

*The uncompleted second
volume of Eugen
Dieth's Grammar of
the Buchan Dialect*

Reconstructed and edited by
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*Volume 7: The uncompleted second volume of Eugen Dieth's Grammar of the
Buchan Dialect*

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Editor's Introduction

The first volume of Dieth's *Grammar of the Buchan Dialect*, on phonology and accent, was published in 1932. On the back of the original cover, an advertisement is printed for the second volume, on syntax, stated to be "in preparation": this volume, however, was prevented from appearing by Dieth's untimely death. His instructions for the disposal of his effects, acted upon by his widow, were that his entire collection of books and other materials should be presented to Professor Eduard Kolb, his pupil and successor. In October 1969 Hans Speitel, of the *Linguistic Survey of Scotland*, wrote to Hilde Dieth, asking what stage Dieth's work on the second volume had reached by the time of his death, and whether his notes were still in existence. He received a prompt reply, in which Frau Dieth informed him that though Professor Kolb had considered editing the papers for publication, nothing had come of this; and expressing approval of Dr Speitel's suggestion that the manuscript papers should be sent to Scotland for study and possible editing. She recommended that Dr Speitel should get in touch with David Murison, who had assisted Dieth with his original research. This Dr Speitel immediately did; and shortly afterwards reported to Frau Dieth that if she were able to send the papers, he and Dr Murison would be most eager to examine the possibility of preparing them for publication. Dr Speitel expressed the view that Dr Murison, with his scholarly expertise and native speaker's knowledge of the dialect, would be the best man to undertake the task. In reply, Frau Dieth sent to Dr Speitel the address of Professor Kolb so that he could direct his request for the papers to him; and said how pleased she was that Dieth's work was likely to appear in print at last. (All of this correspondence was conducted in German.)

Further correspondence, now in English, between David Murison, Hilde Dieth and Eduard Kolb eventually resulted in the manuscripts being sent to Edinburgh, both Professor Kolb and Frau Dieth expressing great satisfaction that Eugen Dieth's seminal work on the north-eastern dialect would shortly be made publicly available.

Unfortunately, that hope was not fulfilled. Neither David Murison nor Hans Speitel was able, due first to the overriding necessity of completing work on the *Scottish National Dictionary* and the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* and afterwards, sadly, to declining health, to prepare the papers for publication. On his retirement in the early 1980s David Murison passed the papers on to me; but it was not until my own retirement that I was able to fulfil the expectation with which he did this, and bring at least some of Dieth's unpublished work into the light of day.

Murison was able to conduct a preliminary examination of the papers, sorting and categorising them into the following sets.

1. Nine pages set up in print, with some proofreader's corrections, in a format identical to the published volume of *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect*. Though inexplicably paginated 46-54, the material follows directly from the last section (excluding the specimen texts and word index) of the book: it contains sections numbered §§172-187, the published volume ending with section §171.

2. A bundle of single leaves of exercise paper, paginated 16-18 and 23-77. Leaves with the missing numbers are not to be found in the corpus; but the contents of pages 1-15 may be what appears in print in Set 1, and Set 4a contains the material which would probably have gone on pages 19-22. Most of this hand-written section contains detailed grammatical information presented in a style and arrangement very close to that of the published volume, and presumably represents Dieth's work at an advanced stage of preparation.

3. A bundle of foolscap-size sheets, paginated 1-31, containing the material of Set 2 in typescript (copied with some inaccuracies). In neither Set 2 nor Set 3 is there anything corresponding to the use of spacing, italics, bold type or special type for phonetic transcriptions as in the published volume.

4. A bundle of stapled gatherings of exercise paper hand-written with what appear to be notes, rough work and unselected material for Set 2. In this, examples are mostly given in phonetic transcription, unlike Set 2 where ordinary spelling is often used. Some cross-references to sections in Set 2 have been added in pencil by David Murison. Also included in this set is a paper-clipped bundle of eight sheets, smaller than the rest and unlined: I will call this Set 4a.

5. A further bundle of exercise sheets containing notes and examples grouped under headings. The material in this set relates in some cases to sections in Set 2, in others to sections in the published volume, in others to neither.

6. An assorted collection of material relating to the published volume: handwritten notes, printed pages, the manuscript draft of the introduction, extensive passages in phonetic transcription, and an interesting couple of small pages in which notes by Dieth are annotated in a different hand (certainly not David Murison's).

7. A stapled gathering of three double sheets of exercise paper containing a collection of proverbs and sayings in phonetic transcription and some fragmentary notes under the heading "Scottish-Swiss analogies".

8. Four handwritten sheets - two with continuous prose, two with notes - on the issue of possible Gaelic influence on the dialect.
9. An unidentified literary passage in phonetic transcription.
10. A list of miscellaneous words in phonetic transcription.
11. An envelope containing a substantial bundle of small slips with assorted notes and jottings, some of them annotated in Murison's hand.
12. A miscellaneous collection of material: assorted slips and scraps containing single quotations and other notes in Dieth's, Murison's and other hands, and two letters to Dieth (of 1928 and 1937) from William Alexander, a nephew of the the author of *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* and one of the SND's informants.

Clearly, not all of this material is of equal value; but the first four sets comprise a detailed study at an advanced stage of preparation. I have, to the best of my ability, arranged it in the format familiar from Dieth's first volume, checking the references to source works (this volume is based to a much greater extent than the first on literary passages), silently correcting some minor typographic errors and adding a few notes and annotations.

This project suggests various avenues for further research. Although the linguistic material in the papers which I have not edited is too fragmentary, disorganised and varied in kind to be publishable in anything like its existing form, it contains much that is of interest, and a future investigator could find in it material for a paper or two. Another project which suggests itself is an investigation into the extent to which the dialect features described by Dieth survive in the present-day speech of the North-East: there is no question that the dialect has retained its traditional distinctiveness to a remarkable extent and is still regarded with pride and affection by the populace as an integral part of the local identity, or that high-quality research work on its linguistic features and sociolinguistic status proceeds apace; but Dieth's precise listing and categorisation of its grammatical idiosyncrasies should provide a ready tool for investigation of specific aspects of its contemporary forms.

The complete set of papers has now been lodged in the Special Collections Department of Aberdeen University Library.

Part III : Syntax.

1. The Noun

Number

§ 172. The unmarked plural is more frequent in Buchan than in StE. They are largely nouns that belonged to the OE. neuter *a*-declension, which had no ending in the plural, cf. § 147. The reason why they did not later take the plural *-s* analogically is the same as why original masculine nouns gave up their plural *-s*: partly psychological, partly syntactical (see § 179). The notion of collectiveness and mass may have been stronger than that of individual plurality; e.g. *monie sheep, fish = much of sheep, fish*. This extends to the individual plural, e.g. *twa sheep*, as original collective nouns may also be used to express individuality, e.g. *a nowte, twa folk*.

thing. foo' o' a' ull thing (BB.27¹); *she's a gran' han' at a' thing* 'at all things, everything'.

horse. It's some o' the horse [that causes this noise] (JG.21²). *A pair o' horse* (JG.48); *a bus an' three horse in't; He tyne't twa sheep; We saw a deer, falla' deer; foo monie fish did ye tak?* 'catch'; *the fish wisna risin' the day* 'they did not come to the surface'; *twa dizzen o' fresh herrin'* (JG.38); *that's the herrin', ye'll better tak' them* (JG.43); *a' the salmon till's* 'All the salmon that is ours'. But note: *he hid a string o' troots* 'stringful of trout'.

hose does treble service; 1: singular = 'stocking': *yer left hose is a' torn*; 2: individual plural = 'stockings': *a pair o' hose; gairtens is fat ye haud up yer hose wi'*; 3: collective plural = 'hosiery': *fess in the hose!* 'bring in the socks and stockings'.

swine and *nowte* 'cattle' are first of all collective plural, referring to the species irrespective of sex and age. *soo, pig, boar* all together are *swine*; *stot, stirk, ca'f, coo, bull, queyk* are *nowt*. *Gae awa' an' meat the swine!; they werena fit for swine to eat* (JG.50); *a fine drove o' swine; ha'f a dizzen o' the nowte*. Next, they are individual plural:³ *He's sell't that four swine; makin' a din like as mony nowte* (JG.50). Finally, there is the individual singular: *Ye're a muckle nowte, man; a heelan' nowte* 'a Highland cow, ox'; *jeest like a*

¹ [*At the Back o' Benachie* by Mrs Helen Beaton, Aberdeen: The Central Press, 1915; enlarged edition 1923. Throughout, footnotes or sections of footnotes enclosed in square brackets are editorial; those not so marked are Dieth's.]

² [*Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* by William Alexander; first published in serial form in the *Aberdeen Free Press* in 1869-70 and in book form in 1871 (Aberdeen: Robert Walker, James Murray); frequently reprinted in various editions. Dieth's copy text is the Edinburgh University Press edition of 1919, first printed 1884.]

³ Neither StE. *cattle* nor G. *Vieh* can be used this way.

nowte, a swine.⁴ In the possessive: *a nowte's hin' legs*, *a swine's head* (see §186).

Note: The adding of *beast(s)* (**bist, bis**) to *nowte* and *horse* (but not to *swine*), e.g. *they keep sae mony horse beasts about the place* (JG.66). *Yon nowte beast* may have served the same purpose as StE. *head of (cattle)*, but it is now a bad exponent of the individual noun, since the plural *-s* does not sound (see § 138 Note 1).

folk (**fauk, fok**) stands for the collective and individual plural,⁵ e.g. *Fat folk disna ken disna anger them*; *aul' fowk*; *a fyoun young fowk* (JG.78); *there's twa fowk coming up the road*.

§ 173. *Pluralia tantum* are used in the plural number only. The singular to them either does not exist, as the thing itself depends for its existence on component parts or particles, or else conveys a different meaning. Instead of thus conceiving a thing analytically, i.e. in its constituent parts, it is possible to conceive it synthetically and to express the notion in the singular. Scots on the whole agrees with StE.; for exceptions see §174. The things expressed in the plural are: 1: pairlike, e.g. *breeks* 'breeches', *troosers* 'trousers'; 2: composite, e.g. *heelans* 'Highlands', *intimers* 'intestines', *witters* 'throat', *braws* 'Sunday clothes', *mirls* 'measles' (see §175), *arles* 'earnest money'; and 3: of a mass, consisting of grains and particles: *croods* 'curds', *sowens* 'oatmeal flummery', *aits* 'oats', *shillacks* 'the lighter part of oats that is blown off in winnowing', *gruns* 'grounds', *orrels* 'useless stuff', *trantlins* 'rubbish', *shawps* 'smithereens', *orts* 'dry bedding'. A special group are nouns in *in(s)* (see §192): *fleetins*, *beeshtlins* = *beest*.

Note: *galesses* 'braces' is a double plural, but unlike those of §175 standing for a singular notion.

§174. The following nouns for natural reasons are mostly used in the plural; the singular, however, is not impossible.

lungs, *chowks* 'jaws', *wicks o' yer mou'* 'corners of your mouth'; *queetikins* 'spats', *leggins*, *mittens*, *nickie tams* 'knee-straps', *theets* 'traces'; *yauvins* 'beards of corn' (but *there's a yauvin' doon ma back*), *sids* 'husks of grain' (but *a sid in amo' ma teeth*); *saps* = *milk an' loaf*; *quyles*, *ysels*, *em'ers*, *shun'ers* but all four also in the singular, e.g. *a quyle* etc., *mealicks* 'crumbs'.⁶

⁴ Now just as often: *man, ye're a fool pig or a fool lookin' soo*. According to NEGr. 1006 StE. *swine* has lost its singular. [NEGr: Henry Sweet, *A New English Grammar, Logical and Historical*, Pt.1, Oxford 1892.]

⁵ It never takes an *-s*, as it may in StE.; cf. NEGr. 1974.

⁶ Note the singular number *a het quyle* 'a hot ember', *burnt tull an eazle* [cinder: the spelling suggests the pronunciation [iz]] but the common form in the NE is [iz]].

§ 175. In certain nouns the plural differs from the singular in sense.

1: when the plural is figurative: *he's a man o' wuts; he has nae harns = he has nae brains, he's a man o' pairts, fan craiturs has pairts for leernin'* (JG.60); *mirls* 'measles' but *a mirl* 'a spot on the skin'.

2: when the plural of a noun of material expresses an object or a collection of objects of that material: *sclates* 'roof': *a cat yowlin' on the sclates*; *sults* 'salts' (JG.11);⁷ *claithes, duds, glaisses, coppers* as in StE. We may add *rigs* 'furrows = uncultivated land'.

