technologies; meaning fewer people grow up and remain rooted in the same area, and we are exposed to a much greater variety of influences on the way that we speak and the words we use. The remaining dialect speakers are likely to be 'bi-dialectical' in practice, speaking dialect within their community but using Standard English when talking to outsiders (Wakelin, 1978).

It is interesting to note that the process of 'dialect death' in England has been the subject of relatively few studies, with researchers being more concerned with dialect innovations and their distribution. Where dialect loss has been studied the emphasis has often been on structural linguistic variations rather than the loss of local words, termed lexical attrition (Britain, 2005). What we do know about lexical attrition suggests that it is happening rapidly, and has been for some decades. Britain (2005) describes a small survey carried out by the *Eastern Daily Press*, using questionnaires to assess recognition of Norfolk and north Suffolk dialect words. While respondents over 60 recognised three quarters of the words, those under 18 recognised on average fewer than one in five. David Britain's research has also identified 'supralocalisation', meaning "the success of dialect variants that have a wide geographical currency at the expense of those which are much more locally restricted", as a key trend (Britain, 2011). The reason for this is an increase in social mobilities, and Britain (2011) paints a compelling picture of the way this impacts particularly on deeper rural areas. These areas are being affected by counterurbanisation of the middle classes; a tendency for longer commutes; outmigration for higher education; and declines in rural services, requiring more travel to larger centres of population. When combined these factors mean that dialect contact with more urban areas has substantially increased.

Standard English words have usually been taken from one of the south-eastern traditional dialects (Trudgill, 1999) and therefore it may be expected that south-western traditional dialects will contain a significant number of words that differ from Standard English. Trudgill (1999) also notes that the association of Standard English with urban, educated and middle-class populations means that traditional dialect vocabularies from rural areas will contain

many words which have no Standard English counterpart. It is likely, therefore, that an area such as Exmoor should historically have had a particularly distinct and rich traditional dialect vocabulary, with much emphasis on the components and management of the rural landscape – but the extent to which this will now have been depleted by lexical attrition may be expected to be considerable.

2.2 Linking language and landscape

A number of interlinked concepts can help to theorise and describe the relationship that exists between a landscape and the language that is used to describe it. These will be described below; although many have been developed with reference to landscapes far across the world, it will be demonstrated that they may be relevant and applicable to English landscapes.

2.2.1 Biocultural diversity

Biocultural diversity emerged as a novel field of enquiry during the 1990s when it was observed that the distribution of biological, linguistic and cultural diversity were often intimately linked (Maffi, 2005). Cultural diversity supports a variety of traditional practices associated with the conservation of biodiversity and natural resources; and this cultural diversity and intimacy with the natural environment is reflected in linguistic practises. All three are considered to be under threat globally (Maffi, 2005).

Biocultural diversity is an interdisciplinary concept that links anthropological enquiry, in the form of local indigenous knowledge, with environmental science; to better understand the relationships and influences between people and ecosystems so that these can be maintained and protected. Indigenous knowledge is reliant on cultural memory which as Nazarea (2006) notes is memory in use, constructed and re-constructed, and therefore should not be treated as static or absolute in its authenticity.

Most research has been focused on 'exotic' indigenous traditional communities in areas recognised internationally as biodiversity hotspots. Interestingly though, Cocks (2006) has argued that the concept of biocultural diversity should be a starting point for a much broader range of community-led conservation approaches, including in post-industrialised societies. She posits that we should recognise the resilience and persistence of cultural values associated with nature, and mobilise such biocultural values to help communities think about and take action to conserve the biodiversity that they value.

If biocultural diversity can be observed at the global level, it follows that we may also find that parts of the UK with greater biodiversity (perhaps indicated by clustering of nature conservation designations) exhibit richness in linguistic and cultural diversity. Unfortunately no studies are currently available to test this hypothesis, so it remains at present an intriguing area for further enquiry. Nonetheless investigation of traditional dialect terms should have a role to play in linking language, cultural practice and nature conservation closer to home.

2.2.2 Topophilia and ethnophysiography

The term 'topophilia' was coined by Yi-Fu Tuan to describe "the affective bond between people and place or setting" (Tuan, 1974). Tuan's account of the interdependent interactions between culture and the physical environment in influencing people's perceptions has provided an influential jumping-off point for diverse explorations of sense of place. Of particular interest in the context of this study are Tuan's observations on the differences in perception between 'visitor' and 'native'. Tuan suggests that visitors, tourists in particular, have a viewpoint from which they compose a strongly visual, superficial and easily-described picture of the environment. In contrast the native, immersed in the environment, will have more difficulty in stating his or her values; these are more likely to be expressed through indirect means such as traditions, behaviours and myth (Tuan, 1974).

Applied to the National Park context, this raises interesting questions about the values and perceptions that drive management. Should management benefit the visitor, whose preferences may be easily established through landscape perception studies? Is this compatible with an empathetic approach to the values of the inhabitants, which may require more effort to determine?

Considering dialect, Tuan (1974) notes the influence of harsh environments on perception, citing the example of the rich Aivilik vocabulary (spoken north of Hudson Bay, Canada) for different conditions of wind and snow in comparison to the impoverished vocabulary used by city dwellers to describe environmental conditions around them. This suggests that visitors to Exmoor are likely to draw on fewer and less specific descriptive terms than those local people who are dependent on their interaction with the physical environment. Tuan does note, however, the adaptive ability of humans to learn to perceive qualities in the environment and acquire vocabulary accordingly. Seddon supports the topophilic idea that affective bonds with place are reflected in naming strategies, contrasting what he sees as a paucity of meaningful naming in parts of Australia with the English context and concluding that "the intensity and

quality of the relations of a culture with the land can be read off the maps, from the density and vitality of names" (Seddon, 1997, p. 26).

Ethnobiology and ethnoecology, the study of indigenous knowledge and use of flora and fauna, have given researchers a framework which enables them to link environmental perception with practices of resource management (Nazarea, 2006). Mark and Turk (2003) have coined the term ethnophysiography to describe an ethnoscience which records and compares terms used to describe landforms and landscape across various cultures and languages, and investigates their meanings. This is important work, though the lack of a structured universal classification of physical features in the landscape adds a significant dimension of challenge. Species, on the whole, lend themselves to fairly clear differentiation and classification; but where landscape and landforms are concerned we can only ascribe broad semantic categories such as convex or concave, static or flowing (Mark et al, 2010). Seddon (1997) problematises the field sciences' tendency to apply classification systems of European origin to things and places in other parts of the world, due to the possessive nature of the act of naming. Considering the UK context in this light, alternative naming strategies such as those offered by the reclamation of traditional dialects could hold potential to subvert centralised power relationships and assert a more local claim to 'possession' and knowledge of the landscape.

2.2.3 Landscape and language - parallels and intersections

Anne Whiston Spirn (1998) elaborates on a conviction that landscape *is* language; that we can learn to read the landscape, understand its structures and grammar, unravel its stories, and apply the language of landscape through landscape architecture and landscape management. In this model, landscapes can speak to us directly with their own local dialect, and local knowledge is needed to achieve a deep understanding of that dialect. Vernacular landscapes are the result of dialogue taking place in an enduring context of place; trial and error taking place over an extended period of time resulting in a landscape dialect that is finely tuned to the local conditions. This is an intriguing idea; it provokes the possibility of deep rural landscapes as settings where two localised dialects – that of the physical landscape, and also dialect in the linguistic sense – may come together and describe one another.

Another author who has drawn parallels between language and landscape is Jay Griffiths, who describes the cross-fertilisation that takes place between the two and emerges often in metaphor and allusion (Griffiths, 2006). She compares languages to rivers in that they are

constantly fluent and changing: “you never step into the same language twice, because a meaning has newly shifted here, a connotation has just been formed there” (Griffiths ,2006, p. 25). Language is a wild thing, that resists the containment and strictures of rigid definition that dictionaries seek to impose. This creates a methodological challenge for working with dialect.

Seddon (1997) calls for more scrutiny of the language of landscape, which he describes as “inescapably anthropocentric” because landscape is concerned with how we as humans position ourselves in relation to the environment around us. The language that we use to describe a landscape often reflects its utility value from an anthropocentric viewpoint –Seddon (1997) gives the example of the loaded term “a harsh environment” – and it is likely that this has been amplified in policy contexts where a vocabulary of goods, services, resources and monetary valuation has proliferated in recent years.

Cultural anthropologists interested in perceptions of landscape have investigated landscape terms and place names as intersections offering insight into the often intimate relationships between communities and their physical environment. Keith Basso’s work with Western Apaches analysed oral narratives in order to understand how the Apache world view was constructed, enabling Basso to describe a nuanced relationship between land and language that formed the basis of moral and social codes of behaviour (Basso, 1984; 1988). Apache place names, far from being mere geographical referents, were intimately connected with powerful moral narratives, endowing both place and language with meaning that would be invisible to the uninitiated outsider. Basso stresses the importance of listening to those people who live in the land talk not only about the landscape itself, but also about how they talk about the landscape (Basso, 1984).

Using ethnophysiographical methods to examine landscape terms and place names in the Chontal region of southern Mexico, O’Connor and Kroefges (2007) were able to identify distinct relationships that influenced the language. Landscape terms were derived primarily from the interaction of forces of nature; while place names were motivated by the interactions of human beings. It is likely that similar investigations in a UK context would also yield insights into naming strategies for landscape features and places, but anthropological investigation has so far concentrated on understanding ‘different’ cultural and linguistic environments rather than English-speaking ones.

2.2.4 Intimacy, familiarity and embodied knowledge

Seddon (1997) argues that all real conservation in founded in intimacy, love and the attributing of value – even where this value is of a utilitarian nature, as may be expected to be the case for dialect words relating to land management. The value attributed could also be symbolic, associative or literary, but essentially it always calls for, and springs from, a close familiarity with the landscape. In contemporary conservation, where often the staff employed by National Park Authorities and other conservation bodies are not native local people, to ignore this familiarity and the knowledge that proceeds from it is to miss an enormous opportunity. Lopez (1989) refers to the way in which a specific geographical understanding can be borrowed from people who are deeply familiar with the place they live in – those whose knowledge "rings with the concrete details of experience" (Lopez, 1989, p. 53), and who are often glad to share this with 'outlanders'.

Lopez (1989) laments the tendency of modern society to accept and excuse an ignorance of these intimate and detailed geographies, and suggests society in general now looks on this commitment to place as momentarily entertaining and ultimately naive. It is concerning that this may ring rather true in England, considering that the primary place we might encounter dialect in a National Park today may be in a small book of amusing local expressions, sold in a gift shop or visitor centre.

Geographies of embodiment and sensuousness draw from a phenomenological tradition and foreground the physical experience of being in the world, warning against over-reliance on a detached and primarily visual perspective (Rodaway, 1994; Nayak and Jeffrey, 2011). Contrasted with the primarily visual emphasis of current techniques for assessing landscapes (Section 2.3), the utilitarian and physically and emotionally descriptive features of dialect language can tell us more about what it means to be in a landscape and not just to see a landscape. Nazarea (2006) explains that local knowledge cannot be treated solely as something to be tested and deconstructed, because it is formulated through the sensory embodiment of everyday practice and experience and derives its power from the attendant emotion and memory.

Macfarlane's imagined global glossary of enchantment at the culmination of his essay calls for the use of 'tactful' language. He unpacks this etymologically, concluding that tactful language "would be language which sings (is lyric), which touches (is born of contact with the lived and felt world) and which touches (affects), and which keeps time, recommending an equality of

measure" (Macfarlane, 2010, p. 127). This neatly captures the nature of dialect language, which can be considered as an embodied and sensuous form of local knowledge. Wylie (2009) describes a current preoccupation in cultural geography with landscape in memory, taking cues from phenomenology and non-representation theory. The retrieval, recording and celebration of dialect can be seen as part of this movement to draw out and bring to presence things previously hidden or dispersed in the landscape.

2.2.5 Enchantment and re-enchantment

Notions of enchantment and re-enchantment have increasingly been examined in the social sciences and arts. Curry (n.d., p. 5) describes enchantment as "an experience and world that is both 'spiritual' ('magic') *and* 'material' ('concrete')". Enchantment encompasses wonder and delight, and offers a challenge to our accepted perceptions and engagements with the environment around us. Woodyer and Geoghegan (2012) trace a history of enchantment in human geography arguing that enchantment as a force through which the world inspires affective attachment can be traced through key influences in the discipline including geosophy, phenomenology, existentialism and topophilia. They argue for recognition of the positive energy and motivation that enchantment offers, and urge human geographers to be open to enchanted ways of researching that foreground attachment and human experience, and resist the compartmentalisation of the discipline.

Curry positions enchantment as an antidote to the extremes of modernist and Enlightenment values that privilege rationalised, disembodied and disembedded knowledge. But enchantment (or re-enchantment) is inherently somewhat problematic; being unpredictable, intermittent, fleeting and unbiddable (Curry, n.d.). We cannot sustain a state of wonder indefinitely. The best we can hope for is to be open to the possibilities of enchantment and to seek out avenues where we instinctively feel it may be found. Sense of place offers a rich seam in this sense, as recognised by 'The Re-enchantment Project' curated by Artevents (2010). This national arts project commissioned artists, performers, film-makers and writers to explore a variety of relationships with place and to present their imaginative responses. It was from this project that Macfarlane's essay (2010) originated. Dialect language, as a neglected aspect of sense of place, would seem to offer great possibilities for enchantment. This is reflected in this study, which seeks to be open to enchantment and enchanted ways of working, and to consider the scope for those who influence the management of landscapes to create opportunities for enchantment.

2.3 Capturing landscape in policy-making

Landscape policy-making has been an active field of academic enquiry, recognised as an intersection between physical and human geographies, and this has resulted in the development over time of tools and methodologies that have had a significant impact on how landscapes are described, valued and managed.

2.3.1 Landscape character assessment

Landscape character assessment was developed during the 1980s and 1990s as part of a move away from quantitative landscape evaluation and towards a better understanding of all landscapes (Swanwick, 2009). It has become the dominant methodology in landscape planning at a range of scales, from the very local up to the 159 National Character Areas described by Natural England (2013). The Landscape Character Assessment Guidance for England and Scotland (Countryside Agency/SNH, 2002) describes the two separate processes involved; firstly characterisation (classifying, mapping and describing areas), and subsequently based on this information the making of judgements which will inform decision-making. The methodology allows for the inclusion of cultural factors in characterisation; however this is very much focused on map-based data on land use, settlement patterns and enclosure. Authors are encouraged to use quotes from key cultural figures or local stakeholders to help convey the cultural importance of the landscape, but within the main body of the text there is rigorous control over the language to be used. The guidance goes so far as to specify a list of appropriate words to be used when naming landscape types (Countryside Agency/SNH, 2002, p. 40).

The most recent landscape character assessment for Exmoor National Park was carried out in 2007 and closely follows the 2002 guidance (Preece, 2007). The language used to describe landscape types, areas and features is generic and universally understandable, with the use of 'combes' being the single nod to local terminology. Emphasis is placed on objectivity and clarity in the characterisation process. The landscape character assessment underpins a Landscape Action Plan (Exmoor NPA 2011) that seeks to strengthen landscape character.

2.3.2 Stakeholder participation in landscape management and planning

The European Landscape Convention requires signatories to promote stakeholder participation in the planning and management of landscapes (Council of Europe, 2000). This is positive for

two reasons - first, landscapes are the result of local interactions between people and environment that cannot be sustained or replicated solely by top-down forces; and second, government intervention is financially costly (Selman, 2004; Stenseke, 2009). We need therefore to find ways of interacting with local communities – whether geographically-based or communities of interest – that encourage and support their active involvement in management of the landscape.

Caspersen (2009) considered the use of landscape character assessment in a planned National Park in Denmark, and concluded that there was a strong need for public participation to ensure awareness and effective implementation of the landscape character assessment and to make sure it incorporated cultural heritage. Stenseke (2009) elaborates on the elements that make up a successful participatory approach; namely mutual trust and respect, good communication and understanding, and local influence. This suggests that a body such as a National Park Authority should be well-placed to implement participatory approaches to landscape management and planning.

Practical examples are offered by Cantrill and Senecah (2001) to suggest ways that policy-makers and landscape planners can use 'sense of self-in-place' to improve communication and engagement around natural resource management with local stakeholders. This sense of self-in-place builds on earlier constructs of sense of place (including that explored by Tuan, 1974), by adding the idea of an 'environmental self' which is influenced by our social and cultural milieu and the meanings that we and our peers attach to the local environment. Thinking in this way and looking for evidence of the sense of self-in-place for particular target audiences or stakeholder groups adds a human dimension to the policy making process. Cantrill and Senecah (2001) suggest applications such as assisting in identification of priority sites for action; constructing communication campaigns around land use or behaviour; and communicating with visitors to a region to better convey relationships between natural and social processes in that place. Dialect could be considered a product and indicator of sense of self-in-place, and these applications would seem to fit well in a National Park context.

2.3.3 Landscape perception

The European Landscape Convention defines landscape as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe, 2000). The foregrounding of perception in this definition opens up a number of avenues of thought, including the immediate question of who is doing the

perceiving. Is this an informed expert (a landscape professional); a local resident; a visitor to the area? What is their prior knowledge of and familiarity with the landscape in question, and how will this influence their perception? Forms of landscape perception study are often used as a way to try and incorporate the views and knowledge of the public into landscape planning and management, and balance more top-down and expert-led approaches.

The LANDMAP approach was developed to identify public perception of landscape in Denbighshire, Wales (CCW, 2008). LANDMAP used layers of technical information compiled through expert input to produce composite landscape character areas. These formed the units for investigation into public perception, using household questionnaires and focus groups. Respondents were asked to answer with justification questions about landscape appreciation (like/dislike of landscape types) and features they wished to see conserved or changed. The results showed strong convergence of views with a preference for managed rural landscape types; however Scott (2002) recognises the crudity of the research method and cautions against investing the results with a false sense of objectivity. LANDMAP represents progress in that it does enable some information on perception to feed in to policy making (Scott, 2002), but there is still a need to develop more innovative methodologies to capture and interpret perceptions. There may be a role for local dialects to contribute to perception studies; and this would be particularly beneficial in broadening the horizons of perception beyond the dominant visual approach.

In 2011 Exmoor NPA commissioned a Landscape Perceptions Study (Fyfe, 2011) to record people's emotional responses to different landscape types in the National Park; determine how cultural services (see 2.3.4 below) are valued; and record responses to landscape change. This is a valuable study and has yielded quantitative statistical evidence for use in policy-making; it demonstrates, for example, the value that people place on tranquillity. However most of the respondents were visitors, with only 8.3% of those surveyed being resident in the National Park. This may explain the lack of dialect influence in the words that participants used to describe the landscape, with the most common being *beautiful, peaceful, fantastic, pretty* and *stunning*. Even the more specific descriptors such as *rolling moorland* and *sloping hills* show little localised influence or deep connection; as a whole the set of landscape descriptors are dominantly visual and often emotive, suggesting a landscape predominately enjoyed for leisure rather than other forms of utilitarian relationship.

2.3.4 Cultural ecosystem services

Approaches based on ecosystem services have a great deal of currency in conservation and landscape management. The inclusion of cultural services provided by ecosystems as a recognised category is welcome but to date this has proved to be a problematic area, potentially because it seeks to apply natural science paradigms to cultural concerns (Tengberg et al, 2012).

The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) (2005) identified six categories of cultural ecosystem services: heritage values, cultural identity, spiritual services, inspiration, aesthetic appreciation, and recreation and tourism. The MA concluded that the importance of cultural ecosystem services was inadequately recognised in current landscape planning and management, and that local knowledge and institutions should be included in the policy-making process through the involvement of local people (MA 2005). The MA did not publish any data on cultural identity, inspiration or heritage values, reflecting severe gaps in knowledge, evidence and data (Bieling and Plieninger, 2012).

Tengberg et al (2012) argue that definitions of cultural heritage in ecosystem services must include not only tangible heritage assets – physical landscape features and historical objects - but also intangible heritage which might include knowledge systems, traditions and stories. The challenge is to find ways to measure or classify the intangible, which means identifying potential indicators and proxies. There is surely a role for dialect here. Looking to the future, Tengberg et al (2012) see reciprocal benefits in bringing cultural landscape research and ecosystem services approaches closer together so that each can benefit the other. Greater consideration of social science methodologies in assessing cultural ecosystem services is starting to emerge, with an emphasis on human perception (Bieling and Plieninger, 2012).

2.4 Conclusions

From this literature review English dialect language emerges as a neglected area of enquiry in multiple disciplines. This is despite recognition of the potential significance of dialect in terms of the local knowledge and wisdom that it represents, and its role in defining cultural identities. There is clearly scope for much more investigation into how dialect can inform our thinking about landscape and thus our management of landscapes themselves.

It is striking how little of the current literature in this area addresses directly the question of dialect in the UK context. The policy tools at our disposal for describing and managing landscapes have potential to incorporate traditional dialect and its implications, but in general fail to do so. There are likely to be many factors contributing to this including dialect attrition; lack of local knowledge on the part of policy makers; the methodological difficulties inherent in working with dialect; and a lack of case studies demonstrating how it can be made to work. This case study of Exmoor will explore these issues further by establishing whether a significant dialect resource exists, and how this may be put to work in the National Park context.

> "*If we could speak more accurately, more evocatively, more familiarly about the physical places we occupy, perhaps we could speak more penetratingly, more insightfully, more compassionately about the flaws in these various systems which, we regularly assert, we wish to address and make better*"
> (Lopez in Lopez and Gwartney, 2006, p. xvi-xvii)

3. DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AREA

3.1 Study area: Exmoor National Park

I selected a National Park as the study area in order that the results of the project would be applicable in my professional work with National Park Authorities. A National Park offers a self-contained study area designated primarily for its landscape interest, where a body exists in the form of the National Park Authority with a strong emphasis on conservation of the landscape and cultural heritage. Exmoor is a relatively small area with a distinct identity recognised by National Park designation; where, in addition to the core work of the National Park Authority, a Heritage Lottery Fund Landscape Partnership Scheme is currently in operation. I therefore anticipated that landscape would be an active area of enquiry and interest.

Exmoor National Park (Fig. 1) is 267 square miles in area and is situated in south west England, encompassing parts of the counties of Somerset (71% of the area of the National Park), and Devon which accounts for the remaining 29%. It contains a wide variety of landscape types; from its open moorland interior to wooded and farmed valleys, and coastal features including high sea cliffs. I initially intended to focus exclusively on the moorland landscape, however during the assembly of the dialect glossary it was evident that this would require me to make potentially unfounded judgements about whether a particular landscape feature was related to moorland or not. I therefore decided at an early stage in data collection to broaden the scope to encompass all landscape types in the National Park.

Fig. 1 Exmoor National Park

3.2 Participating organisations

While planning the study, I spoke to pre-existing contacts at the National Park Authority to familiarise myself with the organisational landscape of Exmoor, and to assist in establishing which organisations and individuals I would approach to be involved in the study. The following organisations emerged as key potential contributors.

3.2.1 Exmoor National Park Authority

The National Park Authority (NPA), established in 1997, is the statutory body with overall responsibility for the National Park area and is the local planning authority. It has two statutory purposes, in common with all National Parks in England and Wales:

- Conserving and enhancing the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage of the area
- Promoting opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of the area by the public

All National Parks have an additional statutory duty, subservient to the purposes, to seek to foster the economic and social well-being of communities within the National Park.

Exmoor NPA is governed by a board of 22 members comprising a mix of constituent Authority appointments by District and County Councils, Parish Council members, and national appointments made by the Secretary of State for Environment and Rural Affairs. The NPA employs around 75 staff in a wide variety of roles including many which require the application of detailed specialist knowledge to the management of the National Park. The NPA owns around 7% of the land area of the National Park (Exmoor NPA 2013). It is funded primarily by a central Government grant.

The National Park Authority leads the development of the Exmoor National Park Partnership Plan (2012), a five year plan that sets out priorities and actions. Importantly this is a plan for the National Park area and not just for the NPA; the 'Partnership' referred to in the title incorporates over 100 community, voluntary, public sector and business organisations that commit to the development and delivery of the Plan.

3.2.2 The Exmoor Society

The Exmoor Society is a charity established in 1958 that works to protect the special qualities

of Exmoor National Park. It acts as an independent champion and watchdog for Exmoor and campaigns on relevant issues; monitors the work of the National Park Authority; organises meetings, seminars and social events for members; and maintains a reference library in its Dulverton office. The Society is managed by an Executive Committee of officers and members, and employs a very small number of part time staff. I joined The Exmoor Society at the start of the research process to enable access to the resources of the reference library.

