

Ethnological Mapping in Ireland

with a linguistic contribution by G. B. ADAMS

ANALYTICAL MAPS OF FOLK CULTURE ELEMENTS have been in use in ethnological studies in Ireland for a relatively short time. Only since the mid-1950s have maps regularly appeared as integral parts of studies of specific culture elements. Ó Danachair's article in 1957 'Some Distribution Patterns in Irish Folk Life'¹ was the pioneering publication of a collection of ethnological maps referring to a variety of topics for all Ireland. It dealt mainly with aspects of material culture, and his second article on 'Distribution Patterns in Irish Folk Tradition' appeared in 1965, with a series of comparative maps on seasonal customs². These articles remain the most substantial contribution to Irish ethnological mapping as a whole, but for Ulster Gailey attempted in 1946 to analyse eight distributions of various north Irish folk culture elements in a paper entitled 'The Ulster Tradition'³. All other maps produced by ethnologists in Ireland have been integral parts of papers published on specific and usually quite restricted themes. A list of all such maps published before December 1975 is provided.

Occasional publication by different writers has brought a lack of uniformity of approach to the preparation and publication of ethnological maps. They have usually appeared in simplified form suitable for reproduction in line-block form, often at very small scale. Many of Ó Danachair's maps have included county boundaries. Lough Neagh always appears, although other large lakes are not always in evidence. Lucas's map of the distribution of reports of wattle and straw-mat doors is almost unique in showing rivers and a contour, apparently at 700 ft. a.s.l. He was able to do this on account of the relatively large scale at which the map was reproduced⁴. Obviously, such diverse maps cannot take the place of adequately prepared and published maps such as commonly appear in the various European ethnological atlas projects. A standardised base map is required, with agreement on the extent and nature of topographic background to be shown. Some topographic representation is necessary if ethnological maps are to be widely useful to scholars in disciplines other than ethnology, and to the layman. Interpretation of the cultural content of these maps can only be carried out against the known background of the physical, and also, of course, the historical-cultural, environment. The same is true of the network of information points used in gathering the mapped data. Specialists in the disciplines where cartography is a normal procedure tend to take these problems for granted and make due allowance for total environment in analysing mapped distributions of cultural criteria.

Irish ethnological maps have been based on different kinds of data. Most have been developed from archive collections, mainly from questionnaire returns in the postal questionnaire systems operated at the Department of Irish Folklore at University College, Dublin, and at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum.

1. Caoimhín Ó Danachair, Some Distribution Patterns in Irish Folklife, *Béaloideas*, 25 (1957), pp. 108—123.

2. Idem, Distribution Patterns in Irish Folk Tradition, *Béaloideas*, 33 (1965), pp. 97—113.

3. Alan Gailey, The Ulster Tradition, *Folk Life*, 2 (1964), pp. 27—41.

4. A. T. Lucas, Wattle and Straw Mat Doors in Ireland, *Arctica. Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*, 11 (1956), pp. 16—35.

Contemporary, or recent data, reflecting social conditions at the beginning of the present century have been employed. Occasionally, in some of the maps worked in Ulster, questionnaire data have been used in association with material derived from other sources: literary works of the 18th and 19th centuries; Ordnance Survey data from the 6-inch maps of the 1830s; material collected in the field. Other maps have been based largely on field investigations⁵, and on analysis of museum specimens⁶, or on the latter together with relevant archive source materials⁷. Such variety of source materials must present certain problems of comparability between the various maps, and not only because of the range of time periods they represent. This, however, is perhaps the most serious criticism that may be made; not everyone appreciates that most distribution maps only show circumstances at given points in time. Culture is not, however, unchanging, so analysis of cultural distributions must always take account of the possibility, if not probability, of a dynamic situation. The analogy of a ciné film is useful; we may liken culture to a movie film, one frame of which is analogous to a distribution map of the cultural situation at the particular moment represented by that frame. By considering a consecutive series of frames, or maps, a diachronic dimension may be added to analytical procedures.

FURTHER EXAMINATION OF EXISTING ETHNOLOGICAL MAPS from Ireland shows that they fall into two main categories, according to the method used in their execution. Some show cultural provinces in which various elements exist or have been discovered, the areas concerned being hatched or shaded on the maps⁸ (Fig. 1; Fig. 3 b, c). Continuous lines demarcating the areas are often seen on these maps. This tends to suggest to the unwary reader an impression of permanence and definitiveness at the periphery of the distribution being examined. Furthermore, all-over shading of the area concerned disregards the cultural implications of topography and rather suggests a uniformity of distribution, especially with regard to density of occurrence, of the given culture element or complex. National ethnological atlases in other European countries use this technique of mapping only sparingly — it may be relegated to a support role in an analytical function, or it may be used for the mapping of related nonethnological data for comparative purposes. At best, it is a crude cartographic method.

A more satisfactory approach to the mapping of ethnological data is provided by the use of conventional symbols⁹ (Fig. 2; Fig. 3 a d; Fig. 4). These have the advantage of locating the place or area represented by the information quite accurately, and the density and nature of the distribution of information points

5. E. g. Desmond McCourt, The Outshot House-type and its Distribution in County Londonderry, *Ulster Folklife*, 2 (1956), pp. 27—34: map of the outshot province in Ireland.

6. E. g. Caoimhín Ó Danachair, The flail in Ireland, *Ethnologia Europaea* IV, 1970, 50—55: six maps of variant flail tyings in Ireland.

7. E. g. Alan Gailey, The Last Sheaf in the North of Ireland, *Ulster Folklife*, 18 (1972), pp. 1—33: three maps of terms for the last sheaf.