§ 176. There are nouns denoting composite things and masses with which the notion of the unit prevails: *a stair* 'stairs', *a fusker*⁸ 'whiskers, beard', *ase*, cf. G. *Asche*, ON. *aska* singular 'ashes'; to which may be added *seed*, which is mostly used as a collective singular, e.g. *tatie, ingan, kail seed.*; *fat wis ye for't?* 'what did you pay for them?'⁹

The synthesis to the unit may also be carried through with nouns that are formally plural.¹⁰ They consequently admit of the indefinite article,¹¹ and a secondary summation plural ending, e.g. *a hames* 'horse collar', *a shears*, *twa shearses* '(two pairs of) scissors', *a tyangs*, *twa tyangses* '(two pairs of) tongs', *a bellace*, *twa bellaces* '(two pairs of) bellows', *a guts*, *this horse has a sair guts* 'sore bowels'; *a dice*.

§ 177. Whilst in the preceding paragraph we had plural nouns conceived as singular, the following are singular nouns conceived as plural. They denote mostly preparations of food, and they are viewed as collective mass-words like *sowens*, *croods* §173 (III). *A platie o' broth...I wis tae sup them* (Gl.43¹²); *kail: they're nae ha'f byl't, steer the speen amo' them; brose: ye've made ower monie o' them; potitch: she wid ladle them oot fae the pot; dilse: tak' a bite o' them ... tak' the shally anes* (JG.33).

The singular *kail* is used also when denoting the plants: *gae 'wa an' pu' the kail; a wis pu'in them. Neeps* even as a dish is plural by sense and

⁷ [Seemingly an error: the quote from JG is actually *twa unce o' salts*, and the form *sult* is not attested.]

⁸ **fasker** is more common than **be-rd** 'beard'. The plural is heard in *side-fuskers*. Ex. *Dicht yer fusker(s)!* 'wipe your beard'; *an awfu' tear o' a fusker*.

⁹ [This example is out of place here.]

¹⁰ The plural form is now disguised in **beles** 'bellows', **gales** 'gallows' through the unvoicing of *-s* (§138 Note 2 and cf. StE. *bodice* > **bodies*, *truce* > **trues*); cf. also *gallows-tree* §178.

¹¹ cf. the similar formations in StE.: *a works*, formerly *a gallows* (Jesp.II 5.712). [Jesp.II: Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Oxford 1927.]

¹² [*Glimpses o' Auld Lang Syne* by William Watson: Aberdeen: Bon-Accord Press, 1903. (Re-published in an enlarged edition by Aberdeen University Press in 1905: Dieth's references are to the earlier version.)]

form: *byl't* or *caul' neeps*. *It's owre af'en to hae them ilka nicht* (JG.49). *Puddin'* is singular by sense and form. Note the individual plural *mealie puddin's* 'sausages'. Some dishes are named by their component parts: *milk an' loaf* 'milk-sops', *meal an' ale* served at a harvest festival. The pronoun to denote them is *they*.

§ 178. The neutral form. By this we mean the endless form which commonly occurs in the first part of a compound. Historically it is either the uninflected stem (proper compound) or a genitive (plural) (spurious compound); cf. Jesp. II 7.11; StE. examples: *letter-box*, *parcel-post*. We shall confine our list to those nouns that ordinarily occur in the plural (cf. §173 ff.): *harn-pan* 'brain-pan', *sowan-sieve*, *ait-seed* (JG.158), *ait-bread*; *coont-book* 'account-book', *heelan' laddie*, *trooser pouch* 'trowser-pocket'.

In *breek-pouch* the first element must not be identified with the OE. genitive or plural *bréc* (see §147 Note 2); it is the metanalyzed singular to *breeks*, as *gallace* in *gallace-button* 'braces-button' is that of *gallowses*; *breeks*, *gallace* are no longer viewed as plural (cf. §176 Footnote 2). In *gallows-tree* 'gallows' the notion is that of the singular, though the plural does not exist.

Qualified with an adjective: *a twa pynt bottle*; *a ten boll girmel* 'corn chest', *twa three-bawbee partans* (JG.38); *a threepenny bit* and, by analogy, *a shillinie bit* 'a threepence, shilling piece'.

§ 179. The (neutral or) unmarked plural form is commonly found with nouns of time, space, weight, measure, number after a numeral.

Time: *Forty 'ear*, *a sax month aul'* but *three days*, *fower weeks aul'*. *He dee't a gweed puckle 'ear*, *a five sax month sin'* but *'ears sin*. *This monie 'ear an' day*; *twa oor later*. Note the nouns: *a saxmonth*, *a twalmonth* '(half) a year'.

Space: *A traivel't ten mile the day*; *sax foot in hicht*, *acht inch lang*; *foo monie acre is there on't?* *twa hun'er acre*.¹³ But *yaird* may take the *-s*: *a threid fower yairds lang*.

Weight: *Foo monie steen is't?*, *sax an' fiftie poun' o' sugar*, *a fyoo pun o' pork* (Gl.101: *puns*)¹⁴, *three hun'er wecht o' coal*, *five tun o' taties*, *twa unce o' sults*.

§ 180. Measure: *Foo monie laid did ye ca'?* *Aw haed sax gyang o' ma cairt*; *ten cran o' fish* (Gamrie); *three gallon o' oil*; *three glaiss o' fuskie*; *sae monie*

¹³ *an' them nedder able to manage their awcres themsel's* (=farm: JG.15).

¹⁴ [The phrase is printed on p.100 of Gl. as *a "fyoo pun's o' pork"* and on p.101 as *"a fyoo puns o' pork"*.]

bushel, ten boll o' meal, but also ma bowie ha'ds twa bolls, sax boll(s) an' a ha'f o' meal; always twa quarters, leepies o' corn; three pints, quarts o' milk; twa corters o' breid.

Note that compounds with *fou'* 'full' take the plural *-s*: *potfou's, bucket-, pouch-, han'-, nieve-, gowpen-, pail-, tub-, thum'el-, shivel-, skull-fou's*; cf. §87.8.

Number: *Three hun'er, ten thoosan' dry cash; fower dizzen eggs, twa dizzen o' fresh herrin' (JG.38); twa pair o' sheen; three pair (of horses) an' an orra beast; twa brace o' goose; twathree race o' servan's; a hunner heid o' poultry; aw've fifty heid o' nowt tae sort; Aw'll gie ye twathree line o' ma min'.*

Money: *Sax poun' ten o' fee, but twa shillin's an' saxpence; three bawbees; twa sovrins; a fyow coppers.*

The Cases.

§ 181. Accusative of Time is a free use, its meaning comes very near that of an adverb, especially when it does not depend on a verb.

Foo did ye sleep the streen? (Gl.73); *the nicht* (JG.96), *the day* 'today', *the morn* 'tomorrow', *the morn's mornin'*, *-nicht, -aifterneen*; *ae day* 'one day', *a' evenin'* 'all evening', *neist day, ilka nicht* 'every night', *daily day* (cf. German *tagtäglich*) 'every day', *a week the morn* 'tomorrow week', *this day ouk* 'today week' (JG.37), *this time towmon'* 'in a year's time', *the day fifteen days* (Byth),¹⁵ *Aw'll see ye Tyesday acht days*¹⁶ 'Tuesday week', *fern 'ear* 'last year' (Gl.93); *the cheelie that was wi' me fern 'ear was a year* 'last year but one' (JG.136), *Can'lesmas was a year*¹⁷ 'a year last Candlemass' (JG.62), *Nyatterin' aboot it ilka yokin'* 'always at yoking time'.

Gyang oot a file! 'a while'; *fat's come i' ye this file?* 'what has become of you all this time'; *I'll tell ye aboot it the time ye're...* '(the) while'; *strae to the nowte the eel days* 'the barren days'¹⁸ (BB.47); *aw'm gaun tae be the raith* 'I'm going to be there for the term'.

§ 182. Accusative of Place.

¹⁵ [Unidentified: possibly from one of the North-East dialect publications by New Byth Horticultural Society.]

¹⁶ cf. G. *am Dienstag in acht Tagen*.

¹⁷ cf. Mod. Icelandic *jeg sá hann sunnudaginn var*.

¹⁸ [A mistake. The passage quoted actually reads "the Yeel days", i.e. the Christmas season. *Eild*, an unrelated word for "barren", is sometimes pronounced and spelt *eel* in this dialect, but that is not the meaning here.]

Aifter aw wan hame; Aw'm awfu 'wintin' hame; tae gyang, be hame 'to be engaged at a new place'; he haed been new hame 'gone to his new post'. Foo's the crap lyeukin' doon the wye o' Turra? 'Turriff way' (JG.37); he held oot's han's the wye o' the fire 'towards the fire'; he widna be seen gyan' the road wi' 'im 'to walk with him in the street'; I gaed a weary gate the streen; it's nae af'en ye come oor wye; ye'll maybe wun owre oor gate, len'th 'come over our way'; I've nae wye (nowhere) tae bide; (we) maun hae some gate (somewhere) tae bide (JG.127); he's awa' ...ony wye (anywhere) but faur respectable fowk wud gae (JG.116); bide aboot the Broch or some gate siclike 'some such place'; a' gate 'to all sides', here an' there an' a' gate, a' wye 'everywhere', that gate 'in that direction'. I was pit'n an erran' 'I was sent an errand'.

§ 183. *wye, road, gate* may become qualitative accusatives.

An he gae far that road 'if he carries on like that' (JG.128); I sall lant him the richt gate 'jeer him properly' (JG.45); pit a stop tull't some gate 'somehow' (JG.61); look fat a road he's gyaun¹⁹ 'how he's going'; they're nae baith sayin' ae wye, ae road 'they do not agree'; nae gate that wye 'not at all like that'.

§ 184. Quantitative accusative, expressing the extent.

It depen's a gweed hantle on a body's neeboors (JG.46); I've seen a hantle waur 'much worse'; he was exhorted to gyang aboot plenty (JG.33); Aw'm a gweed bit better; an he war a wee thing better grun'it; he haed gaen a thochtie vrang; jeest a wee thochtie farrer; she thocht the wardle o'm: 'of him'; it'll be cheeng't wardles (JG.99); A canna see a styme 'nothing at all', Aw'm nae carin' a deyt; the fient a flee haed he leern't (JG.73); he hes a skytie gey muckle the nicht (cf. Ger. ein bißchen wohl viel 'rather too much').

§ 185. The adverbial genitive, as far as it occurs in isolated forms, might have been treated in the morphology. In the 'inflected' forms the genitive may now be felt to be plural (§182): *fyles* ME. *hwīles* 'sometimes'; *afore I wes ha'froads hame* 'halfway', *plenty o' roads* 'in many places', *a' gates ('a ge'ts)* 'everywhere; *gyang yer waa's* 'go away!'²⁰ *Gweed sakes!* an exclamatory phrase, probably euphemistically for *for Gweed's sake*, the form for *God* and *good* sounding alike (§18).

¹⁹ cf. Mod. Icelandic *hvernin* < *hvern veg*, Swiss G. *welchen Weg*.

²⁰ cf. StE. *always, he went his way*, StG. *seines Wegs gehn, keineswegs*.

Isolated forms are variously derived. 1: from adjectives in *-lin'* (< OE. *-ling*, e.g. *bæcling*): *the win's sidelins on* 'from the side',²¹ *gyaun backlins* 'backward', *he tum'l't heidlins in amon't* 'head first'; 2: from adverbs or adjectives with the suffix *-lins*: *the road's uplins, doonlins* 'upward, downward', *turn widderlins*²² OE. *wiðer* 'against the sun' (Byth); *ye sidna dee't ha'flins* 'by halves', *gailins, gailies* as in *aw'm gailies weel through* 'pretty well finished', *fan did ye hear't? newlins* OE. *nēowlinga* 'recently'.²³

Note: *aiblins* (<*able* + *lins*) 'perhaps' used to be common Scots; in Buchan it is remembered by old folk. *weel-a-wuns* a kindly expression of regret, sorrow may be the genitive of an altered form of *wellawa'* (OED. sub *well-a-wins*). The expression (*I gaed eens eeran'* = *once errand* 'purposely' appears to be a modal genitive OE. **ānes ārendes* (cf. ON. *þess erendis*), only the genitive *-s* was lost with the noun.