3.2.3 Heart of Exmoor – Exmoor Moorland Landscape Partnership Scheme

The Landscape Partnership Scheme has fixed term funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund to promote Exmoor's moorland, encouraging people to enjoy and appreciate the moorland and supporting its conservation. The Partnership is a grouping of twelve organisations including statutory and voluntary bodies and government agencies. Exmoor National Park Authority is the lead partner and accountable body, and hosts the four staff. The Partnership Scheme draws funding from a range of other sources in addition to the Heritage Lottery Fund, including funding from the partners involved and from the Rural Development Programme.

3.2.4 Exmoor Hill Farm Project

The Hill Farm Project is funded by the South West Regional Development Agency and has a remit to support livestock farming on Exmoor. Its emphasis is on working directly with farmers to support them in accessing funding; to provide opportunities for training and skills development; to identify business opportunities; and to address key issues facing the sector. The Project employs three members of staff.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Selection of methodologies

Shurmer-Smith (2001) stresses the importance of matching methodologies to the theoretical viewpoint of the research, and suggests that different aspects of research will call for the use of different methodologies. In this case, it was clear that different methodologies would be required for the assembly and analysis of the dialect glossary; and for the investigation into how dialect language might contribute to and inform the work of the NPA and other bodies. These objectives required secondary data collection in assembling the glossary; and primary data collection to capture the views of people working in local organisations.

The methodologies were informed by descriptions of ethnophysiography case studies in Mark et al (2010), where lists of landscape terms in the target language are first compiled using bilingual dictionaries. In this case study the target language was Exmoor, Devon or Somerset dialects, and the available printed resources (glossaries, articles, etc.) performed the function of bilingual dictionaries. In the next stage a provisional semantic category is attached to each term, based on the English (in this case Standard English) definition. In the method described by Mark et al (2010) interviews and discussions with bilingual informants are then used to discuss and refine the meanings of terms and the categorisation. This final stage is where this study has deviated from that methodology. Instead of seeking to refine the glossary, I have sought to capture reactions to the dialect glossary and explore its practical applications in the context of Exmoor National Park. Recommendations for further refinement of the glossary to be undertaken in future will be discussed in later chapters.

4.2 Assembly of the Exmoor and locality dialect glossary

I assembled a glossary of dialect terms from a range of archival and textual secondary sources. These sources were identified through research at The Exmoor Society Library in Dulverton and the Somerset Heritage Centre in Taunton. The primary purpose of most of the sources was to record and explain dialect terms; the exception to this is Williamson's 'Tarka the Otter' (1927), set on the edges of Exmoor, from which I extracted relevant words and their meanings.

The printed glossary, ordered by category, forms Appendix 1. A CD containing the database in a spreadsheet format is also included to enable alternative forms of ordering (e.g. alphabetical or by source). The sources used and categories applied are listed in Appendix 2.

I was surprised by how much relevant material I was able to identify from a fairly small number of documentary sources in the time available. This suggests that further research would most likely identify many more relevant sources and terms. During the assembly of the glossary several people suggested that I use oral history recordings from Exmoor as sources. This proved impractical as transcriptions available were very limited; and in the time available to me I would not have been able to listen through all of the original recordings available at Dulverton or Taunton for the occasional dialect words they might contain.

The criterion for inclusion in the glossary was that the term should describe an aspect of the landscape or land management. A broad view was taken on this, bearing in mind the European Landscape Convention emphasis on the perceptual and experiential qualities of landscape. Entries were assigned categories (Appendix 2) that were developed iteratively as the glossary grew, to assist in managing the data and enable specific sections (e.g. all terms relating to weather) to be isolated by the user. The intention was to produce a resource that would be of use not only for the duration of this study, but which could be handed over to the relevant organisations afterwards for further development and use.

The glossary has a number of limitations. Very few of the sources available related directly and solely to Exmoor itself; though in landscape terms Exmoor is a discrete and well-identified area, I discovered that most dialect studies have used counties or parts of counties as the primary unit. Therefore some sources relate to Devon and Somerset generally or parts thereof. In linguistic terms this is problematic, given that dialect can be highly localised. For example, it is not likely that all terms used in north Devon would necessarily be applicable in the part of north Devon that makes up western Exmoor. The sources range in date from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century, though the majority of the glossary is drawn from the earlier end of this spectrum. A reference for the source was included for each entry to give some ability to break down the glossary by source and therefore by date.

A written glossary is problematic because dialect languages have historically been a primarily oral medium, and as discussed previously language constantly changes. Attempts to capture the sounds of words on the written page and to define their meanings in Standard English will by necessity be subjective. This is reflected in the compiled glossary where different authors have ascribed different spellings for what is essentially the same term – e.g. *ackymal*, *hacky-mal* and *hackermo*, all words for the blue tit (*Cyanistes caeruleus)*. It is also possible that these different spellings reflect very localised pronunciations.

4.3 Semi-structured interviews with key informants

I provided the glossary to key informants by email, and carried out semi-structured interviews about how they might use dialect language to inform their work or that of their organisation. Interview participants were selected by using pre-existing contacts in relevant or influential roles in the key local organisations described previously. A total of eight interviews were conducted; five with NPA representatives and three further interviews with representatives of The Exmoor Society, Exmoor Hill Farm Project and the Heart of Exmoor Landscape Partnership Scheme.

The use of pre-existing contacts ensured a good rapport with participants; though it does also represent a potential source of bias. Some interviewees were contacted at the suggestions of other participants, a 'snowballing' technique. Had time allowed, it would have been interesting to involve a wider range of bodies (for example national agencies such as Natural England and English Heritage) and a wider range of NPA staff. The interviewees were in a variety of roles in their respective organisations; with some being a Chair or board member, and some staff officers in roles requiring specialist knowledge of landscape, land management and/or cultural heritage. All interview participants were provided with briefing in written form in advance of the interview and in oral form at the start of the interview to ensure informed consent (Appendix 3). The study had received prior ethical approval.

The interviews were semi-structured, involving questions covering key areas set out in a schedule (Appendix 4), with probing and additional questions used as appropriate. A semi-structured approach was selected as I was interested in institutional knowledge (Newing, 2011), and I wanted to ensure that particular topics were addressed while also allowing freedom to explore avenue of interest as they arose. The questions were asked using the same or very similar wording for each participant in order to minimise bias, though some questions were adapted to accommodate the role of the specific organisation or individual involved.

The questions were developed and interviews conducted in line with good practice guidance on interview technique (Breakwell, 1990; Keats, 2000; Newing, 2011). Careful attention was given to the wording of questions; and effort was made to achieve good rapport with participants and to guide them through the interview process such that they felt relaxed and well informed about the study and what would be done with the interview material. The prior relationships that I had with many of the participants assisted with rapport and trust, though their knowledge of some of my prior views and opinions did mean that keeping responses

neutral was a challenge and slipped on occasion. Consideration was given to the context of the interview (Bennett, 2001) with participants able to choose the interview venue so far as was possible. Ideally all interviews would have taken place face to face; however availability and distance meant that only three were face-to-face, with the remainder undertaken by telephone. The face-to-face interviews were in different settings dependant on the preference of the participant; one took place in a cafe, one in an office and one in a workplace garden.

I decided that emphasis on qualitative analysis would be appropriate, given that the interviews were in depth and involved a relatively small number of participants. Newing (2011) recommends semi-structured interviews as lending themselves to a qualitative analysis; and this can draw out detail from the responses. Each interview was transcribed in full within a couple of days of taking place. An anonymised example transcript is at Appendix 5 and further transcripts are available on request. Once all interviews had been completed a coding schema (Appendix 6) was developed as described by Newing (2011), incorporating key topics as drawn from the interview questions and also themes that had emerged from the responses given by participants. The transcripts were coded using this schema, enabling a narrative analysis to then be developed for the topics that were under consideration or had emerged through the research process.

The initial plan for primary data collection had included semi-structured focus group workshops with groups of dialect speakers locally, to explore both contemporary and recollected uses of dialect and to seek feedback on the contemporary relevance of the terms recorded in the glossary. Unfortunately this did not prove practical. My distance from the study area, and lack of deep local connections, meant that it was not possible in the time available to identify potential participants and organise workshops. I sought help from local organisations in identifying existing meetings or gatherings where a workshop could potentially be included. This resulted in an offer from the NPA for a workshop to be held at a meeting of moorland farmers to discuss swaling (moorland burning); however, due to a prior commitment I could not attend. I then decided that concentrating on interviews with key informants would be more achievable and focus more directly on the research aim.

4.4 Conversations throughout the research process

Throughout the research period (2011-2013) I held conversations and meetings with a number of individuals who provided informed perspectives that contributed, alongside the input of my supervisor Dr Sian Sullivan, to the development of the study. Key to this development was the

author Robert Macfarlane, whose essay inspired the project as previously described. An initial meeting in November 2011 and subsequent email correspondence informed the literature review and resulted in meetings with other people engaged in related work.

I attended two events organised by the Exmoor Society; the National Park Societies Conference in 2011, and an event in 2013 to celebrate work on dialect undertaken by the late Hazel Eardley-Wilmot. These resulted in a series of conversations and correspondence with representatives and associates of the Society, which informed the direction of the study and suggestions for future research. I also took opportunities arising through my professional work to attend relevant events including a Cultural Ecosystem Services conference hosted by the University of Exeter in July 2013, and the Association of National Park Authorities Conference on the theme of landscape in September 2013.

5. DIALECT GLOSSARY: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The process of assembling the dialect glossary and its limitations have been discussed previously (Section 4.2); the focus here will be on the themes and insights emerging from the collated data of the glossary. I was struck, as the glossary grew, by the richness of information within it. The descriptions given by many of the sources – in particular Elworthy's (1886) 'West Somerset Word-Book' - are often incredibly precise and detailed, including information, for example, on whether the word is a common one, and the context it might be used in. They reflect the authors' deep intimacy and familiarity with the landscape, and open up this knowledge for the reader to share and thereby increase his or her understanding and appreciation of the place.

The glossary offers many opportunities for enchantment. During its assembly I was frequently taken aback by how enjoyable the experience of uncovering these unfamiliar and often evocative and poetic words was. I have seen this also in the reactions of those I have shared the glossary with, who have been energised and motivated by this different perspective.

5.1 Embodied and perceptual experiences of landscape

Using this glossary opens up entirely different ways of describing the landscape than those we are familiar with. It is possible to imagine alterative maps of Exmoor's landscape labelled with some of these words; but also something far more multi-dimensional than a flat piece of paper. The dialect provides words that speak of how it feels, or perhaps felt, to be in the landscape; not only what you see but what you hear (*zwer* – the noise of a covey of partridges rising), what you touch (ground that may be *muxy* or *puxy* by degree), even what you might smell (the posies of *boy's love*) or taste (*mazzards* and *whortleberries*). The varied and descriptive words for different weather and light conditions demonstrate the multitude of landscape experiences that the place holds, ever changing though the days and seasons.

The number of terms for aspects of the weather gives a real insight into how people's dependence on their interactions with the local environment is reflected in their vocabulary, as described by Tuan (1974). The glossary as a whole, when compared with the Landscape Perceptions Study (Fyfe, 2011) shows the differences in perception between native and visitor that Tuan has suggested; and can be considered part of the evidence base for local 'sense of self-in-place' (Cantrill and Senecah, 2001).

The physicality of the language draws from its basis in the everyday experiences and practices of people who have lived and worked on Exmoor. In this way, it can be considered a form of sensuous and embodied knowledge. Even the marking of time is linked to physical practice, be it *candle douting* (dawn) or *ripping time* (spring). We learn from the language how people have moved through this landscape; on paths and roads named according to how many horses abreast they could accommodate, we even know the paths along which the dead were carried (*leech way)*. The landscape itself sometimes takes on forms from the body. The moorland ridge still known as the Chains may derive its name from *chine*, old English for backbone; drooping corn is said to be *knee-bowed*; a long narrow part of a field is a *legger*; and mill streams have both a *mill-head* and *mill-tail.* In some of the descriptions, for example of wet ground or exposure to the elements, there is a sense of the landscape having a personality – deriving, I would suggest, from the anthropocentric and utilitarian viewpoint of the descriptions.

5.2 Heritage and folklore

Particular elements of the cultural heritage of Exmoor come through strongly in the glossary, most obviously the practice of stag hunting for which I found so many terms that it required its own category. These included many different names for the deer themselves and particularly for the different parts of their horns – Elworthy (1886) explains that *antlers* are points that grow out of the horns, not the horns themselves. There are also a suite of terms that, taken together, describe the process of the hunt. This is an aspect of Exmoor's cultural heritage that continues today, so it would be interesting to establish whether these terms are still well used.

There are a number of terms that reference local myth and folklore. Some of this is associated with animals, with shrews (*shrowcroped)* and hedgehogs (*vuz-peg)* getting a particularly bad press; while the *yeth-hounds* and the story told in relation to *jack-a-lantern* are reminders that moorlands have long been considered places where the supernatural might lurk at night. The story of the Devil's *lapfuls* was of particular interest as it had arisen as an explanation that links both a potentially natural landscape feature (a heap of quartz stone) and also an iconic man-made structure, the Tarr Steps bridge. I had not come across this story before.

The terms grouped under the category of 'man-made structures' are helpful in understanding more about the physical heritage of the area, particularly the various types of farm buildings and structures which are described in some detail. Here linguistic and physical heritage neatly dovetail. There is also much that describes the nature of land and property ownership and

inheritance, which may be a useful reference when studying historic documentary evidence relating to a particular piece of land.

5.3 Animals and plants

The sources contained a huge number of terms relating both to wild animals and plants, and also livestock. One source (Skeggs, n.d.) contained so many of these terms that I was unable to transcribe them in the time available to me at the Somerset Heritage Centre, therefore these categories were omitted for that source.

The great number of terms relating to plants could be suggestive of biocultural diversity operating at a localised level, and/or it may be suggestive of a past in which people were much more familiar with and made more use of the plants species around them. The suggestion of medicinal uses in some of the plant descriptions points towards the latter. Biocultural diversity may also be relevant, but is harder to evidence without comparators from other parts of the country. Certainly the breadth of these categories indicates biocultural values that could be mobilised as a catalyst for contemporary biodiversity conservation, as suggested by Cocks (2006).

The names of animals offer richer detail than merely physical appearance, often hinting at their preferred habitat or their habits. Examples of this include variations on *dish-washer* or *wash-dish* for the various wagtail species often found by water; *vuz-napper* for the whinchat (*Saxicola rubetra)* found on moorland - *vuz* being the dialect term for gorse; and *wood-carrier* referring to caddisfly larvae. Many of the names for bird species are descriptive of their calls, adding to the sensory description of the landscape. Some names appealingly sum up their animal subject with deft economy and simplicity – a dormouse (*Muscardinus avellanarius)* is a *zebn slaper* (seven sleeper) or *sleep-all-the-winter*; a goldfinch a *proud tailor*; and a bat variously *aerymouse, flittermouse, leathern mouse* or *leathern-bird*. Others intrigue; it was impossible for me, without any deep local knowledge, to establish why a dragonfly should be a *horse stinger* or a ladybird *god almighty's cow*. Surely in some cases at least, humour has played a role in names.

The dialect terms associated with livestock evidence a connection between animals, people and place. Jones (2013) describes how the animal presences in UK rural landscapes, and human engagements with them, have often been overlooked in landscape studies. He notes that the practices of everyday exchange between human and animals merit further

investigation; I suggest that the intimate details of dialect, such as the specific calls used in driving different types of livestock, could inform this work.

Dialect terms can also give an insight into the past ecology of the area; this glossary, for example, lists *blackcock*, *health-poult* and *poult* for black grouse (*Tetrao tetrix),* which is now locally extinct. It follows that examination of field and place names for animal or plant references may help in identifying the former presence and range of species.

5.4 Land management and landscape features

The multiplicity and specificity of dialect words relating to processes for managing the land support Trudgill's (1999) suggestion that rural traditional dialects are likely to contain many specialised words, which may not have a Standard English equivalent. Terms such as *after grass* and *half down* resist simple one-word definitions, and reveal details of the processes that have to a greater or lesser extent shaped the landscape. There are many terms describing tools and their use, which again could be useful in understanding historical documents. If linked directly to place (for example through farm diaries), understanding past management processes and their results could help to inform current and future land management decisions. The anthropocentric and utilitarian qualities of many of the terms described support Seddon's (1997) assertion that language reflects the very human-centred values that we ascribe to the landscape.

The presence of specific terms to describe the local landscape features provides, in my view, possibilities for describing the landscape in a way that feels more appropriate and somehow authentic than the detached Standard English definitions used in landscape character assessment. Words such as *ball, goyle* and *ruse* have sprung from and describe this particular landscape*;* arguably therefore they fit the landscape and can communicate sense of place better than Standard English, which of course it is itself drawn from dialect terms which will have originated in specific (usually south-eastern) localities. Dialect words can bring an enchanted dimension to descriptions of the landscape, countering the modernist and objective language of landscape character assessment and cultural ecosystem services. This is not to say that dialect should necessarily replace Standard English in these tools; rather that it should be considered an important evidence base for this work.

It was interesting to note the presence of a number of potential 'false friends' – landscape terms that in the dialect mean something distinctly different from their Standard English

meaning. A *hill* is a common or piece of unenclosed land, no matter what its elevation. A *lake* is always running water, usually a small stream. *Marsh* implies rich grazing land rather than a bog; while a *moor* in Somerset might imply swampy land rich in rushes rather than the heather-covered upland we would envisage. An awareness of these distinctions should surely be important when considering what can be learned from historic place or field names; and might prevent misunderstanding.

6. INTERVIEW DATA: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

A number of themes emerged following coding of the interview transcripts, and these will be discussed below. They largely reflect the topics and framing of the interview questions (see Appendix 4), though particular sub-themes and areas of focus did emerge more spontaneously.

6.1 Comments on the dialect glossary

All participants were provided with an electronic copy of the dialect glossary spreadsheet sufficiently in advance that they would be able to read it before the interview. The size and extensive nature of the glossary was often remarked upon by participants. Many comments were related to scale; both questioning of how representative the glossary was of Exmoor in particular rather than a larger region, and the possibility of linking dialect terms to specific landscape features or places. There were also insights, sometimes conflicting, into local linguistic geographies.

Most participants identified terms in the glossary that were used in a wider area than just Exmoor. This was expected and reflects the sources used in collating the glossary; many were of a regional nature and only the Transactions of the Devonshire Association noted where a term was recorded, with this done inconsistently. Some participants expressed a desire to be able to know which were specifically 'Exmoor' terms, and were disappointed that this was not possible. It was suggested that being able to link specific dialect terms to specific places (even to field level) or landscape features would afford much greater insight. This has implications for any future work recording occurrences of dialect terms, whether written or oral. One participant did note the small scale of the dialect language itself, describing it as "*kind of parochial, looking at little plots of land and things that make a difference on an individual farm basis"* (Participant 1, NPA).

Several comments were made about the impossibility of considering a single Exmoor dialect due to considerable linguistic variation across the National Park area, with particular mentions of variations north to south and between Devon and Somerset. There was a conflict of views on the extent of dialect similarity with other upland areas of the south west. One participant suspected there would be much overlap due to contact between Exmoor and Dartmoor via stock movements and similar land management practices; however another, involved in

farming, said "*the difference between Exmoor and Dartmoor is quite substantial... and down to Bodmin Moor, it seems like they talk another language to us entirely"* (Participant 7, NPA).

Reflections by a couple of participants on the connections between the local landscape, the techniques used to manage it and the terms used to name these were reminiscent of Whiston Spirn's (1998) 'landscape dialect' interacting with the linguistic dialect.

6.2 Persistence of dialect language on Exmoor

There was a striking variation in participants' responses about the persistence of dialect. All of the participants were either from the Exmoor area or had worked on or around Exmoor for a number of years, and so I anticipated that they would be familiar with and able to make informed comments about the use of local dialect.

Most participants were aware of a small proportion of the terms listed in the glossary, though three participants who had a very long familiarity with Exmoor and involvement in the farming community indicated a much greater awareness. Two participants reported that they were familiar with some terms from their use in a wider geographical area, with Cornwall and the Midlands mentioned, supporting the suggestion that the glossary includes supralocalised terms with wider use.

I had expected that participants' accounts of current use of dialect of Exmoor would be fairly similar, given that they were in regular contact with local people and particularly the land management and farming community. I was surprised to find very different perceptions of the use of dialect. Participants' accounts ranged along a spectrum from "*I'd say the majority of [the phrases] have died out*" (Participant 5, other local organisation)to "*it's very much alive*" (Participant 7, NPA); with most inferring that dialect had undergone or was undergoing a major decline, supporting the suggestion that Exmoor will have been subject to dialect attrition. The two participants who viewed local dialect as very much alive and in use described themselves as coming from farming families and still being actively involved in farming, and this give them greater exposure to the venues where dialect is most likely to be used – one mentioned the local livestock markets in particular. This demonstrates the importance of reaching informants who are part of the linguistic community being studied.

Several explanations as to why use or recognition of dialect might have apparently declined were offered during interviews. Participants noted that many of the people currently farming

on Exmoor do not originate from the area, while population movements more generally were also mentioned as contributing to attrition, supporting the assertions of Britain (2011). Some language loss was linked to loss of particular historic practices that words may refer to; with the example of peat cutting given (no peat is now cut on Exmoor). However attrition also appeared to be occurring in terms relating to ongoing practices; one participant had presented an extracted portion of the glossary (terms categorised under peat and burning) to land managers at a meeting discussing swaling. This participant expressed surprise at a relatively poor level of recognition from those present. It was also recognised that people are bi-dialectical in practice and unlikely to use dialect terms when speaking with "outsiders", and this may be significant in the context of local organisations whose staff come from far and wide such as the National Park Authority.

6.3 Attributes, value and power of dialect language

I asked participants about the value and power that they considered dialect to have, and in the course of the interviews some of their spontaneous remarks also suggested particular attributes or characteristics of dialect.

Responses showed strong agreement that the dialect glossary demonstrated a connection between people and the landscape, with one comment that dialect terms acted as "*indicators*" for this. Participants commented on the longstanding nature of this relationship and the connotations of intimacy and understanding that the dialect language demonstrated. Also commented on by most participants was the meaningful and interesting nature of dialect, with frequent comments that they had enjoyed reading the glossary.

The greater insight and understanding of the landscape and its management that could be gained through the dialect was another dominant theme, supporting the claims of Seddon (1997) and Lopez (1989) for the possibilities offered by intimacy and familiarity. Participants suggested that dialect was an important element of cultural heritage and offered a way to understand past agricultural and land management practices and the significance of these in local life. This offers channels to engage the interest of people who are distanced from traditional rural life by both geography and time:

> *"It's a way of enabling modern people if you like, people now, and particularly visitors, to see the landscape but to see it in a slightly different way, and in a sense to see it partly through the eyes of the people who were before"* (Participant 2, NPA)

An understanding of the meaning of dialect terms was also identified as valuable in being able to make use of historical data and sources by understanding the specific meanings of words used in these.

Some participants highlighted particular aspects of the dialect that had stood out for them including large numbers of terms in particular categories; onomatopoeic words; the use of humour in the dialect; and links to local tradition and folklore. These comments reinforce my own observations of the glossary in Chapter 5. Several participants noted that the glossary contained many examples where there were multiple words for the same thing; multiple meanings of the same term; or variations in spellings for essentially the same term. These were generally seen as adding to the interest of the dialect rather than being problematic, and some potential explanations were offered:

> *"There seemed to be loads of different words for bats and you think, well, if people had so many different words for bats they must have been quite prominent to people ... maybe that gives us an indication of how many more bats there used to be than there are now, because people would have been seeing them all the time and so they would as a result have developed all these local names for them"*
> (Participant 1, NPA)

The variations in spelling underline the primarily oral character of dialect, demonstrating the shortcomings of maintaining a solely written record. One participant referred to dialect as a spoken rather than written language, and explained that they had recognised the terms in the glossary when they spoke them aloud rather than reading them on paper.

There were indications of a shift in the power held by dialect over time. Three participants described a general lack of respect for local dialect language in the past. This had resulted in people feeling embarrassed about using dialect. However change was perceived to be happening more recently, with dialect becoming more valued and being a source of pride and authority:

> *"I think when somebody <u>does</u> talk with a local accent and with great local knowledge, that in itself does command a respect. Because people think well actually, that person does know what they're talking about because they're clearly from here and they've been doing it for a very long time"*
> (Participant 4, NPA)

6.4 Dialect and landscape

Some comments directly addressed the connection between dialect language and the landscape. Language was described in terms of being a connecting force between people and landscape, which could tell the story of the landscape (particularly through place and field names) and add a layer of meaning. One participant noted that the names of local rivers on Exmoor are often suggestive of the violent and noisy flows of winter, offering summer visitors who only see and hear calm streams an insight into what the landscape is like at other times of year. Another felt that language and landscape were very closely intertwined, with descriptions of the landscape being part of efforts to preserve local distinctiveness. There was also mention of the ongoing process of change in the names of places and points of interest as adding to the meaning of place. The key theme in all of these comments is the understanding of landscape that language affords, as referred to in Chapter 5.