8. E. g. maps by C. Ó Danachair (see note 1), and by A. Gailey (see note 3).

9. E. g. maps by C. Ó Danachair (see note 2), and by A. Gailey (see note 7).

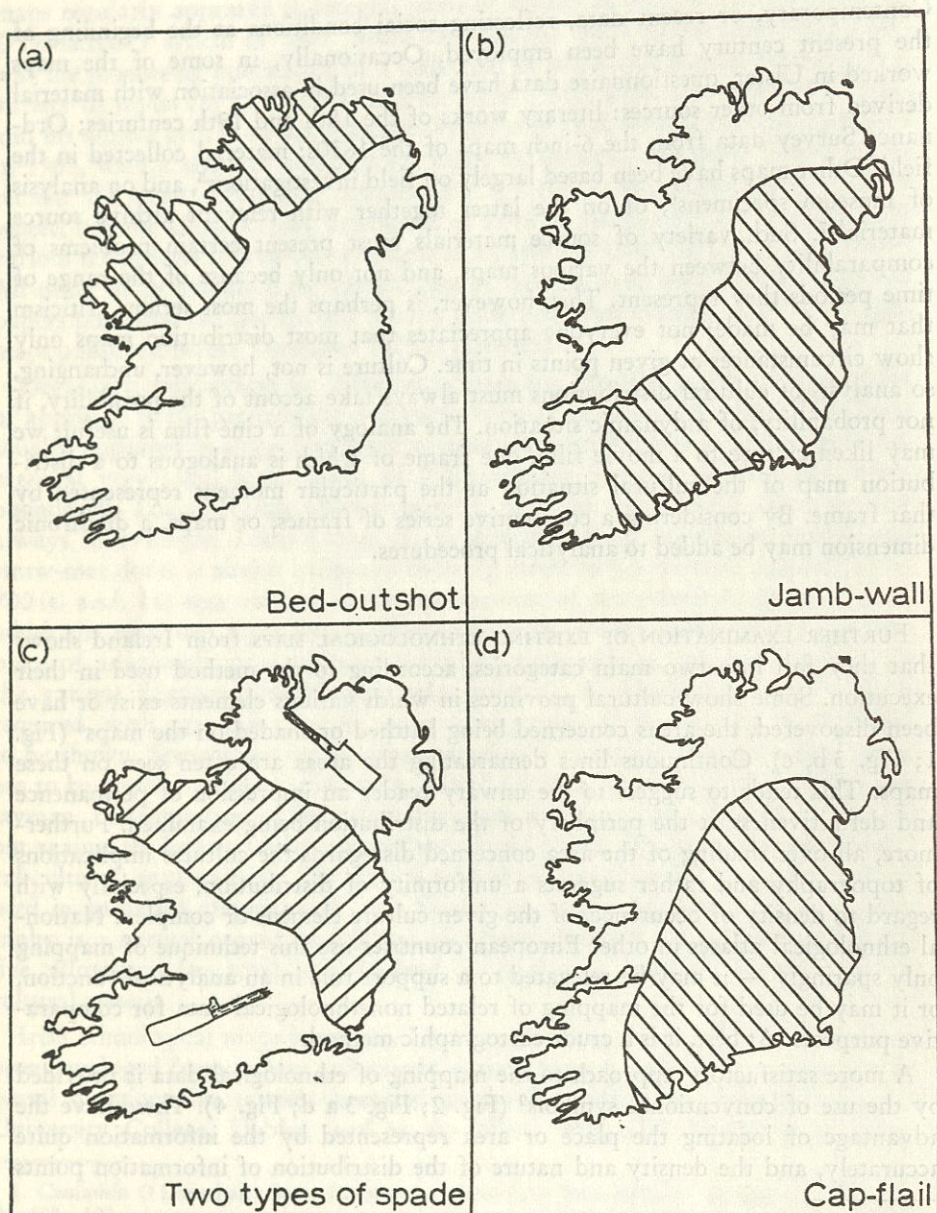


Fig. 1: (a) Distribution of bed-outshot (sleeping alcove in kitchen). (b) Distribution of jamb-wall (placed between door from outside and hearth in kitchen). (c) Distribution of two types of tillage spade (overlap of the two distributions shaded). (d) Distribution of the cap-tying flail type (Trotzig's *kappslaga*). All first published by C. Ó Danachair, a-c in Appendix literature ref. 8, d in ref. 10.

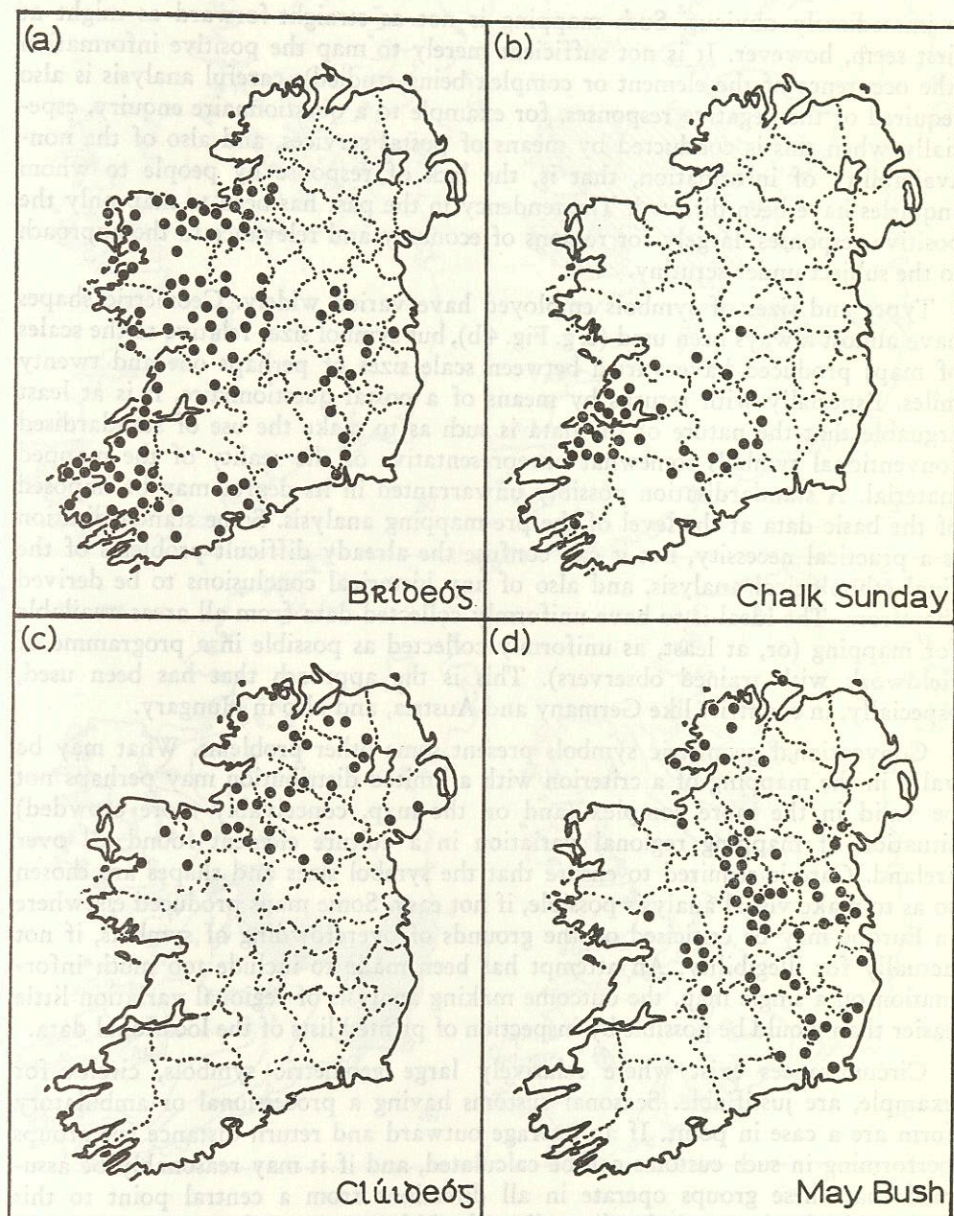


Fig. 2: (a) Distribution of custom of carrying straw effigy about homes of the community on St. Brigid's Eve, 31 January. (b) Distribution of marking unmarried males at beginning of Lent. (c) Distribution of making of miniature houses associated with Easter egg customs. (d) Distribution of the raising of a May bush in the farm yard or near the dwelling. All first published by C. Ó Danachair, Appendix literature ref. 9.

is immediately obvious. Such mapping is not as straight-forward as might at first seem, however. It is not sufficient merely to map the positive information (the occurrence of the element or complex being studied); careful analysis is also required of the negative responses, for example to a questionnaire enquiry, especially when this is conducted by means of postal services, and also of the non-availability of information, that is, the lack of response by people to whom enquiries have been directed. The tendency in the past has been to map only the positive responses, largely for reasons of economy and relevance to the approach to the subject under scrutiny.

Types and sizes of symbols employed have varied widely. Geometric shapes have almost always been used (e. g. Fig. 4 b), but symbol sizes relative to the scales of maps produced have varied between scale sizes of perhaps one and twenty miles. Especially with returns by means of a postal questionnaire, it is at least arguable that the nature of the data is such as to make the use of standardised conventional symbols somewhat unrepresentative of the reality of the mapped material. A standardisation possibly unwarranted in its degree may be imposed of the basic data at the level of the pre-mapping analysis. Some standardisation is a practical necessity, but it can confuse the already difficult problems of the final ethnological analysis, and also of any historical conclusions to be derived therefrom. The ideal is to have uniformly collected data from all areas available for mapping (or, at least, as uniformly collected as possible in a programme of fieldwork with trained observers). This is the approach that has been used, especially, in countries like Germany and Austria, and also in Hungary.

Conventional geometric symbols present some other problems. What may be valid in the mapping of a criterion with a limited distribution may perhaps not be valid in the more complex (and on the map, conceivably more crowded) situation of mapping regional variation in a culture element found all over Ireland. Care is required to ensure that the symbol sizes and shapes are chosen so as to make visual analysis possible, if not easy. Some maps produced elsewhere in Europe may be criticised on the grounds of overcrowding of symbols, if not actually for illegibility. An attempt has been made to include too much information on a single map, the outcome making analysis of regional variation little easier than would be possible by inspection of printed lists of the locational data.