§ 186. The possessive genitive in *-s* is confined to nouns denoting living beings; e.g. *the bairn's stamackie* (JG.51); *Johnnie's fadir*; *yer litlins' pottage* (Gl.117); *foo monie tods' tails?*; *a nowt's hin' legs*; *the kye's maet* 'cows' fodder'; *afore fowk's faces*; *aw widna dee't for a' the warld's gear* 'for all the world's goods'. Instead of a possessive pronoun (cf. Poutsma II 74)²⁴: *They swall't the creatur's* (= his) *heid* (JG.119); *aneuch to turn the creaturs'* (= their) *heids* (JG.56).

The genitive of origin and agency: *a coo's milk*; *a milkin' mith be twa-three kye's milk*; *that's fowk's thank*.

The genitive of time and measure: *till this day's date* (JG.184); *a fyoo oors' sleep*; *they hed a hail winter's burnin'* 'they had fuel for the whole winter'.

§ 187. The inflexional genitive construction may be found instead of the attributive composition, although its meaning is not individualizing (Poutsma II 102 ff.): *sheep's oo, -heid* 'sheep wool, -head'; *nowt's hiv's* 'cattle hoofs' against *horse hiv's*;²⁵ *the toon's hoose* 'town-hall' (JG.16); *the peer's hoose* 'poor house'. It used to be *Can'lesmass* (**kanlzmis**) and with proper names: *George's-street, Fraser'sburgh*, now *George Street, Fraserburgh*.²⁶

²¹ cf. StE. *sidelings, headlong*, StG: *rücklings, blindlings*; cf. Paul, DGr. V, §94. [i.e. Hermann Paul, *Deutsche Grammatik*, 5 vols., Halle am Saale 1916-20.]

²² The meaning points to confusion with *withershins*; cf. OED.

²³ cf. *newly* as commonly used in Scottish English, e.g. *I'm newly home, back*.

²⁴ [H. Poutsma, *Grammar of Late Modern English*, Groningen 1904-26.]

²⁵ The genitive may be wanting for phonetic reasons (because of the sibilant), for it remains unexpressed in the individualizing, possessive sense *ae horse haims* 'the collar of one horse'.

²⁶ Note the divided usage in StE. *St James's Palace* and *Buckingham Palace*.

With nouns denoting the parts of a day, week: *athort the morn's gloamin'* (JG.182) by the side of *the morn i' the gloamin'*; *the morn's mornin'* 'tomorrow morning'; *the morn's nicht, aifterneen*; *on Saturday's nicht* (JG.97); *a pair o' Sunday's beets* 'of Sunday boots' (Gl.125); *he's riven a' 's gweed Sunday's waisket*. Under the influence of StE. no doubt the *-s-less* form is getting more common.

§ 188. The *qualitative* genitive is rendered by *o'*: *a lad o' pairts* 'boy of abilities', *peenies o' glaiss* 'small panes of glass', *a nicht o' snaw* 'night of snow', *a habble o' debt* 'financial difficulties'.

So is the *partitive* genitive (but cf. §190): *the feck o' the aifterneen* 'the bigger part', *a stan' o' blacks* 'a suit of black clothes', *a stan' o' pipes* 'a set of bagpipes', *a stan' o' horse* 'a dealer's lot', *a shoot o' claes* 'a suit of clothes', *a pair o' yalla breeks* (JG.85), *o' gran' haims* 'horse collars', *a stem o' taties*, *a sheeve o' loaf* 'a slice of bread', *kneevlicks o' cheese* (JG.16), *o' beef* 'lumps', *a fang o' cheese* 'chunk', *a draucht o' corn* 'cartload', *a fraucht o' peats* 'two loads' (Gl.93), *a sheaf o' girse*, *a huttock o' hey* 'hay cock', *a bicker o' pottitch* 'heap', *a fine waucht* (draft), *howp (pull) o' ale*, *a flagon o' ream*, *a dreeblick o' rain*, *water* 'a drop', *a jilp o' treacle bree*, *a mou'fu' o' a dram*, *a puckle o' geets*, *a mardle o' bairns* 'crowd of children', *a brodmel o' chickens*, *a steer (mass) o' fowk*, *nowt*, *reek*, *a cyarn o' steens*, *a lair o' eggs* [inside a hen].

§ 189. The *appositional* genitive also takes *o'*, e.g. *the Kirktoon o' Auchterless*, *the Moss o' Fishrie*. While in these cases the modified noun defines, we may also say that the modifying noun has predicative force. The following common construction may be viewed in this way: *a vulgar craitur o' a man*.²⁷ The position and function of the modifier suggest a qualifying attributive adjective = *a vulgar (...)* man. In *a hell of a din* the three words *hell of a* (**helōfā**²⁸) = hellish, dreadful, terrible), which is proved by the independent predicative use *that's hellifa!*²⁹ This detached adjective can also be used adverbially in the usual way: *a hellifa sair heid* 'a terribly sore head', also in *this is hellifa-like wark* 'dreadful work'. The variant *hellifan* is heard

²⁷ cf. StE. *a brute of a husband*, StG. *ein Schurke, gemeiner Kerl von einem Mann*. This construction is generally held to be of French origin both in E. and G.; cf. Deutschbein 291.

²⁸ It is unusual for *of* to retain the *f* (§99); that, too, is proof of the synthetic character

²⁹ Here then we have an adjective made up with the trinity of noun, prepos., indefinite article. Note that **kinō** *kin' of a* in spite of its contracted form still retains the three elements (*Imicht mamage to eek oot a kin' o' a livin'*: Gl.52), whereas in *deila* (<*deil a* as in *deil a fet'll a gyang* 'the devil a foot will I go') the analysis is no longer made, as is proved by the detached use *deila that I wull* 'the devil do I want that'.

by older speakers; it contains the old form of the indefinite article *an*, which occurred before vowels and consonants alike. The semantic relation of the two nouns is often that of species and genus, the former denoting a special kind of the latter. In *she's a frow o' a wife* the *frow* (G. *Frau*) is the carrier of the special notion of 'stout, imperious woman', *wife* that of female person in general. So also *that carline o' a wife o' Clinkstyle* (*carline*, feminine of *carl* 'rough vociferous woman': JG.241). The *fyooach* in *a fyooach o' a crap* means 'a meagre, poor crop'. *Bauchels* are 'old, worn-out boots'; the expression *gey bauchels o' beets oot o' set* is, therefore, pleonastic.³⁰

Note that on enquiring after these nouns, the above expressions are almost invariably given by way of explanation. The reason is that they are more or less confined to them and therefore lead a kind of adjective existence. Primitive speech differs from highly developed speech through having a different word for every variety of a basic notion (e.g. *frow*, *carline*, *randy* etc.). Buchan still has a large number of these nouns, but the fact that many of them have ceased to be used independently and now occur where we are accustomed to find adjectives, viz. in front of the noun of genus, is a sign of development. This use of nouns adds potency to the language as against adjectives; it renders the expression more personal and far less abstract. *A reever* or *roar(er) o' a fire* is more expressive than *a roaring fire*. When the modifying noun is preceded by an adjective the two may be considered coordinate qualifications, e.g. *a beenie runk o' a coo* 'thin and shaggie cow'. The 'modifying' noun may be devoid of meaning and merely be of syntactical value, in which case it needs to be modified by an adjective:

JG.174: *he has twa strappin' / lads o' / sins at hame*

JG.179: *that peer simple vulgar / creatur o' a / mole catcher*

JG.225: *upon a bit timmer / kin' o' a / saiddlie.*

Lads and *creatur* could be dispensed with, without much altering the sense; but the construction and its connotation would go.

Further examples of tautological compounds:

(i) Modifiers that seem to need the prop of the genus word. *A gurk* ('a stout lad': JG.181), *a bowfert* (strong, heftie chap), *gey knap* ('stoutish lad': Gl.36) *o' a loon*, *a sug* [fat, easy-going person — Ed.] *o' a deemie*, *a hizzie* (pert, forward lassie) *o' a quine*, *a wutter o' a* ('quarrelsome'), *the awfu'est deevlick o' a crater* (contemptuous: Gl.129), *a little, wee, drochie o' a craitur* (Gl.105), *that sweer fangs* ('lazy louts') *o' servan' chiels o' his*.

³⁰ A common enough feature of dialect speech; cf. the double negation.

(ii) Modifiers that are alive but not ordinarily referred to persons. *A fool besom o' a quine, yon glaiKET lump o' a chiel, a wild clip o' a quine* 'unruly, game for anything', *that drunken ted o' a souter* (contemptuous), *a pack o' vulgar trag o' fairm servan's* (JG.62).

(iii) Modifiers that might be independent. *Siccan a vratch o' a mannie* (Gl.130), *yon peer, simple idiot o' a man o' hers* (JG.190), *yon deevils' o' nowte*.

(iv) Modifiers to objects. *a flindrikin o' a cloot* 'useless clout', *a scrawl o' a letter, a gey weetie trachle o' a hairst* 'a wet harvest causing a lot of work', *the coo gied a guller* (cf. *gullie*) *o' a roar* 'loud', *a gey penny o' a tocher* 'a nice sum of a dowry', *a maitter o' a fyow shillins', an ondag or onding o' rain* 'heavy downpour of rain'.

§190. There are nouns of quantity and number that take the partitive genitive without the preposition (like St.G. *ein Stück Brot*, Mod. Dutch *een pond flys*), whilst others are used with or without *of*. *A curn sticks, hens* 'some', *for a kurn* [sic.] *'ears yet* (Gl.52); *a puckle fine stirks* ('some': JG.66), *for a puckle months* (JG.101), *a pucklie girse, I'se get a bit bread, a grainie sugar; there was plenty nowte beas' i' the mart; a starn* (small quantity) *gweed maut* (JG.173), *a starn (o') meal; he made a hantle siller* 'a lot', *a hantle o' time* (JG.90), *o' enfluence* (JG.62); *a drap tay* (Gl.117), *a sup milk, water* (small quantity), *a suppie o' ream; ye aye need a dizzen tellin's, a dizzen o' times* (JG.62), *twa dizzen o' eggs* (Gl.113). Whilst in the above instances the possessive notion is evident, owing to the first word denoting part of a whole, a complex whole, a certain quantity of a solid or liquid mass or a number of things, the modifying word in the following examples has rather a syntactical function: *he made an ondeemas thing o' siller* (JG.62), or that of an attributive adjective: *a spunkie o' fire* 'little blaze', *a shoor o' blin' drift* 'showery blizzard', *a mess o' dubs* 'dirty mess'. This becomes more obvious still where the modifier is, or suggests, an original adjective: *wi' yer dirt o' taties* 'dirty potatoes'³¹ (Gl.49), *he left a vast o' property* 'a vast property' (JG.62), *nae the fu' o' that gryte muckle gless*.

§191. The Romance Genitive.

Our dialect makes special use of this genitive construction, which is not altogether unknown in St.E. (cf. *a hell of a din*) or St.G. (*ein Schurke von einem Mann*). The relation of the two nouns, and the fact that this way of

³¹ [The context suggests that the meaning is "poor quality potatoes" rather than "dirty potatoes".]

expression is resorted to without actual need, prove clearly the character of the first: it plays the part of a qualifying attributive adjective. A frow (**frau**) means a stout, imperious woman. It would, therefore, be self-sufficient in the expression *she's a frow*. Instead, however, they say pleonastically *she's a frow o' a wife*. The characteristic notion of *frow* is left with it, whilst the general notion of 'woman' is expressed by *wife*; the first is modifying the other. Many of these nouns act like standing adjectives (cf. St.E. *not a ghost of a chance* = not the remotest chance). The meaning of *bachels* (old worn-out boots) prevents the word from being combined with anything but *beets*: *gey bachels o' beets oot o' seat (se't)*. Such pleonasm is a common enough feature of dialect speech (cf. the double negation). *Fyooach (fjuɔç)* though in itself meaning a meagre, poor crop is always used with the genitive of 'crop': *a fyooach o' a crap*.

This qualifying noun may be preceded by an adjective, which gives two coordinate modifications of the genitive. *A beenie runt o' a coo, beast* = a thin and shaggy cow. Often the qualifying noun is neutral, conveys no special notion and simply helps to make up the construction. *He has twa strappin' lads o' sins at hame* (JG.174), *that peer simple vulgar crater o' a mole catcher* (JG.179).