> *"Well I think it's all part of the richness, of understanding places and landscapes in particular. And with so much going on in the countryside today where the landscape in particular is not thought of; the concept of beauty and the concept of the way land has been managed, with the talk of all the things we need now for the future; I think it's really, really important that we do have this greater understanding of how landscapes came into being and how they've changed their dynamic ,and how they've changed through centuries and yet have retained certain aspects that are of crucial importance. And I think a glossary like this could help."*
>
> (Participant 6, other local organisation)

6.5 Approaches to the conservation of dialect

Before considering the specific roles of local organisations, I asked participants about the relative merits of two potential approaches to conserving dialect. These were preserving a record of dialect for posterity; and supporting the continued living use of dialect by supporting traditional land management practices. There was strong agreement that both of these approaches were needed in tandem.

Change over time was a key motivating factor in the identified need to keep records of dialect language, either because participants felt that dialect language was currently dying out or because they felt that change was an ongoing and inherent quality of language. It emerged that there were plans to include dialect in the local Historic Environment Record which is

maintained by the National Park Authority. The notion that dialect could offer insight into the past and aid understanding of historical sources and field or place names was reiterated. It was considered useful to keep records to be able to map changes in dialect language over time. One participant raised concerns about the potential for an "*artificial*" approach if local people were not involved in attempts to record and conserve dialect.

Participants saw a clear link between the maintenance of traditional land management practices and the ongoing use of dialect terms referring to these practices, reflecting similar assertions by Stilgoe (2004) of the link between practice and language. It was generally inferred that dialect remains in use among people engaged in traditional land management, with only one participant saying that supporting the living use of dialect would present problems because of the extent of decline that has already occurred. There was strong support for keeping dialect in use:

> *"I think it is important to keep the dialect going and to encourage use of the dialect, because otherwise it will just be forgotten – keeping a written record won't keep it alive"*
>
> (Participant 5, other local organisation)

6.6 The language of policy and its relationship with dialect

Participants were asked about the value and power of policy language, compared to dialect language. While responses often treated policy language quite generally, the particular examples of landscape character assessment and agri-environment schemes were talked about by several participants.

There was a markedly critical tone in the way that the majority of participants described the language of policy documents, suggesting that it was at a remove from everyday experience. Policy language was variously described as "*ugly*", "*cold*", "*clinical*" and "*opaque*". These descriptions contrast directly with the way that dialect language was described. One participant described in some detail the problems that they perceived with different types of language related to policy-making and implementation:

> *"When people who manage the land talk about the land and how they manage it they talk in a certain way. And it is about swaling and grazing and livestock and what they do. But the language of Government is Higher Level Stewardship prescriptions. And I've*

even heard people talk in codes – so they say to a farmer, oh it's in unfavourable condition but I think if we put it in HLK 14... and you think, what are you talking about? Because people get so used to their own jargon and their own language, and they just roll it out and it trips off the tongue. And no, it's not very helpful at all. So we have different sorts of language don't we, we have the whole plan writing, management strategy kind of writing which is about engaging and delivering, words that normal people never use and Defra uses quite a lot doesn't it, it uses a language that is very particular to policy writing people. Then you have a whole language around subjects, like ecology or archaeology, which again perhaps farmers or land managers won't always understand most of it. There's a whole language around grants and regulation; there's a whole language around projects and things that just trip off the tongue, whether it's ESAs and SSSIs and WFDs, that we all slip into. So it's quite alienating I think, and it just reinforces this – it's a phrase that's used quite a lot around here, I'm sure it's used everywhere – too much college and not enough knowledge. But it reinforces that, doesn't it, that feeling that there's this expert, externally imposed view which uses this language; and then the local language which is very different and isn't respected, in the way that we haven't respected dialects as a culture have we, as a community."

(Participant 4, NPA)

The fact that dialect is not currently reflected in policy was not however viewed as necessarily negative; many participants made a clear differentiation between national and local level policy language. They pointed to the need for clear, objective and universally-understood language in policies at a national level; but a number of comments also highlighted a potential role for the use of dialect in local policy-making, especially where these policies were aimed at or would impact upon land managers and farmers. It was suggested that use of or reference to dialect could improve local understanding and engagement, and help to ensure that policy is not removed from experience of place.

Landscape character assessment was discussed by several participants, acknowledging that currently the only place where dialect might feature would be in selected quotes from literature used to illustrate cultural associations. It was recognised that the characterisation process has neglected the perceptual and experiential qualities of landscape that are reflected in dialect language. Participants suggested that in seeking to provide an objective and scientifically robust framework for assessing and making judgements about landscape, the

language of landscape character assessment as currently used lacked the ability to describe the unique and distinctive qualities that contribute to the sense of a particular place.

Half of participants referred to the language of agri-environment policy as being problematic. Because schemes are developed nationally it was felt that the result was too bland and did not sufficiently take into account local circumstances and priorities, including historic land management. The proliferation of prescriptions, codes and jargon was perceived to be having a negative impact; and it was suggested that dialect could play a role in improving local communication, uptake and understanding of schemes as well as informing more localised content for the schemes themselves.

An interesting point was made by one participant who suggested that the language of policy could actually be contributing to dialect attrition, as terms used by Natural England and the NPA could enter common usage and replace local dialect terms. Another participant commented that both organisations had recently made moves towards tailoring national policies to local circumstances. It seems then that policy language has the power not only to influence land management on the ground, but also to impact upon dialect language. A clear role emerges for the NPA, Natural England and other bodies working locally to seek to translate national policy to better fit local circumstances; including incorporating or making reference to local dialect terms where possible.

6.7 Roles for Exmoor National Park Authority

All participants were able to identify a significant role or roles for Exmoor National Park Authority (NPA) in relation to dialect. These covered a broad range of the NPA's activities and included internal uses as well as suggestions for more outward-facing work making use of dialect.

A couple of participants working for the NPA explicitly acknowledged that little attention has been paid to dialect to date, one suggesting that this was likely due to the relatively recent insertion of cultural heritage into statutory National Park purposes by the Environment Act 1995. Much work since had focused on the physical heritage resource rather than more difficult 'soft' cultural heritage that can be challenging to record and conserve. Several mentioned successful recent NPA work on swaling, which had used this local term and drawn attention to the practice through events, publications, flyers and reports. Participants working

for the NPA were positive about the potential for working with dialect and wanted to give this further thought when the conclusions of this dissertation were available to them.

The fact that many NPA staff are not originally from the local area was recognised and NPA participants suggested that the dialect glossary should be used internally, perhaps as part of induction or training, to raise awareness of local dialect and help NPA staff and also members to feel more confident in using or asking about dialect. It was recognised that while some staff might feel confident in asking land managers and other local people about dialect terms when coming across them, this would not currently be the case for everyone.

Most participants identified dialect conservation or record keeping as a primary role for the National Park Authority. Exmoor NPA maintains the local Historic Environment Record and two participants explicitly suggested that records of dialect should be incorporated into this Record. The need to record dialect, particularly in oral form, to generate appropriate records was identified as a priority due to ongoing dialect attrition.

Again understanding was a strong theme in responses, with dialect giving opportunities for the NPA to improve both its own understanding of landscape and landscape management and also that of visitors. The perceived permanence of the NPA compared to project-based organisations was considered to be an asset:

> *"We're not just here doing a project for a few years, we're here for as long as it takes - and to me that understanding of local land management practice, understanding the terms that are used, the way that local people perceive the landscape and relate to the landscape is part of the relationship we should have with individual landowners"*
> (Participant 2, NPA)

The NPA's work with farmers and land managers was identified by many as an area that dialect could benefit, both by informing understanding of land management and in building local relationships. Several suggested that effort should be made to use dialect terms in the NPA's communications with land managers, helping dialect to continue as an everyday language rather than something separate, special and set aside from everyday activity.

A number of specific NPA activities were mentioned by participants. One had already made use of the glossary in running a wildflower identification training event; and wanted to include dialect terms in a planned refresh of a leaflet about Exmoor's moorland birds. Publications for

visitors, interpretation more generally and information centres were all mentioned as having potential to make use and raise awareness of the local dialect. It was also suggested that it could be linked in to community archaeology projects. One participant highlighted a link to traditional skills and knowledge; connecting to the NPA's role in supporting opportunities for local young people to gain employment and continue living in the area. The NPA was considered by some to be well-placed to celebrate local dialect and increase its visibility; fostering a sense of pride in the dialect and presenting it as an asset of Exmoor.

6.8 Roles for other local organisations or partnerships

A number of general activities that all relevant local organisations could work on – in partnership where appropriate - were suggested. These were recording dialect and adding to the glossary; investigating how much dialect is still in active use; interpreting historical documents and data; and using dialect terms in their work. One participant suggested incorporating dialect into the local school curriculum to help ensure that knowledge is transferred to the next generation. Dulverton Middle School has worked with the NPA and Exmoor Society to develop an 'Exmoor Curriculum' which incorporates local history and culture as one of its four broad areas, so this could offer an opportunity to include dialect in local education.

The Exmoor Society was identified by participants as having expertise in cultural heritage, including local customs and traditions. The Society was considered to have good local connections, and it was suggested that an article in the annual Exmoor Society Review could draw attention to dialect and garner interest from people who may be able to contribute to further research. I have agreed to write an article for the Review based on the findings of this study, and to place a copy of the dissertation in the Society's library. The Exmoor Society's archive resources were also mentioned as the Society is pursuing funding to appoint an archivist and digitise some material. An understanding of dialect terms may prove helpful in this process.

The roles suggested for the Hill Farm Project were more often of a supporting nature. The participant from the Hill Farm Project explained that transfer of knowledge and skills to the next generation of Exmoor farmers is a primary concern for the organisation, and dialect could form part of this. Other participants emphasised the position of the project as part of and wrapped up in the farming community, meaning that it is an important conduit of

communication between other organisations and the farmers and land managers. This could assist future work on dialect.

Funding for the Heart of Exmoor Landscape Partnership Scheme is due to come to an end shortly, though a couple of participants referred to a funding extension that had been agreed. The transitory nature of the Scheme was pointed to by the Heart of Exmoor participant as a reason why its role in any future work on dialect could be limited and would need involvement from the wider partnership members to ensure longevity. They did recognise, however, a link in the remit of the Scheme - supporting and increasing understanding of the moorland landscape – and the potential of dialect to contribute to this. Other participants pointed to the integration of natural and cultural aspects in the Scheme's work, and its recognition of local distinctiveness, making it well-suited for work on dialect. The Scheme has undertaken oral history recordings and it was suggested by a couple of participants that future work in this area could incorporate an emphasis on dialect.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is clear from the experience of this study that dialect can often be challenging to work with. It is constantly changing and resists attempts to precisely pin it down temporally or geographically, so the best that can be achieved is a series of snapshots and samples of the language. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that dialect has been somewhat neglected; or perhaps it has simply been taken for granted. There is agreement that the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have seen an acceleration of change in local dialects, resulting in lexical attrition (Britain, 2005, 2011; Trudgill, 1999). It is hard to establish why there has not been more detailed study of this process in England, but I am convinced that urgent attention is needed to record and study the lexical resource and the rate of its decline. National Parks, with their statutory purposes to conserve the cultural heritage and promote understanding and enjoyment of their special qualities, are well-placed to be at the forefront of this work.

The dialect glossary assembled here demonstrates that just by scratching the surface, a considerable resource of dialect language can be revealed. Much of this is from historical rather than contemporary sources; while this adds value in terms of our understanding of the historic landscape and its management, it is a concern that the same attention to recording dialect has not been given in recent decades. Nonetheless, the glossary demonstrates the richness of understanding and insight that dialect can offer, and the stories it tells about how people have perceived and interacted with the landscape around them.

It is evident from the results of the interviews that there is uncertainty around current understanding and use of dialect on and around Exmoor, and though attrition is generally assumed to be taking place no attempt has been made to establish whether this is indeed the case and how it is proceeding. Given that lexical attrition is under-studied nationally (Britain 2005), Exmoor and other National Parks might consider approaching relevant universities to establish research partnerships and offer themselves as ‘test beds’ for further study and the development of methodologies for this.

There is clearly room for improvement in keeping records of dialect in Exmoor National Park, and this emerges as a priority for future work relating to dialect. The glossary may be able to form the basis of an expanded resource, which could incorporate further historical and contemporary sources as they arise. Thought will be needed as to the best format for the data and how organisations and individuals can access it in order to share and add data over time.

But the written records can only go so far; the need to collate any existing recordings of dialect and to make new recordings came through strongly. This could be the focus of a specific recording project, or could be incorporated as a line of questioning in more general oral histories work. Importantly both the written and oral records will need ongoing attention rather than a one-off effort; though this could be problematic in the current climate of reduced financial resources.

Another consideration for future work is how dialect language can be more explicitly linked to particular places. The more detail that can be established, the more useful the dialect resource will be. Any future work to record dialect should seek to record relevant details wherever possible. These might include the place where a particular word is known to be in use; where dialect speakers are from; or the particular location or landscape feature that a term refers to. Further study of local place names would be a good place to start in linking language and place.

Celebrating local dialect, and fostering an environment where people can feel proud of their dialect, should be a priority and would support delivery of landscape and cultural heritage objectives set out in the Partnership Plan (Exmoor NPA 2012). The NPA should play a leading role by promoting awareness and understanding of dialect for both people living on Exmoor and visitors to the area. At the time of writing the NPA will shortly be opening a new information centre in Lynmouth Pavilion, and has expressed an interest in making dialect a part of the landscape-themed exhibitions that will be running over the coming two years. This would be a positive step, and could offer an opportunity to celebrate the links between landscape and dialect and also the inspirational qualities of dialect language. Writers from R.D. Blackmore and Henry Williamson to contemporary poets such as Frances Presley (2009) and Tilla Brading have used local dialect from the Exmoor area in their work. This special inspirational quality of dialect is not a theme that I have had space to explore in depth here, but it is one which certainly merits further attention.

More needs to be done, too, to bridge the gap that currently exists between local traditional dialects and the language of policy, which appears to have become distanced from local circumstances and the experience of place. Of course it may not be appropriate necessarily to write policy using dialect language – that will depend upon the intended audience and importantly the scale of the policy. There is, however, a role for National Park Authorities and other bodies working on the ground at a local level to consider when it may be appropriate to incorporate dialect in the ways that they write and deliver policies – in effect, translating the

national into the local. This could result in more effective local communication and engagement, and dialect may also be able to inform policy so that it is better suited to local circumstances. The dialect resource underlines the cultural and perceptual aspects of the landscape, providing valuable evidence for use in landscape planning and management (including landscape character assessment); cultural ecosystem services approaches; and localised implementation of agri-environment schemes.

Finally, I hope that this study will inspire not only Exmoor NPA but other National Park Authorities across England to investigate their local dialect resource; support research into and conservation of dialect; and be open to the ways in which a greater awareness and understanding of dialect could inform their work. Dialect language is a vital and substantial part of our cultural heritage, and a strong connecting force between people and the landscapes they live in; to ignore it is to lose a wealth of possibilities and a deep store of knowledge.

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APPENDIX 1: EXMOOR AND LOCALITY DIALECT GLOSSARY

TERM	EXPLANATION	SOURCE	CATEGORY
ackymal	an onomatopoeic word from the call of the blue and great titmouse	Williamson	Animals
aerymouse	Common British bat	Williamson	Animals
aggy	caterpillar	Schama	Animals
ammet hill	ant hill	Skeggs	Animals
angle	An earthworm (Very com.)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
apple drain	Wasp	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
appledrane	a wasp buzzing inside a ripe apple	Williamson	Animals
apple-drane	A wasp. Common, but not so much used as *wapsy*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
batch	6. Ant-hill	Skeggs	Animals
battle-head	1. (Always) The miller's thumb fish. 2. A stupid, thick-headed fellow	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
beam-feathers	The stiff quill feathers in a bird's wing	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bedfly	Common flea	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bee-bird	The flycatcher or white-throat	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bee-butt	Bee-hive - *i.e.* the common straw hive. The belief is almost universal, that should a death occur in the house to which the bees belong, each *butt* ought "to be told of it," otherwise they will all die	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bee-butt	A straw skip	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
bell	Of a stag. The bellow or roar of the stag at rutting time; said to be a very loud, unearthly kind of noise, different to that of any other animal	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
berry	A group of rabbit-holes having internal communication. Called also a berry of holes	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bias	Said of birds or animals frightened out of their accustomed locality - as of partridges, which do not seem to know where they are flying. Ah! They be out o' their *bias*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals

bias	Accustomed place or condition. A man speaking of pheasants said: "They'll be sure to come back to their *byas*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
biddle	beetle	Evans	Animals
biddle	beetle; also the name of a thatching tool; the name of large wooden mallet used for driving wedges into a tree trunk or baulk of timber in order to split it	Marten	Animals
biddle	For beetle (thatcher's beetle, etc.)	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
bird	The partridge	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bird of property	red-backed shrike "It was a bird of property, or red-backed shrike" p254	Williamson	Animals
bitch-fox	A vixen. *Vixen* is a literary word - we always say *dog-fox* or *bitch-fox*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
blackcock	male black grouse "a blackcock hurtled down the western hill, followed by a grey hen with her two heath poults" p186	Williamson	Animals
brock	A badger (rare, but still in use in the Hill district). Ang. Sax *Broc* - a *brock*, gray or badger. Irish *Broc* - a badger	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
brock	badger	Evans	Animals
brock	badger	Williamson	Animals
brock-holes	Badgers' holes	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
buck	The male rabbit only is so called. Never now applied to a deer	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
budd'n	button, also sheep or rabbit droppings or burrs of burdock	Marten	Animals
bug	A beetle	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bumble	A bumble-bee	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
bum-towel	The bottle-tit	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
burry	group of deep interconnecting rabbit holes	Skeggs	Animals
butt	bee-butt or hive	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
buz-horney	cockchafer	Schama	Animals
cad-boit	Cad-bait. The caddis-worm; more commonly called wood-carrier	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals

clim-tree	The creeper *Certhis familiaris*. This little bird is not known by any other name than the above	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
cock-chick	Boy's name for a kind of minnow, of which there are a great many specimens amongst the shoals of common minnows frequenting our streams in the spring. The cock-chick is marked with gold on the belly, and bright red under the fins. It is the same size as an ordinary minnow	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
colly	The blackbird (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
conies	rabbits	Evans	Animals
conygre, conergre	rabbit warren	Evans	Animals
crackety	A small bird "Jenny Wren"	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
crackey	common wren	Williamson	Animals
crane	A heron. In Dulverton is a heronry in Lord Carnarvon's park, always called a cranery	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
craws	crows	Evans	Animals
crow-sticks	bits of branches such as crows use for nests	Devonshire Assoc	Animals
cuddley	The common wren. In North Devon this bird is a crackety	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
culver	wood pigeon	Evans	Animals
culvers	pigeons	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
cutty	The wren; not so common as *cuddley*, and a little "fine talk" in this district	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
dap-chick	Dabchick, or little grebe. *Podiceps minor*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
devil's cow	1. A large black beetle. 2. The large black shell-less dew-snail	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
devil-screech	The swift *Cypselus apus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
dew-snail	The large black slug	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
dinfly	A fly that stings	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
dirsh	Thrush. Always either *dirsh* or *drish*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
dish-washer	The water-wagtail. The only name for the bird in this district	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
dishy-washer, polly-wash-dish	wagtail	Schama	Animals

drane	Drone. Usually applied to the wasp. Contraction of *apple-drane*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
drish	A thrush. More common than *dirsh*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
drishel	Thrush	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
drishie	thrush	Schama	Animals
drumbledrane	a drone (or humble bee)	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
drummle-drain	A bumble-bee	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
dumbledary	A large kind of wild bee, but not the very large *humble bee*, which is called *bum'le*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
dumbledore, dumbledrone	bumblebee	Evans	Animals
durrie-mouse	Door (sic) or field mouse	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
ear-vrig	Earwig. This is one of the words in which we retain the sound of the old *w* before *r* - but how our forefathers got the *r* into A. S. *earwicga* is for savants to determine	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
ebet	Eft, or small lizard. The newt is called a water ebet. Elsewhere called *evet*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
eel-hutch	A fixed iron trap for catching eels or other fish	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
eft, effet	newt	Evans	Animals
emett-batch, emett-butt, emett-heap	ant-hill	Skeggs	Animals
emmet	The ant. One of the words to which *y* is prefixed	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
emmet batch	ant hill	Evans	Animals
emmet-heap	Ant-hill. The large pile of wood and dust, so often collected in woods by the large wood ants	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
errin-ogs	porpoises "a herd of porpoises... Fishermen called them errin-ogs" p202	Williamson	Animals
evet	lizard	Evans	Animals
Evett	A lizard (eft)	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals

eye	A brood - in speaking of pheasants. This is the regular word corresponding to a *covey of partridges*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
father-long-legs	Called *daddy-long-legs* elsewhere	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
felt	Fieldfare (rare)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
fern-owl	The nightjar *Caprimulgus europaeus*. Not so common as *night-crow*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
fiery-tail	The redstart. See *lady-red-tail*. *Phoenicura ruticilla*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
fildevare	The fieldfare *Turdus pilaris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
fitch	The only name for the polecat	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
fitchey or fitch	stoat	Williamson	Animals
fitchole	polecat	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
flittermouse	The bat. See *leathern bird*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
flittermouse	bat	Evans	Animals
furze-pig	See *vuz-pig*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
god almighty's cow	The lady-bird	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
golden-dishwasher	The yellow wagtail (always). *Motacilla raii*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
goolfrench	Goldfinch	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
gramfer long-legs	Daddy long-legs *Zipula oleracea*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
green-linnet	The green-finch. This bird is always so called. *Coccothraustes chloris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
greybird	Fieldfare (common) *Turdus pilastris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
grig	A cricket. "So merry's a *grig*," or "So merry's a cricket," are equally common, and have the same meaning - they are the regular superlative absolute of *merry*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
guccoo	Cuckoo	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
hackermo	?Tom tit	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
hack-mal, hacky-mal	The common tom-tit *Parus caeruleus* (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
hairy parmer	The palmer-worm - the common hair caterpillar (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals

haly parmer	See *hairy parmer*. Whether this is slovenly pronunciation of *hairy*, or whether it stands for *holy palmer*, as is very probable, I cannot say	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
heath poult	juvenile black grouse "a blackcock hurtled down the western hill, followed by a grey hen with her two heath poults" p186	Williamson	Animals
heath-poult	The common name for black game. See *poult*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
hedgeboar, hedgepig	Hedgehog; also a term for a lout; a clumsy, stupid clod	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
hirdick	Ruddock, the robin; generally called Rabin *hirdick*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
holm-screech	The missel-thrush is always known by this name, and no other. *Turdus viscivorus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
hoop	The bullfinch - usual name. *Pyrrhula vulgaris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
horse stinger	dragonfly	Evans	Animals
horse-stinger	The common dragon-fly of all varieties is known only by this name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
horse-stingers	dragonflies	Schama	Animals
hunderd-legs	The centipede (usual name)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
jack-hare	The male hare is always so called, while a male rabbit is invariably a *buck*. The females are *doe-rabbit* and *doe-hare*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
jenny-wren	1. The wren. See *hirdick*. 2. The wild geranium *Geranium robertianum* - the most usual name in the vale district of this very common plant; in the hill district *Arb-rabert* is the commoner	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
lady-bug, lady-cow	The lady-bird	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
lady-dish-wash, lady-wash-dish, lady-dishy-wishy	The water-wagtail. See *dish-washer*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
lady-red-tail	The Redstart *Phoenicura ruticilla*. The ordinary name - called also Fiery-tail. *Redstart* unknown	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
leathern mouse	bat	Evans	Animals
leathern-bird	The bat. Commonest name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals

long cripple	An adder	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
longcripple	viper	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
long-cripple	A hare (not common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
long-tailed-captain	The bottle-tit *Parus caudatus*. The usual name. See *hackmal*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
lymptwigg	lapwing	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
mack	Magpie	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
maggot, maggoty pie	Magpie	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
mallard	A drake. Duck and *mallard*. The word "drake" is not used	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
mallscralls	Caterpillar	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
mash	Used in speaking of hares. To *mash* is to jump or creep through a fence. A *mash* is the gap or creep through which a hare goes	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
mawl-scrawl	The common green caterpillar (nearly always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
may-bug	Cockchafer. Not so common as *oak-web*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
miller	A large moth of any species	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
minny	Minnow (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
mollie	hare	Schama	Animals
moyle	mule	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
mur	A sea-bird, very common in the British Channel. The Puffin - *Fratercula* (usual name)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
nesty	To build nests	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
night-crow	The night-jar or goat-sucker. (Usual name.) *Caprimulgus europaeus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
night-hawk	Same as *night-crow*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
oak-web	Cockchafer. The only common name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
oddmedod	snail	Schama	Animals