Circumstances exist where relatively large geometric symbols, circles for example, are justifiable. Seasonal customs having a processional or ambulatory form are a case in point. If an average outward and return distance for groups performing in such customs can be calculated, and if it may reasonably be assumed that these groups operate in all directions from a central point to this distance limit, then a circle, the radius of which represents the outward distance in any direction, indicates the total area within which some knowledge of the custom, operating from that central point, may be expected. These circles could then be adjusted to allow for topography or other environmental factors. This approach has been used for one map of folk drama in Ireland (as yet unpublished), but without topographic adjustment. It succeeds to the extent that the map

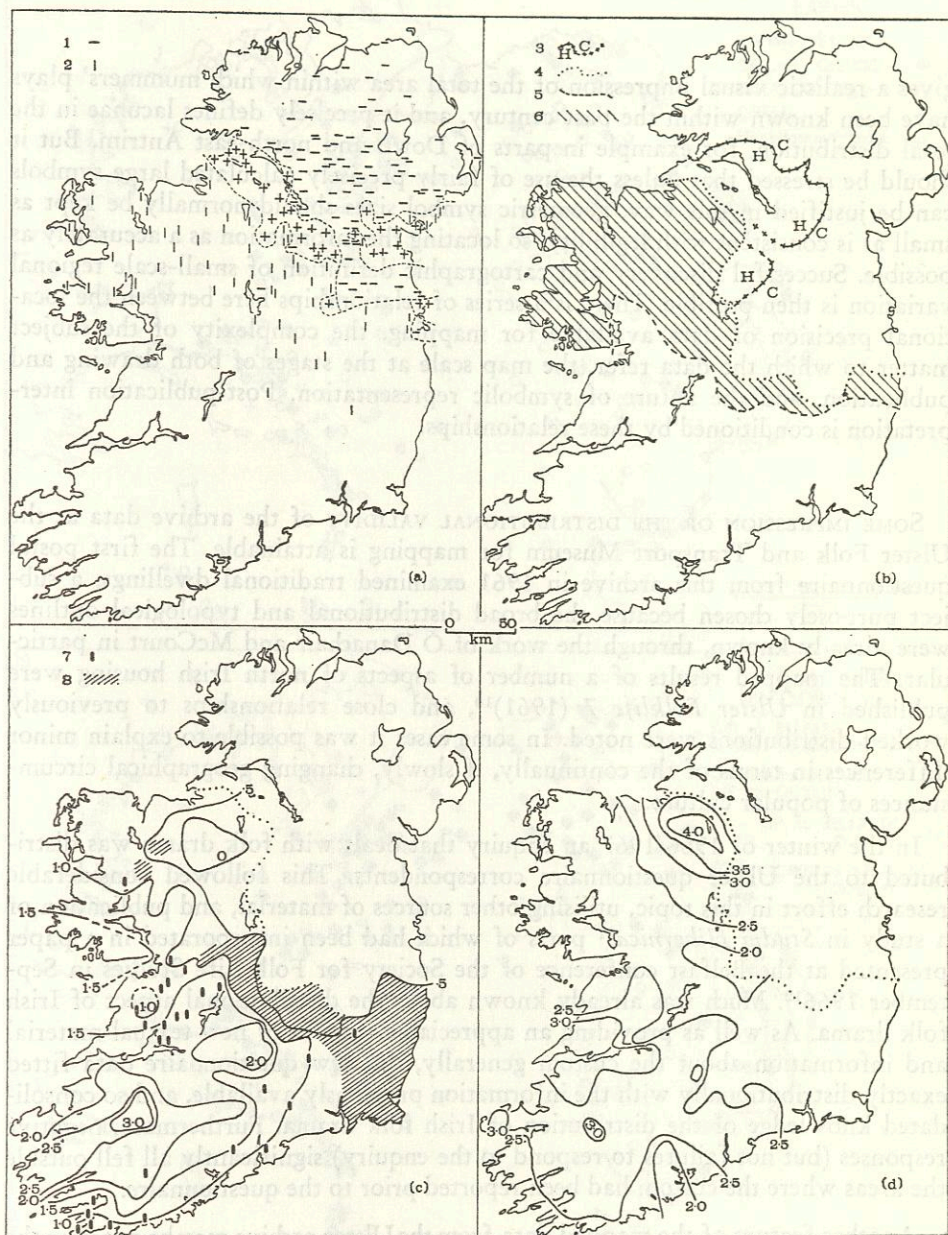


Fig. 3: Distributions of characteristics of tillage spades. (a) Shaft types on Irish spades. (b) Distributional limits of the fundamental types. (c) Blade shape of one-sided spades: maximum-minimum width/length isopleths. (d) Blade shape of one-sided spades: length/average width isopleths. Key: 1, shaft with handle at end; 2, shaft without handle; 3, boundary between hocked (H) and curved (C) lift in blades two-sided spades; 4, northern limit of one-sided spades; 5, southern limit of two-sided spades; 6, area of overlap of one-sided and two-sided spades (cf. Fig. 1c this article); 7, blade widest above mouth (cutting edge); 8, areas where shouldered blades predominate. All first published by A. Gailey, Appendix literature ref. 22.

gives a realistic visual impression of the total area within which mummers' plays have been known within the past century, and it precisely defines lacunae in the total distribution, for example in parts of Down and north-east Antrim. But it should be stressed that unless the use of fairly precisely calculated large symbols can be justified in this way, geometric symbol sizes should normally be kept as small as is consistent with legibility, so locating the information as accurately as possible. Successful discovery and cartographic definition of small-scale regional variation is then possible. There is a series of relationships here between the locational precision of data available for mapping, the complexity of the subject matter to which the data refer, the map scale at the stages of both drawing and publication, and the nature of symbolic representation. Post-publication interpretation is conditioned by these relationships.

SOME IMPRESSION OF THE DISTRIBUTIONAL VALIDITY of the archive data at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum for mapping is attainable. The first postal questionnaire from this archive in 1961 examined traditional dwellings, a subject purposely chosen because the broad distributional and typological outlines were already known, through the work of O Danachair and McCourt in particular. The mapped results of a number of aspects of north Irish housing were published in *Ulster Folklife* 7 (1961)¹⁰, and close relationships to previously worked distributions were noted. In some cases it was possible to explain minor differences in terms of the continually, if slowly, changing geographical circumstances of popular culture.

In the winter of 1966/1967 an enquiry that dealt with folk drama was distributed to the Ulster questionnaire correspondents. This followed considerable research effort in this topic, utilising other sources of material, and publication of a study in *Studia Hibernica*¹¹ parts of which had been incorporated in a paper presented at the Belfast conference of the Society for Folk Life Studies in September 1966¹². Much was already known about the distributional aspect of Irish folk drama. As well as providing an appreciable amount of new textual material and information about the custom generally, the new questionnaire data fitted exactly distributionally with the information previously available, and so consolidated knowledge of the distribution of Irish folk drama. Furthermore, negative responses (but not failures to respond to the enquiry) significantly all fell outside the areas where the custom had been reported prior to the questionnaire.

Another feature of the mapped data from the Ulster archive may be noted in the context of this source's validity for distributional work. A noticeable internal consistency has emerged in the distributions of elements drawn from the whole

10. Alan Gailey, The Thatched Houses of Ulster, *Ulster Folklife*, 7 (1961), pp. 9—18.

11. Idem, The Folk Play in Ireland, *Studia Hibernica*, 6 (1966), pp. 113—154.

12. Part of this paper appeared in Alan Gailey, Straw Costume in Irish Folk Customs, *Folk Life*, 6 (1968), pp. 83—93: this included a map of the distribution of a north Irish folk drama characterisation.