According to the part played by the determining element of the expression we can distinguish various groups.

a. attributive. The determining noun takes the place of a descriptive attributive adjective in the standard speech. This mode of characterizing is extensively used in our dialect, particularly to convey certain traits and shades of the human character. They answer to a question like *fat kin o' a man is he*; they correspond to the German *ein Schurke von einem Mann* or St.E. *a scoundrel of a man*. We see the genitive is not indispensable.

sug: a sug o' a deemie;

gurk (girk): a gurk o' a loon (stout lad: JG.181);

knap: I was then a gey knap o' a loon (Gl.36);

bowfart (baufərt): a bowfart o' a loon (strong, heftie chap);

lump: yon glaiket lump o' a chiel (clumsy);

hizzie (hizi): a hizzie o' a quine;

clip: a wild clip o' a quine (Gl.24);

frow (frau): a frow o' a wife (a stout, imperious woman);

vratch: siccan a vratch o' a mannie (Gl.130);

randy: that randy o' a wife o' Clinkstyle (loose tongued woman: JG.118);

deevlik: the awfu'est deevlik o' a crater (contemptuous: Gl.129);

drochie: a little, wee, drochie o' a crater (Gl.105);
idiot: yon peer, simple idiot o' a man o' hers (JG.190);
crater: that peer simple vulgar crater o' a mole-catcher (JG.179): in
 this latter case *crater* could easily be dispensed with;
ted: a drunken ted o' a souter (contemptuous: Gl.107);
trag (trash): *takin' charge o' [...] a pack o' vulgar trag o' fairm
 servan's* (JG.62).

The Nominal Formations of the Verb. The Verbal Noun, Verbal Adjective, Infinitive.

§192.³² The verbal system is not very well developed and lacks elasticity. Instead of the finite verb some nominal expression is preferred. The passive, e.g., is used very sparingly and made up for in various ways:

I was thrashed:	<i>I got a thrashin'.</i>
His house was burnt:	<i>he got his house burnt.</i>
You need to be told a dozen times:	<i>ye need a dizzen tellin's.</i>
She shall be well provided for:	<i>she sanna wunt 'er providin'</i> (JG.60).

§193. The Verbal Noun or Gerund.

a. In passive or active sense.

It's a temp'in o' Providence tae keep them back (JG.60); *U'll³³ gie ye a gweed duntin'* (beating, thrashing); *she got jist a richt nizzin* (nosing, rough reception) *i' the wye o' ill jaw* (JG.92); *I got a drenshin' o' weet*; *she's gettin' lernin*, *he's nae lernin'*; *I got sma' cuttin's* (I was treated in a curt way); *a widna tak a tellin'* (I would not be told); *he's weel worth the hearin'* (JG.73); *I fair got ma sairin wi' that* (what I deserved); *u'll dee yer biddin* (I'll do what you bid me do); *come and hae skippin'* (come and skip with me).

Impersonal: *it's nae lauchin'* (it's no matter for laughing); *there's nae sayin' gin I'll ever see ye agin* (Gl.77).

Preceded by a preposition it takes the place of a subordinate clause of time or place, corresponding to German *im, am* + subst. inf.

u'll jist gie ye a cry i' the by-dyaan (JG.212): *im Vorbeigehn*

³² [From this point, section numbers do not appear in either the manuscript or the typescript. The next three were pencilled onto the manuscript by David Murison; subsequent ones have been added by the present editor.]

³³ [*sic.*, in both manuscript and typescript; though this (presumably representing [ʌ]) is not an established spelling.]

<i>I met 'im</i>	<i>i' the in-dyaan</i>	<i>auf dem Hinweg</i>
	<i>i' the oot-dyaan</i>	<i>uf em Useweg³⁴</i>
	<i>the wa' dyaan</i>	<i>beim Weggehn</i>
	<i>i' the hame comin' or i' the comin' hame.</i>	

St. E. would use the present participle which is likewise possible: *comin' hame*.

yer fadder and yer bridders will be at the owrefa'in [with hunger] (BB.16);

it's jist at the brakin' (sc. the milk is making butter).

ye've grown oot o' a' kennin' (*blottit oot o' ken*: JG. 235)

he may be at the gae-lattin (near bankruptcy, JG.186: *am Gehenlassen*)

Whilst in St.E. the verbal noun often remains at the initial stage of designating the action of the verb, it can in our dialect denote the object as the result of the action. In not a few cases the verb has died out and the noun of the object is left behind, isolated. *etherin* (a kind of shuttle cock with which the ropes are plaited on the hay stack): to *ether* (German *etter*) to interlace fences with osier (cf. StE “wire netting”: Sweet NEGr §329). *sarkin'* (“skirting”, the wooden covering on the rafters) suggests a verb *to sark* = to put on a cover, skirt. *sneeshin'* snuff.

The sense of these nouns is collective, corresponding to the German forms with *ge-*: *Gebräu* = *brewin'*: *Gebäu* = *biggin'*. They appear, therefore, often in the plural: *das Geläuf* = *the rinnin's*; *das Gebinde* = *the bin'in's*. *Faa's shoo'in' is't?* who sewed it?; *It's some o' ma ain brewin'*; *he hid a hail winter's burnin'*; *fess in the kin'lin'* (the sticks for lighting the fire); *a milkin'* (Swiss *ə mɛlxətə*) is the outcome of one milking, e.g. *the mornin's milkin'*; *there's to be a preachin' i' the skweel* (JG.73); *a prayer meetin an nae a preachin'* (JG.74); *he wis wintin' a gweed doonsittin' for her* (a home:³⁵ BB.37); *gin that didna tak the stiffin oot o' 'er* (the starch: JG.116); *beddin'* (the straw for the cattle to lie on); *the poorin's o' the sowens* (the pourings); *the riddlin's* (what has been riddled); *wylin's* (**wəilmz**: what has been picked out but also what has been left); *that's the rinnin's o' the haill affair* (JG.119); *she'll be expeekin' to get some leavin's i' the taepot* (JG.50); *upo' the sweepin's o' the Shirra Coort* (JG.62); *they'll never thole sic ongaens* (**ɔndjanz**: JG. 41).

³⁴ [This SwG. form is used in the ms. without explanation. StG. *auf dem Ausweg* would be equally appropriate.]

³⁵ [A dounsittin may in fact be a home, but the meaning of the word is a settlement, by marriage or inheritance.]

The following nouns are concrete only: *a biggin'* (building), *a winlin'* (with dissimilation *wilin'*) *o' strae or hey* (a bundle wound roughly, cf. Icelandic *vindill* a cigar); *dinna mention't to nae leevin'* (JG.116); *there's nae livin' to be seen* (*nae* proves *livin'* to be a noun); *I thocht aw wud rive my yirnin' lauchin' at 'im* (I would burst my stomach, lit. rennet.³⁶ JG.189).

§194. Quite a number of *-in* collectives seem to be derived direct from a noun: *lathin'* (the laths in the roof), *easin' o' the ruck* (the eaves, the line where the corn stack starts tapering), *riggin'* (the ridge (German *Dachstuhl*), the roof from inside), *etherin'*, from *ether* fence material for interlacing, cf. OE. *eodor* enclosure, German *Etter*, osier and hazlewood fence; *the hin' shelvin o' the cairt* (the frame: JG.9); *that saidlin's owre laich* (that partition between the stalls is too low) from *saidle*³⁷; *fairin'* (fair-presents = sweeties); *the trantlins*.³⁸

The following seem to be formed with the patronymic ending *-ling*: *kittlin'* (OE. *cytlyng*) a kitten, *ootlin'* a person, a being, that stands apart; *halflin'*: *a wis a gey gweed halflin* (farm servant of 16-17 years: Gl.86); *littlin'*: *Peter's nae a littleane noo* (JG.122); *she keepit a skweel for little littleanes* (JG.44). By this spelling the author suggests a compound *little-one*.

§195. The Infinitive as a noun may occur where St.E. puts the Gerund or a regular noun. It often combines with a verb and makes up a standing phrase, taking the place of the simple verb. *Ye need a year or twa to get the can o't* (to know it, get the knack of it); *Gie's a lean (len) o' yer knife* (lend me ...); *he's quick tull the uptak* (quick in grasping s.th.); *We've gott'n an invite* (we've been invited); *they wid hae nae na-say (na:se)* (no contradicting); *they've been haein' a gey on-cairry doon at the ward* (lively proceedings: JG.102); *they hivna a setisfee* (e.g. the nowte that never can eat their fill); *a got a birst* ("burst", illness contracted with over-eating oneself); *he didna wunt the say* (he had plenty o' gab); *he got a gey sterve* (he nearly died with cold); *I wud gie 'er a sitdoon* (a home); *that a servan' deem cud refeese siccan a gweed doonsit* (home: Gl.80); *a took a hertie lauch to masel'* (I laughed); *a hivna hid bite or sup this day* (neither eaten nor drunk: BB.63); *Hilly an' me's hed a gey through the meer* (from the phrase *to gae through the meer* [muir] = to receive a dressing-down: Gl.77); *he gie'd me the pick o's pack*; *he's taen*

³⁶ [The primary sense of *yirnin* as a noun is rennet, but it was also used to mean a calf's stomach (from which rennet was extracted) and by extension – originally humorous, presumably – a human stomach.]

³⁷ [SND "The part of a stall in a stable or byre on which the animal stands"]

³⁸ [SND does not attest an *-ins* form, but gives *trantlins*, *-lums*, from *trantles*, "small articles of little value".]

a thraw (he twisted or sprained something); *I gied masel' a nesty thraw*; *there's naethin' in 'im but idleset* (idleness); *he wud 'a gien his heid a bit shak* (he would have shaken his head a little); *gin a hed a claucht o' 'im* (if I snatched, seized him); *bide or a get a haud o' ye*; *afore sindoon* (sunset: JG.12); *a'm growin' waur o' the weir* (worse with the strain); *ye wid be better o' a vring* (of wringing your clothes); *ye hed been hame ere cock-craw* (JG.223); *he wis waur i' th' girn nor i' th' bite* (BB.44); *b' guess o' e'e* (JG.237).

§196. The verb *to go* in its verbal functions is *to gae* (**gi, dje, gje**). The infinitive as a noun, however, takes the full form *gang* or rather, in our district, *gyang, dyang* (**djan**). *Foo monie gjang hae ye on [the cairt] fin ye're leadin'?* Answer: *sax gjang*. Even though it corresponds to German *der Gang*, Dutch *gang*, Icelandic *gangr*, it is a form of the verb all the same. In JG.115 it is spelt [on]gae. As a form of the verb it can be qualified by an adverb, preceding or following: *The gyang in an' the come oot o' Banff* (the going into and the coming out of Banff.). With the adverb prefixed these nouns acquire special senses: *he hed a stiff indyang* (beginning); *an easy ootdyang* (leaving the farm); *he jist hed the bare rigs* (fields) *as an indyang* (for a start); *she expekit there wud be some ootgang o' the butter* (some butter over, beyond the weight required: JG.36); *fat like an indyang hid he* (what sort of start had he?); *an upgyang and doon come* (in social standing); *jist luik sic an ongae's he's been haudin'* (JG.150); *he watch't the ondyangs = the ondyans = the ongoings*; *lat bygyangs be bygyangs* (not the past participle as in St.E.). A *throwgyang* (German *Durchgang*, Dutch *doorgang*, passage) is fully concrete. *They've nae throwgyang*: no initiative and push. *That wis a gey throwgyang* = experience.

A preposition which follows the verb may be prefixed to it when no object is expressed: *It's a gey onwyte* (it is a long waiting "on" s.b.); an *onding* or *ondag*³⁹ *o' rain* (to *ding on* s.th. = to beat).

Two infinitives may be welded into a new word: *We hed a shak' an' fa'* (shake and fall: a wrestling bout); *peel an' ate tatties* (potatoes with their skins on).

§197. The Past Participle.

The past participle has a wider use than in St.E. The general way of describing the past participle of transitive verbs as passive and that of intransitive verbs as active does not include all aspects.

³⁹ [*Dag* in this form is a noun of Norse origin, not related to the verb *ding*.]

1. Passive perfective. *gesiebte Erde*, “sifted soil”.

A usage known well enough from other languages is the transitive past participle in the place of an adjective, both attributively and predicatively.

Ye’re beat (bet): you’re beaten because you have been beaten; *wi’ yer steekit nieve* (closed fist); *louse stuff an’ bun’ sheaves (je·vz)*; *ma pipe’s full’t*, just like “the pistol is loaded”; *ma claise is a’ steepit* (as if they had been steeped); *faar are ye fee’t at ey noo?*: Where are you working now; cf. German *wo bist du in Stellung?*; *hiv ye gott’n a fee?*; *I widna be behaud’n to ye* (beholden); *Ye’re rung in a’ thegither* (worn out, run down); *am [=I’m] strung up about a thing*.