oven	chambers in a badger sett "The Brocks allowed the otters to sleep in one of their ovens - as countrymen call the chambers connecting the tunnels, for they were the size and shape of the cloam ovens wherein some Devon farm-wives still bake bread" p79	Williamson	Animals
ox-eye	Only name for both the chiff-chaff and the willow warbler. *Phylloscopus rufus* and *Ph. Trochilus*. The former are plentiful in spring, and very much resemble the latter	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
paddick	toad	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
parmer	Palmer. See *haly-parmer*. The palmer-worm (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
parson	A black rabbit (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
peel	Salmon of the first season; grilse. Called *truff* in South Devon	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
peewit	The lapwing or silver plover. So called from its shrill cry. *Vanellus cristatus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
peewit	lapwing	Evans	Animals
peter	mouse	Schama	Animals
pig's-louse	The common wood-louse	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
pink-twink	The chaffinch, doubtless from its peculiar double note. *Fringilla coelebs*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
poking	hedgehog	Schama	Animals
pollywiggle	tadpole	Williamson	Animals
poult	The only name for black-game in West Somerset. Called also *heath-poult*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
prickle-back	The common stickleback (always; *stickleback* unknown). *Gasterosteus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
proud tailor	The goldfinch	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
quistie	wood pigeon	Schama	Animals
ram-cat	A tom-cat. Usual name. *Tom* is "genteel" talk. In parts of Devon they say *Ram-cat* and Day-cat. In West Somerset it is *Ram-cat* and Ewe-cat	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
ram-cat	tom cat	Williamson	Animals
red-tail	The Redstart *Phoenicura ruticilla*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
rere mouse	A bat. Less common than *flitter-mouse*. Anglo Saxon *hrére-mús,* a bat	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals

ruddock	robin	Williamson	Animals
saddlebacks	bugs	Schama	Animals
scare-devil	The swift (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
screech owl	The common owl, which makes a loud noise like a hooting or mocking laugh. Although so very common, yet the hooting of the *screech owl* is never heard by some people without dread and foreboding of evil. It is held to be a "sure sign of death"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
screech owl	tawny owl	Evans	Animals
seven-sleeper	Generally the dormouse; but the term is used for any hybernating animal. I have heard it remarked, "Why, leathern birds be *seven-sleepers*, and zo be bees." Asking a keeper's boy what he had there, he said, "A *seven-sleepers* ness, zir." I had seen him take the dormouse's nest from a bush, and only inquired to hear what he would call it - Sept 1886	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
sheracroft	Shrew or field-mice	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
shoemakers	The water-bugs which dart about on the surface (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
shortlecrub	A shrew mouse	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
shrowcropéd	Paralyzed by a shrew-mouse creeping over its back. Said of animals. A Devonshire superstition	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
skitty	The moor-hen (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
sleep-all-the-winter	dormouse	Schama	Animals
sloom	slow worm	Schama	Animals
snarley horns	snails	Evans	Animals
snarley-horn	snail	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
sport	Fish are said to "be *sporting*" when they jump out of the water; also when they bite or take the bait freely	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
spurring	following the track of a wild animal	Williamson	Animals
stare	Starling (uncommon)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals

stop	A rabbit's nest. So called because the doe always stops or covers up the hole every time she leaves it, until the young ones are old enough to come out	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
stub, stumpy	partridge	Schama	Animals
sturtle-boar	A black-beetle	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
summer-snipe	The sandpiper *Tringoides hypoleucus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
thing	2. Among keepers the regular word for ground vermin	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
tidly	A tom-tit *Parus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
tissing	otter call "tissing with rage" p28	Williamson	Animals
tom-tit	Blue tit (national)	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
trace	2. To track in the snow - usually applied to hares. The foot-print of a hare is a "prick," but in snow a "*trace*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
truff	Salmon peal or grilse. Common in Devon, rare in Somerset	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
tub	The gurnet, always so called along the coast of the Severn Sea	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
vair	The weasel. So called in North-west Somerset and North Devon. In the Vale district of West Somerset always *vary*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
vair	weasel	Williamson	Animals
vair, vairy	weasel	Devonshire Assoc	Animals
varmid	A creepy animal or reptile	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
varmint	Vermin - in the sense of foxes, stoats, weasels, rats, cats, hawks, magpies, or any other creatures which prey upon game. The word is never applied to snakes, creeping things, or parasites	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
varmitt	A snake or any creepy-crawly	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
vary	A weasel, not a stoat. In some parts, about Dulverton, this is called a *vair*... No doubt the word is O.F. *vair,* fur, and our form *vary* the diminutive, as in lovy, Billy, &c.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals

villvare	The fieldfare. Called also *velt*. *Turdus pilaris*. Of this there are two varieties, called from the colour Greybird and Bluebird	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
vox	fox	Schama	Animals
vuz-kite	A kestrel	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
vuz-napper	The whinchat *Saxicola rubetra*. This bird is very common on our moorlands, and is known only as above	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
vuz-peg	hedgehog	Williamson	Animals
vuz-pig	The hedgehog. Evil things are believed of the hedgehog, but in reality he is a harmless and useful animal. He is said to suck cows, and that he rolls himself on the apples in an orchard, and carries them off sticking upon his spikes. He certainly will kill young birds and eat them	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
want	A mole (always). When land has become very impoverished the usual rustic pun is generally to be heard, "The *want*'s a-got into that there ground"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
want	mole	Schama	Animals
want heap, want knap	A mole-hill (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
want-heave	mole hill	Schama	Animals
want-hills	Mole-hills	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
want-wriggle	A mole track. A small line of earth slightly moved, constantly to be seen where a mole has made his way just beneath the surface	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
wapse, wapsy	Wasp (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
wash-dish	The wagtail. Less common than *dish-washer*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
water-colly	The water ouzel *Hydrobata aquatica* (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
windle	The redwing (always) *Turdus iliacus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
winter-bird	Common name for the fieldfare	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
wont	mole	Evans	Animals
wont heave	mole hill	Evans	Animals

wood-carrier	The caddis-worm, from the pieces of stick which are generally adhering to its sheath. This name is the common one among the boys who bait pins with it to catch minnows	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
wood-wall	The green woodpecker, whose peculiar cry is said to be "Wet! Wet! Wet!" and is a sure sign of rain. *Picus viridis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
wop	wasp	Elworthy (Scolding)	Animals
yaller-hammer	The yellow-hammer *Emberiza citrinella*. This very common summer bird is often called, from its peculiar note - "Little-bit-o'-bread-an'-no-cheese." Our *ammer* is a more correct pronunciation than the lit. *hammer.* Anglo-Saxon *amore*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
yemmets	Ants	Eardley-Wilmot	Animals
yeth-hounds	A phantom pack of hounds, believed to hunt in the night, and whom superstitious people declare they have heard. The legend is not very common, but is steadfastly believed in out-of-the-way places	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
yeth-poult	The regular local term for black grouse, including both sexes, which were once very plentiful in the district, and are still common enough	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
yikkering	otter call p45	Williamson	Animals
yoe cat	Ewe-cat; she-cat	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
yuckle	Woodpecker. Not so common as *wood-wall*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
zebm-slaper	Seven sleeper. The dormouse (always)... Applied to any hibernating animal	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
zwer	A whizzing noise, as of the sudden rise of a covey of partridges	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Animals
back sunkid	In the shade	Eardley-Wilmot	Aspect
back-sunded	Facing the north; land sloping towards the north is said to be *back-sunded*. Cold *back-zunded* field o' ground, is a very common description.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
fleet	Exposed in situation - the opposite of *lew*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
fleet	The exposed part; unsheltered situation	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect

lew	1. Sheltered from the wind 2. *Lee* (Very common) Aglos Saxon *hleo*, shade, shelter	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
lew	sheltered from the wind	Evans	Aspect
lew side	the sheltered side	Devonshire Assoc	Aspect
lewness	The condition of shelter	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
lewth	Shelter; protection from wind	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
lewthy	Sheltered	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
loo	lee, shelter, side away from the wind	Marten	Aspect
start	bleak, exposed in situation	Devonshire Assoc	Aspect
start	4. Exposed in situation; unprotected or unsheltered from the prevailing winds; bleak	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
under the wind	Sheltered from the wind	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Aspect
vore zunded	fore sunned meaning facing the sun, or on the sunny side	Marten	Aspect
angle-bowing	a kind of fencing against sheep	Elworthy (Scolding)	Boundaries
angle-bowing	A method of fencing	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
apse	To shut a door or gate	Eardley-Wilmot	Boundaries
atchett	a hurdle hung across a stream to prevent cattle from wandering out of the field	Marten	Boundaries
bannin	Anything to form a barrier, or temporary fence. When a footpath crosses a field it is very common to crook down branches of thorn, at intervals, on each side of the path, to prevent people from straying from the track. This is frequently called putting down some bannin	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
bray	(Braid), weave the thin twigs in, when hedging	Eardley-Wilmot	Boundaries
browse	To trim the hedges - *i.e.* to cut the brambles and other small undergrowth which so rapidly accumulates upon the sides of our West Somerset bank-hedges. The *browse* is the brambles, &c. when cut; also brushwood when cut	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
browse	To trim a hedge	Eardley-Wilmot	Boundaries

buddle hole	a hole made in a hedge for a drain	Elworthy (Scolding)	Boundaries
buddle-hole	A hole in a hedge to carry off surface drainage	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
butt	hedge	Devonshire Assoc	Boundaries
butt	A hedge. Often also used as an *adj*. A *butt*-hedge (Very com.). Not confined to a boundary hedge, though doubtless that is the true meaning	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
comb	In this district, where the fences mostly consist of high banks with bushes and brambles growing on them, the line or edge where the upright bank ends and the top begins is called the *comb* of the hedge. A great deal of the hedger's art consists in setting up the bank so as to keep this line well defined - to make a good *comb* to it. In all boundary hedges, the owner's exact bounds extend by custom to three feet off the *comb* of the hedge; that is, to a line plumbed down from three feet off the top outer edge of the bank	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
crave	To claim. This word is always used in speaking of rights or boundaries	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
dole, dole-stone	boundary marker	Devonshire Assoc	Boundaries
double-hedge	wide hedge of two banks width	Skeggs	Boundaries
dry-wall	A wall built of stones only, without any mortar	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
flap-gate	A small gate swinging wihtout fastenings between two posts, across a footpath - called also *kissing-gate*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
gad	A stout straight stick, such as elewhere called a hedge-stake	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
gate shord	place for a gate	Evans	Boundaries
hay	hedge	Evans	Boundaries
larra	1. A bar, shuttle, or horizontal part of a common field gate; also the bar of a stile, or the rail (not pale) of a fence	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries

make	1. Technical word applied to a hedge. To make a hedge is to chop out and lay down the "quick" or underwood, and then to cut down the sides of the bank on which the "bushment" grows, and throw the sods, together with the cleanings of the ditch, upon the top of all. It is this process which causes our West Somerset fences to be so formidable to hunting men	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
plush	To plash - applied to hedging. The quick or growing underwood is bent down with the points outwards, and sods are laid on the top so as to make it grow thicker; this is to *plush* the hedge. The word is often found in old leases. Same as *make*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
rapsing	A gate or door that has dropped	Eardley-Wilmot	Boundaries
shattles, shettles	The bars of a five-barred gate	Eardley-Wilmot	Boundaries
shord	Broken crockery; a notch in a knife or any cutting instrument; a gap in a hedge. A large gap made for a cart to pass is called a *gate-shord*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Boundaries
shord	gap in a hedge	Evans	Boundaries
axen	ashes	Elworthy (Scolding)	Burning and peat
axen	ashes	Marten	Burning and peat
axwaddler	an ash pedlar, one who dealt in, or collected, wood or peat ash. Before soap was in common use, ashes were placed in a strainer and water thrown onto them, which when poured off, was strongly alkaline. This liquor was called "lie" and used for washing clothes. The axwaddlers would go around the farmhouses collecting ashes and transporting them on packhorses. The ashes were rarely paid for in money, but were exchanged for drapery or other wares. The word survives in a number of Devonshire Place names (traceable to 1750)	Marten	Burning and peat
beat	true old form of the word peat	Devonshire Assoc	Burning and peat
beat	pronounced bait - field refuse burnt to enrich the ground (turf pared off the ground)	Devonshire Assoc	Burning and peat

beat	A process in husbandry. To dig off the "spine" or turf, and then to burn it and scatter the ashes before ploughing. This is a very common practice when Hill pasture has become overrun with objectionable growths, such as gorse, brambles, or ferns; or when moorland is first tilled	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Burning and peat
beat, peet	turf burnt for the improvement of cold land, commonly called burn-beating	Elworthy (Scolding)	Burning and peat
beet-heap	Weeds etc worked out from the corn-fields after harvest and burnt	Eardley-Wilmot	Burning and peat
fog-earth	Peat, bog-earth	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Burning and peat
fog-earth	bog earth, turf	Skeggs	Burning and peat
handbeating	digging up the turf to burn it in the process of burn-beating	Elworthy (Scolding)	Burning and peat
handbeating	The act of digging up with a mattock old weedy and furzy turf (which is too full of roots to be ploughed) for the purpose of burning it, and so rendering the land arable. The turf so dug is called *beat*. When the turf is free of stones and roots, another process is adopted. A large flat knife called a spader is pushed along by the chest, so as to slice the turf. This is called "spading the beat"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Burning and peat
mump	block of peat dug out by hand	Evans	Burning and peat
pait	peat	Marten	Burning and peat
pill coal	peat dug from beneath a layer of clay	Evans	Burning and peat
ruckle, ruttle	stack of peat	Evans	Burning and peat
scads	rough turves	Devonshire Assoc	Burning and peat
smitch	A thick smoke, dust or fumes	Eardley-Wilmot	Burning and peat
smother	fumes from burning weeds, etc	Devonshire Assoc	Burning and peat
stroyl	field refuse (roots of couch grass) burnt to enrich the ground	Devonshire Assoc	Burning and peat
swaling, sweeling	burning heath and furze	Devonshire Assoc	Burning and peat
swelt	to die down (of a fire)	Devonshire Assoc	Burning and peat
swillet	grazing turf set on fire for manuring the land	Elworthy (Scolding)	Burning and peat
turf	peat cut into a rectangular shape and dried for fuel	Evans	Burning and peat

turf	Peat used for fuel	Eardley-Wilmot	Burning and peat
zweal	scorch or burn (heather and bracken)	Evans	Burning and peat
latter-math	A second crop of grass, not necessarily to be mown again	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Crops
barton	That part of the farm premises which is specially enclosed for cattle... The term *barton* is also applied to the entire farm and homestead, but in this case it is only to the more important farms; very often it is the manor farm, or the principal holding in the parish, whether occupied by the owner or not - generally not. In this case the farm, including the homestead, generally takes the name of the parish preceding the *barton*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
bat	corners or ends of a field (Somerset)	Devonshire Assoc	Fields and enclosures
burgett	small enclosure	Evans	Fields and enclosures
close	An enclosure; a pasture field usually, as Barn's close, Hilly close. In this sense the word is pronounced short	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
cowley	A common field name - *i.e.* cow-pasture, *cow's lea*. See *ley*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
essarts	land claimed from the waste and made into farmland (medieval)	Skeggs	Fields and enclosures
gar	Garth, enclosure. At Dunster is a wood called "Conigar"... Doubtless this is the Coney-garth. There are a few other names, as *Binnegar* (by-near-garth); *Yannigar* (yonder-garth), which have the same termination	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
ham	meadow (level) by the waterside	Devonshire Assoc	Fields and enclosures
ham	enclosure	Evans	Fields and enclosures
home-field	The piece of land next adjoining the homestead is usually the *home-field*; in addition, there is usually another on the other side, adjoining the barn, and this is nearly always the *barns-close*. One or both of these names for the fields next the house are to be found on nearly every farm	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
infaring	Inlying - *i.e.* the opposite of outlying	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
in-ground	Enclosed land, as opposed to hill-ground, which is unenclosed common. Some of the *in-ground* 'pon Exmoor is so good as any man need put a zull into, but a lot of the hill-ground id'n no gurt shakes	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures

leaze	field grazed through the summer	Evans	Fields and enclosures
legger	1. Leg 2. It often happens that fields of irregular shape have a long narrow part, much narrower than the rest of the field - this part is called a *legger*, and the entire field as "the *legger* field". I have one such on my property	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
paice	a piece of land given to a child so that the proceeds of tilling, rent or income would accrue to that child. Often the father, or grandfather, would till the land, sell the crop and credit the child with the income. I remember this practice on several farms in North Devon. The name of the child would be given to the land or field, thus we come across such field names as "Jenny's Piece". The word "portion" was also used	Marten	Fields and enclosures
parrick	Paddock	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
piece	3. A field, or close of land. Constantly used in combination for the names of fields, as "Parson's *piece*," "Home *piece*." Compare the well-known "Parker's *piece*" at Cambridge	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
rap	a strip or length of anything (commonly land) (Somerset)	Devonshire Assoc	Fields and enclosures
rap	Piece/plot of land (tilled the whole rap)	Eardley-Wilmot	Fields and enclosures
shute	field running downhill	Evans	Fields and enclosures
spine-field	pasture field	Devonshire Assoc	Fields and enclosures
spine-field	A pasture field	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
splat	1. Plot	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
splatt	A small field	Eardley-Wilmot	Fields and enclosures
spot	Applied to land or crops. A small piece; a small enclosure; a plot	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
strole	narrow slip of land	Devonshire Assoc	Fields and enclosures
take in	4. To enclose. Said of common land. See *hill-ground*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Fields and enclosures
vaeld	field	Marten	Fields and enclosures
vuzzy-park	the name of a field still very common on many hill farms. It implies a pasture field liable to be overrun with furze or gorse	Elworthy (Scolding)	Fields and enclosures

antler	Hunting. A branch or point growing out of the beam of a stag's horn. Bow, bay and tray are each of them an antler. We talk of a fine head, or fine pair of horns; but never of fine antlers	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
bater	Hunting. An *abater*, or stag, which either from old age or hard living has become "scanty in his head" - *i.e.* has not the *rights* which he should have in accordance with his age	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
blanch	Hunting. To head back a deer, or turn him from his course	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
bow	The name of the point or antler which grows from the front of a stag's horn, nearest to the head	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
brocket	Hunting. A young male deer over one but under three years old	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
bur	Hunting. The ball or knob of a stag's horn just at its juncture with the skull. The horn is always shed immediately below the *bur*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
calf	Hunting. A deer, male or female, under one year old	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
crocket	Hunting. One of the small points growing on the top of a stag's horn. In a young deer the horn ends in one point called an *upright*. After five years old the horn bifurcates at the top, and each point is a *crocket*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
fray	Hunting. Of a stag - to rub the horns against trees, so as to rub off the velvet from the new head	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
harbour	Hunting. The place where a deer lies or has been lying; the bed of a deer. An old stag always tries to find a young deer to turn out of his *harbour*, and so to put the hounds on a fresh scent	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
hart	Hunting. A male deer past mark as to his age. An old stag of seven years and upwards	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
head	Hunting. The horns of a stag	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
hearst	Hunting. A female deer, over one, under three, years old. See *brocket*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
hevior	Hunting. A castrated stag	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting

hind	Hunting. A female deer of four years old and upwards. Wild deer do not have young until four years old, and never have more than one at a time	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
mandy	stag	Schama	Hunting
offer	Hunting. A small knob on the top of a stag's horn, not yet grown long enough to be called a *point*. The *offer* is the rudiment, not always found, which in the succeeding year develops into the perfect point	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
point	Stag-hunting. The projection upon a stag's horn by which his age, up to a certain period, can be told. According to its position upon the horn, each has a distinct and separate name. Only three are found "under" - *i.e.* growing out of the side of the main horn or "upright" - and these are bow, bay, tray. counting from the root. See *warrantable, upright*. Those which grow at the end of an old deer's horns are called "*points* upon top." To be able to "count his *points*" is to tell his age. In accounts of "a kill" it is not sportsmanlike to give the stag's age in years, but to say, "He had bow, bay, tray, and four on top." This would inform the cognoscenti that the stag was at least eight years old, in fact a "Hart of ten."	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
rights	Stag hunting. The points or projections growing from the side of both horns of a stag, by which up to six or seven years old his exact age can be determined. Doubtless this term is derived from the fact that after four years a perfect deer should by *right* have the bow, bay and tray to which the name *rights* applies; it does not apply to the "points on top"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
single	Hunting. The tail of a stag	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
soil	Hunting. A hunted deer always makes for water to lie down in. He is then said "to *soil*," or to "take *soil*" in such a stream. When he leaves the water he *breaks soil*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
spayart	Hunting. Same as *spire*. A male deer of three years old	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
spire	Hunting. A male deer of three years old. See *bow, brockett, spayart*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
stag	1. Hunting. A male deer of five years old. *See hart*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting

staggert	Hunting. A male deer of four years old. See *spire, brocket*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
tuft	Stag-hunting. To rouse the deer with only a few old and steady hounds. The first process in a stag-hunt	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
upright	3. The main stem of a stag's horn. See *bow, bay, crocket*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
warrantable	Hunting phrase applied to a stag of five years old and upwards	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
yeld	Hunting. A female deer not pregnant. See *barren*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
young-hind	Hunting. A female deer of three years old	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Hunting
aithe	Earth	Eardley-Wilmot	Land condition
aller-grove	A marshy place where alders grow; an alder thicket. The term always implies marsh, or wet land; [*u rig·lur aul·ur groav*] would mean a place too boggy to ride through	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
ath	(pr. aeth) Earth, soil, the earth	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
bonnety	Adj. That field is very much covered with long grass, or bents	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
breach	Land prepared for a seed-bed. If thoroughly broken up and pulverized it is said to be a good *breach*. If this is not done from any cause, a bad *breach*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
breathe	Farming. Open: said of ground when thoroughly dug and pulverized for a seed-bed	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
clabby	Wet and heavy soil	Eardley-Wilmot	Land condition
claggy	lumpy, muddy as in heavy clay	Evans	Land condition
clat	Clod of earth	Eardley-Wilmot	Land condition
clean	Said of land when free of weeds	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
deads	The subsoil. The barren ground or gravel immediately below the top stratum	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
dirty	2. Land infested with weeds	Skeggs	Land condition
fen	low, marshy land (especially in mid Somerset)	Skeggs	Land condition
grawl	1. Gravel 2. The subsoil - sometimes called *deads*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition

juggymire	marshy ground "snipes, who had chosen for their nesting place a rush-clump in the marsh... flew down to find worms by pushing their long bills into the juggymire" p140	Williamson	Land condition
made-ground	Ground which has been disturbed, not virgin soil; where the surface level has been raised, or hollows filled up with rubbish, or any material differing from the surroundings	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
marsh	Alluvial soil; rich meadow. There is no implication of bog or swamp, although the term is only applied to low-lying land. "The *marshes*" are some of the richest grazing land in Somerset. *Marsh* is a common name for farms, and conveys the impression of rich level land. The *r* is never sounded in this word. "Salt-*mash*" near Minehead is a flat occasionally submerged by very high tides. See *ham*. Good *marsh*-land to let. Very common advert	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
meat-earth	Good and fertile soil, as distinguished from clay, gravel, or sand. Halliwell is wrong, it does not mean *cultivated land,* but merely soil suitable for cultivation. There is often abundance of *meat-earth* on virgin soil where the plough has never been	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
moor	A rough swampy piece of pasture land. This term is not used to express waste or common land as such. See *hill*. Comp. *Morasse*. "Gurt *Moor*," "Little *Moor*," "*Moor* Close," "Higher *Moor*," "Hill-*moor*," &c., are very common names of fields - enclosed time out of mind. Unless such fields have been drained of late years, one would expect to find rushes and like herbage to be the staple. The fens of Somerset are nearly all called "*moors*," as North *Moor*, Stan-*moor*, Curry-*moor*, Sedge-*moor*, &c.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
moory	Marshy; swampy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
mux	muck or dirt	Elworthy (Scolding)	Land condition
mux	Mud; mire. The usual name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
muxy	dirty, filthy	Elworthy (Scolding)	Land condition
muxy	Muddy; covered with mud; dirty (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition