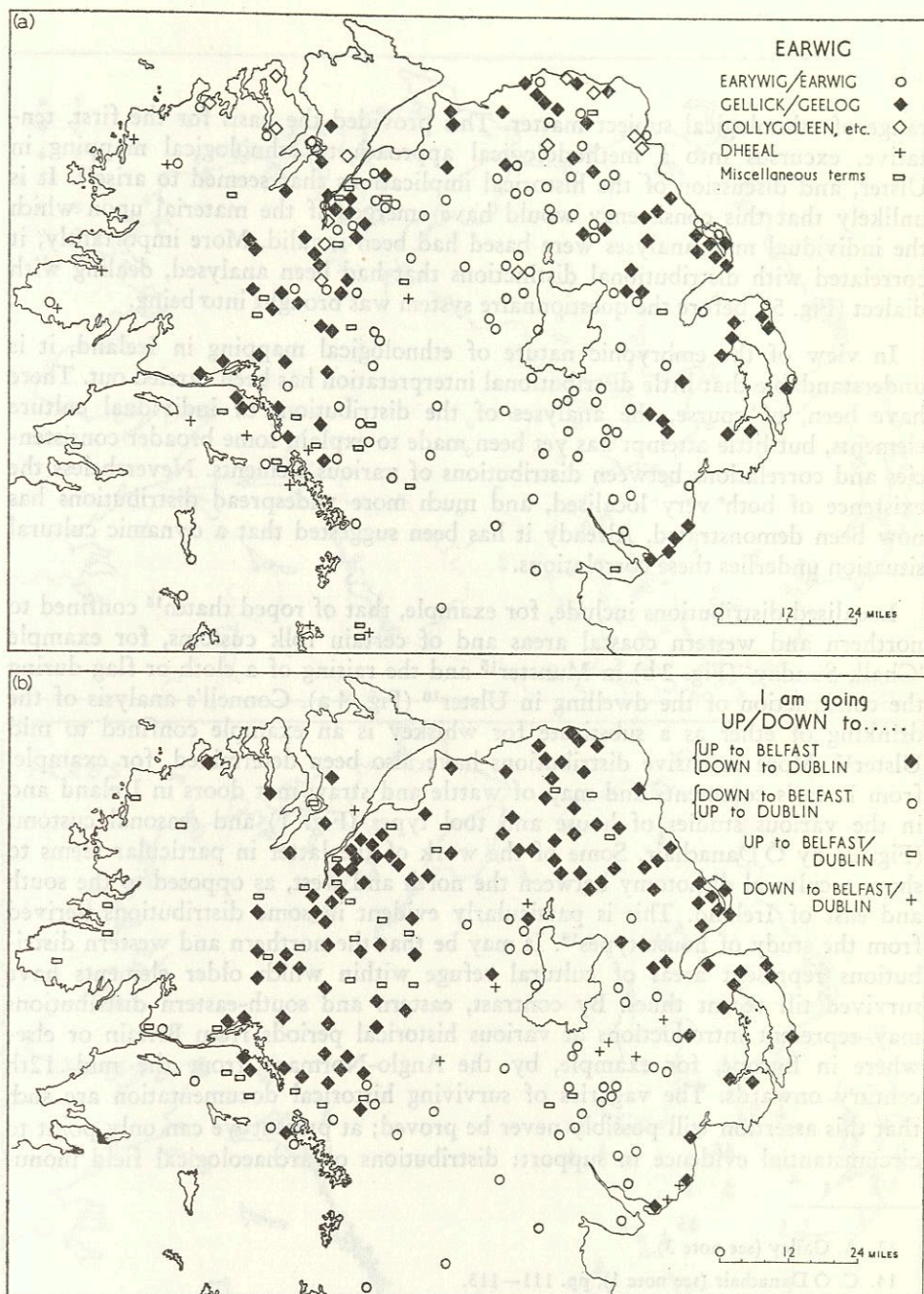


Fig 4: (a) Distribution of custom of flying a flag or piece of cloth at highest part of house when this has been attained during construction. (b) Distribution of some terms for the last sheaf of harvest. Key: 1, *cailleach* (Ir. = an old woman); 2, *granny*; 3, *granny*, referring to the last sheaf placed on the stack in the stackyard; 4, *carlin(g)* (ultimately from Old Norse = an old woman); 5, head; 6, *hud*, *huddin*; 7, county boundaries. First published by A. Gailey, a in Appendix literature ref. 16, b in ref. 24.

range of ethnological subject matter. This provided the basis for the first, tentative, excursus into a methodological approach to ethnological mapping in Ulster, and discussion of the historical implications that seemed to arise¹³. It is unlikely that this consistency would have emerged if the material upon which the individual map analyses were based had been invalid. More importantly, it correlated with distributional distinctions that had been analysed, dealing with dialect (Fig. 5), before the questionnaire system was brought into being.

In view of the embryonic nature of ethnological mapping in Ireland, it is understandable that little distributional interpretation has been carried out. There have been, of course, the analyses of the distributions of individual culture elements, but little attempt has yet been made to explain some broader consistencies and correlations between distributions of various elements. Nevertheless the existence of both very localised, and much more widespread distributions has now been demonstrated. Already it has been suggested that a dynamic cultural situation underlies these correlations.

Localised distributions include, for example, that of roped thatch¹⁴ confined to northern and western coastal areas and of certain folk customs, for example 'Chalk Sunday' (Fig. 2 b) in Munster¹⁵ and the raising of a cloth or flag during the construction of the dwelling in Ulster¹⁶ (Fig. 4 a). Connell's analysis of the drinking of ether as a substitute for whiskey is an example confined to mid Ulster¹⁷. More extensive distributions have also been determined, for example, from Lucas's comments and map of wattle and straw-mat doors in Ireland and in the various studies of house and tool types (Fig. 1) and seasonal customs (Fig. 2) by Ó Danachair. Some of the work of the latter in particular seems to show a cultural dichotomy between the north and west, as opposed to the south and east of Ireland. This is particularly evident in some distributions derived from the study of house types¹⁸. It may be that the northern and western distributions represent areas of cultural refuge within which older elements have survived till recent times. By contrast, eastern and south-eastern distributions may represent introductions at various historical periods from Britain or elsewhere in Europe, for example, by the Anglo-Normans from the mid 12th century onwards. The vagaries of surviving historical documentation are such that this assertion will possibly never be proved; at present we can only point to circumstantial evidence in support: distributions of archaeological field monu-

13. A. Gailey (see note 3).

14. C. Ó Danachair (see note 1), pp. 111—113.

15. Idem (see note 2), pp. 99—102.

16. A. Gailey, (see note 10), pp. 16—17.

17. K. H. Connell, Ether-drinking in Ulster, in idem, *Irish Peasant Society*. Oxford 1968 pp. 87—111.

18. See also Caoimhín Ó Danachair, Traditional Forms of the Dwelling House in Ireland, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 102 (1972), 77—96.