2. Passive imperfective. *geliebte Mutter*, “beloved mother”.

This is imperfective, without reference to time. *she’s a muckle thocht o’ ’oman* (JG.92); *he’s a weel spoken o’ lad*; *fat like maitet are ye? — we’re weel maitet* (well fed). The participles are passive and express the state of “being done.”

3. Active perfective. *ein wertgereister Mann*, “a learned man”.

Ye’ll be a far-traivel’t ’oman noo (JG.44); *a’m nae begun yet*; *a wis that weel sleepit at a didna sleep again*. This past participle, whether absolute or intransitive, is active, and expresses the state of having done something.

4. Active imperfective. “a well behaved man”.

The aspect is the same as in type 2 but active; it is the state of doing something, a notion which is usually conveyed by the present participle; cf. ‘well behaved’ = well behaving. Of the two the past participle expresses more the habitual action. *he’s a weel-workin’, weel-conduckit loon* (JG.46). The two participles are coordinate; the second, therefore, of the nature of a present participle. *he’s quick spoken* (he speaks fast); *ye’re nae sae nice spok’n ’s his* (your speech is not so nice as ours); *unco braid spok’n* (JG.226). *Sookit caar (sukit ka:r)* are calves that *are* or have been brought up on their mothers’ milk, as distinguished from *sookin caar* that are engaged in the sucking at the time of speaking. *I was thinkin’ ’im luikin jist rael wainish’t like about the queets* ‘as if he were vanishing (i.e. thin, scrawny: JG.199).’ A *reestit*⁴⁰ *fire (ristət fəir)* is a fire that is prepared for relighting, therefore a fire that is ‘resting’. A *clickit horse* is a horse with a click — the participle may be derived from the noun — but it is also a ‘clicking horse.’ *He’s gley’t* is the

⁴⁰ [Dieth varies between *-et*, as in this word in the ms., and *-it* in his spelling of the past participle ending. Since there is neither historical warrant for the spelling *-et* (though it is occasionally found) nor any question that a different pronunciation is implied, all instances of *-et* have been emended to *-it*, except in quotations.]

only way to express that somebody has a squint, squints habitually, whilst an occasional squint is expressed by *he's gleyin'*. *Coggit caar* (calves supping out of the pail (*cog*)) is formed after the noun, without however being a mere adjective derivation like e.g. *strong heidit* (strong headed), as the underlying notion is not that of possession. *The fairmers is rackrentit* (the farmer's rents are racking them) is an expression that admits of various interpretations.

There are, however, two usages of the past participle where the active notion cannot be disputed:

The combination with *get*: *we looch till we couldna get stoppit* (we laughed until we could not stop);

The past participle prefixed by *on-*: *the caar wudna thrive onsookit* (the calves would not thrive without sucking).

§198. There is yet another way of looking at some of the above expressions: they may represent a causative notion. It is possible to say: *the caar sooks the kye* and *the kye sooks the caar*. The corresponding nominal has the same senses: a calf may be *a gweed sooker* (to *take* suck); a cow may be *a sooker* (to *give* suck) or else *a milker* (to give milk to people). *I'm gyaan to sook the caar* = to put them 'to the sook'; i.e. not to be fed from the pail. Hence *a sookit calf* does not mean a calf that is sucked but a calf that sucks, or a calf that has been and is sucking its dam. But this double aspect is not possible with all transitive verbs and a more general explanation is required.

§199. The past participle combines, as in St.E., with the auxiliary *to have* to express the perfect of any active action: *I have seen, I have traivel't, I have sleepit*.

It also combines with the auxiliary *to be* to express:

(a) as in St.E. the passive: *I am loved*;

(b) unlike St.E. the state of doing or having done s.th.

(a) and (b) are complete parallels: (a) passive, (b) active. Both express the present state with reference to an action in the past. This action may either (1) be concluded and leave a certain result behind; or it may (2) be timeless, i.e. recur habitually at any other time.

	Perfect	Timeless
(a)	having been sifted (the earth is sifted)	being loved (he is loved by everybody)
To be in a state of:		
(b)	having slept (<i>a'm weel sleepit</i>)	speaking (<i>he's quick spok'n</i>)

The two instances under (b) are not the same by any means. The first, like German *ich bin gefallen*, expresses the outcome of the completed action. Being an imperfective verb, however, it forms its perfect in German with *haben*: **ein geschlafener Mann* is impossible. E.g. *a'm that weel sleepit at a winna sleep again*; *a'm deen noo* (I have (am) done now); they'll *be begun to the herrin' gin than?* (by that time they'll have begun with the herring fishing: JG.38); *we're nae come to that yet freely* (altogether: JG.261); *but fan they war jist aboot bargain't* (JG.86).

The following is of a somewhat different nature: *A wisna weel beddit fin a hard 'im ging bye* (I had no sooner gone to bed than I heard him going past). Here we are hardly dealing with a verbal form. *Beddit* is derived from the noun and restricted to the predicative use of an adjective. Its formation is analogous to German *gesinnt, gewillt, beredet*.

The following three cases are therefore all different:

a'm that weel maetit at a widna flit (I am being so well boarded that I would not move)

a'm that weel sleepit at a winna sleep again (I have slept so well that I will not sleep again)

a wisna weel beddit fin a hard 'im (I was not well in bed when I heard him).

§200. The Past Participle in accusative with infinitive dependent on *get, hae*.

The construction of *get* + accusative with infinitive is well known in St.E.: *I got him to write it; I got it written*.

The former does not concern us: in our dialect it is *a gart 'im vreet it*. The latter, *a got it vrutt'n*, is the same in form but somewhat different in aspect, *got* having a different function in the two idioms. In St.E. it conveys the idea of having it done by s.b. else. In Buchan the agent is the subject itself or else quite immaterial, and the idea of *get* is modal. Unlike the bare statement 'I wrote it' it expresses the successfully completed action: *he got creepit awaa*: he managed to creep, get away. In St.E. this would be impossible, *creep* being an intransitive verb; in Buchan *get* combines with any kind of verb. Simple passives such as *he got caught, he got beaten*, where the verb *be* would be preferred in St.E., are common. The passive action that hits the subject indirectly is expressed by *get*: *Is she gettin' 'er dother marriet neist?* (JG.230). When the agent is more likely to be an outsider then *get* simply expresses that the subject is involved as the suffering part: *he's gott'n a 'thing stealt* (all was stolen from him); *the man at got's hoose brunt* (whose house

was burnt down); cf. Icelandic: *maðurim sem (cui) brandist húsið*.

1. Examples of the action carried through.

They got 'im wile't oot (they got him out by guile); *a hope ye'll get yer taties pare't a' richt; there's nane but puckles o' the gentry gets 't deen in ae Sunday* (that manage to do it in ... : JG.97); *it lats fowk get the young beasts keepit thereoot* (JG.209).

The force of the construction is toned down in the following examples:

The fishers gettin' the muckle boats hurl't doon to the water aff o' the chingle (JG.38); *ye been makin' mair adee about blaikin' that graith ... nor gettin' the things packit in till't* (JG.9); *Get feenish't afore it's dark; get the kye pitten oot ear'* (put the cows out early: less peremptory than *Pit the kye out ear'*: JG.11); *fan she hed gott'n me weel tell't aboot* (when she had told me to her satisfaction). A boy, reminded with 'wash yer feet noo' answered *a got mine wash'n*.

One feels tempted to consider *get* a mere copulative link, something like *kommen* in the expression *er kam geflogen*, particularly since it is often preceded by *can*, which means that the notion of 'managing do s.th.' is no longer invested in *get*. *We looch till we couldna get stoppit* is essentially the same as *till we couldna stop*. *Gin he cud get haud'n in wi' gryte fowk* (get the chance of associating with great people: JG.115).

The following two cases may throw some light on the character of the idiom:

fin they cudna work

fin they cudna get vrocht (when they could not work)

afore she cud speak, a says...

afore she cud get spok'n, a says... (before she could speak, I said...)

Could seems to be the rule in the negative expression of, say, *a got run awaa*. *A cudna get run awaa* is more frequent than either *a didna get run awaa* or a *gotna run awaa*. With *get* we express the successful carrying out of the action; an unsuccessful attempt is rendered by *cudna get*.

In the first couple there remains therefore the difference of the positive clauses; i.e. of action pure and simple and of completed action. *They cudna work* — because they were ill or did not feel fit; *they cudna get vrocht* — because of the external conditions frustrating their efforts.

afore she cud speak — for internal reasons; *afore she cud get spok'n* — for external reasons.

It is natural that the distinction between the two gets blurred, and a lazy workman *disna get vrocht* however favourable the circumstances.

This expression is easily turned into a final infinitive; *till* fixes the aim and marks the completeness of the action. *fesh hame the kye till I get them milkit* (JG.20). The first clause creates the conditions that allow the milking to materialise: *tull I get...* = so that I can get...

Instead of the past participle we can have an accusative with infinitive: *ye winna get eyns to meet* (you won't be able to make ends meet).

That 'get' is not a mere link-verb may be gathered from a comparison of *afore he got spok'n* (Buchan) with *before he got married* (St.E.: Sweet §2358). There is modal connotation in the first, but not in the second.

§201. *hae* + accusative + past part.

we canna hae the beast's maet trachel't amo' their feet (JG.9); *I wud hae them roupit oot at the door* (JG.15); *gin it hed but a back chimley biggit* (JG.127). This construction is in a way parallel to the previous one. *hae* expresses the having, possessing and admitting that s.th. be done by an outsider.

There is another still widespread use of *hae* + accusative + past participle corresponding to the German perfect tense of any transitive verb: *ich hatte das getan*. These are different from the former in so far as the action is felt to have been carried out by the subject. In opposition to the modern English *I have done it*, our *aw hiv't deen* means, or did mean at least, *I have it in the state of being done* (work). It therefore borders on to *aw got it deen*. *The mullert hes the meal mull't; hiv ye the washin' deen?* At the present day, little difference seems to be felt and made between *hiv ye the letter vrutt'n* and *hiv ye vrutt'n the letter*; *aw hed a pair wiv'n* and *aw hed wiv'n a pair*.

With the pronouns *aw hiv't a' read* or *aw've read it a'*, the former in this case seems to be the commoner. *aw hiv'im bocht*, *aw hiv'er sell't*.

§202. *on-* + past part.

This construction is the shibboleth of Buchan syntax. Curiously enough it has never been closely investigated, either as a historic form or as part of the living speech. Grant and Dixon in their *Manual of Modern Scots* (p.114)⁴¹ do not go beyond recording the facts. Westergaard in *Studies in Prefixes and Suffixes in Middle Scottish*⁴² deals with the affix only; what she says on the past participle (p.37 it is an adjective, p.39 it is coalescent with the present participle) is wrong.

⁴¹ [Cambridge 1921.]

⁴² [Oxford University Press 1924.]

§203. The form: *ongrutt'n* (ɔ̄·ngraʌtŋ), *onhauð'n* (ɔ̄·nhadŋ). The ɔ̄·n is half-long, whilst the preposition *on* is short, clipped and therefore lacking the tenseness of ɔ̄ in the prefix (cf §99). Among the prefixes of the following words the first stands by itself although the spellings from JG suggest another division: 102 *on-cairry* ('ɔ̄·nkere), 226 *onlee't*, 244 *onbeen* ('ɔ̄·n'bi'n), *fat's oonsattlin'* (unsettling) *the beasts*, 111 *oonwutty*, 100 *oonjustice*, 37 *ondeemas*, 259 *oonwillin'*, *ooncannie*, etc. In all except the first (the prepositional compound) the stress is even. Barring the first again, the prefix is historically and phonetically the same with all; it is the negating article, Greek *ἀν-*, Gothic *un-*, Icelandic *ó-*, German *un-*, St.E. *un-* (ʌn). The above forms correspond exactly to German *ungelogen*, Icelandic *ódoemilegt*, St.E. *unwilling*. Association with the German preposition *ohne*, so often referred to, is due to a complete misunderstanding of the *on* + past participle expressions.

How *un-* became *on-* (pronounced even ɔ̄·n half-long) is not clear. Sievers (*Angelsächsische Grammatik* 56 Note 1) registers *on-* as appearing in later mss. for *un-*. Under level stress (cf. ('ɔ̄·n'les) the prefix got lengthened. There is but one word with the negating particle in another form than the ɔ̄·n: *unco* ('ʌŋkə), originally the negative of *couth* (known) but no longer associated with that adjective. It is a *verdunkeltes Compositum*, as can also be seen by the accent, which has been shifted on to the first syllable. The modern form of the negating particle is ʌn, spelt in JG. *oon-*, cf. ʌn'satʌ, ʌn'wʌlɛn, ʌn'gre'tfi.