muxy	dirty, muddy, deep mire, filthy	Marten	Land condition
muxy-rout	A deep muddy wheel-rut	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
old-ground	Virgin soil, or land which has not been disturbed, in opposition to *made-ground*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
pauch, paunch	To tread or trample in soft wet ground	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
paunch	variant of poach (make wet and muddy)	Devonshire Assoc	Land condition
plum	2. Applied to soil; thoroughly tilled, or prepared for the seed. Same as *breathe*.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
poachin'	to trample by cattle so as to cut up the ground and make it muddy. Can result in a "stoggy" state with "zugs" - little islands, about the size of a bucket, of grass and rushes	Marten	Land condition
proof	Quality of either becoming fat, as applied to cattle, or of causing to become fat, as applied to soil	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
proofy	2. Of land or soil - rich in fattening qualities	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
pucksey, puxy	a hole or bad place on the moor, which a clever pony would avoid, a boggy place or quagmire	Devonshire Assoc	Land condition
pux, puxy	Mire; a muddy quagmire	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
puxy	Miry; deep in mud. This word implies a deeper mire, more of a slough, than *muxy*. You could not talk of *puxy* clothes. A *muxy* lane would be merely a muddy lane, but a *puxy* lane would mean ankle-deep at least	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
quag	Term applied to a particular kind of bog. It is solid-looking on the surface, and the turf is often so tough that it can be walked on, but it shakes and bends beneath the tread. If a *quag* be broken through by a horse's foot, he always sinks up to the belly. It is common for sportsmen to fire a shot at a very short distance down into a *quag*; this breaks a hole through and the water boils out. A *quag* is seldom more than a few yards square, and when of the green grassy kind, is usually very convex, and the most tempting-looking spot for an unwary horseman	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition

quag	quagmire	Evans	Land condition
queechy	2. Applied to land - wet; sodden; swampy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
scounch	Baked and dried up i.e. land or food	Eardley-Wilmot	Land condition
shillety	Applied to soil of which *shillet*, not decomposed, is the chief component	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
slotter	muddy slush	Devonshire Assoc	Land condition
snape, sneap	A boggy place in a field; *snapy ground* containing small springs, and requiring to be drained	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
sound	2. Applied to land. Dry in subsoil	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
sour	Applied to land. Cold; infertile; wet in subsoil	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
spewy	2. Wet; undrained. *Spewy* ground is when water seems to ooze out at the surface	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
stog	To stick fast in the mud	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
stog	To get in a bog	Eardley-Wilmot	Land condition
stogged	bogged. Land which is wet and in need of draining is said to be "stoggy". A person or vehicle sunk into the mud and unable to move is "stogged"	Marten	Land condition
temper	Applied to soil when easily tilled. Thick there field o'groun' was in capical *temper*, we made-n jis the very same's a arsh-heap (heap of ashes)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
unkindly	Of land - undesirable, cold, clayey, hard to cultivate. Applied to any undesirable article	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
venn	fen, marshy ground	Marten	Land condition
vog	Bog; swamp	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
vuller	Fallow (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
weepy	Said of damp walls - moist: or of land full of water - undrained; wet; full of springs	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
zog	2. A bog or morass (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
zoggy	Boggy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land condition
zogs	Boggy land (soggy)	Eardley-Wilmot	Land condition

zugs	bogs, soft wet ground. Little islands, about the size of a bucket, of grass and rushes	Marten	Land condition
after grass	The grass which grows after the hay is gone. It is not a second crop to be mown, but to be fed. The term is often applied to old pasture or meadow which has been mown, and not often to clovers and annual grasses. See *second grass*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
afternoon farmer	One who is always behind - i.e. late in preparing his land, in sowing or harvesting his crops	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
arish, harish, urrish	Stubble	Eardley-Wilmot	Land mgment / ownership
arrest	Harvest (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
arrish	A stubble of any kind after the crop is gone. Parley-*arrish*, wheat-*arrish*, clover-*arrish*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
arrish	crop stubble "He galloped joyfully down a field of arrish, or stubble" p211	Williamson	Land mgment / ownership
arrish-mow	A small rick of corn set up on the field where the crop grew. In a showery harvest the plan is often adopted of making a number of small stacks on the spot, so that the imperfectly dried corn may not be in sufficient bulk to cause heating, while at the same time the air may circulate and improve the condition of the grain. Called also *wind-mow*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
artificial	Chemical or prepared manures of all kinds	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
bed	3. Ground set aside for the cultivation of a specific crop e.g. withery bed, reed bed	Skeggs	Land mgment / ownership
billy	bundle of wheat straw	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
bovate	15 acres	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
brake	A piece of land covered with high gorse or furze; also called a furze break. Most Hill country farms have their *brake*; many are well known "sure finds" for a fox - as Tripp-*brake*, Upcott-*brake*, &c. Not applied to a mere thicket	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership

brim	A bank or hedge-side covered with brambles or other wild undergrowth. A rather common name of fields is *Brim*-close. In such a field one would expect a waste slope covered with brambles, &c.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
brock	irregular shaped piece of turf	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
carucate	the land that can be maintained by one plough team of oxen, typically 80-120 acres	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
cowlease	unmown meadow	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
cradle-land	land held by the custom that it descends to the youngest son or brother instead of the eldest	Devonshire Assoc	Land mgment / ownership
eddish	See *arrish*. The term used in leases and by auctioneers for a stubble-field, after corn of all kinds, flax, peas, beans, or clover-seed	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
errish	See *eddish*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
fardel, fardle	1. Anciently half of a virgate i.e. approximately 10 acres, but can also mean 1/4 of an acre more commonly	Skeggs	Land mgment / ownership
forestal	of or pertaining to the forest	Skeggs	Land mgment / ownership
ground	Cultivated land; the use of the word is redundant. A "good piece, or field of *ground*" would be understood to mean simply a good field. When directly qualified by an adjective it means surface land. Thus hill ground, does not imply hilly ground, but poor, rough, uncultivated soil, covered with furze, heath and ferns. See *field*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
hain	leave a meadow ungrazed to allow cutting later	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
hale up	Cover up - as GS with the potatoes, ridging them. - Also her mother used to tell her to hale up her head at night - wrap it up. (Gran Gean).	Eardley-Wilmot	Land mgment / ownership
ham	rich pasture	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
harrest	harvest	Elworthy (Scolding)	Land mgment / ownership
hay-pooks	Hay-cocks	Eardley-Wilmot	Land mgment / ownership
helm	wheat straw prepared for thatching	Evans	Land mgment / ownership

hill	A common. Out upon the *hill* - out upon the common - *i.e.* unenclosed land quite independent of its elevation. In speaking of land, the climax of poverty is "so poor's a *hill*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
hill-ground	Unenclosed land, rough, uncultivated land overrun with furze or heath	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
knee-sick	Said of grass or corn when it does not stand up straight before the scythe or sickle. Called *knee-bent* in some parts - same as *knee-bowed*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
lan yard, land yard	16 and a half feet = pole	Eardley-Wilmot	Land mgment / ownership
land	Freehold or fee simple, in distinction to lease or copyhold. A man said to me in relation to a farm which I knew had been held upon lives, he has bought the lives and made *land* of it - *i.e.* purchased the fee simple. It is very common to hear it said of an estate, it is none of it *land* - *i.e.* freehold. Of any unmarried female who is not thought likely to attract a suitor, the ordinary remark is she is *land*, I'll warrant her - *i.e.* that her posession is as secure to her father as freehold	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
land grass	Clover or annual grasses when mown for hay are very frequently called *land grass*; while in the growing state the crop is called *young grass*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
larks' leers	arable land left idle	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
larks-leers	Untilled arable land, when overgrown with weeds... The word is really *leas*, or pasture. *Cow-leas* is a very common name for a pasture field, which is often corrupted, and written in the parish terriers *Cowley*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
lay, ley	Land which has been sown with annual or biennial grasses, and has come round to the time to be re-ploughed. Often written *Leigh* in names of places... The term is also applied to permanent pasture, but would not be so used, if there were anything like a good bite of grass upon it. The word implies grass land, bare of grass... A farm in Wellington parish is called Leylands, see *linhay*, and another Leglands. Anglo Saxon *leag*, a field-pasture. The word implies grass growing on arable land; it is never applied to *meadow*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership

let up	Meadow or pasture land intended to be mown for hay is said to be *let up*, when the stock are permanently taken away, to allow the hay to grow	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
leylands	Arable land under a grass crop. The word is a very common name for pasture fields; to be found in the terriers of most estates. It will never be found in connection with meadow land proper, but it will usually denote land once arable but now "laid" down. See *lay*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
math	Crop - applied only to grass	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
mew	Small *round* rick	Eardley-Wilmot	Land mgment / ownership
nitch	a large bundle of straw or reed used in thatching	Marten	Land mgment / ownership
overland	Land having no farm-house upon it. This word constantly takes the indef. a*dj. a* before it. Any piece of land let without farm buildings is called "a *overland*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
oxgang	15 acres	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
pellum, pillom	dust of a cobwebby and straw nature (also plim)	Marten	Land mgment / ownership
pook	a cock of hay	Elworthy (Scolding)	Land mgment / ownership
pook	haycock, a pile of hay in the field after it has been "tedded" (turned), awaiting collection to be made into a rick (1750)	Marten	Land mgment / ownership
rap	3. Applied to land or crops - a strip	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
salt mash	Flat pasture near the sea, which is covered occasionally at very high tides. There are several on the shores of the Bristol Channel. *Mash* (marsh) is by no means a swamp. Some of the Somerset marshes are the most fertile lands in England	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
scuffle	2. To scarify; to work land with a cultivator or instrument which tears up and smashes the surface without turning over the soil as in ploughing; a cultivator	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
second grass	When clover or other annual grasses are allowed to grow a second year before being ploughed up, the crop, usually depastured, is called *second grass*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership

shayves	sheaves	Marten	Land mgment / ownership
sleight, slate	sheep pasture	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
spade	To pare off turf with a breast-plough or *spader*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
spine	Turf; sward (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
stint, stent	a limited right of pasturage for any one farm on a common	Devonshire Assoc	Land mgment / ownership
stook	several sheaves standing in the field, with their heads of grain uppermost, leaning against each other to dry beforebeing built into a rick, or stored in a barn, prior to threshing	Marten	Land mgment / ownership
stool terras	To stand the turves cut for firing up on edge, so that the wind may pass through and dry them. A common work on our Hill-country moors	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
stribble	dry turf	Devonshire Assoc	Land mgment / ownership
summering-ground	Pasture kept for summer feeding only. We know nothing of the *somerland* of Kent	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
summerleys, summerleaze	Pasture fed only in summer. Same as *summering-ground*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
swipe	beat down bracken with rotating flails from the back of a tractor	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
terra	a turf	Elworthy (Scolding)	Land mgment / ownership
vella ground	Ground that has been ploughed and corn grown. Not fallow?	Eardley-Wilmot	Land mgment / ownership
waad	a bundle of straw, or reed, used in thatching	Marten	Land mgment / ownership
wick	commonly held farm	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
worth	private farm	Evans	Land mgment / ownership
writings	Title deeds relating to land	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
yard	Of land. A measure of five and a half yards (16.5 feet) both long and square, *i.e.* the same as a rod, pole or perch	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
yeffield	Heathfield. Usual name for a common	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
zess	pile of sheaves in a barn	Elworthy (Scolding)	Land mgment / ownership

zummer-lears	Summer-leas or pasture land not mown for hay, but fed down with stock in summer only. I have a field thus named, written *Summerleys* in the Tithe terrier	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
zwar	2. A crop of grass to be mown for hay	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Land mgment / ownership
balk	low ridge or strip of turf surrounding land	Skeggs	Landforms
ball	A knoll, a rounded hill; as "Cloutsham *ball*". I know of many fields in different parishes called "the *ball*" - all are hilly and rounded	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
banes	Ridges in land. See *bends*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
batch	hillock	Evans	Landforms
batch	1. Small rise in ground (not quite a hill)	Skeggs	Landforms
batch	3. Protruding tongue of land in a river	Skeggs	Landforms
bends	The ridges in land which has been thrown up into "ridge and furrow"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
bottom	low-lying land	Skeggs	Landforms
brow	A hill, an eminence, as well as the edge of the declivity	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
burrow	Barrow; mound of earth; any heap of soil... On our Hills are many ancient tumuli; all of which are called *buur'uz*... Some of these are spelt *Barrow* and others *Borough*, on the Ordnance maps, but they are all pronounced the same	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
chain	"chine" is pronounced chain in Devon and is the Old English word for backbone	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
channers	wandering tracks in the salt turf which look as though they were made by great worms	Williamson	Landforms
cleave	hill? "The river hurried round the base of the cleave, on whose slopes stunted trees grew" p144	Williamson	Landforms

cleeve	A steep field; any steep, sloping ground; the side of a hill; a cliff... If a person were told to "keep going along the *cleeve,*", he would clearly understand that he was to keep along the side of the hill, neither going up nor down	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
cleeve	steep slope	Evans	Landforms
cleeve	little hill	Skeggs	Landforms
cleevy	Steep (not so com. as *clefty)*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
clefty	Same as *cleevy*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
combe	valley	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
combe	The abrupt round ending, or head of a valley is the real *combe* - the *cwm* of the Welsh. Also a hollow or cross valley in a hill-side. All the places in the district, such as Wiveliscombe, Nettlecombe, Combe Sydenham, Highercombe, Wrangcombe, Pincombe, &c., are not only in valleys, but they partake of the features described above	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
combe	a deep hollow valley	Evans	Landforms
combe	valley "the combe up which he had travelled" p183	Williamson	Landforms
conigar	A small hill at Dunster in W. Somerset, adjoining the ancient priory - coney-garth	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
cornder, coarner	corner	Marten	Landforms
dean	A wide valley, a vale - as Taunton Dean	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
dimmie	a shallow, hollow place of small dimensions	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
Ell	Hill	Eardley-Wilmot	Landforms
glidden	"to where the banks were glidden into mud smothered by the sea" p28	Williamson	Landforms
glidders	the smooth, sloping mudbanks of an esturial creek	Williamson	Landforms
goil	ravine, hollow cleft, deep natural ditch	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
gore	triangular piece of land	Evans	Landforms

goyals	valleys "clothed by whortleberry bushes and lichens and ferns and mossed trees in the goyals" p180	Williamson	Landforms
goyle	A ravine; a deep, sunken, water-worn gully, usually with a running stream down it. A *chine* in the Isle of Wight; a *gill* in Cumberland	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
goyle	A deep hedge-row or ravine on a moor	Eardley-Wilmot	Landforms
grep, greep	grip, a furrow or trench	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
ham	Flat, low-lying pasture land (very common). A meadow near a river, if flat, is nearly always "The *Ham*" or "The *Ham* Mead." I have three different *Ham meads* on my own property... The word rather implies land subject to be flooded, but not yet rich, and by no means swampy or wet land. See *marsh*. By no means to be confused with A. Sax *ham* = home	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
hoe	A hill, as the *Hoe* at Plymouth. Generally used as a suffix, as Pin*hoe*, Martin*hoe*, Trentis*hoe* - the two latter in the Exmoor district. *Hoe* is not an uncommon name for a farm	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
holler	hollow	Evans	Landforms
holm	An island. The best example is that of the well-known islands in the Bristol Channel. The Steep *Holm* and the Flat *Holm*, visible from every part of the Somerset coast	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
hummock	heap or hillock	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
knap	Rising ground; the brow of a hill; highest part of the hill; a knoll	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
knappy	Hilly; steep. A steep field is always either a *nappy field* or a *cleevy field*. In the parish of Culmstock are two fields belonging to myself, called in the tithe commutation, *Nappy*-down and Little *Nappy*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
landsherd	A ridge or strip of land left unploughed or untilled, either between two crops, or to mark a boundary where there is no fence. See *linch*. Also a terrace on a hill-side. In the latter sense the word is very rare in West Somerset, but in East Somerset and Dorset, where terraces are common on the sides of chalk downs, it is the usual name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms

linch	1. A ledge or set-off in a wall or bank 2. A strip of land left untilled. See *landsherd*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
nap	short, steep hill (like knap, brow of a hill), often in field names	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
nap	hillock	Evans	Landforms
nap	rise in a hill, horizon, top of a hill "over the' nap o' th'ill, out o'zite"	Marten	Landforms
oare	slope	Evans	Landforms
pan	Any depression in a field or on other land	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
pin-tap	top of a hill	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
ruse	1. Applied to earth, clay or any like material. To slip, to fall in. The usual word; no other expresses the action	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
ruse, rouse	small landslip	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
rusement	A slipping down; an earth-fall (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
sideling	A slope; sloping ground	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
slade	A valley. In this sense it is obsolete, but it is very common as a place name, as Water*slade*, Mill*slade*, Win*slade*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
squilving-ground	steep ground, land which slants towards the sea at the edge of a cliff	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
steart, stert	a narrow peninsula or a narrow strip of land between two stretches of water	Evans	Landforms
steer	Steep; abrupt in declivity. Applied to land this word is far commoner than *stickle*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
stickle	steep	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
suant	even, level	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
towan	downland, usually on the cost (Cornish)	Marten	Landforms
trow	a hollow (trough)	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms
up-and-down	hilly	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Landforms
voor	a furrow	Elworthy (Scolding)	Landforms
vore	groove, furrow	Devonshire Assoc	Landforms

abb	(pr. aub) Tec. The name of a particular sort or quality of short-stapled wool, as sorted, usually from the belly part of the fleece	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
ballard	A castrate ram. See *stag*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
barrow pig	A gelt pig (always). Never heard alone, or otherwise than with *pig*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
beast	Oxen. Collective noun, very seldom used as a singular	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
beasts	cattle	Evans	Livestock
bell-horse	The leader of a team. Formerly it was common, and even now it is sometimes seen, that the leader carries a board with four or five bells hung under it, attached to his collar by two irons: these irons hold the bells high above the horse's shoulders. The bells, which are good-sized and loud-sounding, are hidden from sight by a fringe of very bright red, yellow, and green woollen tassels; as the horse moves the jangle is almost deafening. In setting children to run a race the start is given thus: *Bell-horses! bell-horses,* what time o'day? One o'clock, two o'clock, three and away!	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
belsh	cut the dung away from around a sheep's tail	Evans	Livestock
belve	to bellow (of cattle)	Devonshire Assoc	Livestock
belve	the lowing noise made by cows or stags	Skeggs	Livestock
belvy	To bellow, as a cow; to roar (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
billiss	To hurry along a drove of cattle or sheep	Eardley-Wilmot	Livestock
blake	To bleat	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
blare	To bellow - applied to cattle	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
blether	bleat	Evans	Livestock
boar-stag	A castrated boar	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
boggler	a horse given to stumbling, but not actually to falling	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
bullock	The universal generic name for horned cattle - including bulls as well as cows	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
bull-stag	A gelded bull	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock

bulving	A bellowing cow	Eardley-Wilmot	Livestock
buttons	sheeps dung	Elworthy (Scolding)	Livestock
chilver	ewe lamb	Evans	Livestock
clip	The wool shorn by a farmer off his flock in any one season. Amongst farmers shear is the word used; at markets and by dealers *clip* is the term	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
come-back	The guinea-fowl. From its peculiar call, which is said to be, "*Come back, come back!*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
cuckoo-lamb	A lamb born out of season	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
furze-napper	See *vuz-napper*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
gale	castrated bull	Evans	Livestock
ganny cock	A turkey-cock	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
gibby	A child's name for a sheep	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
hobe!	The usual call for a cow, repeated deliberately and with much emphasis. The words used for calling or driving animals are as distinct and invariable in their use, as the corresponding sounds are when applied to human beings. See *jup, haw, jee, wug, chook*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
hog	one year old sheep	Evans	Livestock
ilt	A spayed sow. See *Ex. Scolding*, p. 136. Rare - obsolescent	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
ilt, elt	a gelt sow	Elworthy (Scolding)	Livestock
jup!	The word used in driving cows or bullocks of all kinds	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
kae	Cow, cows. This is the usual pronunciation in the West or Hill Country	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
kee	kine, cows	Elworthy (Scolding)	Livestock
keep	cattle food	Evans	Livestock
looze	hog-sty	Elworthy (Scolding)	Livestock
mixen	dung heap	Evans	Livestock
ouks!	The cry used to drive pigs, followed by *turrh*! See *chook*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
pray	gather cattle into one herd	Evans	Livestock

road	The phrase "to go to *road*" or "to turn to *road,*" represents a very common practice among small owners, viz. to let out donkeys or cattle to browse on the roadside. Unfortunately the habit does not stop there, but is frequently followed by opening the gate of a neighbour's field after night-fall	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
sar	to serve, to feed (pigs or cattle)	Elworthy (Scolding)	Livestock
shape	sheep	Marten	Livestock
slait, sleights	ground to which sheep are accustomed or generally a familiar area	Evans	Livestock
slip	A young store pig of either sex	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
stag	a cock	Marten	Livestock
stag-bird	a cock among domestic hens	Williamson	Livestock
stone-horse	Stallion (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
teg	A yearling sheep. Same as a hog	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
things	Cattle; sheep; live stock	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
turr!	The word always used to drive pigs. See *chook*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
vears	piglets (N Devon)	Marten	Livestock
vuz-cropper	A name given very commonly to the Porlock Hill horn-sheep. Also to the rough ponies which run wild on the moors	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
wether-hog	A wether sheep, of a year old (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
yanning-time	lambing time	Devonshire Assoc	Livestock
yaw	ewe	Marten	Livestock
yeo	ewe	Elworthy (Scolding)	Livestock
yeth-crapper	A rough pony or horse turned out upon a common, and half-starved. See *vuz-cropper*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
young-stock	Young steers and heifers of indefinite age, from six to eight months to two years old	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Livestock
zew	sow	Elworthy (Scolding)	Livestock

west country	In Somerset this means the hill country, including all the Brendon, Dunkery, and Exmoor ranges. A *West Country* farmer would be at once known to come from the district lying between Porlock, Bampton and Barnstaple, even if the words were spoken at Tiverton, which lies far to the west of the locality. The term including so definite a district in two different counties, seems to point to a feeling that the habits and speech of the people in it are separated from those living on their west in Devon, and on their east in Somerset	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Locality
backside	a barton	Skeggs	Man-made structures
bal	a mine (Cornish)	Marten	Man-made structures
barton	farmyard	Evans	Man-made structures
barton	yard or enclosed area of land for cattle, corn or hay, usually with shelter or barn in it	Skeggs	Man-made structures
batter	When a wall is made to slope inwards towards the building or bank, it is said to *batter*. The amount of slope is called the *batter*. This word is the converse of *over-hang*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
bee butt	beehive	Evans	Man-made structures
bow	small arched bridge	Evans	Man-made structures
bow	3. Stone built, arched bridge or culvert, with pronounced curving to the top road surface	Skeggs	Man-made structures
breast-work	Masonry built in a curve to suit the shape of a water-wheel; also the sloping masonry of a weir, down which the surplus water rushes from the *weir-head*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
burge	Bridge (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
burj	bridge	Skeggs	Man-made structures
clam, clammer	narrow wooden bridge	Devonshire Assoc	Man-made structures
clam, clammer	stone placed across a stream to form a footbridge	Devonshire Assoc	Man-made structures
clam, clammer	a stick, board or pole laid over a brook or stream to clamber over	Elworthy (Scolding)	Man-made structures

clammer	A pole or plank across a stream, for a rough footbridge - always called so in Hill district	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
clammer	a footbridge	Marten	Man-made structures
clammer	A bridge across a river possibly a tree	Eardley-Wilmot	Man-made structures
clap-gate	A kind of wicket, called in many parts a kissing-gate. Also a small hunting gate just wide enough for a horse to pass	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
clapper bridge	Large stones across a river such as Tarr Steps	Eardley-Wilmot	Man-made structures
clyse, clyze	3. Shippen or cowstall, sty	Skeggs	Man-made structures
court	A farmyard; an enclosed yard for cattle, but not for *stacks* (see *barton*); sometimes called a bullock-court, and also occasionally a straw barton - *i.e.* a yard where straw is to be trodden into manure	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
court	Farm yard	Eardley-Wilmot	Man-made structures
courtledge	The yards and outbuildings appertaining to a homestead; in local advertisements the word is spelt as above, and also *curtilage* - the latter form is used in legal documents	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
gruff	mine	Evans	Man-made structures
hewish, huish	from *hiwisc*, a homestead	Evans	Man-made structures
kill	Kiln. Always so pronounced, *n* is never heard. As a lime-*kill*, malt-*kill*, *kill*-dried	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
laggate	bar or gate across a stream to keep cattle from straying	Devonshire Assoc	Man-made structures
linhay, linney	A shed, or open building. Always so-called, except when adjoining a shoeing-forge - then it is invariably called a *pentice* (pent-house)... The word (*linhay*) by no means implies attachment to a farmyard or to any other building, as stated by Halliwell, but, on the contrary, it may either be attached or not; perhaps, in fact, *linhays* are more often detached than otherwise	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
linney	linhay, where carts, wagons, tools and equipment is kept	Marten	Man-made structures