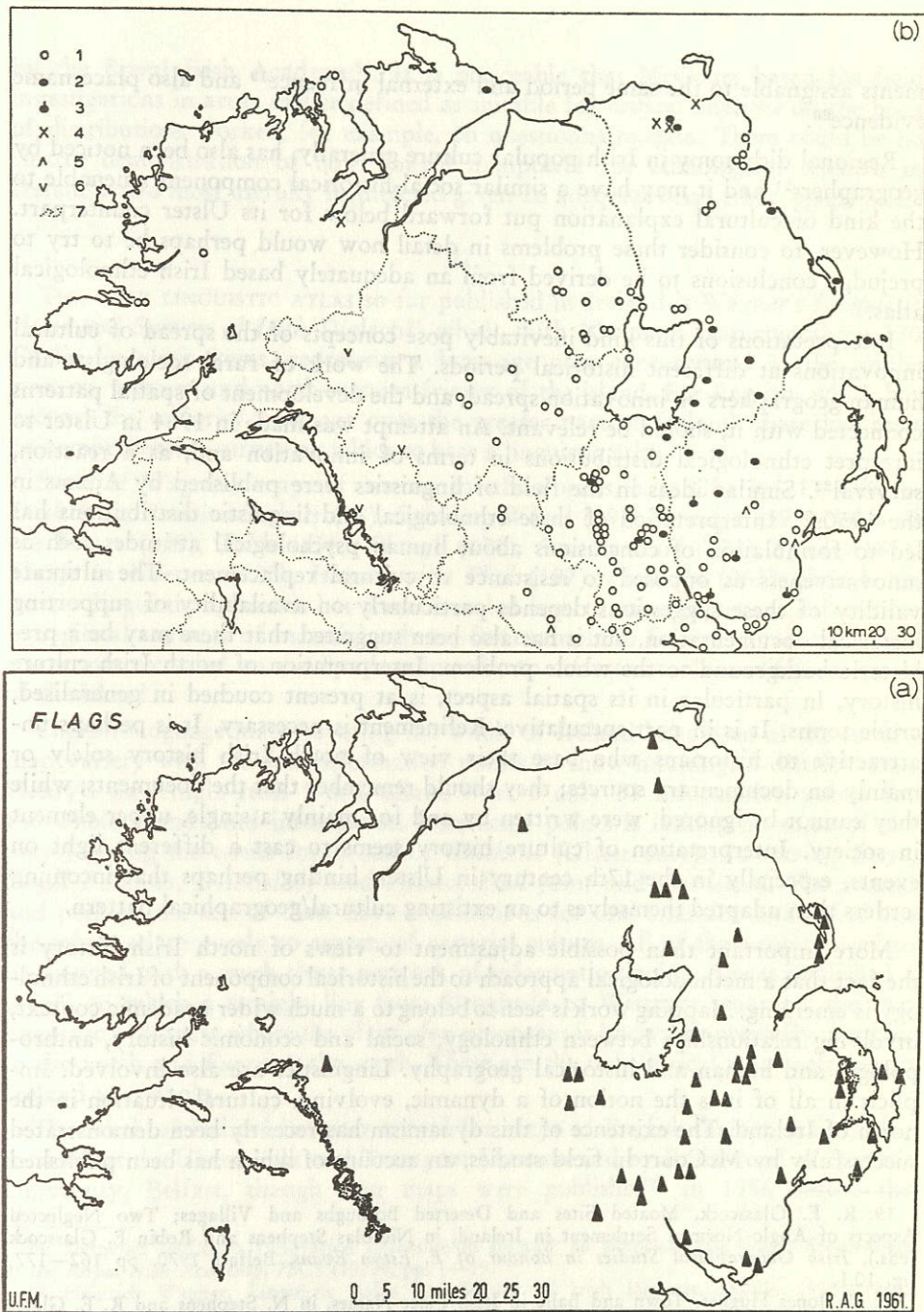


Fig. 5: (a) Distribution of dialect terms for the earwig. (b) Distribution of idiom relating to travel to Ireland's two major cities. Both first published by G. B. Adams, *Ulster Folklife*, 2 (1956).

ments assignable to the same period and external influence¹⁹ and also place-name evidence²⁰.

Regional dichotomy in Irish popular culture generally, has also been noticed by geographers²¹ and it may have a similar social-historical component amenable to the kind of cultural explanation put forward below for its Ulster counterpart. However, to consider these problems in detail now would perhaps be to try to prejudge conclusions to be derived from an adequately based Irish ethnological atlas.

Interpretations of this kind inevitably pose concepts of the spread of cultural innovations at different historical periods. The work of rural sociologists and human geographers on innovation spread, and the development of spatial patterns connected with it, should be relevant. An attempt was made in 1964 in Ulster to interpret ethnological distributions in terms of innovation and, as a reaction, survival²². Similar ideas in the field of linguistics were published by Adams in the 1950s²³. Interpretation of these ethnological and linguistic distributions has led to formulation of conclusions about human psychological attitudes such as innovativeness as opposed to resistance to cultural replacement. The ultimate validity of these suggestions depends particularly on availability of supporting historical documentation, but it has also been suggested that there may be a pre-historic background to the whole problem. Interpretation of north Irish culture history, in particular in its spatial aspect, is at present couched in generalised, crude terms. It is in part speculative. Refinement is necessary. It is perhaps unattractive to historians who base their view of north Irish history solely or mainly on documentary sources; they should remember that the documents, while they cannot be ignored, were written by and for mainly a single, upper element in society. Interpretation of culture history seems to cast a different light on events, especially in the 17th century in Ulster, hinting perhaps that incoming settlers then adapted themselves to an existing cultural/geographical pattern.

More important than possible adjustment to views of north Irish history is the fact that a methodological approach to the historical component of Irish ethnology is emerging. Mapping work is seen to belong to a much wider academic context, involving relationships between ethnology, social and economic history, anthropology, and human and historical geography. Linguistics are also involved. Implicit in all of it is the notion of a dynamic, evolving, cultural situation in the north of Ireland. The existence of this dynamism has recently been demonstrated successfully by McCourt in field studies, an account of which has been published

19. R. E. Glasscock, *Moated Sites and Deserted Boroughs and Villages; Two Neglected Aspects of Anglo-Norman Settlement in Ireland*, in Nicholas Stephens and Robin E. Glasscock (eds.), *Irish Geographical Studies in honour of E. Estyn Evans*. Belfast 1970. pp. 162–177, fig. 10.1.

20. T. Jones Hughes, *Town and Baile in Irish Place-Names*, in N. Stephens and R. E. Glasscock (eds.) (see note 19), pp. 244–258, figs. 15.1 and 15.2.

21. E. g. J. H. Johnson, *The Two Irelands*, in N. Stephens and R. E. Glasscock (eds.) (see note 19), pp. 224–243.

22. A. Gailey (see note 3).

23. G. B. Adams, *Patterns of Word Distribution*, *Ulster Folklife*, 2 (1956), pp. 6–13.

by the Royal Irish Academy²⁴. It is noticeable that McCourt based his field investigations in areas earlier defined as suitable for critical analysis on the basis of distributions worked, for example, on questionnaire data. There could be no clearer demonstration of how limited manpower for ethnological research in Ireland could most usefully be directed given an adequate Irish ethnological atlas.

II.

THE ONLY LINGUISTIC ATLAS so far published in Ireland is Wagner's *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*²⁵ which, with 300 maps featuring about 370 Gaelic linguistic items, represents a language now concentrated in the south-western, western and north-western fringes of the island. For English, which has become the majority language over the greater part of Ireland, there has been no comprehensive survey on which to base a linguistic atlas.

Some of Wagner's maps of interest to ethnologists, e. g. *Churn* (21), *Churn-Dash* (22), *Pannier-Baskets* (58), *Spinning-Wheel* (69), *Porridge* (99), *Gable of the House* (149), *Table* (156), *Plough* (171), *Footing Turf* (174), *Spade* (181), *Sheafs in Harvest* (185), *Handle of a Flail* (187), *Limekiln* (263), though his purely linguistic approach has sometimes led him to miss important differences in regional variants of material culture, for example in failing to recognise that the words recorded on the *Spade* map refer to different tools in different parts of the island.

English-language maps covering the whole of Ireland have been of the sketch-map variety with too few information points to show meaningful distributions. Henry's six 'Anglo-Irish Word Charts'²⁶ have only 31 information points for the whole island (and information from some points is lacking on some of the maps) giving the terms for *Brood of Chickens* (Ulster only), *Borrowing Days*, *Small Potatoes*, *Discard of seed Potato*, *Flail-Joint* and *Toadstool*. The second and perhaps the last of these have implications for oral tradition and belief but the others relate purely to aspects of material culture. All of these topics need to be mapped with a much closer network of information points. Lucas published a map²⁷ on which a straight line from Drogheda to Westport separates the two linguistic provinces where the plant *ulex europaeus* is known respectively as *whins* to the north and *Furze* to the south. These are the only lexical maps relating to Ireland as a whole.

The north of Ireland is better served for maps of English dialect, mainly due to work at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum and by Braidwood at Queen's University, Belfast, though four maps were published²⁸ in 1956 before the

24. Desmond McCourt, *Innovation Diffusion in Ireland: an historical case study*, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 73C1 (1973), pp. 1-19.

25. Heinrich Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*. Dublin 1958-1969. Atlas and 3 volumes of data.

26. P. L. Henry, *Anglo-Irish Word-Charts*, in G. B. Adams (ed.), *Ulster Dialects*. Ulster Folk Museum 1964. pp. 147-161.