The form of the past participle is unmistakable. Never once do the past participle and the present participle coalesce: **fa:n** (fallen): **fa:ɛn** (falling); **bi:n** (been): **bi:m** (being, distinctly disyllabic); **hadŋ** (held): **hadm** (holding). Grant's suggestion (p.115) of the previous formal coalescence leading to confusion of the two participles in this construction cannot hold for our dialect. The principle of majority too goes altogether against it. Weak verbs clearly discriminate between the two forms. Among the strong verbs most add the past participle ending by faucal articulation, which is not easily mistaken for the ending with a vowel, however fugitive this may be. The only doubtful forms are those ending in a vowel, where it might be difficult to perceive the disyllabic character of the present participle. Westergaard (p.38) speaks of the two participles being phonetically identical, thus leading to the misconception of *on-* as German *ohne*. (!) My informants, who had no German, distinguished neatly between the two participles and *never once*

used the present participle after *on-*. Murray (p.211)⁴³ calls the forms “closely alike, but nicely distinguished by the vowel or no vowel before the *n*.” That is the case when the root vowel is the same in present and past participle, i.e. in most cases.

The reason for the confusion is purely syntactical. A genuine speaker would not be tempted to use the present participle. Only those people mix them up who are too well acquainted with St.E. and all too little with the vernacular. A syntactical oddity like ours has little chance of surviving when the coming generation is imbued with the idea of the corruption in dialects. The few examples in MSc. of *on* + pres. part. and the huge mass of instances heard at the present day are all to be ‘condemned’ as imitations of the St.E. construction of preposition + gerund. This change-over need not be performed at one bound nor be due to outside influence alone. There are within our dialect preposition + gerund constructions analogous to those in St.E: *u’ll keep ye fae thinkin’ lang* “I’ll keep you from finding it tedious” is synonymous with *u’ll keep ye on-thocht lang; tae haud the loons fae makin’ sicc a din = tae haud the loons on-made sicc a din* “to prevent them from making such a din”. *Canna ye cum ben withoot ca’in a’ thing doon* (can’t you come in without knocking everything down) can be heard, though less commonly, along with *Canna ye cum ben onca’d a’ thing doon*.

§204. These *on-* + past participle expressions are well-established in the dialect. They help to express several frequently-used notions:

1. I could, would not do s.th. without doing s.th.
2. I could not help doing it.
3. To keep s.b. from doing s.th.

These are phrases which belong to the woof and warp of a language.

From the examples in §203 we gather that *on-* is responsible for the past participle, since in all other cases the gerund is the only possible form. Remove the negating *on-* and the present participle has to take the place of the past participle.

dee’t an’ haud me ontell’t ye
dee’t an nae haud me aye tellin ye

“do it so that I won’t have to tell you all the time.” Incidentally we may point out the purely negating sense of *on-*.

⁴³ [*Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, Transactions of the Philological Society 1873.]

§205. This effect of *on-*, *un-* upon the aspect of verbal forms is well known in other Germanic dialects. Icelandic *ó* + present participle (e.g. *ó-etandi*, *ó-teljandi*) is no longer active (“non-eating”, “non-telling”) but passive in the sense of “not to be eaten” (uneatable), “not to be told” (untold in numbers); cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson⁴⁴ under *ú*: *ótakandi* (impregnable), *ógöranda* (not feasible). In these cases the change of voice is from active to passive. A change from passive to active we have with the past participle in German; c.f. W. Wilmanns *Deutsch Grammatik, Gotisch, Alt- Mittel- und Neuhochdeutsch* (Strassburg 1893-1909) III i §59, 4. This is the exact parallel of our phenomenon with the sole difference that our expression is very much alive, whilst the German, fairly current in MHG idioms, has only survived in a few petrified forms. In principle, however, they are exactly the same. Compare MHG *ungesungen sîn* (not to sing): *tæ be on-sung*; MHG *ungesprochen gân* (to go without speaking): *tæ gyang on-spok'n*; *Das Nibelungenlied* 967, 4: *sîn wir hint ungetrunken* (Won't we get anything to drink?): *are we tæ be on-drunk'n?*

In German these are negated adjectives with a link verb; in our case it is felt to be a verbal form, followed if possible by an object. *Ungegessen* (Swiss **u·kɛsə**)□as in *ungegessen fortgehen* is crystallised in the adverbial predicative meaning of *nüchtern* “on an empty stomach”; ours corresponds to an independent verbal form: *aw wis awfu' hungry*, *aw cudna be on et'n 't* (without eating it).

Of a freer use are the following MHG instances: j. Fit. 5189⁴⁵ *ungevrâget bin ich von dannan gescheiden: onspeer't aw gaed awaa*; *Alexander gap unverspart: Sandie gied o't onhain't*. Walter:⁴⁶ *dēm ungedienet ic vil wol gelanc*; H. Paul *Mhd. Grammatik*⁴⁷ §292 Anm. 1; “*Fälschlich werden diese part. teilweise als activ persönlich aufgefasst. Für dieser Auffassung, die nur für einem Teil der Fälle anwendbar ist*” — not for instance with *ih wil ir ungefluoche lân* ‘I’ll leave it so that she won’t be cursed’ — “*liegt gar kein Grund vor.*” The same theory he put forward in his *Deutsche Grammatik* IV § 27: “*Im Mhd. werden passive part. gebraucht im Anschluss an unpersönliche Konstruktion des Passivums; von hier aus könnte man durch Umdeutung zur Auffassung des partic. als activ gelangen.*”

⁴⁴ [Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, first published 1874. Accessible at http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kurisuto/germanic/oi_cleasbyvigfusson_about.html.]

⁴⁵ [Unidentified reference.]

⁴⁶ [Unidentified reference.]

⁴⁷ [Hermann Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsch Grammatik*, De Gruyter 2011.]

According to Paul these expressions are neutral, impersonal and do not refer to the subject. *Er ging dessen ungeachtet* (he went all the same), which can be literally translated into our dialect as *he gaed there onheedit that* or *onmin'it that* would be interpreted by Paul as *er ging, ohne dass dessen geachtet wurde*. This is certainly not the impression created by our dialect idiom, where *he* is subject of *min'it*. Even in the following apparently non-personal, absolute usage the speaker is felt to be the subject: *as mony yalla fish set doon as wud 'a full't a box barrow, onlee't. (ungelogen; without a lie being told, cf. there were a thousand there, all told: JG.226). [they] got a drappie fae their neiper, onken't tae onybody* (BB.19); *She cam' hame onken't* (without it being known, *ohne dass man es wusste*).

This adverbial use of *on-* + past participle is exceptional. The usual aspect of these forms is thoroughly personal: they refer to the subject or object and stand within the syntactical frame of the sentence, whilst the above expressions do not. The last sentence would more naturally run: *she cam' hame onken't it* (without her knowing it); *aw widna dee't onken't his risen* [=reason].

The impersonal passive conception might be worked in where the subject is less definite, e.g. after a second person, but there must be no object following; i.e. the verb must be intransitive: *ye canna get across onswemt* (without swimming, *ohne dass geschwommen wird*): this would correspond to Paul's *er kam geflogen*, cf. §323 *so dass dabei geflogen würde; we winna win (get) there onrun; Aberdeen Evening Express: 'several boats had to turn back into harbour unfished'*, i.e. without having fished, fishing or *ohne dass gefischt worden wäre*.

With a transitive verb the object would turn into the subject if the aspect of the verb were passive: *Ye cudna get it deen onpaid the wark*. In M.Sc. this was already established, cf. Blind Harry's *Wallace* VII 1228: *Onchangit hors through out the land thai rid*. The modern speaker's feeling on this point is quite definite: he considers *hors* and *wark* the objects of the active, transitive verbs *change* and *pay*. In spite of Paul §323 *Aktiv gefasst würden diese Partizipia alien, was wir sonst wissen, widersprechen*. What is more, the modern way of looking at these forms is not likely to be the result of *Umdeutung*, shifted association, as is proved by the MSc. example. *I'm nae responsible to gae afore Sir Simon, onhed my papers upo' me* (JG.235): *hae* can hardly be turned passive, though it is transitive.

In the following group of intransitive verbs the sense demands that the past participle be referred back to the subject:

<i>he canna look at me</i>	<i>ongley't</i> (without squinting)
<i>aw cudna dee't</i>	<i>ongrutt'n</i> (without crying)
<i>aw canna gyang fae hame</i>	<i>onbid'n owre lang</i> (without being away too long)
<i>he did it</i>	<i>onspeert at me</i> (without asking me)
<i>aw cudna be him)</i>	<i>onlachin at him</i> (without laughing at him)
<i>bye he gaed</i>	<i>ondachl't a step</i> (without faltering)

Unlike German, which has retained only remains of this expression, our dialect has developed it far beyond its original sphere. A misinterpreted form would not have such power of expansion.

1. *on-* + past participle frequently occurs with the link-verb *to be* either as the negative imperative or in the formula *canna be on-* ... in the sense of 'I cannot but ..., I cannot help ...-ing'. '*Dee that!*' — '*na, aw winna!*' — '*be ondeen't than!*' (don't do it then). *Aw cud not 'a been on-min'et upo' Gushetneuk* (could not have helped: JG.264); *ithers canna be on-taen pairt* (can't help taking part: JG.160); *aw cudna 'a [...] been on-grutt'n, deen fat I hed liket* (I could not have helped greeting (crying), whatever I had done: JG.96); *it wis awfu' hait, aw cudna be ondrunk'n; aw cudna be ongrudg't the sugar*. This method of expression is applicable to any verb, whilst in MHG it is confined to a few stock phrases (*ungereiет sîn*, not to go to the dance).

2. *on-* + past participle is used with reference to an accusative in a final, negative clause: 'so that he did not ..., would not ... It corresponds to St.E. 'to prevent s.b. from doing s.th.'. *her vera frocks needin' takin' in to keep them onfa'en aff o' her body* (JG.72), *aw hed tae keep the hens ongaen in* (from going in), *ye dee't yersel' tae haud any ither body ondeen't, the stobthaker hed a laib'rer tae haud him onrun up an' doon, tae haud the rucks onhaet (onhet)* (so that the ricks would not heat up).

3. A doubtless secondary creation on the model of St.E. accusative + present participle after prepositions is shown by the following expressions. Here the subject of the past participle is not identical with that of the main verb.

<i>he did it</i>	<i>on me</i>	<i>tell't him</i>
<i>aw hed come ben</i>	<i>on him</i>	<i>said a word</i>
<i>aw widna dee't</i>	<i>on ma fader</i>	<i>bidd'n me</i>
<i>they cud get a drappie fae their neepor on anybody kent it.</i>		

This is a very close approach to the St.E. idiom, so close that under its influence the present participle also can be heard; e.g. *he's deen't on hiz* (us)

tellin' 'im. It would be wrong to assume *hae'in* (having) to have dropped out, as if it had been at one time *on ma fader hae'in bidd'n me*.

The difficulties in the way of a satisfactory explanation are twofold. Beside the change of voice there is the change of tense to be accounted for. German *ungegessen*, Swiss **i het ter da æonə u'kluəgəl sægə** = *aw cud a tel't ye onseen't* or **da heti u'tselt kōyst** = *aw wida ken't oncoontit* (I would have known without counting) seem to be active but at the same time perfect: 'without having seen, counted'. Our *on-* forms, on the other hand, are tenseless, showing no regard to time or rather taking the time of the main verb:

<i>dee't</i>	<i>on me tell't ye</i>	present
<i>u'll dee't</i>	<i>on ye tell't me</i>	future
<i>a've deen't</i>	<i>on ye tell't me</i>	perfect

Whatever the tense of the main verb, the *on-* + past participle is applicable to it. *he's deen't on me haen tell't him* would not be altogether impossible, but it is superfluous and therefore not used.

Both the peculiarities of these participles have been met with in the fourth type of past participles. *The caa'r* (calves) *widna thrive onsookit* (without their sookin). The same difference is visible between *gleyin* and *gley't*: *He canna look at me ongley't* (without a squint; every time he looks at me he is *gleyin'*). *He's weel spok'n* and *he canna sit onspok'n a wurd* are fully identical in sense and use.