linny	shed or outhouse attached to a barn or building	Evans	Man-made structures
mew-stead	Rick yard	Eardley-Wilmot	Man-made structures
pennet	a little pen, a sheep or cow pen (obsolete)	Elworthy (Scolding)	Man-made structures
pigs-looze	Pigsty (always so). Pigsty unknown	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
pine	Pen for sheep or cattle (always so)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
pitch-gutter	A channel or shallow open drain formed with small stones or pebbles	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
pitching	A pavement made of pebbles or small stones	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
popple-stone-pitching	A pavement made of pebbles (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
ricks-plat	an area of ground near the farm buildings where the corn ricks were built	Marten	Man-made structures
shippen	cowshed	Devonshire Assoc	Man-made structures
shippen	Cow-stalls; cow-pens. An open shed for cows is a *cow-linhay*. A *shippen* is a closer, more stable-like building, divided into stalls	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
shippen or shippon	a roofed shed with one side open for cattle to shelter in	Williamson	Man-made structures
shippon	A cow shed	Eardley-Wilmot	Man-made structures
tallet	(i.e. Top-loft) a hay loft	Elworthy (Scolding)	Man-made structures
tallet	The hayloft over a stable - called sometimes the stable *tallet* (regular name). Also in any building the space immediately under the roof; but not applied to a ceiled room of any kind, whether attic or not. Welsh, *Taflod*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Man-made structures
tallett	Hay loft	Eardley-Wilmot	Man-made structures
batch	2. Hill-road coming up from moor land	Skeggs	Paths and roads
cassie	high pavement; causeway	Skeggs	Paths and roads
cause	footpath	Devonshire Assoc	Paths and roads
cause	Pavement, footpath... O.F. *Caucie;* modern *chausseé*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
drang	narrow enclosed lane	Evans	Paths and roads
drang	Alley?	Eardley-Wilmot	Paths and roads

drang-way	A passage or narrow alley between two walls (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
drauve	drove, a track between fields	Evans	Paths and roads
driftway	A cattle-path or lane; a drove leading to "ground" or to outlying fields. A path through a wood is often so called; sometimes *drift* alone is used. Mere track is implied, not a made road. See *drove*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
drift-way	cattle path	Skeggs	Paths and roads
drove	A track across fields, or a path through a wood; a roadway, but not a constructed road. Same as *driftway*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
drove	1. Cattle path 2. Path or driveway on (low) moorlands for driving cattle, or access to fields 3. Wide roadway used by drovers	Skeggs	Paths and roads
four cross-way	The intersection of two roads	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
gate shord	A roadway made through a hedge temporarily, but without a gate	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
halter-path	A horse-road, but not suitable for any carriage. There are still many of these left in the Hill district where, since my recollection, pack horses were the chief mode of transport. See *plough-path*. Across a farm of my own is a very ancient *halter path* called "Hart's Path" which was never wide enough for two horses to walk abreast; it is worn in some parts from five to six feet deep, and is in fact a mere trench, but it is a public road. *Bridle-path* is also used, but not so commonly	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
leech-way	the path in which the dead are carried to be buried	Elworthy (Scolding)	Paths and roads
lynch	rough trackway "along a lynch, or rough trackway" p140	Williamson	Paths and roads
otter-path	p11 and others	Williamson	Paths and roads
pathfield	field with a path through it	Devonshire Assoc	Paths and roads
plough-path	Horse-path; bridle-path. See *halter-path*... In Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675) *plough-road* is marked in one or more of the maps to signify a road practicable only for a *plough* - i.e. pack-horses	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
quine	In masonry the exterior or interior angle of a wall. 2. A corner or turn (as in a road)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads

raud	road, rode	Marten	Paths and roads
ride	5. A green path through a wood; a lane cut through underwood or furze	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
three-cross-way	The meeting of two roads without intersecting. See *four-cross-way*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
trapes	2. A muddy walk; a trudge through mud	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
trapesy	To walk by a wet and muddy path	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Paths and roads
ablow	Blooming; full of flower. The primroses be all *ablow* up our way	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
Adam and Eve	1. The plant wild orchis *Orchis masculata* (very com.) 2. Wild arum *Arum maculatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
adder's tongue	Wild arum *Arum maculatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
aggermony	The plant *Agrimonia Eupatoria*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
aggles	haws, berries of the hawthorn	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
aish	ash	Schama	Plants and trees
aller	Alder tree (always); alder wood	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
aller	alder	Evans	Plants and trees
allern	Made of alder	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
apse tree	Aspen tree *populus tremula*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
arbale	*Populus alba*. The only name. This tree, by no means rare in parks, &c., is often called by more educated people *Abelia poplar*. The wood is well known, and always called arbale by the country joiners	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
arb-rabbits	Wild geranium. We calls em sparrow birds, but the proper name's *arb rabbits.* May 26, 1884 - S.R. This of course is *arb-raberts = Herb-Robert*(*Geranium Robertianum*)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
arbs	The general term for all kinds of "simples" or medicinal herbs	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
archangel	The yellow nettle, often called *weazel snout*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
ash	ash (tree)	Evans	Plants and trees
ass-smart	Water-pepper *Polygonum Hydropiper*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bachelor's button	scabious	Schama	Plants and trees

bame	Balm *Melissa officinalis* (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bastard killer	The plant savin *Juniperus sabina*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bastard-killer	plants used to procure abortion and also at childbirth, especially the berries of juniper (*Juniperus communis*) and savin (*Juniperus sabina*)	Skeggs	Plants and trees
beechen	Made of beech	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bell-rose	Commonest name for the daffodil *Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
besom	The broom plant *Sarothamnus scoparius*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
biddys-eyes	The heartsease; pansy *Viola tricolor*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bind	1. A band of either twisted hay or straw, or of a green rod of willow, hazel, or other tough wood, such as can be twisted so as to become fit for a ligature for faggots, sheaves, &c. 2. The stalk of any creeping plant, as of hop, withy-wind, traveller's joy, &c.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
birchen	Made of birch	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
birchen	made of birch wood	Evans	Plants and trees
birchen	birch tree, made of birch wood	Marten	Plants and trees
bird's eye	1. Germander Speedwell *Veronica chamaedrys* 2. The flower of the Evergreen Alkanet, a very common weed *Anchusa sempervirens*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bird's meat	Berries - either of thorn, holly, or ivy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bissom	ling, heather *Calluna vulgaris*	Skeggs	Plants and trees
black aller	The usual name for Buckthorn *Rhamnus Frangula*. *Buckthorn* is never used. This plant is frequently confounded with the dogwood *Cornus Sanguineum* both of which are very common in our hedges. The common alder is also occasionally called the Black Aller	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
black poplar	*Populus nigra*, also called water-poplar	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
black-aller	*Rhamnus frangula*, or Buckthorn. Often so called to distinguish it from the whit-aller or elder	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

black-a-moor's beauty	The flower *scabiosa succisa*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
blob	flower (marsh marigold = water-blobs)	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
bloody-dock	*Rumex Sanguineus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bloody-fingers	The foxglove	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
blooth	blossom	Evans	Plants and trees
blooth	blossom	Schama	Plants and trees
blowth	Bloom, blossom (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
boar-distle	*Carduus Lanceolatus*. Probably this is a corruption of Bur-thistle, induced by the coarse rank growth of this variety - hence no doubt having become *boar*, it has developed into bull-thistle	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bonnet	The long grass which always appears in pasture fields when not mown for hay. The cattle do not eat it unless it is mown. The seed-stems of the blade grasses, which the cattle will not eat (called *bent, bennet* in other places)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bonnet-strings	Bents. From *bonnet* the transition is very easy to *bonnet-strings*, which latter is really a very suggestive name - quite common	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bottom-grass	The dwarf fine grasses which grow thickly, and come up later than the tall varieties, such as all the finer clovers. The term has nothing to do with *Bottom*-land.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
boy's love	Southernwood *artemisia abrotanum*. A very great favourite with the village belles. In the summer, nearly all carry a spray of it half wrapped in the white handkerchief, in their hand to church. In fact, a village church on a hot Sunday afternoon quite reeks with it	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bran	tree stump or lump of wood fit only for burning	Evans	Plants and trees
bridal wreath	Plant, bearing long racemes of small white flowers. *Francoa ramosa*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
brimbles	brambles, blackberries	Evans	Plants and trees

brimmle	Bramble. The word *bramble* is never heard... Here again the despised dialect remains true, while the literary dialect is the corrupt. See *ewe brimmle*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
brimmles, brimbles	brambles	Marten	Plants and trees
bullace	Wild plum	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bull-distle	Same as *boar-distle. Carduus lanceolatus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bullers	The flowers of any umbelliferous plants, such as chervil, cow-parsnip, &c.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
bunchy	Banksia (rose) (always). No doubt the clustering growth of this variety has led to the corruption	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
butter and eggs	1. The garden Narcissus (always); also by some the common Daffodil is also so called. 2. A variety of the Primrose having a double calix, growing one out of the other. Not uncommon in the Hill district. 3. The common yellow toad-flax *Linaria vulgaris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
buttons	1. The flowers of the Feather-few *Pyrethrum Parthenium* 3. Sheep's droppings 4. The burs of various plants; such as of *Clivers, Burdock, Thistles,* &c.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
carnation grass	A common dwarf sedge found in undrained meadow land, which is by some believed to be the cause of the *coe* in sheep (*Carex hirta*)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cat's tails	Catkins, of the hazel or willow	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
charlock	Wild mustard *Sinapis arvensis* (always). One of the commonest and most troublesome of weeds	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cleeve-pink	The cheddar-pink: generally so called. *Dianthus caesius*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
clove-gilawfur	Clove-pink. *Dianthus caryophyllus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
clutch	A species of weed of the *couch* kind; also called *tacker grass*. *Polygonum aviculare*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cly	A common weed that holds or sticks on to anything. *Galium aparine*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cly-burs	The little round seed-pods of the *Galium aparine*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

coach-horses	The common pansy or heartsease	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cock grass	*Plantago lanceolata*. The only name used by farmers for this the commonest variety of the plantains	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
coe-grass	The grass which is said to be the cause of the *coe* in sheep and cattle - *Juncus bufonius*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
couch	Never called *couch-grass*. A very troublesome weed - *Triticum repens*. See *stroyl*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
couch	A grass like weed in fields and gardens	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
cow-flop	Foxglove (com.) *Digitalis purpurea*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
crawdel, crowdel	The weed that bears buttercup like flowers	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
crisling	1. A small, black, very sour wild plum; same as *bullace.* 2. Small, shrivelled, immature apples	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cuckold dock	The burdock	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cuckoo-buttons	The very adhesive seed-pods of the boardistle. Also of the burdock	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cuckoo-roses	Daffodils	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
cups and saucers	acorns	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
curshins	The plant thrift (very com.). *Ameria vulgaris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
daggers	The broad straight leaves of the common iris or flag	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
daggers	sedges/reeds? "'Fine li'l brown dog going though the daggers'" p71	Williamson	Plants and trees
dashells	Thistles	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
dashels	thistles	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
dashels	thistles	Marten	Plants and trees
dashle	Thistle	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
daver	wilt, fall over	Evans	Plants and trees
dead-men's-fingers	The plant *Orchis maculata*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
deaf-nettle	Dead nettle *Lamium pupureum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
devil-in-the-bush	Commonest name for the plant "Love in a mist" - *Nigella damascena*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

devil's snuff-box	A puff-ball	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
dog daisy	The large marsh daisy, or Marguerite. *Chrysanthemum leucanthemum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
dog's tassel	The plant wild arum *Arum maculatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
dog-spears	The wild arum *Arum maculatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
dog-timber, dog's-timber	Dogwood *Cornus sanguinea*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
dutch	White clover	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
ear-grass	The same as *young grass*. The annual or biennial grasses sown upon arable land. I have placed this word under *e* in deference to the authority of previous glossarists; but believe it should be year-grass, *i.e.* annual	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
easter lily, easter rose	Same as *lent lily*. Daffodil - *Narcissus pseudo-narcissus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
eaver	A well-known grass, usually called Devon-*eaver*. *Lolium perenne*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
eggs and bacon	Common Toadflax*. Linaria vulgaris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
eggs and butter	Same as *butter and eggs*. Daffodils; also garden narcissus of any kind	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
eldern	Made of elder wood	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
elem	Elm	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
elemen	Made of elm	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
ellum	elm	Schama	Plants and trees
ewe-brimble	The common bramble - *Rubus fruticosus*. This term is generally applied to an individual specimen, and mostly when of a coarse rank growth. Brooms made of heath are always bound round with a *ewe-brimble*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
featherfew	The plant feverfew *Pyrethrum parthenium*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
fingers	Foxglove (com.) Digitalis purpurea	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
fir-bob	A fir-cone	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
flap-dick, flap-dock	The foxglove	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

float-ore	seaweed, especially that cast ashore by the tide, used a manure either raw or burned, sometimes mixed with farmyard dung	Skeggs	Plants and trees
fog	The long grass in pastures which the cattle refuse. This is *fog* while green, and *bent*... when dry	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
fog-grass	Coarse sedgy grass such as grows is wet places. The distinction is kept between *fog* and *fog-grass*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
furze, fuzz	gorse	Evans	Plants and trees
fuz	Gorse, whin. See *vuz*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
gallitrap	fairy ring	Evans	Plants and trees
gallowgrass	Cant name for hemp - also called neckweed	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
gilty cup	Lesser Celandine *Ranunculus ficaria*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
god almighty's bread and cheese	Wood-sorrel. *Oxalis acetosella*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
golden cup	1. Marsh marigold. The usual name. *Caltha palustris*. Called also *King-cup* 2. *Ranunculus globosa* (common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
golden-ball	The guelder rose. *Viburnum opulus* (very common). Also a variety of apple	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
good neighbours	Red valerian *Centranthus ruber* (common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
goose-flop	The common daffodil *Narcissus pseudo-narcissus* (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
gracy daisies	Daffodils *Narcissis pseudo-narcissus* (common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
gribble	Blackthorn	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
ground-stick	A sapling of any kind growing from its own roots, and not a mere offshoot	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
hag-rope	The wild clematis whose tangled growth is much like cordage. It is uncertain if *hag* in this word has any connection, as it has been suggested, with pixy, though the plant may well be called fairy's cordage. *Clematis vitalba*. It seems much more probable to be the survival of the A.S. *haga*, hedge. *Hedge-rope* appears more rational	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

hag-thorn	The hawthorn *Crataegus oxycantha*. In this, there can be no doubt, we have the older form *haga,* than the *haw* of Lit. Eng.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
haivs	Berries of the white hawthorn	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
halse	Hazel; the hazel nut (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
halse	Hazel	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
hare's foot clover	*Trifolium arvense*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
hazzel	hazel	Schama	Plants and trees
heath	The only name for *Calluna* and *Erica* of all varieties. In this district *heather* is unknown. We have the well-known long-heath and small-heath, as described by Britten ex Lyte, *E.D.S. Plant Names,* 1879	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
herb-grass	Rue; evidently a corruption of *herb o' grace*(*Ruta graveolens*)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
hew-mack	The stock or stem of the wild rose, *Rosa canina*, used for budding or grafting upon	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
holm	The common holly is always so called - not applied to any kind of oak	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
holmen	Made of holly	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
honesty	The flower *Lunaria biennis*. See *Money-in-both-pockets*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
honey-suck	The flowers of common red clover (common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
horse buttercup	Marsh marigold (very common). *Caltha palustris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
horse-daisy	The dog daisy or marguerite. *Chrysanthemum leucanthemum* (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

hurtle-berry, hurts	Whortleberry *Vaccinium myrtillus*. The latter (*hurts*) is the common name, the former is a little "fine" talk, as belonging to literature. The cry *Hurts! Hurts!* May be heard daily in the season, in most towns and villages of the district; but now, alas! the Board schools are corrupting the old name into *worts*. They grow in great abundance on all the moorlands of the Qantock, Brendon, and Exmoor District. Perhaps Dunkerry and the surrounding hills are the most prolific. Like other fruit produce they are twice as dear as formerly, though quite plentiful. Thirty years ago the regular price was *twopence* per quart, never more; now it is 4*d.* and 6*d.*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
jack-in-the-box	Same as *parson in the pulpit*. Wild arum - *Arum maculatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
jaunders tree	The common barbary *Berberis vulgaris*, from the yellow colour of the wood	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
jerusalem seeds	The plant *Pulmonaria officianalis*. Called sometimes *Jerusalem Cowslip* or Cowslip of Bedlam	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kecker, keckers	1. The dried hollow stalk of the cow parsnip, or Limperscrimp (*Heraclium sphondylium)*. The word is also applied to any dried hollow stalks, as of chervil, hemlock, &c. 2. The throat; the windpipe	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kemmick	1. A flax field. This is rather a common name of a field. 2. A weed with strong tangled roots. Rest-harrow *Ononis arvensis* - rare	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kerslins	Small wild plums; bullace. Called also *krislings* or christlings	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kex	Dried hollow stalks of certain plants, especially cow-parsnip. See *kecker*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kid	The seed-pod of any plant, especially of pease, beans, vetches, &c. Same as *cod*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kiddy	To form pods	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kidney-weed	*Cotyledon umbilicus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
king-cup	1. Marsh marigold. The usual name, *Caltha palustris*. 2. The *Trollius europaeus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
kiss-me-quick	The pansy or heart's-ease. The wild variety	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

kitty-keys	The red bunches of fruit of the quickbean *Pyrus aucuparia*. I never heard it applied to the seeds of the common ash, *Fraxinus excelsior*, but it is quite possible that its bunches of seeds may be so called	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
knap-weed	The very common *Centaurea nigra*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
knives and forks	The plant Jenny Wren *Geranium robertianum*. See *lady's knives and forks*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
knot-grass	The genteel name. Same as *man-tie, tacker grass*. *Polygonum aviculare*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
lady's cushion	Thrift. This or *cushions* the common name. *Armeria vulgaris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
lady's fingers	1. The common Orchis *Orchis mascula*. 2. Common foxglove *Digitalis purpurea*. Not so common as Snaps, Flops, Flap-dock, &c. This flower and wild arum have perhaps more names than any others. Very likely the latter is also called *lady's fingers*, but I have not heard it	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
lady's knives and forks	1. Children are very fond of placing their hands in certain positions, and changing them at each couplet of the following: 'Here's my lady's knives and forks, and here's my lady's cradle; Here's my lady's looking-glass, and here's my Lady's cradle.' 2. The club-moss *Lycopodium clavatum*. Very common on Dunkery and Porlock Hill	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
lady's navel	The plant *Cotyledon umbilicus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
lady's smock	The cuckoo flower *Cordamine pratensis* (Common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
lamb-tongue	1. The common hart's tongue fern *Scolopendrium officinarum.* Usual name. 2. A very common weed - *Chenopodium urbicum* (Always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
leader	The main or principal shoot of any plant or tree, from which the "laterals" branch out	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
Lent lilies	"the wild daffodils of the woods and meads" p145	Williamson	Plants and trees
limpernscrimp	The cow-parsnip - *Heracleum sphondylium*. Commonest name. See *bullers, pig's bubbles*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
limpern-skrimps	A weed that has flowers in a cluster on the top & hollow stems often used as pea-shooters by children (Hogweed)	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees

ling	heather	Evans	Plants and trees
lob-grass	*Bromus mollis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
locks and keys	2. Fruit of the common ash *Fraxinus excelsior*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
lords and ladies	The wild arum *Arum maculatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
maiden tree, maiden stick	A tree which has been allowed to grow naturally - *i.e.* has not been pollarded, or had its head cut off	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
man-tie	A very common weed; in West Somerset more usually called *tacker-grass*, while in Devonshire the above is the usual name - *Polygonum aviculare*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
mass	acorns (mast)	Elworthy (Scolding)	Plants and trees
mauth	Moss. You can vind a fine lot o' *mauth*, miss, over in the goil	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
may	The blossom of the hawthorn or whitethorn. It is thought very unlucky, and a sure "sign of death", if May is brought into the house. To put the bellows on the table is very bad, but to bring May in is much worse	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
may-bush	The hawthorn	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
mazzard	A kind of black cherry extensively cultivated in North Devon. It is a common saying that to gather them "you must hold on with your nose and pick with both hands," hence the usual remark upon a hooked nose, "He's got a nose fit for a *mazzard*-picker"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
mazzard	"under the mazzard orchards growing on the northern slope of the valley" p178	Williamson	Plants and trees
mews	moss	Elworthy (Scolding)	Plants and trees
mews	Moss	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
milk-thistle	*Carduus marianus*. This name is nor used for milk-weed	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
milk-weed	*Sonchus oleraceus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
milky-dashels	A weed with milky substance. Sow-thistle?	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees

mock	A tuft of grass. In pasture land, the cattle usually leave tufts or patches of the ranker herbage: these are always called *mocks*. The word is never applied to a root of any kind	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
mogvurd	Mugwort (always). *Artemisia vulgaris*. A very common medicinal herb	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
money in both pockets	The plant Honesty, from the transparent purse-like seed-pods, which contain the seed on both sides of a dividing membrane. *Lunaria biennis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
moors	tree roots	Evans	Plants and trees
moors	The roots of a plant or tree	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
mop	A tuft of grass - more commonly called *mock*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
mores	roots	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
mother o'thousands	The plant Creeping Campanula; also *Linaria cymbalaria*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
mountain-ash	*Pyrus aucuparia*. Very common in the district, thus called by people of the better class. Among labouring class it is always *Quick-beam*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
mouser-withy	A kind of willow which grows in hedges or dry places. It makes capital *binds* from its toughness, and is much sought after by thatchers	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
oak-fern	The large common bracken (*Pteris aquilina*.) The reason of the name is that if the stalk is cut across near the root there are dark markings on the section which strongly resemble a very symmetrical oak tree	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
oat-grass	*Avena pratensis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
old-men's-beard	Joint-weed *Equisetum*. The usual name. I have never heard Clematis so called	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
oolypuggers	bulrushes	Williamson	Plants and trees
open-ass	The medlar. *Mespilus germanicus*. This fruit used medicinally is said to be aperient. The common and usual name among the working class, and it appears to be a survival, not perhaps of the fittest according to modern taste, but of a very early period	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
open-ass-tree	The medlar tree (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

palm	All varieties of willow when bearing their catkins are so called. No doubt this arises from the exigencies of our Northern climate, which obliges us to use willow catkins for decoration on Palm Sunday	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
parson in the pulpit	The wild arum *Arum maculatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pedlar's basket	The plant *Linaria cymbellaria*, oftener called *Wandering Sailors*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
peggles	berries "bubbles... To rise in clusters the size of hawthorn peggles" p9	Williamson	Plants and trees
perry	pear tree	Evans	Plants and trees
pheasant's eye	The evergreen alkanet *Anchusa sempervirens*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pig's bubble	The cow-parsnip. *Heraclium sphondylium.* Usual name about Wellington. Pigs are very fond of it, and cottagers gather it about in the hedges. See *limpernscrimp*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pigs' hales	haws, fruit of the hawthorn	Evans	Plants and trees
pig's parsley	Wild parsley *Caucalis anthricus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pig's parsnip	(Rare) Same as *pig's bubbles, cow-parsnip*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pigs-hales	Haws, the berries of the white-thorn	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pig's-nut	The common earth-nut, for which pigs are so fond of grubbing and rooting. *Bunium flexuosum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pirmrose	Primrose (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pitch	1. A rod of willow, poplar, or elder, which being stuck in the ground at a certain season, will take root and grow. In making new hedges it is usual to stipulate, "to be planted with good withy or elder *pitches*," or "pitchers"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
poor oats	Wild oats *Avena fatua*(always so called)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pop-guns	The common fox-glove *Digitalis purpurea*. Same as *pops*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pops	The common fox-glove *Digitalis purpurea*. Sometimes called *pop-dock* and *poppy-dock*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
pull reed	long reed grown in ditches, used in making ceilings	Evans	Plants and trees

quaker-grass	Shaking grass *Briza media*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
quealed	curled up, of vegetation in dying or withered condition	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
quick beam	Mountain ash	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
quickbeam	The mountain ash *Pyrus aucuparia* (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
quill	To dry up or wither; to part with its sap: applied to grass or any green vegetable matter	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
quitch	Couch *Triticum repens*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
raed, rood	reed, combed straw used for thatching. "Rishes" (rushes), also called "reed", were used for thatching ricks	Marten	Plants and trees
ragged jack	1. Ragged Robin *Lychnis floscuculi*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
ram's claws	The stalks of the common butter-cup, when overgrown. *Ranunculus acris*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
rat's-bane	Chervil. A common wild umbelliferous plant, in appearance something like hemlock - probably mistaken for it. *Choerophyllum sylvestre*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
rex-bush	a bush or tuft of rushes	Elworthy (Scolding)	Plants and trees
rex-bush	A clump of rushes (always). A very old saying is: "The Barle and the Exe do both urn out o' the same *rex-bush*." The meaning is that the two rivers with such different courses rise very close together	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
rexen	rushes	Elworthy (Scolding)	Plants and trees
rexen	Rushes. One of the very few words which retain the *en* plural; even this now is becoming "improved" into *rexens*. Comp. lit. *Chickens*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
rexens	rushes	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
rish	Common pronunciation of rush, though not so general as *rex, rexen*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
robin hood	The campion *Lychnis diurna*. The usual name for this commonest of flowers	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
savin	*Juniperus sabina*	Elworthy (Scolding)	Plants and trees
savin	Juniper	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
scented fern	Tansy *Tanacetum vulgare*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