27. A. T. Lucas, *Furze, Béaloideas*, 26 (1958), p. 7.

28. G. B. Adams (see note 23).

museum was founded (Fig. 5). In addition to Braidwood's map of terms for *Left-handedness*²⁹, his six maps relating to the meanings of *Ditch* and *Dyke*³⁰, and his maps of terms for *the Weakling of the Litter*³¹, other word maps have been published by Adams³², Gailey³³ (e.g. Fig. 4 b) and McCaughan³⁴.

Of the four maps that began Irish linguistic mapping in the strict sense in 1956³⁵ — as distinct from one illustrating the distribution of the place-name element *Booley*³⁶ — those for *Heifer* and *Earwig* (Fig. 5 a) are lexical while that for *one* is phonological in content but with ethnological implications. The fourth map illustrates a point of idiom, viz. whether one uses the adverb *up* or *down* in talking about going to the two principal Irish cities, Belfast and Dublin (Fig. 5 b). The *earwig* and *up/down* maps established the existence of a distributional dichotomy that has re-emerged in the distributions of many things besides words. The *one* map highlighted three phonetic forms: *wun* in areas of primary 17th-century English settlement; *Yin* or *Yann* in areas of primary Scots settlement at the same period; and *Wann* in other areas into which English filtered at a later date. The *Heifer* map delineated a simple north/south distinction within Ulster which has been revealed for other words as well.

Subsequent maps related to particular themes, either in material culture or in some aspect of custom and oral tradition. To the former belong Gailey's *Thraw-book* map³⁷, a term relating to simple rope twisters, a series of ten maps on various aspects of haymaking³⁸, and a series of six maps relating to flax-scutching terms³⁹. In the field of seasonal custom there are three maps relating to harvest festivity and custom⁴⁰, one of which supersedes an earlier map with fewer information points⁴¹.

Apart from this last example, which has only about two dozen information points mostly in east Ulster, and one map with information from only 36 points relating to the survival of Gaelic terms in English-speaking areas⁴², the number of information points in these maps relating to the north Irish region runs from 50 to over 200. The first four published, in 1956, were based on a preliminary

29. J. Braidwood, *The Ulster Dialect Lexikon*. Queen's University, Belfast 1972; see also idem, *Terms for 'Left-handed' in the Ulster Dialects*, *Ulster Folklife*, 18 (1972), pp. 98–100.

30. Idem, *The Ulster Dialect Lexikon* (see note 29).

31. Idem, *Crowls and Runts: Ulster Dialect Terms for 'The Weakling of the Litter'*, *Ulster Folklife*, 20 (1974), pp. 71–84.

32. G. B. Adams, *The Work and Words of Haymaking*, *Ulster Folklife*, 12 (1966), pp. 66–91 and 13 (1967), pp. 29–53.

33. Alan Gailey, *Ropes and Rope-twisters*, *Ulster Folklife*, 8 (1962), pp. 72–82; idem, (see note 7).

34. Michael McCaughan, *Flax Scutching in Ulster: Techniques and Terminology*, *Ulster Folklife*, 14 (1968), pp. 6–13.

35. G. B. Adams (see note 23).

36. Jean Graham, *Transhumance in Ireland*, *Advancement of Science*, 37 (1953), pp. 74–79.

37. A. Gailey (see note 33).

38. G. B. Adams (see note 32).

39. M. McCaughan (see note 34).

40. A. Gailey (see note 7).

41. G. B. Adams, *The Chirn*, *Ulster Folklife*, 8 (1962), pp. 10–14.

42. G. B. Adams (see note 32 [1966]), p. 88.

questionnaire sent to a very large number of people by the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club about 1951. McCaughan's maps derive from information provided by visitors to the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum in the summer of 1967; thus the eastern half of Ulster is better represented than the western, because the museum is located in the east. The remaining maps by Adams and Gailey are based on replies to questionnaires from museum correspondents. In those relating to haymaking and the last sheaf the practice was initiated of making a number of maps for each concept showing separately the principal lexical items or families of words used to describe it. This multiplication of the number of maps leaves them clearer and less crowded where there are many information points, some with alternative terms in use.

A few onomastic maps have been published showing the all-Ireland distribution of certain place-name elements, viz. *Booley* townland names⁴³, *Bally-*, *-ton* and *-town* place names⁴⁴, and a series covering *Druim-*, *Baile-*, *-town* (as a suffix), and English townland names in Ireland⁴⁵. An important series showing the distribution of *Dun*, *Lios*, *Rath*, *Caiseal* and *Cathair* in Gaelic place-names worked by Mrs. Deirdre Flanagan, of the Celtic Department, Queen's University, Belfast remains unpublished.

Apart from a general map of Ireland by Dr. Edward MacLysaght showing the location of the principal Gaelic and Norman surnames⁴⁶, only twelve detailed maps illustrating the distributions of certain surnames in county Armagh have appeared⁴⁷.

THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE IRISH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES in recent times is a theme of direct interest to ethnological mapping. The basic document is the 1:253,440 map in four sheets for the whole of Ireland showing the distribution of Irish-speakers by District Electoral Divisions (DEDs) at the 1911 census of population, published in a folder with the *Report* of the Gaeltacht Commission (Dublin, 1926), together with the similar map based on the special enumeration carried out in the Gaeltacht areas only by the Commission in 1925. The Report also contains a generalised map of areas mainly or partly Irish-speaking. Distribution maps of Irish-speakers by baronies at the 1851 and 1891 censuses were published by Brian Ó Cuiv⁴⁸, and there are maps showing comparative language distributions in 1926 and 1936⁴⁹. The series in the General Report on the censuses of population of 1946 and 1951 in the Republic of Ireland comprises two maps

43. J. Graham (see note 36).

44. Desmond McCourt, *The Dynamic Quality of Irish Rural Settlement*, in R. H. Buchanan, Emrys Jones and Desmond McCourt (eds.), *Man and his Habitat*. London 1971. pp. 158—159.

45. T. Jones Hughes (see note 20).

46. Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*. Shannon 1969. map.

47. G. B. Adams, *The Distribution of Surnames in an Irish County*, in Herwig H. Hornung (ed.), *Disputationes ad Montium Vocabula aliorumque nominum significationes pertinentes*, Vol. II. Vienna 1969. pp. 163—175.

48. Brian Ó Cuiv, *Irish Dialects and Irish-speaking Districts*. Dublin 1951.

49. T. W. Freeman, *Ireland*. London 1950.

showing comparative language distribution in 1936 and 1946, and four maps showing by counties the percentage of Irish-speakers in the total population, in the age-groups 10 to 14, and 45 and over, all in 1946, and the decline from 1936 to 1946. In 1956 a map was printed as a single sheet to show the Gaeltacht areas as revised in that year, but it gives no indication of areas where Irish is spoken as a minority language outside the officially designated Gaeltacht areas. All these maps relate to the Republic of Ireland only. There is thus a series of maps showing the changing pattern of language distribution throughout Ireland for a period of over a century (1851, 1891, 1911, 1926, 1936, 1946 and 1956), though the statistical basis and enumeration areas are not the same in every case. The fact that Northern Ireland is omitted from all the maps from 1926 onwards hardly matters since the percentage of Irish-speakers surviving there was by that time statistically negligible.

The following north Irish maps have been published: Irish-speakers of all ages by DEDs at the 1911 census in the six Northern Ireland counties; Irish-speakers aged 40 and upwards by DEDs at the 1911 census in the six Northern Ireland counties; Irish-speakers aged 40 and upwards by DEDs at the 1911 census in the six Northern Ireland counties; Irish-speakers in four age-groups in central Ulster (Sperrins region) in 1911⁵⁰. Further maps show language distribution in eleven northern counties by Dispensary Districts, 1826—1850, i. e. those aged 60 and over at the 1911 census⁵¹, and language distribution in eleven northern counties by baronies, 1761—1790, 1791—1820, 1821—1850, i. e. those aged 60 and over, 30 and under 60, 1 and under 30 respectively, at the 1851 census⁵². Mapping of language distribution at various periods should be completed by undertaking cartographic analysis of the proportion of Irish-speakers in each age-group at each census date for the smallest enumeration districts that can be abstracted from the census data, for the whole of Ireland, and not just for the north as hitherto.