The fact that the past participle is felt to be active does not render it impossible to express a passive notion. We simply put the passive infinitive into the past participle: *awat ye may tak' a nievefu onbeen miss't* (JG.67); *a widna dee't onbeen paid*; *a body cudna 'a deen't onbeen thrash'n*; *a body cudna 'a come near onbeen stangt, a wud a gaen oot o' that hoose onbeen bidden kiss a caup* (JG.215); *fa cud hear the like o' yon onbeen roos't* (roused: JG.229); *it's nae i' the naitur o' man to gang on year aifter year plewin, an' del'in [...] onbeen a kin' o' thirled to the vera rigs themsel's* (JG.244). N.B. *she gaed hame onkiss't* would naturally be taken to mean she went home without kissing anyone. The passive 'without being kissed' would be rendered by *onbeen kiss't*.

Like the passive infinitive, any modal infinitive can be turned into the *on-* + past participle.

<i>ye widna be fit for a day's wark</i>	<i>onbeen weel sleepit</i>
<i>ye cudna dee't</i>	<i>ongott'n drunk.</i>
<i>he held me</i>	<i>ongott'n creepit oot.</i>

ye canna get it

onhaen to pay

§206. The Infinitive

As a rule the infinitive is preceded by the preposition *tae* or *tull*. *it's owre far tae gyang, [he] preten's till hae learnt fairmin* (JG.208), *they war owre dear bocht till agree wi her constiteetion* (JG.43). The difference between *tae* and *tull* seems to be a purely phonetic one, *tae* before consonants and *tull* before vowels. *tae* is therefore mostly used before the simple infinitive, *tull* before the past infinitive. **tə biː** but rarely **tɪ biː**; **tɫə biːn** but rarely **təə biːn**. When the last form is used it is mostly contracted into **tə biːn**, i.e. the auxiliary *have* gets submerged in the preposition, whilst after **tɪ** (*tull*) it is preserved. Euphonics are the deciding factor.

The old Northern preposition *at*, corresponding to Modern Icelandic *að*-, is not altogether extinct. It is supposed to be in *adee* (Jespersen 8.72): *I've naething adee wi' women's wark* (JG.47), *they wud aye be getting' 't adee* (JG.89), *Fat's adee wi' ye* (what's the matter with you), *I'm seer fowk wudna ken fat to dee* (JG.72). After *need* the preposition in JG. is spelt 'a. *fowk wud needa tak' care* (JG.72), *we'll need 'a gae doon* (JG.108).

The preposition is missing after the modal verbs *will, shall, may, maun, can* and partly *daur*, and the verbs *bid, gar*. *The mistress bad's seek some preens fae ye* (told me to get...: JG.36), *he was bidd'n plype* (plump into the water) *fan the jaw* (wave) *cam'*, *they sud ... gar him live upo' saut herrin'* (Gl.91), *little wud gar me dee't, u'll gar 'im dee't, it near gart me greet* (it made me almost cry).

The following modal verbs have the infinitive with the preposition after them. Note the difference in use of *tae* and *tull*.

hae: *aw hed tae gyang, aw wudna haen tae gyang, u'll hae tae be dyaun, aw wuda haen t'la gaen.*

need: *ull need tae gyang, ye widna need t'la been tell't, ye wudna not tae run, ye wudna not t'la run.*

beet: *he beet te gyang, he beet t'la gaen* (hardly used in the negative sense).

ocht: *aw ocht tae gyang eynoo, aw ocht t'la gaen, aw ochtna tae dee't, aw ochtna t'la deen't.*

It should be understood that *tae* can take the place of *tull* and vice versa.

N.B. *not* (preterite of *need*) with the enclitic negation *-na* takes the infinitive without preposition. *they notna 'a latt'n oot their breath upo' her* (JG.72).

The verb *daur*, as a transitive = ‘to challenge’, always has the preposition:⁴⁸ *u’ll daur ye dee’t; he daurd me tae jump*. The intransitive verb = ‘to dare, venture’ has both forms, *daur onybody say aw was vrang: daur anybody tae say...*

The bare infinitive is used after a comparative expression where St.E. requires either the gerund or a finite form: [*he’s*] *mair o’ a gentleman nor dee onything o’ the kin’* (JG.115), *he’s mair o’ a man than lauch at the peer breet, ye ocht tae ken better nor come tae me, I cam to you reddie than gyaung to Willie Wicht* (G1.93), *hooever, there wasna as muckle’s dee naebody gryte skaith* (JG.215), *as muckle corn’s buy* (as would buy) *a’ that stuff for aetin’* (BB.47), *he wis never siccan a feel as ca’ himsel’ oot o’ the shouter about me* (G1.83), *he’s nae eese but sleep an’ eat, better till ’er tak’ ane o’ ’er fader’s ploughmen* (JG.175), *better tae me gyang noo* (I had better go now).

Gender

§207. The gender is as in St.E. natural, i.e. it agrees with the sex. Instead of the neuter, however, the personal genders are often used, particularly when speaking of lifelike objects that move. A machine, therefore, is almost invariably referred to as *she*.

§208. The Natural gender.

Apart from the St.E. terms for family relations we have the following: Relations brought about through marriage are denoted by *gweed*: *the gweedmither* (mother-in-law); married man and woman are referred to as *the gweedman, gweedwife* **ɪz ðə gwɪd'wəɪf ɛn?** Parents refer to each other as *ma man, ma wife*. When Mrs. Will is inquired about as in JG.44 *Did the wifie Wull come hame wi yer aunt?* it is considered slighting. *widow (widi)* and *widow ’oman* are both used. *widower (wid)*⁴⁹ is the common term, *widow-man* is rare.

A collective term for the whole sib or relationship is *-ation efn*.

Very common is the direct use of *woman, man, loon, lassie, laddie* along with a vocative or interjection. *Hoot, ’oman, it’s ower sairious for jokin’* (JG.74), [*Gweed*] *keep’s, ’oman, did ye hear that?* (ibid.), *Eh, man, but it’s fushionless-like stuff!* (JG.67), *Man, aw wud like richt weel ...* This is found even along with proper names: *Noo, Patie, man, fa’ll ...* (JG.126).

⁴⁸ [*Sic* in both manuscript and typescript; but of the two examples given one has the preposition and the other has not.]

⁴⁹ [*Sic*, with a blank between the **d** and the bracket. Probably (**widiur**).]

§209. Pet names are commonly formed by shortening or splitting Christian names:

Airchie (**e·rtʃe**), *Baldie* [**balɔ**] from Archibald
Alec (**alɛk**), *Sandie* (**sandɪ**) from Alexander
Samie (**same**), *Harrie* (**hare**), *Willie* (**wʌle**).
Eppie (**epe**) for [Elspeth]
Chrisie (**krɪse**), *Chirstie* (**kɪrste**) for Christina

In a similar way farmers are named after their farms. The farmer of Yonderton is known as *Yontie*; Crossbrae: *Crossie*; Stracherie: *Strochie*; Braeside: *Braesie* (**bre·zi**); Midhaddo: *Midsie* ('I saw Midsie': **a sa mɪdzi**); Kingsford: *Kingsie*; Pitdousie (**pɪdu·lzi**); Douler (**du·lɪr**); Towie Barclay: *Towie*. From these short forms the farm is again termed by the possessive case: *he aichts Yonties* (he owns Yonderton).

These genitives may next be applied to the farmers themselves. Cotburn: *Coties*; Slack-a-dale: *Slackies*; Auchmill: *Achies*; Ordley: *Airdies* (**e·rdiz**); *Gushets* (**gʌʃɛts**), the farmer of Gushetneuk (JG.36); *Clinkies*, the farmer of Clinkstyle (JG.37).

Another group of short-names are derived from the profession or the place of work: *watchie* (watchmaker); *gamie* (**ge·me**) gamekeeper; *molie* (**mɔle**) molecatcher; *postie* (**pɔste**) postman; *hirdie* (**hɛrdi**) cowherd; *hennie* (**hene**) henwife (JG.223); *tinkie* (**tɪŋki**) tinker; *toonzie* (**tu·ndi**) toonkeeper = the man in charge of the cattle on Sundays.⁵⁰

§210. Appellative expressions⁵¹

Billie, *chiel*, *loon* (son, fellow); e.g. *ma loon*; *loons and quines*; *the loons at a toon* (farm-servants); *stock*, *carl*: *he's nae a bad carl* (this is not contemptuous like Icelandic *karl* (**karl**), even in the phrase *he's a gey grim carl*); *breet* in *peer breet* for a man is a kindly expression of sympathy; *craitur*; *ablach* (an awkward fellow); *a roit nickum* (a mischievous youngster); *cove* (*nae a bad cove* = fellow),⁵² *hurb* (*a hungry hurb* is belittling and contemptuous for a woman); *limmer*: *the dooble limmer*

⁵⁰ [Cf J.M. Caie's poem *Lowsin' Time*, in which the speaker, finishing work on a Saturday evening, looks forward to a leisurely Sunday, only to recall in the last line "Ach! My day tae keep the toon! I clean forgot!"]

⁵¹ [Some gaps occur in the ms. in this section; editorial judgement has been applied when necessary.]

⁵² [This example is in the manuscript with a faint pencil line through it, and not in the typescript. The usage is not in the DSL, and has no Scottish attestations in the OED.]

(worthless woman; term of reproach: JG.50);⁵³ *thing: peer thing* (for a person it is sympathetic: JG.60); *jaud* ('jade'; abusive expression for a woman).

Among the livestock, minute differentiation is made according to sex and age.

Male	Female	The Young.
bull	coo (sg.), kye (pl.)	ca'f (sg.), caar (pl.)
stirk, stot, warkouse	heifer, coy, queyk	
tup, ram, hog, wither	yowe, gimmer	lam'
g ld ⁵⁴	mere	foal, frog, clip, colt
boar	soo	
billie-goat	nannie goat	kid
dog, hun'	bitch	fulp, pup
cock	(clockin') hen	chuck'ns

⁵³ [In fact, in this quotation *dooble* has the more specific meaning of "two-faced, cheating".]

⁵⁴ [Sic. in both ms. and typescript. The meaning is unclear: the obvious suggestion would be *geld*, but there are no attestations of this word as a noun; and even *gelding* for a castrated male horse is not a Scottish usage.]

§211. Personal gender transferred to objects.

Feminine are;

Rivers: *she's a gey fast water fyles* (Deveron)
a've sweemt across 'er

Buildings: *they're thinkin' o stappin' an organ int'l 'er* (the Kirk)

Tools, machines: *I hivna a pleuch ava; she's disappeared* (Gl.76)
ca' 'er (thrashing mill) *a' tae shaaps* (Gl.58),
she's (the kettle) *a'fu' hait*.

The moon (**mi·n**) *it's the first day o 'er* (new moon)

The sun (**sɛn**) is masculine.

The Article

§212. The basis for the indefinite article is the Old English numeral *ān*, in our dialect *een* (**i·n**). The special, mostly proclitic, conditions to which the article has been subject evolved special weakened forms: *a* (**ə**), *an* (**ən**) and under stress *ae* (**e:**).

These three forms are met with in St.E.; but in the Buchan dialect the first two are differently distributed and the last has another aspect and use. *ae* (**e:**) is the cardinal in dependent, adjectival position, corresponding to *een*, the independent form; St.E. has *one* instead. *aw saw 'm ae mornin; ae awfu' hait day she was ...*⁵⁵

a (**ə**) is largely used in front of vowels where the St.E. rule demands *an* (**ən**): *a preen wudna hae a ee; sicca eesfu' thing* (**sɪkə i'sfə θɪŋ**); *about a oor syne; a 'ear or twa syn'*; *a aiks* 'an axe'. *an*, however, can also be heard: *an ouk at the Walls* 'a week at the Wells' (JG.11); *aw ran an eeran; ye ken 'an 'oman's wut's in her foreheid'* (JG.175).

The definite article has but one form, *the* (**ðə**); (**ðɪ**) in front of vowels is not heard. **ðə i:r** 'the year', **ðə ɔrə man** 'the orra man', **ðə ɑ:l stɔk** 'the aul' stock', **ðə ər n ɔt** 'the end of it'.

§213. Special use of the Article.

The definite article is required:

1. With expressions of place:

they gaed awaa tae the skweel; he jookit (dodged) *the skweel; sin' aw was at the skweel* (JG.88); *was ye at the Kirk?*; *gyaun to the kirk* (JG.66); *fan he gaed*

⁵⁵ [*She* does not refer to *day*: the meaning is "On one very hot day, she was [clause incomplete]".]

to the toon (the nearest market town; in our case Turriff (**tarɛ**): JG.62); *aw was jist dyaun up the stair; he's doon the stair* ('upstairs' is an Anglicism); *I wud hae them roupit oot at the door* (JG.15).