scraunching	withering with heat (vegetation)	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
shackle baskets	quaking grass	Schama	Plants and trees
shackle grass	quaking grass	Schama	Plants and trees
shepherd's delight	Whether *delight* or *daylight* (as pronounced) is uncertain. The plant pimpernel; also called *poor man's weatherglass - Anagallis arvensis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
shroudy	Covered with branches	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
skivver timber	Guelder rose	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
smart-ass	Same as *ass-smart*. *Polygonum hyropiper*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
snag	1. The stump of a tree when cut off above the ground or hedge. The word does not apply to the root, but only to the part above ground	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
snags	sloe berries on the small side	Evans	Plants and trees
snap-jacks	Stitch-wort *Stellaria holostea*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
snaps	Common foxglove *Digitalis pupurea* (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
snow-balls	Guelder rose *Viburnum opulus* (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
snow-in-harvest	The flower called also "White Rock" *Cerastium tomentosum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
snuff-box	A fungus puff-ball of the brown variety	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
soldiers	The stem and seed-pod of the cock-grass *Plantago lanceolata*. Children get these soldiers and make them fight until the head of one or the other is knocked off	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
sour-dock	Sorrel *Rumex acetosa*. The usual name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
sparrow-birds	*Geranium robertanium*. See *arb-rabbits*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
spine-turf	grass turf, as distinguished from peat turf	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
spray	Feathery twigs	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
stag's horn moss	*Lycopodium clavatum*; called also *club-moss*. It grows plentifully on Dunkery and many other of our hills	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
standel	A growing stick left, in cutting a hedge, for a standard, to grow into a tree	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
stick	1. A tree considered as timber	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

stink-horn	A common fungus, oftener called *zog*. *Phallus impudicus*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
stroil	1. Couch grass *Triticum repens*. This word is constantly applied to the white tube-like roots which are turned up by the plough, while *couch* is used in speaking of the weed generally in a growing state	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
stroil	couch-grass, also "twitch"	Marten	Plants and trees
stroil	A grass-like weed in fields & gardens	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
swallow-pears	Services; sorb apples. The fruit of the *Pyrus torminalis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
sweet betsies	Double white saxifrage *Saxifraga hypnoides*. Also occasionally *Dielytra spectabilis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
tacker-grass	Knot-grass. The usual name, from its likeness to a "tacker" or shoemaker's wax-end. *Polygonum aviculare*. Same as *man-tie*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
tharn	thorn	Schama	Plants and trees
thornen	Made of thorn	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
tinker tailor grass	Cock grass. *Plantago lanceolata*. So called from a game which girls of the better class play with it; striking the heads together, and at each blow saying in succession, "Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, gentleman, apothecary, ploughboy, thief." The blow which knocks the head off marks the one of these professions which is to be that of the future husband. See *soldiers*. This name is also applied to *Lolium perenne*, and the same formula is gone through in counting the alternate buds upon the stalk	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
tisty-tosty	The ball-shaped flower of the Guelder rose; also a ball made of primroses to amuse children	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
titsum	The plant *Hypericum androsaemum*... Prior says this is French, and that the plant is still called by the common people in France *toute-saine*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
trefoy	Trefoil; *trefle*; clover. The annual variety more commonly known as *trifolium*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
turmit	turnip	Schama	Plants and trees
tutties	flowers	Schama	Plants and trees

twelve o'clocks	The usual name of the bulbous plant Star of Bethlehem *Ornithogalum umbellatum*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
twiney-legs	ragwort	Devonshire Assoc	Plants and trees
twitch	3. Couch grass *Triticum repens*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
twizzle	1. Of a tree - the top of the stem where the branches divide	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
vairn	fern	Evans	Plants and trees
vethervow	Feverfew (always) *Pyrethrun parthenium*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
vierns	Ferns (always). In speaking of *vierns* generally the common bracken is meant, of which great quantities are cut for bedding	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
vlex	See *flax*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
vrex	Rush... This is one of the few remaining plurals in *en*; even this is scarcely recognized as a plural, but rather as a generic name - hence the very common reduplication when a distinct plural is to be denoted. See *rex*. The initial *v* in this word is common to all parts, but in the Hill district it is the rule rather than the exception	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
vuz	Gorse; whin; furze	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
vuz	furze, gorse	Marten	Plants and trees
vuzzen	furze or gorse	Schama	Plants and trees
vuzzy	Gorse	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
wait, wets	wheat	Marten	Plants and trees
wallet	heather	Schama	Plants and trees
wandering sailors	Ivy-leaved Toad-flax *Linaria cymbalaria*. Very common on dry walls - small purple flower	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
water poplar	*Populus nigra* (very common). Same as *black poplar*. Name also applied to *Populus fastigiata*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
weazel-snout	The yellow nettle or archangel *Lamium galeobdolon*. Polite name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
wert, whort	whortleberry, bilberry, blueberry	Marten	Plants and trees
whit-aller	The elder *Sambucus nigra*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees

white ash	The plant goutweed *Aegopodium podagraria*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
white poplar	*Populus alba* - silver poplar	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
whits	oats	Schama	Plants and trees
whortin'	to go picking whortleberries	Marten	Plants and trees
whorting	searching for and gathering whortle-berries	Elworthy (Scolding)	Plants and trees
wig-wants	quaking grass	Schama	Plants and trees
witch tree	The witch-elm *Ulmus montana*. This name was most probably once used for all varieties of the elm, and indeed it seems to have continued so down to comparatively recent times	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
witch-elm	Same as *witch-tree*. This is probably a word of rather recent growth, although now it and *Witch-halse* are the usual names of the *Ulmus montana*. It has very likely arisen as a sort of duplicate name like *Brendon*, upon the foreign word *elm* becoming naturalised, previous to which no doubt *wyche* was the only name	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
witch-halse	Witch-elm *Ulmus montana*. The usual name throughout West Somerset and North Devon	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
withy	The willow; osier. All species are known by this name, as the "basket *withy*," "thatching *withy*," "black *withy*," "mouser-*withy*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
withy	willow	Evans	Plants and trees
withy	Willow	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
withy-wind	Bindweed; the wild convolvulus *Convolvulus arvensis*. The usual name of this troublesome weed, unchanged for a thousand years	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
woak	oak	Schama	Plants and trees
worts	Whortleberries. In this district known only by this name. In the season they are brought round in carts, the hawkers crying, "*Hurts! Hurts!*" Of late I have noticed the cry is *Wuurts!*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
worts, wortleberries	bilberries	Evans	Plants and trees

wuts	Oats (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
yarbing	Gathering herbs	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
yarbs	Herbs. By this is meant "simples," or medicinal herbs, while those for cooking are always *pot-herbs*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
year-grass	See *ear-grass*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
yeath	Heather	Eardley-Wilmot	Plants and trees
yeff	heath or ling	Schama	Plants and trees
yeth	1. Heath, *i.e.* heather (always). Earth has not the *y* sound as given in many glossaries. See *earth*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
yoe brimble	The common bramble *Rubus fruticosus*. This term is specially applied to one of the long, rank, rope-like runners which are so obstructive to the beaters in a covert, and which are much sought after by broom-squires for binds or tyers	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
young grass	Clover or other annual grass sown upon arable land, in distinction to that of meadows or permanent pasture	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
zog	1. A very bad smelling fungus *Phallus impudicus*. See *stink-horn*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Plants and trees
all vore	The wide open or hollow furrow left between each patch of ground, ploughed by the same team, at the spot where the work was begun and finished. In some lands these *au·l voarz* are made to come at regular intervals, and hence the field assumes a ridge and furrow appearance	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
all-voor	the hollow left in ploughing the last two ranks in a field	Devonshire Assoc	Ploughing
bat	In ploughing a field there are always some corners and generally other small places which cannot be got at with the plough and must be dug by hand - these are called [*baats*]	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
batt	corner of a ploughed field	Skeggs	Ploughing
break	Farming; to plough up lea or pasture land	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
byes	A term in agriculture. The corners and ends of a field that cannot be reached by the plough; and must be dug by hand; called also *bats*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing

by-voor	the first two ranks in ploughing a field	Devonshire Assoc	Ploughing
comb	In trenching or digging soil before winter, or in ploughing land for a fallow, a good workman tries to leave the sods as rough and uneven as possible, so as to allow the frost the better to penetrate and pulverize the surface. This is called leaving "a good *comb* upon it"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
fore-head	The heading of a ploughed field; the soil of the margins of fields (always so called)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
half down, or to halfen down	Tech. To make a kind of half ploughing, by which a shallow sod is turned upside down upon the adjacent unmoved sod. This is a very common operation, when it is desired only to rot to the surface growth without burying it deeply	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
headings, varves	headlands of a ploughed field	Schama	Ploughing
lynch	a hillside field in which ploughing along the contours has turned the clods down to create a terrace	Evans	Ploughing
plough-land	Arable land	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
vore	A furrow	Eardley-Wilmot	Ploughing
vorehead	Forehead (always). A headland or space at each end of the ploughing where the horses turn - in this district always called thus	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
work out	1. In cultivating ground, after each ploughing, the soil is rolled and "dragged" with drags or heavy harrows, until all the weed and couch is brought to the surface, and the earth completely pulverized. This after process is to *work out*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Ploughing
zoll, zoule	(A plough) up to 1920s	Eardley-Wilmot	Ploughing
zool, zull	plough (noun)	Evans	Ploughing
zowl	a plough	Elworthy (Scolding)	Ploughing

zowl	a plough, traceable to Saxon times, but was also "zool" or "zull" in advertisements in comparatively recent times. Originally a "plough" meant a team or pair of horses	Marten	Ploughing
bed	The under side of the stratum in a rock. It is a condition in most contracts for walling that the stones shall be "well *bedded* in good mortar and laid upon their own proper *beds*" - *i.e.* that the stones shall be placed in the wall in the line of their stratification. A good mason can tell which is the *bed* or under side of a stone, from that which was uppermost while yet in the rock	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone
capping	Coping (always). [*Kaap'een* stoa-unz] coping stones	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone
clatter of rocks	accumulation of detached blocks of rock	Devonshire Assoc	Stone
clitter	pile of rocks	Williamson	Stone
dappy stones	small pebbles	Devonshire Assoc	Stone
fire-stone	Flint	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone

lapful	In several places on our hills are isolated heaps of stones, unlike any to be found in the neighbourhood. One of these is in the parish of Winsford near Tarr-steps. It is a large scattered heap chiefly of quartz boulders on the brow of a hill, and no stones of the like formation are to be found anywhere near. These heaps (one or two on the Brendon Hills) are known as "Devil's *lapfuls*" and it is believed that they could not be removed; that whatever stones might be drawn away by day would be replaced at night. Of the particular lapful in Winsford it is said, that the devil first intended to build the bridge over the Barle, close by with these stones in solid masonry, and that he had brought them thus far from a long distance, when his apron-string broke, and the stones fell where they now are. He thereupon changed his mind, and constructed the present bridge called Tarr-steps with the great slabs of slaty rock found on the spot. No doubt in this legend, and other similar ones which name these heaps *lapfuls*, we have preserved the old word *lap*, skirt, garment. Anglo Saxon *laeppa*, a flap or fold of a garment	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone
pitching -stones	Small stones suitable for paving	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone
popple	Pebble (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone
popple	pebble	Marten	Stone
popple-stones, popples	pebbles	Devonshire Assoc	Stone
quar	A quarry	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone
quar-pit	A quarry, usually a small one, whence stones for road-mending are dug; these road-side quarries are generally called *quar-pits*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone
shillet	decomposed rock found in North Devon and North West Somerset, used for garden walks	Devonshire Assoc	Stone
shillet	Shale. This word is the only known name for the disintegrated top layer of the Devonian clay slate so common in West Somerset and North Devon. From *shillet* - i.e. broken slate, it gradually decomposes into fertile soil	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Stone

shillets	flat stones of the river bed deposited by flood waters	Williamson	Stone
shivers	splinters of chips of wood, stone or metal	Devonshire Assoc	Stone
sprawls	chippings or splinters of brick, stone or wood	Devonshire Assoc	Stone
sterlings (pronounced starlings)	the stone piling round the base of a bridge	Williamson	Stone
between the lights	evening twilight	Devonshire Assoc	Time and light
candle-douting	Morning; dawn. In some farm-houses it is still sometimes, and formerly was most frequently, the custom to "burn more *can'l* avore daylight than arter dark-night." Hence when the sun is up sufficiently to see to work is is time for *can'le doutin*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
candle-teening	Candle-lighting. Evening, when it grows too dark to see without a candle. Time to light up	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
canle-teen	Evening, dusk	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
cockleert	the dawn, when the cock crows	Elworthy (Scolding)	Time and light
cockleett	i.e. Cock-light, daybreak or (sometimes) the dusk of the evening	Elworthy (Scolding)	Time and light
cock-light	Evening twilight; same as *Dumps* (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
dark-night	Nightfall. The beginning of night	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
demps, dimpse	twilight	Devonshire Assoc	Time and light
dimity	twilight	Williamson	Time and light
dimmet	the dusk of the evening	Elworthy (Scolding)	Time and light
dimmet	Dusk; evening twilight; when the light has become dim	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
dimmet	the period of dusk after sunset	Evans	Time and light
dimmett, dimpsy	twilight (1750)	Marten	Time and light
dimmit	dusk of the evening	Skeggs	Time and light
dimpsey	half-lit, at twilight or dusk	Evans	Time and light

dimpsy	Twilight "At dimpsy, when day and night hunters see each other between the two lights" p41	Williamson	Time and light
dimsey	Getting dark	Eardley-Wilmot	Time and light
dumps	Twilight; same as *dimmet*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
dumpsy	1. Towards night; not used for early dawn. 2. Dark, gloomy, cloudy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
fall	The autumn; often spoke of as the *fall* of the year	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
fore-day	Before it is light in the morning	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
grey	Morning twilight, early dawn. Never heard it applied to evening	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
merry dancers	The northern lights, *Aurora Borealis*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
parish-lantern	The moon	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
ripping-time	The time when the oak sap has risen, so that the bark can be *ripped* or peeled off easily... Common term for spring	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
vore day	Before it is light	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Time and light
beat-axe	A kind of broad mattock almost like an *adze*, used for *beating*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Tools
bisghee	axe for removing tree roots	Evans	Tools
bittle	A large wooden mallet used to split back trees with large iron wedges	Eardley-Wilmot	Tools
browse-hook	For trimming hedge or bank, browsing it	Eardley-Wilmot	Tools
dews 'arp	hayrake	Marten	Tools
drashels	flails, used for threshing corn	Marten	Tools
peek or pick	two pronged fork used for "pitching" (throwing) sheaves when making a load on a wagon or a rick	Marten	Tools
prong	four pronged long handled hay fork	Marten	Tools
showel, shoel	shovel	Marten	Tools
sive	scythe	Marten	Tools
spar	willow rods used for fixing thatch to roofs	Evans	Tools
spar gads	sticks to be split into two	Evans	Tools
two-bill	A digger	Eardley-Wilmot	Tools

vizgie	a double bladed digging tool	Marten	Tools
zive	a scythe	Elworthy (Scolding)	Tools
age-traws	hedge troughs, i.e. ditches running beside hedges for drainage	Marten	Water and watercourses
back-stream	Tech. To every water-mill there is necessarily a *back-stream*, which is the channel leading from the weir, to carry off the surplus water. The *leat* and *back-stream* are as indispensible as the waterwheel itself	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
barren-spring	Water unfit for irrigation - *i.e.* non-fertilizing	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
bay	A dam or bank for the purpose of retaining or turning water aside; never applied to the water itself	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
bay	To pond or obstruct the flow of water. To *bay* back the water, is one of the commonest of phrases	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
bay	1. A dam or bank for retaining water (i.e. baying back) or turning it aside. This never applies to the water itself. Thus 2. The pond-head of a mill pond	Skeggs	Water and watercourses
benching	1. Building (by digging) the walls and floors of a rhine, river or ditch 2. The banking of a rhine below water level	Skeggs	Water and watercourses
carriage-gutter	The main drain into which the branches in draining a field are made to run	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
clap-hatch	hinged wooden door, controlled by tide pressure, which claps it shut against the stone work of the hatch; preventing salt water from running up into the fresh water of a river or rhyne	Skeggs	Water and watercourses
clyce	river or land drain outlet controlled by a valve to let water out but not in	Evans	Water and watercourses
clyse, clyze	1. Sluice or floodgate, allowing one-way drainage 2. Valve of a rhine	Skeggs	Water and watercourses
cockle	A ripple on the water caused by the wind, dearly loved by fly-fishers	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
coy-pool	A decoy; a pond arranged with appliances for catching wild-fowl	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
flushet	Freshet or flood in a brook	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
fresh	watercourse "A memory of big fish was moved in the otter's mind by the smell of the fresh" p66	Williamson	Water and watercourses

grip	A ditch cut through a bog - common on the hills of north-west Somerset (Exmoor District)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
grip	To rid out, or cleanse a ditch	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
gully	dry watercourse "to a gully in the hills, a dry watercourse marked by furze bushes, and thorns" p207	Williamson	Water and watercourses
gut	drain? "Tarka galloped through the tall green reeds to the river, stopping by a gut to sniff at the tracks of a curlew" p28	Williamson	Water and watercourses
gutter	A drain; a common field drain made with ordinary draining pipes	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
head	Applied to a mill-pond. If full, it is said, "There's a good *head* of water." So the pond or reservoir from which the water-wheel is driven is called the mill-*head*, while the stream running from the mill is the mill-tail. See *tail of the mill*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
hedge-trow	The ditch or drain at the side of a hedge, called more often a *ditch-trow* - in this latter case the *trow*, i.e. *trough*, is of course redundant	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
hill-water	Water from a bog or moor	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
hutch	A sluice for keeping back water	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
ice-blink	"travelling through the ice-blink in the pill, and out across the estuary" p119	Williamson	Water and watercourses
king-gutter	The principal drain in draining a field. See *carriage-gutter*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
lake	a stream	Devonshire Assoc	Water and watercourses

lake	Usually "*lake* of water"; a small running stream, as from a spring; a runnel. The word is not applied to a large pond or sheet of water, but always to running water. There are two hamlets in the parish of Wellington, Bag*lake* and Holywell *Lake*, at both of which there is onlt a small running stream. At the latter, the Holywell is a spring rising in the middle of the village, and running out of a pipe, away by the roadside. A very common direction is, "go on till you come to a *lake* o'water" - *i.e.* a little running stream. Running streams are of three kinds - the smallest being a *lake*; a little larger, a small brook is a "water"; a large stream is a river. In this district all streams are what are called *stickle* - *i.e.* rapid-running and shallow, except in pools.	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
land water	water overflowing the land after heavy rain	Devonshire Assoc	Water and watercourses
leat	The water-course leading to a mill	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
leat	water channel to supply a mill	Evans	Water and watercourses
lousy	1. Sparkling water with plenty of beads, or little air bubbles, is said to be lousy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
meare	pond	Evans	Water and watercourses
mill-head	The pond or reservoir of water that supplies a water-wheel. See *head of water*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
mill-leat	"they drifted down the mill-leat that drew out of the pool" p174	Williamson	Water and watercourses
mill-tail	The stream of water as it runs out from under the water-wheel, after having done its work. See *tail of the mill*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
moorish	Applied to water having an earthy, peaty taste	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
pill	estuarial creek	Williamson	Water and watercourses
pit	1. Pond. A labourer in my employ always speaks of a pond nearly half an acre in extent as "thick there *pit*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
plashes	Puddles "Plashes of water covered the grassy depressions of the meadow, where moorhens were feeding" p69	Williamson	Water and watercourses

pond	To dam back water	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
ream	a wave	Williamson	Water and watercourses
reen, rhyne	a deep man-made ditch used to drain the moors	Evans	Water and watercourses
rhine	In the fen or moor district of Somerset, extending west nearly as far as Taunton, the wide open drains are all written *rhine* and pronounced *reen.* See Macauley's account of the battle of Sedge Moor	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
rillet	stream? "Tarka climed out of the rillet's bed, scarcely wider than himself" p183	Williamson	Water and watercourses
runnels	streams "Water trickles away... and hurries in its narrow course by falls, runnels, pools, and cascades" p183	Williamson	Water and watercourses
scrape	shallow watering hole scraped out to catch water for wild ponies and sheep	Evans	Water and watercourses
small	Adj. Applied to water in rivers or running streams (usual term)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
spizing	welling up of water	Devonshire Assoc	Water and watercourses
stank	A dam for keeping back or turning water aside; implies rather a more permanent structure than a *bay*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
stickle	1. A shallow part of a river, where the water runs rapidly. 2. Steep. Thick roof's to flat - he idn stickle 'nough. Hence the frequent name "stickle-path." Applied to water, the effect of a steep course, rapidity is the meaning. "The river urns *stickle* all the way from Withypool to Exebridge" - *i.e.* follows a steeply declining course, and so runs rapidly	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
tail of the mill	1. The stream of water as it rushes out from under the water-wheel. The whole stream running from the mill is the mill-tail; that which supplies the wheel is the leat from the mill-head. 2. That part of the channel or water-course which conveys the water away from the water-wheel. See *mill-tail, leat*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
tarn	pond, lake "A tarn lies under two hills, draining water from a tussock-linked tract of bog called The Chains" p182	Williamson	Water and watercourses

turn the water	In irrigating meadows, the water needs frequently to have its course changed. This requires some skill, and is called "turning water." Very commonly the farmer will not trust a labourer to do this, but "*turns the water*" himself	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
twired	slow and shallow flow of river water moving past a heron's legs	Williamson	Water and watercourses
uvver, hover	"The otters were lying in an uvver, or hover, near the right bank, away from the tug of the cascade plunging down the fish pass. The water in the uvver turned quietly. On its surface revolved a wheel of sticks, riveted by bubbles" p68	Williamson	Water and watercourses
vleet	Streaming with water	Eardley-Wilmot	Water and watercourses
vleet, vleyt	pronunciation of fleet - to drain or flow away	Devonshire Assoc	Water and watercourses
vlex-pit	A deep pool in which flax is "watered" or steeped. In this district, where flax used to be grown in large quantities, nearly every farm has its *vlex-pit*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
vlid	Flood (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
vlid	flood	Marten	Water and watercourses
water	A stream; brook (very common). Holcombe *Water*, Quarme *Water*, Badgeworthy *Water*, are well known to all West Country people	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
watertable	ditch at the side of a road	Devonshire Assoc	Water and watercourses
water-table	The ditch on each side of a road; also a small hollow made across a road to carry off surplus water	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
well	A spring of water	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Water and watercourses
willis	a rill from a spring	Devonshire Assoc	Water and watercourses
ammil	frost	Williamson	Weather
ammil	"The icy casings of leaves and grasses and blades and sprigs were glowing and hid in a mist of sun-fire. Moor-folk call this morning glory the Ammil" p140	Williamson	Weather
avroar, avraur	frozen, frosty	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather

avrore	frosty	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
avrore	frosty	Skeggs	Weather
black	2. Foul, overcast weather	Skeggs	Weather
black-frost	A dry frost - such as comes with an easterly wind	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
black-frost	dry frost without rhime	Skeggs	Weather
blenky, blenk	to snow but sparingly, resembling the blinks or ashes that sometimes fly out of a chimney	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
blonking	Snowing	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
blow up	Applied to the wind; to increase in force	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
boldery	thundery, dark	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
buldering	of weather, sultry, hot	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
buldery	Applied to weather; thundery, lowering, dark, threatening for rain	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
cancervells	icicles	Evans	Weather
catching	Applied to weather; rainy or showery	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
cat's ice	Ice, which appears to have a quantity of air-bubbles in it, usually very thin, and only strong enough to bear a cat	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
chaungy	Changeable; applied to the weather	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
chongy	changeable, unsettled, stormy	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
clinker-vells	Icicles. In East Somerset these are called *Clinker-bells*, but in West Somerset and North Devon it is *vells*, not *bells*. We are peculiarly fond of the interchange of *p* into *f*, *b* into *v* or *w*, and *vice versa*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
coarse	Rough, boisterous, stormy: applied to the weather	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
conkabell	an icicle (in the Somerset dialect clinkabell)	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
conkerbell	icicle (clinkerbell in Somerset)	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
creamy	chilly	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
dank	damp and dark	Evans	Weather
daze	gleam (of the sun)	Devonshire Assoc	Weather