The distribution of minority languages formerly spoken in Ireland, viz. Norse-speaking Vikings in the 10th and 11th centuries, French-speaking Huguenots and German-speaking Palatines in the 18th century, is indicated on two maps indicating the principal centres of such settlement⁵³.

For the distribution of different varieties of English — a matter that mainly concerns Ulster, where Scots and various forms of mainly western English were thrown together in an intricate pattern of distribution having ethnological implications — the following maps have been published: the geographical relation-

50. G. B. Adams, *The Last Language Census in Northern Ireland*, in idem (ed.) (see note 26), pp. 111—145.

51. Idem, *Language in Ulster, 1820—1850*, *Ulster Folklife*, 19 (1973), pp. 50—55.

52. Idem, *The 1851 Language Census in the North of Ireland*, *Ulster Folklife*, 20 (1974), pp. 65—70.

53. Idem, *Language and Man in Ireland*, *Ulster Folklife*, 15/16 (1970), pp. 140—171.

ships of northern and southern Hiberno-English to northern and southern Irish⁵⁴; under the general heading of Ulster dialect origins, two maps showing (a) early 17th-century English plantations related to dialect areas in England, and (b) aspects of Irish and Scots settlement and speech in Ulster, i. e. areas of 17th-century Lowland Scots settlement and areas of surviving Scots dialect and Irish language in the mid-20th century⁵⁵. These two maps correct and replace an earlier and less precise map⁵⁶. Also published is Gregg's definition of Scotch-Irish dialect boundaries in Ulster⁵⁷ derived from the series of phonological maps in his unpublished Ph. D. thesis (Edinburgh University, 1963).

A careful selection of lexical items likely to prove productive in distributional information of ethnological interest would be an asset. A basis for this, at least in terms of material culture, exists in Henry's lexical questionnaire which has been distributed to correspondents all over Ireland and to which the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum has received over 60 replies from the Ulster area alone. This material needs to be amplified, however, by some lexical items based on customs as well as material objects.

Undoubtedly the greatest desideratum for future linguistic mapping is a properly arranged grid of information points using a reasonably close network. A basis for the grid is already being laid down in connection with a tape-recorded phonological survey⁵⁸. The phonological questionnaire has been compiled and field collection of data has commenced in Ulster, and is soon to start in Munster. Being strictly geared to the collection of phonological data the questionnaire is not in itself mainly of ethnological interest. It is intended, however, that in addition to answers to more than 300 questions, some free discourse will be recorded from each informant. Some material of ethnological interest will be collected here, not necessarily based on lexical items. It is intended to seek informants representing three age-groups — about 10, about 40 and about 70 — from the north-western quarter of each 20-kilometre square of the Ordnance Survey Irish Grid. The preliminary survey will cover about 70 information points in the Ulster region. Thereafter it will be possible to choose between two courses: to seek additional informants in the other three quarters of the 20-kilometre squares in the north of Ireland, thus intensifying the network by reduction to a 10-kilometre basis; or, to extend the survey to the whole of Ireland on the 20-kilometre basis. The ultimate aim should ideally be to seek information on a 10-kilometre grid basis throughout Ireland, with about 900 information points.

54. Idem, The Emergence of Ulster as a Distinct Dialect Area, *Ulster Folklife*, 4 (1958), pp. 61—73.

55. Idem, Ulster Dialect Origins, *Ulster Folklife*, 17 (1971), pp. 99—102.

56. Idem, Ulster Dialects, in Emrys Jones (ed.), *Belfast in its Regional Setting*, Belfast, 1952, pp. 195—200; republished by idem as Introduction, *Ulster Dialects*, in idem (ed.) (see note 26), pp. 1—4.

57. R. J. Gregg, The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster, in Martyn F. Wakelin (ed.), *Patterns of Folk Speech in the British Isles*, London 1972, pp. 104—139.

58. G. B. Adams, M. V. Barry and P. M. Tilling, A Tape-recorded survey of Hiberno-English Dialects: A Preliminary Report, *Ulster Folklife*, 19 (1973), pp. 75—77.

III.

SO LONG AS ETHNOLOGICAL ARTICLES are being written for publication in relevant journals, whether published in Ireland or elsewhere, maps showing distributions of culture elements are likely to be published. These, together with maps already published, listed in the appendix to this paper, however, will serve to emphasise the need for an adequately prepared and published atlas of Irish ethnology. Only in this way can maps be produced on a suitable, standardised base, if necessary printed in colour. There are two other important arguments for the preparation and publication of an atlas.

At the local level of Ireland alone, there is currently in preparation an Irish historical atlas to accompany a new history of Ireland. There has also recently appeared a more modest and independently published Irish historical atlas⁵⁹. Inevitably, some cultural conclusions will be drawn from these ventures, although their intent is not specifically cultural. If adequate conclusions as to the geographical/spatial aspects of Irish popular culture, and therefore culture generally, are to be drawn, they must be based on suitable material. Cultural conclusions will have important historical implications, to complement conclusions based on the historical atlases. A total view of the historical development of culture in Ireland will be impossible to achieve in the absence of an Irish ethnological atlas. It may be argued that the few existing ethnologists in Ireland bear a responsibility to colleagues in other disciplines, and to the population at large, to ensure that such a project comes to fruition.

Secondly, the European ethnological atlas movement has grown to such a stage that it would be a tragedy if Ireland were not represented. Rich collections in existing institutions high-light this situation, because they illustrate the great potential that exists. Furthermore, a number of writers have emphasised the geographically peripheral situation of Ireland in relation to continental Europe, with its concomitant role as a cultural refuge for many European traditions. The significance of Irish ethnology is not for Ireland alone. Again, the tradition of scholarship within which European ethnologists work draws sustenance from a comparative regional approach. So if existing Irish ethnologists bear a responsibility to their colleagues in their own discipline in other European countries, they bear an even greater responsibility to their Irish colleagues in other disciplines, to realise the potential that exists.

59. R. D. Edwards, *An Atlas of Irish History*. London 1973.

APPENDIX

LIST OF PUBLISHED IRISH ETHNOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTIONS

Area — Ireland: I; Northern Ireland or Ulster only: U.

Cartographic Type — Areas hatched or boundary lines drawn in: 1; locational geometric symbols: 2; superimposed diagrams or illustrations: 3; isopleths: 4.

Literature References — references given in the tabulation by list number below:

1. G. B. Adams, The Work and Words of Hay-making, Pt. 1, *Ulster Folklife*, 12 (1966).
2. Idem, The Work and Words of Hay-making, Pt. 2, *Ulster Folklife*, 13, (1967).
3. R. H. Buchanan, Thatch and Thatching in North-East Ireland, *Gwerin*, 1 (1957).
4. Idem, Stapple Thatch, *Ulster Folklife*, 3 (1957).
5. K. H. Connell, Ether Drinking in Ulster, in idem, *Irish Peasant Society* (Oxford, 1968), previously in *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*.
6. Idem, 'Illicit Distillation', in idem, *Irish Peasant Society*. Oxford 1968, previously in *Historical Studies III*: map worked by C. Ó Danachair.
7. Caoimhín Ó Danachair, The Bed Outshot in Ireland, *Folk-liv*, 20 (1956).
8. Idem, Some Distribution Maps in Irish Folk Life, *Béaloides*, 25 (1957).
9. Idem, Distribution Patterns in Irish Folk Tradition, *Béaloides*, 33 (1965).
10. Idem, The Flail in Ireland, *Ethnologia Europaea*, 4 (1970).
11. Idem, Irish Vernacular Architecture in relation to the Irish Sea, in *The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History*. Cardiff 1970.
12. Idem, Traditional Forms of the Dwelling House in Ireland, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 102 (1972).
13. Evans, E. Estyn, Irish Folk Ways. London 1957.
14. Idem, The Personality of Ulster. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 51 (1970): map of Orange lodges worked by A. Gailey.
15. Idem, The Personality of Ireland. Cambridge 1973.
16. Gailey, Alan, The Thatched Houses of Ulster, *Ulster Folklife*, 7 (1961).
17. Idem, Ropes and Rope Twisters, *Ulster Folklife*, 8 (1962).
18. Idem, The Ulster Tradition, *Folk Life*, 2 (1964).
19. Idem, Kitchen Furniture, *Ulster Folklife*, 12 (1966).
20. Idem, The Rhymers of South-East Antrim, *Ulster Folklife*, 13 (1967).
21. Idem, Straw Costume in Irish Folk Customs, *Folk Life*, 6 (1968).
22. Idem, The Typology of the Irish Spade, in idem and Alexander Fenton, (eds.), *The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe*. Ulster Folk Museum 1970.
23. Idem, Irish Corn-drying Kilns, *Ulster Folklife*, 15/16 (1970).
24. Idem, The Last Sheaf in the North of Ireland, *Ulster Folklife*, 18 (1972).
25. Idem, A New Year Custom in South-East Ulster, *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, 68/69, (1973).
26. Idem, The Bonfire in North Irish Tradition, *Folklore*, forthcoming.
27. Idem, The Scots Element in North Irish Popular Culture, *Ethnologia Europaea*, 8 (1975).
28. Johnson, J. H., The Two "Irelands" at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, in Nicholas Stephens, and Robin E. Glasscock (eds.), *Irish Geographical Studies in honour of E. Estyn Evans*, Belfast 1970: map of illicit distillation previously published by Connell, q. v.
29. Lucas, A. T., Wattle and Straw Mat Doors in Ireland, *Arctica. Studia Ethnographica Uppsaliensia*, 11 (1957).
30. McCaughan, Michael, Flax Scutching in Ulster: techniques and terminology, *Ulster Folklife*, 14 (1968).
31. McCourt, Desmond, The Red Outshot and its distribution in Co. Londonderry, *Ulster Folklife*, 2 (1956).
32. Idem, The Cruck Truss in Ireland and its West-European Connections, *Folk-liv*, 28/29 (1965.)
33. Idem, Hausformen in einem kulturellen Kontaktgebiet Nordirlands, *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 14 (1968).
34. Idem, Innovation Diffusion in Ireland: an historical case study, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 73Cl (1973).
35. O'Sullivan, J. C., St. Brigid's Crosses, *Folk Life*, 11 (1973).

NO. AREA TYPE Ref. SUBJECT

Dwelling

1	I	1	8	Bed outshot
2	I	1	8	Jamb wall
3	I	1	8	Roped thatch
4	I	1	8	Hip roof and gables
5	I	1	8	Clay walls
6	I	1	8	Byre dwelling
7	I	2	7	Bed outshot
8	I	1	11	Byre dwelling and opposite doors
9	I	1	11	Bed outshot and jamb wall
10	I	1	12	Hearth type, byre dwelling, roof form
11	I	1	12	Bed outshot, opposite doors, roped thatch
12	I	2	29	Wattle and straw mat doors
13	U	1	3	Thatching techniques
14	U	1	18	Jamb wall
15	U	1	18	Bed outshot
16	U	1	18	Roof timbering
17	U	2	16	Building materials
18	U	2	16	Thatching techniques
19	U	2	16	Bed outshot
20	U	2	16	Jamb wall
21	U	2	4	Staple thatch
22	I	1/2	31	Bed outshot
23	U	1/2	33	Bed outshot and jamb wall
24	U	2	32	Cruck trusses
25	I	1/3	15	House types, composite map

Furnishings and fittings

26	U	1	18	Fan bellows
27	U	1	18	Churning devices fitted in the kitchen
28	U	2	19	Table hinged to kitchen wall

Building custom

29	U	1	18	Flag or cloth at highest part during building house
30	U	2	16	Flag or cloth at highest part during building house

Drink

31	I	2	28	Illicit distillation 1836
32	I	2	6	Illicit distillation 1836
33	U	1	5	Drinking ether as substitute for whiskey

On the Methods of Studying the Material Culture of European Peoples

NO.	AREA	TYPE	Ref.	SUBJECT
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Agricultural and rural technology

34	I	1/3	8	Two types of spade
35	I	3	13	Spade types
36	I	2	22	Spade shaft and handle types
37	I	1	22	Spade type regional limits
38	I	1/2/4	22	One-sided spades
39	I	4	22	One-sided spades
40	I	4	22	Two-sided spades
41	I	4	22	Two-sided spades
42	I	1	8	Cap flail
43	I	1	8	Hole flail
44	I	2	10	Double-loop flail
45	I	2	10	Sub-type of double-loop flail
46	I	2	10	Cap flail
47	I	2	10	Sub-type of cap flail
48	I	2	10	Eye flail
49	I	2	10	Hole flail
50	U	2	17	Rope twisters
51	U	2	17	Rope twister dialect term 'thrawhook'
52	U	1	18	'Thrawhook' rope twisters
53	U	1	18	Corn-drying kilns
54	I	1/2	23	Corn-drying kilns
55	I	3	13	Churn types
56	U	2	1	Hay-making — Gaelic terms
57	U	2	1	Hay-making — number of stages
58	U	2	2	Names for hay-storage heap — round
59	U	2	2	Names for hay-storage heap — oblong
60	U	2	2	Names for base of hay storage stack — 'bottom'
61	U	2	2	Names for base of hay storage stack — 'stile'
62	U	2	2	Names for base of hay storage stack — 'stead'
63	U	2	2	Names for base of hay storage stack — others
64	U	2	2	Winter hay storage location — 'haggard/hay yard'
65	U	2	2	Winter hay storage location — '(hay/stack) garden'
66	U	2	2	Winter hay storage location — 'stack yard'
67	U	2	30	Flax scutching — terms for the dust
68	U	2	30	Flax scutching — 'shows'
69	U	2	30	Flax scutching — terms for the rollers
70	U	2	30	Flax scutching — 'strick'
71	U	2	30	Flax scutching — 'handles'
72	U	2	30	Flax scutching — 'tow'

Socio-political institutions

73	I	2	14	Orange lodges, 1909
74	U	4/1/2	27	Dissemination of Presbyterianism, 1611—1720
75	U	2	27	Matriculants at Glasgow University from N. Ireland 1801—1815, 1816—1858

Folk Drama

76	U	2	21	Folk drama character — Jack Straw
77	U	2	20	Folk drama — combat characters
78	U	2	20	Folk drama — female characters
79	U	2	20	Folk drama — character Big Bellied Ned

NO.	AREA	TYPE	Ref.	SUBJECT
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Seasonal customs

80	I	1	8	The wren-hunt
81	I	1	8	Feast of St. Martin
82	I	2	9	The Brideog
83	I	2	9	Chalk Sunday
84	I	2	9	Cluideog
85	I	2	9	The May bush
86	I	2	9	Midsummer fires, SS. Peter and Paul's eve
87	I	2	9	Michaelmas goose
88	I	2	9	Harvest knots
89	I	2	9	Hallowe'en guisers
90	I	2	9	Christmas candle
91	I	2	9	Death divination on Twelfth Night
92	I	2	35	Diamond type St. Brigid's crosses
93	I	2	35	'Swastika' type St. Brigid's crosses
94	I	2	35	Triskele and wheel type St. Brigid's crosses
95	I	2	35	Interlaced type St. Brigid's crosses
96	I	2	35	St. Brigid's crosses — Latin type of straw and rushes
97	I	2	35	St. Brigid's crosses — Latin or Greek type of wood
98	I	2	35	St. Brigid's crosses — miscellaneous types
99	U	2	25	New Year wisps
100	U	2	24	Names for the last sheaf of harvest — 'cailleach'
101	U	2	24	Names for the last sheaf of harvest — 'hare'
102	U	2	24	Names for the last sheaf of harvest — 'churn'
103	U	2	26	Midsummer fires, St. John's & SS. Peter and Paul's eves
104	U	2	26	Hallowe'en bonfires
105	U	2	26	Socio-political bonfires and effigy burnings — 30 June and 11 July.
106	U	1/2	27	Aspects of Scots culture in N. Ireland