dinder	thunder	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
dinder	thunder	Skeggs	Weather
dinderex	thunder-bolt	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
dinder-ex	thunderbolt	Skeggs	Weather
doveth	it thaws	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
downfall	Snow or rain	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
down-fall	onset of snow or rain	Skeggs	Weather
drang'd	clouded	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
drappy	To rain slightly	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
drowth	Drought	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
drowth	dryness, drought	Skeggs	Weather
eavy	To condense moisture. Before a change of weather it is very common to see flag-stones and painted walls become quite damp. This occurs as often in hot dry weather before rain as in wet weather or in thaw. When this condition appears, it is said to "*eavy*"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
element	The sky; the firmament; the atmosphere	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
fleeches	large flakes (of snow)	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
flicktails	fine clouds (mares tails)	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
flirt of rain	short sharp shower	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
frisk	light shower	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
frisk	Gentle rain; Scotch mist	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
gee out	To give out; to thaw	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
go-lie	1. Said of corn or grass when beaten down by wind or rain. 2. Said of the wind after a storm	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
goyles	possibly local pronunciation of 'gales', verb coined from noun	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
ground-rain	A steady, soaking rain, that well saturates the ground	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
hammelled	frozen	Devonshire Assoc	Weather

heevy	1. Same as *eavy*. 2. Adj. The condition of damp described above, so often noticed in a thaw, or change of weather	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
hemel	frozen fog	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
howderin	Applied to the weather. Cloudy, overcast, threatening, stormy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
huffling	wind blowing up in sudden gusts	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
hulder	the roar in the air after a great noise (e.g. thunder)	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
jack sharp	a sharp tingling frost	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
jack-a-lantern	*Ignis fatuus*. This I believe to be the only name known in this district. The phenomenon only occurs in certain parts of the boggy moorland of Brendon Hill and the Exmoor district. It is said that a farmer once crossing Dunkery from Porlock to Cutcombe, and having a leg of mutton with him, was benighted. He saw a *Jack-a-lantern*, and was heard to cry out while following the light, "Man a lost! Man a lost! Half-a-crown and a leg a mutton to show un the way to Cutcombe!"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
joan in the wad	Will o' the wisp. I find this word in glossaries, as Somerset, but cannot find it elsewhere	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
knee-bowed	Said of corn after much rain, when inclined to become "laid"	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
knee-hapsed	Said of corn - same as *knee-bowed*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
kreemee	Cold and shivered	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
lappery	Wet; rainy; showery	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
larry	misty	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
letting	Hindering; applied to weather, showery, rainy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
letty-weather	Showery, rainy, lit. *Hindering weather - i.e.* hindering harvesting or out-door work (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
lie	Said of the wind's direction. Which way do the wind *lie* 'smornin? *i.e.* from which direction does it blow?	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
mackerel-sky	Sky mottled with light striped, cirrus clouds	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
mare's tails	White fleecy clouds, portending wind	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather

misk	Mist; fog	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
misky	Misty; foggy	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
miz-wet	mist	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
mizzle	Drizzling rain	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
mizzling	Drizzling	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
muggy	Weather term. Misty; hazy; uncomfortably thick and relaxing	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
offering for rain	indications of rain	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
onthaw	To thaw (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
owdering in	Becoming cloudy	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
owdrey	overcast, cloudy	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
pilm	dust raised by the wind	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
plum	mild and moist, warm (applied to the weather)	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
plum	3. Of the weather. Warm; genial	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
pudley	Grey sky - like rain (Mrs Geen)	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
queeling	(Pronounced "quilling") drying up by sun (Mrs Geen)	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
quelstring	hot, sultry	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
rime	Freezing rain or fog	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
scad	a shower	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
scad	a shower of rain (scatt in S. Devon)	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
scad	A shower (very common)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
scaddy weather	Showery weather	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
scatty weather	showery, with little scuds of rain	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
scratch'd, a-scratch'd	just frozen; the surface of the earth appearing as it were scratched or scabby	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
scratched	Slightly frozen, with only a film of ice; when the appearance of water is only that of lines or *scratches*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather

skat	A light shower. Also means to throw away an object (skat it away. No good)	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
skatt	a shower of rain	Marten	Weather
slattery	Wet; damp	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
slottery weather	foul weather, rainy weather	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
slouch	to wet or drench	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
sprank	slight shower or sprinkling	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
squelstring	Sultry; hot; sweltering	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
squelstring weather	sweltry or sultry	Elworthy (Scolding)	Weather
staring	bright, brilliant (weather)	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
steeve	To stiffen; to benumb; to freeze; to make stiff - now mostly used of cold or frost	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
sweltering; sweltery	Oppressively hot; very sultry (applied to weather). Same as *squelstring*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
thawy	To thaw (always)	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
thick wet	A dense mist - very common in the west	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
thunderbolt	To strike with lightning	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
unheeve	To thaw, or rather to show condensation. Same as *to heevy*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
unketty	Close; sultry; depressing	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
unthaw	To thaw	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
vady	damp	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
vall	2. Fall - *i.e.* rain or snow	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
vlitter	To shake hard or be wind-blown	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather
wetty	To rain very slightly	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
yark	(of weather) wild	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
yark	wild, stormy weather	Marten	Weather
yark	Cold	Eardley-Wilmot	Weather

yeavy	Damp; moist. This word expresses the condition of painted walls and stone floors upon the giving out of frost. See *eavy*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Weather
zam-zody	soft, damp, wet	Devonshire Assoc	Weather
baven	faggot of unprepared twigs and branches	Evans	Woodlands and forestry
beer	a woodland suitable for feeding pigs on acorns and beechnuts	Evans	Woodlands and forestry
brake	2. Thicket of bushes, briers or other low growing vegetation 3. Copse of scrub-wood	Skeggs	Woodlands and forestry
brawn, broan	a cleft of wood for the fire	Elworthy (Scolding)	Woodlands and forestry
browse	brushwood, light coppice, undergrowth, cuttings from a hedge before being made into faggots	Marten	Woodlands and forestry
brushet	A thicket; a cluster of bush	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
bushment	A thicket, a bushy place	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
copse	In this district applied to any description of wood-land, even to a fir plantation	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
copsy	overgrown woodland	Skeggs	Woodlands and forestry
draw, drow	throw, to fell timber	Devonshire Assoc	Woodlands and forestry
drow	To fell (throw) timber	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
flippety	A young twig or branch that bends before a hook or clippers	Eardley-Wilmot	Woodlands and forestry
holt	A wood or grove. The name occurs in that of one or more farms, as Ash*holt*, Knock*holt*	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
hood	Wood	Eardley-Wilmot	Woodlands and forestry
mute	The stumps of trees and bushes left in the ground after felling	Eardley-Wilmot	Woodlands and forestry
nood	Wood (*silva*). In the phrase "So thick as a *nood*." The usual simile	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
ood	1. Wood (*silva*). The *w* is never sounded in this word, and, moreover, it is strictly limited in its use as above. A felled tree (*lignum*), whether sawn or otherwise, is *tim'er*. Horner *'ood* is a very favourite meet of the stag-hounds in West Somerset	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry

ood	wood, rhymes with the Scottish "guid" (good). A tool for cutting wood and saplings from a hedge is called a "ood 'ook" (wood hook). Faggots, bundles of hedge cuttings, would be stacked near the kitchen door in a "ood rick". Also written in dialect as "yude"	Marten	Woodlands and forestry
planting	Plantation	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
ramble	The branch of a tree when felled. A large tree when cut down is divided into - (1) The butt or stock, called *timber* (2) The larger branches, cut off into such lengths as are worth sawing into board, called *second timber* (3) The crooked limbs, and such as are too large for faggot-wood; called *rambles* (4) The tops of the branches, which are bound up into faggots; these tops are called the *wood* (5) The *moot* or stump, including all the moors or roots	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
shroudy	branchy, bushy, covered in branches	Devonshire Assoc	Woodlands and forestry
timmern	Made of wood... "Wooden" is a literary word used only in fine talk	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry
vreth, vreath	young underwood or brushwood	Devonshire Assoc	Woodlands and forestry
wallet	Underwood when cut. It is generally understood to be brushwood, without the strong sticks usually to be found in a faggot	Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	Woodlands and forestry

APPENDIX 2: GLOSSARY SOURCES AND CATEGORIES APPLIED

Sources used to assemble glossary

Abbreviation	Date	Author	Details	Notes
Devonshire Assoc	1877-1920	Multiple	Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association	Taken from online archive
Eardley-Wilmot	1969-1990	Hazel Eardley-Wilmot (transcribed by Giles Goodland)	1st Report on Dialect and Folklore [Combining 108th Report on Dialect and 102nd Report on Folklore], Rep. Trans. Devon. Ass. Advmt. Sci., **143**, 381-416 June 2011. Dr J.B. Smith (Recorder). Contributed by Giles Goodland	
Elworthy (Scolding)	1879	F.T. Elworthy (ed)	An Exmoor Scolding and Courtship in Specimens of English Dialects published for the English Dialect Society by Trubner & Co., London	Original Exmoor Scolding text is older than date of this publication
Elworthy (W.S. Word-Book)	1886	F.T. Elworthy (ed)	The West Somerset Word-Book: A Glossary of Dialectical and Archaic Words and Phrases Used in the West of Somerset and East Devon. Trubner & Co., Ludgate Hill	
Evans	2005	Roger Evans	Don't Tell I, Tell 'Ee! An affectionate look at Somerset dialect. Countryside Books, Newbury, Berkshire	
Marten	1973	Clement Marten	The Devonshire Dialect. Clement Marten Publications, Exeter	
Schama	1979	Rosalind Schama	Some Old Somerset Nature Names	Pamphlet, published Yeovil
Skeggs	Unknown (C20th)	J Skeggs	Somerset Slangwords: Especially Obsolete Agricultural and Natural History Terms	Plant and animal names excluded when looking at this source, as time available for transcription was limited
Williamson	1927	Henry Williamson	Tarka the Otter. Edition: Puffin Books 1995	

Categories applied to glossary

- Animals (not including livestock)
- Aspect
- Boundaries
- Burning and peat
- Crops
- Fields and enclosures
- Hunting
- Land condition
- Land management and ownership
- Landforms
- Livestock
- Locality
- Man-made structures
- Paths and roads
- Plants and trees
- Ploughing
- Stone
- Time and light
- Tools
- Water and watercourses
- Weather
- Woodlands and forestry

APPENDIX 3: CONSENT BRIEFING

Written briefing provided to participants in advance:

This research study is being done as part of my MSc degree in the Department of Geography, Environment and Development Studies, Birkbeck, University of London. The study has received ethical approval.

This study aims to explore how local Exmoor dialect terms for landscape features and management can inform the work of Exmoor National Park Authority and other relevant local bodies. The glossary of terms that I have assembled from desk research to date is attached as a spreadsheet searchable by source, category, etc. I would like to invite you to participate in a brief one to one interview, to discuss your thoughts on this glossary and its potential uses in your work or the work of others involved in or influencing the management of Exmoor's landscape.

If you agree to participate in an interview we will agree a convenient time and date for me to interview you for no more than one hour. You are free to stop the interview and withdraw at any time. A code will be attached to your data so it remains totally anonymous. The analysis of our interview will be written up in a report of the study for my degree. You will not be identifiable in the write up or any publication which might ensue.

Oral briefing read to participants at start of interview:

My name is Meriel Martin and I am studying Environmental Management at Birkbeck, University of London. This interview will inform my dissertation. My supervisor is Dr Sian Sullivan, Senior Lecturer in Environment and Development at Birkbeck. I work as Policy and Research Officer for National Parks England, the association of National Park Authorities in England.

The aim of my dissertation is to provide a case study in dialect language relating to the landscape of Exmoor National Park. This entails identifying the resource that exists and exploring its potential significance with respect to the formation and exercise of knowledge;

and Exmoor National Park Authority's responsibilities for conserving and enhancing landscape and cultural heritage.

I have invited you to participate in an interview due to the relevant nature of your role at (organisation). The interview should take no more than one hour, and I will be making an audio recording of the interview. This will be transcribed and will inform the conclusions of my study. All data will be held anonymously, with no names attached to electronic files and any physical records kept under lock and key. Comments and quotes will be ascribed anonymously in the written dissertation.

APPENDIX 4: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Do you come from the Exmoor area originally?

- How long have you been working for (organisation)?

- Have you had a chance to look at the glossary of dialect terms? Had you come across many of these words and phrases previously?

- What do you think the glossary of dialect terms shows about the relationship between people and the landscape on Exmoor?

- Do you think that there are differences between the dialect language that describes the landscape and its management, and the language used in policy documents about the National Park? By policy documents I mean both documents produced by the National Park Authority and also by other bodies, at a local or national scale, which influence the management of the National Park.

  Prompt: These policy documents might include:
  - National Park Management Plan
  - Landscape Character Assessment and National Character Area description
  - Landscape Action Plan
  - Historic Environment Reports
  - Natural England agri-environment scheme guidance

- If you think that there are differences, what is your opinion of these? Do you consider dialect language and policy language to have different types of value and power?

- Do you think it is more important to keep records of dialect language to preserve it as fully as possible for posterity; or to support the continued living use and experience of dialect, for example by supporting the landscape and land management methods that local dialect terms relate to?

- What do you consider the National Park Authority's role should be in relation to dialect? Prompt: Should the NPA have a role in conserving dialect? In what area of the NPA's work could a dialect glossary be a useful resource?

- What do you consider the role of other bodies in Exmoor National Park to be in relation to dialect – e.g. the Exmoor Society; Heart of Exmoor Landscape Partnership Scheme; Hill Farm Project?

- What uses do you personally see for a dialect glossary or greater awareness of dialect in your work?

APPENDIX 5: EXAMPLE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Telephone interview. Introduction to study read verbatim.

Does all of that sound OK?

That sounds absolutely fine to me.

Have you had a chance to have a look at the glossary of dialect terms that I sent across?

I have, yes.

OK, and had you come across many of the words and phrases in it previously?

I had, quite a lot. What you've actually got to do is you've got to sit down and say them, because you don't see them written down.

(Laughs) Yeah.

So I was quietly sat here talking to myself.

I think that's the nature of dialect isn't it, it's a spoken thing and when you try and write it down it sometimes, it comes out a little bit... there are different spellings for the same words and things aren't there.

Very much so actually, because it's the spoken language rather than the written language, that's how I tend to regard dialect really.

And was there any pattern to the words that you recognised, were they words to do with any particular things or was it more a general sprinkling of words throughout?

There's a general sprinkling of words, but the reality is predominately it's the agriculture, it's the rural landscape really.

Mmm.

The whole thing, there's very little that wouldn't involve the rural landscape and rural life really. That would be my line of thought.

OK. And what do you think the glossary and the dialect terms show about the relationship between people and the landscape on Exmoor?

I think it probably tends to determine a longer term relationship, because most of those descriptions have been handed down – I mean some bear virtually no relationship to modern day words.

Mmm. And do you think there are differences between the dialect language that describe the landscape and the landscape management; and the type of language that gets used in policy documents about the National Park?

Very much so. Having said that, you need to find a happy medium somewhere, because I'm fully aware the dialect differs enormously between the Devon side of the National Park and the Somerset side.

Oh, does it?

Yes, it does. And even between the southern half of the Park and the northern half. There are just sort of nuances more than anything else.

Mmm. So do you think the dialect is still alive in the National Park?

Very much, I think anybody only needs to go to Blackmoor Gate Market or Cutcombe Market on a market day and it's very much alive.

Mmm, OK. And do you think that the dialect language that's used and the policy language that's used, in documents produced by the National Park Authority and others, do you think they've got different types of value or power in the way that they are used?

I think the closer you can actually associate with the local people, the more likely they are to actually read it and feel that there's an understanding of their specific local circumstance.

Mmm.

So I think it's important that there's recognition, or at least a language that heads in that direction. But there is also a very fine line where it becomes too localised.

Ok. Because some people have said a lot of the policy documents, the things that come down nationally , the agri-environment agreements and so on, they're written in quite a different language and there's quite a big gulf of difference between that and the terms that people use locally for what they're doing. Do you think that is the case?

Yes I think that has been the case, and I think that that is something that is actually being addressed to some point at the moment, the attempt to regionalise the new type of management schemes into directions that are applicable. It's just the difference between even descriptions of sheep at the sales, whether you get 'tegs' or 'gimmers' or 'tooters(?)' or 'hoggets' or whatever, every area of the country has a slightly different description for possibly the same animal.

Mmm.

So the ability to regionalise that description – otherwise can people look at it and think, hmm, what exactly are they referring to?

Yeah.

Even to the extent of simple things, like with sheep management 'docking' or 'dagging', depends which part of the country you happen to be in as to what it actually means.

So there's a lot of variation.

There is a huge amount of variation. It's something I've had to get my head around a little bit in the north of England and in the south. You can very easily get the wrong inference, because of the use of dialect.

OK. So in that circumstance, do you think it makes things more difficult, if there's potential for misunderstandings?

Well my own thought is that there has to be recognition of the local and regional variations, but there's also some benefit in having policy documents that transgress all those boundaries.

That everyone can understand.

Exactly.

Mmm.

I mean I personally get accused of, how can I sound so entirely different if I'm talking to a group of people in London or if I'm talking to a group of farmers at the market.

(Both laugh) Really.

It's something I suppose without even thinking about you naturally slip into.

Yeah, I think everybody tailors the way that they speak to their audience, don't they, we all do it.

I think they do and it's subconsciously.

Mmm. Do you think it's more important to keep records of the dialect language to preserve it as fully as possible for posterity; or to support the continued living use and experience of dialect, for example by supporting the landscape and land management methods that the dialect terms relate to?

Yes I do actually, I think all of that's important, if nothing else because an awful lot of the work we do and the policies that we work on are based either on historical experience or events, or reviews from the past. Unless you have an understanding of dialect and what it actually means in local circumstance, sometimes the value of that historical data can be very limited because its application is a bit uncertain.

So you need to do both, you need to keep the records but you also need to keep the live understanding of what it means.

Of realistically how to interpret its meaning.

Mmm. And do you think supporting the traditional land management methods could help to do that?

I think so, really. There's still an awful lot of people that are involved in the traditional farming side that wouldn't ever think of calling anything by the Queen's English, it would be called by what father called it and grandfather called it and what it was described to when you went to market and so on, so I think there is definitely a lot of value there.

Mmm. And what role do you think that the National Park Authority should have in relation to the local dialect?

I think they have to be able to keep historical records, but most of it is within information centres, I think to some extent... an awful lot of people have spent a good many years being embarrassed about some of the dialect, even at a low level, you know there's always that traditional sort of straw-chewing farmer isn't there, with a smock on. Which is sort of the typical direction. I think in reality they've actually got to be quite proud of that sort of heritage.

Mmm.

And the National Park have to be prepared to ensure that they <u>can</u> be quite proud of it.

Mmm. And in what areas of work do you think they could do that, or that greater awareness of dialect and the dialect glossary would be a useful resource to use?

I think the dialect glossary is always bound to be useful because in some ways it's an aid to interpretation of historical documents, which are naturally important anyway.

Mmm.

I think as well as that, it's sometimes necessary, when you get new staff and you get the officers and people progress round jobs and so on, there just are times when it could be quite useful to have an understanding of local interpretation and meaning.

Mmm.

Because there's always a danger otherwise that a new member of staff will come in, start implementing a policy based on a national understanding of meaning whereas the local nuance might be subtly different.

Yes... so that's a kind of internal use. And do you think there are ways in which dialect could be used in the more outward facing work of the National Park Authority?

Well I think so, my own thought is yes that needs to be seen through information centres, it needs to be there as part of the heritage that people can be slightly proud of.

Mmm.

And yes I think it shouldn't be hidden in any shape or form, it should be there as one of the assets that each of the areas possesses.

Mmm – something distinct about the place.

Very much so. And as I said, even dialect, it varies quite a lot, the difference between Exmoor and Dartmoor is quite substantial...

Really?

And down to Bodmin Moor, it seems like they talk a different language to us entirely.

So it is very localised.

It can be very localised, yes.

And what do you think the role of other bodies in the National Park should be in relation to dialect? For example the Exmoor Society, the Landscape Partnership Scheme, the Hill Farm Project.

Well I think by virtue of the fact that it is predominately local people involved in running the Hill Farm Project, then they actually understand and use the local dialect anyway, without knowing it. There's this inherent sort of knowledge that's not written down. The Exmoor Society has a phenomenal resource of historical data and documents, which I do know at the

moment they're in the process of digitalising because the, I think the National Park Partnership Fund, has given them a reasonably substantial grant towards doing so.

OK.

That is where the value of being able to interpret those documents comes in, because they will all have a dialect base to them somewhere.

Mmm.

Especially as an awful lot of those documents were either written by local people or using words that would probably be quite unfamiliar in any other context.

Mmm, OK. And how about the Heart of Exmoor Landscape Partnership, do you think there's a role for them?

Well I think there is actually, and again I think it's a recognition of local, that localised value and to be able to highlight it, they have a value whether it's, some of it is by funding to ensure that there's the ability to make sure we have actually got all that stuff. I think they've also been doing something with the Exmoor Society to ensure that all that historical stuff is not lost.

Mmm.

So it's quite important. It's as much a part of the heritage, if not more, as any of the hard value, the historical landscape or the assorted landscape monuments, any of that. I think just because it's not a solid feature doesn't actually diminish the value of local dialect.

No. And that glossary that I've compiled, I've done that from desk study really and documentary sources, partly because of being based in London it's been difficult for me to spend a lot of time down in Exmoor to do things more locally. Do you think that there would be value in more work being done locally to talk to people who are still speaking and have knowledge and memory of the dialect, to try and get a bit more local nuance into it – because some of the sources in there are Devon or Somerset.

Yes, I think there would be. There are one or two very good books of dialect - why do you always read them and never remember who wrote them? (Laughs). I think there would be quite a bit of value and there would be one or two local sources, there was a compilation done for the National Park....

Yes...

That picked out a selection of characters from around the moor, that she interviewed. The interviews I think are recorded and were on a CD somewhere, there was also a book that went with it.

Is that the Reflections project?

That's the Reflections one.

Yes, yeah I've seen that book.

There is some really interesting dialect on some of that.

Is there, OK.

When you listen to it. And I suspect the contact with any of those types of people, I know some of them are no longer around anyway, but the contact with those people would be quite useful actually.

Mmm, OK. We're getting towards the end of my list of questions, you might be pleased to hear! Do you personally see uses for a dialect glossary or a greater awareness of dialect in your work?

I think there would be a value to it, predominately because as I've said the way it works necessarily, the majority of the staff at the National Park are effectively from outside of the Exmoor area, and I think there would be a value towards an understanding of local meanings.

Those are all the questions that I had, so thank you for giving up your time this morning. Is there anything further that you'd like to discuss, or is there anything further that you'd like to know about the project that I'm doing?

No, I will really look forward to seeing what comes out of it though Meriel.

OK.

I think an awful lot of this type of thing is really easy to sort of, because it's there it's taken for granted. And when things get taken for granted they gradually disappear.

Mmm.

And then their value is diminished. And as I say because the historical records were on the whole written by local people, unless you can interpret them accurately their value is diminished as well.

Yes, yeah. OK.

It would be a shame to lose it. I think twenty five years ago everyone tried markedly harder to speak the Queen's English all the time and to hide their roots, especially if they were agriculturally based.

That's interesting, what do you think has changed that attitude?

I think the countryside has suddenly become a place that people want to be, rather than a place that was regarded as unfriendly, dirty, away, inaccessible and so on. I mean that's reflected in what has happened in house prices and so on realistically.

Mmm. So the countryside is now a desirable place to be, and things associated with the countryside have a better standing.

Yes, definitely.

Well thank you very much, it's been very interesting talking to you.

You're very welcome indeed.

APPENDIX 6: CODING SCHEMA FOR INTERVIEW DATA

A - The dialect glossary

- A1 - Comments on glossary and sources used

B - Contemporary understanding and perceptions of dialect

- B1 - Recognition of dialect terms by participants
- B2 - Persistence of dialect locally
- B3 - Attributes of dialect language
- B4 - Scale
- B5 - Value and power of dialect language

C - Conserving dialect for posterity vs. supporting continued use of dialect

- C1 - Preserving and generating records
- C2 - Supporting use of dialect

D - Relationship between dialect and policy documents

- D1 - Attributes of policy language
- D2 - Scale
- D3 – Integration between dialect and policy
- D4 - Value and power of policy language
- D5 - Landscape character assessment
- D6 - Agri-environment schemes

E - Roles of the National Park Authority relating to dialect

- E1 - Overall roles
- E2 - Specific areas of outward-facing activity
- E3 - Internal uses

F - Roles of other local bodies in relation to dialect

- F1 - Exmoor Society
- F2 - Exmoor Hill Farm Project
- F3 - Heart of Exmoor Landscape Partnership Scheme

G- Miscellaneous

- G1 - Directions for future work
- G2 - Connecting natural and cultural
- G3 - Methodological issues around working with dialect
- G4 - Dialect and the landscape