For rhythmical reasons, it seems, the article can be missing: *he hed tae skweel tae gyang, he hed tae toon tae gyang*, but: *he hed tae the kirk tae gyang*.

2. With the accusative, expressions of unit (distributive use):

fower times i the day; a shillin' the pun', the heid; we hed a gweed stoot stick the piece (= each: JG.107); *sellin' by (bi) the dizzen, by the lippie; to be fee't* (engaged) *by the 'ear, the half 'ear; he gets sae muckle i the 'ear; he comes eens i the fortnicht; wi' the half o' their claes aff* (JG.114); *I'll wyte the half o' that time* (JG.207); *it's the quarter past six* (JG.142).

3. With the names of the seasons:

sin' ever that skweel meetin i' the spring (JG.136); *aboot the time o' the herrin* (JG.38).

4. With the names of school subjects and professions:

that's the buik that they get the Laitin oot o', is't? (JG.60); *your wye winna be the same's his wi' the coontin* (JG.88); *I was never that deen ill at the readin' ... an syne the vreetin'* (JG.90); *he's been wi' im for mair nor twa year, leernin' the law* (JG.184); *they'll be begun to the herrin' gin than* (herring fishing: JG.38).

5. With the names of ailments and diseases:

a've the teethick (toothache); *a've the heidick* but also *a heidick*, cf. Swiss **i ha s xopfwe**;

he's takin' sair to the drink (JG.116); *he's dyaun sair tae the drink*.

6. With stock phrases:

dinna tak' the huff (don't get annoyed: JG.22); *he'll no lowp the stank so easy wi' Maister Saun'ers*⁵⁶ (compete with: JG.31); *he gied me the wyle* (German *die Wahl*, the choice); *sairin' the fremt* (*in (fremdem) Dienst stehn*); *tae gae awa' to the frem't* (away from home, *in die Fremde*: JG.199) cf. Swiss **i pfoendi**; *gyaun aifter the bak* (to go backward); *aw hinna naething ahin' the han'* (put aside, saved); *at the lang length*; (JG.128); *tho' she sud gie her heid a bit cast files at the first* (JG.127); *i' the coorse o' the winter* (JG.73); *i' the coorse o' the sizzon* (JG.44); *the tea's i' the deid thra'* (death throe, i.e. half cold); *he's waur i' the bark nor he's i' the bite; oot o' the ordinar*

⁵⁶ [In both the ms. and the typescript the *no* and *so* of this quote are altered to *nae* and *sae*; but the speaker is described as a "Celtic landlady", and her speech is not identical to the Buchan dialect of the other characters.]

(extraordinary, bye-ordinar: JG.231); *he wudna ca't a' to the gowff* (to ruin: JG.209); *i' the hin'er en'*; **a wiz ʌp bɪ ðə skreːç ə deː** (screech: i.e. the break of day).

The instrumental, OE *p̄y*, is the same as in St.E., indicating difference. *sae muckle the waur for ye* (JG.28); *he'll pay the mair; mithnin he dee wi' the less coontin'?* (JG.59).

§214: The Indefinite Article stands:

1. With cardinal numerals in the sense of 'about', a usage now obsolete in St.E. except in *a few* and (under its influence?) *a good many*, cf. Jespersen *Syntax* 4971. *there's a twa hun'er acre on't; that's a gweed thirty year syne* (JG.244); *a five, sax month syne; to gae doon to the Walls for an aucht days or siclike* (JG.270).

With *twal month* and *sax month* the article is to be taken in its normal meaning, the two words being substantives or felt as such.

2. With parts of the body in a figurative sense.

I hear a fit (someone moving: JG.21); *he cudna gyang a fit* (a step);⁵⁷ *they hinna a fit tae stan' apo'* (JG.142); *he vreet a bonnie han'* (JG.190); *aw hiv a fine rid han' ey noo* (nothing particular to do); *till we get a han' at ...; he hed on a fa'se face; he ocht to keep a ceevil tongue in's heid* (JG.101); *he's laid up wi' a sair wyme* (stomach).⁵⁸

No article is used with nouns that are considered proper names, at least not in the singular number. *Gweed bless ye; Deil* (the devil) *speed ye for a loon!*; *Shetland* (**jetlən, fitlən**) but *the Hielan's, the Orkneys*.

Names of rivers are treated alike, rivers being or having been personified. In German, rivers are therefore given a personal gender; in our dialect they are feminine, cf. §211. There is no need for pointing to the absence of the article with river names in Gaelic and its probable influence. Our dialect has simply preserved the conditions prevailing in OE., when *Temes* was the only form known for the Thames (cf. Sweet §2037), in old German (MHG, *Nibelungenleid* 918 *si wolden über Rîn* (across the Rhine), 859 *der Künic von Rîne*, etc.), in Icelandic today: *Rangá* (the crooked water), *Hvítá* (the white water) etc. Already in MHG and ME, the article is met with: *Nibelungenleid* 851 *den vursten vonme Rîne*, Walther von den Vogelweide *von der Elbe und*

⁵⁷ [Though alternatively *fit* in this quotation could refer to the measure of distance.]

⁵⁸ [It is not clear why Dieth takes this example to be "figurative"; though the use of "sore" for ailments such as indigestion or headaches was formerly classed as a Scotticism.]

an den Rîn. In St.E. and St.G. the article is the rule; where it occurs in our dialect it must be labeled as an anglicism. Examples: *are ye dyaan tae wide* (wade) *Dev'ron wi's?*; *it was across Dev'ron*; *North of Forth*; *twixt Tay an' Spey*.

Conversely, the article has been dropped with place-names which at one time must have been ordinary appellative nouns. Farms are called *Mill o' —*, *Chapel o' —*, *Mains o' (say) Balmaud (bəl'ma'd)*. The article is retained in the local speech of Newburgh (ɪ ðə 'ni'bərə);⁵⁹ cf. Swiss *im Kloster* locally for the standardized *in Klosters*.

3. With Romance genitives.

i' the middle o' nicht; *at this time o' nicht* (JG.220); *afore the skreech o' day* (before daybreak, cf. Dutch *het kriecken van den dag*); *the eyn o' hairst*, *the gab* (mouth, i.e. beginning) *o' May (məɪ)*; *it's nae cock o' hen*, *it's cock* (spigot) *o' bowie* (cask: Gl.48); *a sair sma' o' back* (Gl.48) but *I got a powk i the sma' o' ma back*.

4. With predicative nouns.

it was awfu' dubby road (mucky); *fat like path wis't?*; *aw thocht there wad be din* (there would be a row); *I ance was neepours wi' a chap 't cud 'a deen that* (contaminated with 'we were neighbours': JG.89).⁶⁰

5. With stock phrases.

to hae wull, *dinna play scavie wi' 't* (do not trifle with it); *stan', sit at peace*; *flee'in about on idle seat*, *u'll tak on (in) han' tae dee't ey noo*; *aw gaed tae Turra on fit*; *a'm nae in (workin) fettle the day*; *a'm nae in great binner*; *it gar't ma hair stan' on eyn*.

§215: The Numerals

i n	ə'ləɪn	θɪrte	ðə fɪrst	ə'ləɪvnt
twa:	twaɪ	forte	sekənt	twalt
θri:	'θɪrti n	fɛfte	θɪrd	'θɪrti nt
fʌʊr	'forti n	sakste	fort	twɪntiət
fʌ'ev	'fɛfti n	səɪvnti	fɛft	hʌnɛrt ⁶¹
saks	'saksɪ n	axte	sakst	θu'zɪnt
səɪvn	'səɪvnti n	nəmti	səɪvnt	
axt	'axti n	ə hʌnər	axt	

⁵⁹ [This pronunciation, if authentic, is interesting, since the dialect cognate of *new* is [nɛɪu].]

⁶⁰ [The explanation is doubtfully necessary: the analogous phrase *I ance wes freins wi him* "I once was friends with him" is common in both Scots and SSE.]

⁶¹ [hʌnər and hʌnɛrt sic]

nəm	'nəmti'n	θu'zɪn	nəmt
te'n	twɪntɪ	i'n, twa: θu'zn ⁶²	tent

The suffix *-t* of the ordinal numbers is historical with cardinals ending in *-s*, *-f*, (**fæft** > OE *fiffta*, **sakst** > OE *sixta*). By analogy with these the others have replaced *-p* by *-t*. In St.E. the analogy worked the other way: *fifth*, *twelfth* (Jespersen 2624).

een is confined to the independent use. Before nouns, in the adjective function *ae* (e:) takes its place. *we've kill't twa dogs wi' ae steen; puckles o' the gentry gets't deen in ae Sunday* (JG.97); *ye're the ae best han' at gedderin' a' the clacks* (gossip: JG.233).

ae: ither: the brod (collecting box in church)⁶³ *cud never keep the tae half o' them* (JG.98); *Nyod, lassie, the tae half o' that creaturs [hens] 's never seen meal's corn* (JG.114); *the wisna ae steen abeen anither; we bidet* (stayed) *in ae hoose an' Widow Wull at anither* (JG.44); *the tae corbie winna pyke oot the tither's ee* (JG.122); *the tae side was sheetin'* (shooting) *an' the tither sheetin' back* (JG.224).

Tither with the agglutinated *t-*, the common spelling in JG., is still the rule⁶⁴ in the nominal function: *at ae eyn an' at the ither een; an the tither twa* (JG.113).

'one more + [noun]', 'no more + [noun]', are rendered by *ae ither*, *nae ither*: *lat me see ye tak' jist ae ither gweed waucht o't* (JG.32); *fat ye cud dee 't nae ither man cud dee* (JG.119).

een 'one': *there's mair wyes o' tellin' the trowth nor een* (JG.203); *oh, that kin' o eens; mony een plays waur mistak's* (JG.231); *they drappit aff hame een an' een* (JG.111); *it's aneuch to gar een's bleed boil* (JG.41); *jist sax i' the een an' half-a-dizzen i' the ither* (JG.79).⁶⁵

neen 'none': *there's neen o' 's fader's faim'ly requarin' to work wi' their han's* (JG.60); *ye gyauna's neen* (sc. *preens*) *last* (JG.36); (also in the singular) *that wis neen*⁶⁶ *o' his bizziness* (JG.115); *nane o' yer jaw, min*

⁶² [**θu'zɪn** and **θu'zn** sic.]

⁶³ ["Extended to mean the money from the church collection which is given to the poor of the parish": SND]

⁶⁴ [In the ms., the phrase "...is rather the exception than the rule now" has been altered to "... is still the rule in the nominal function"; but the first quotation is a converse example.]

⁶⁵ [So in the ms., but in the texts quoted the word is actually (and unexpectedly) written *ane*.]

⁶⁶ [*nane* in the text. Alexander's inconsistent use of *een/ane* and *neen/nane* has no obvious explanation.]

(JG.92). Used adverbially, = ‘not at all’: *didna ye traffike neen wi’ common fowk?* (JG.86); *but I sud partan neen wi’ ’er* (I should have nothing to do with her as regards *partans*, crabs: JG.43); *I dinna doot that neen* (JG.119); *bits o’ the corn wud be neen waur o’ a gweed shooer* (JG.37).

Twa-three = some, a few: *an’ twa three o’ them gya’ a roar o’ a lauch*.

§216: The Adjective has no inflection. The only change it undergoes is the comparison, [marked as in St.E. by the suffixes *-er* and *-est*]. Unlike St.E. the dialect can add these suffixes to di- and polysyllabic words. *the awfu’est deevlick o’ a crater* (Gl.129); *there’s nae a capitaller mizzourer o’ grun* (JG.57); *aw’m seer decenter or mair neebourly fowk ye wudna get* (JG.116). There is really no limit to the Germanic method of comparing adjectives. The comparison by adverb (**me’r**, **mest**) is not unknown, but rarely needed, since a dialect speaker is hardly familiar with polysyllabic adjectives of Latin derivation; *mair satisfactory* can be said, but sounds decidedly foreign. Wherever possible our dialect tries to help itself without it. *Capitaller* is kept within three syllables **kapitlär** by de-syllabizing **l**. *Mair* does not carry enough weight to express the relative comparative: *it’s aiven mair seriouser at a time like this* (JG.102). It is more natural with the absolute comparative: *[he’s] nae mair fit to be minaiſter o’ a pairis’ nor ...* (JG.131),

The particles for comparative clauses:

than after a comparative is rendered by *nor* (**nor**, **nər**) or *an* (**an**, **ən**): *this road’s nairro’er an / nor that een*; *ye’re better at figures an me / nor me*; *we’re nae waur nor ither fowk, nor yet sae ill’s plenty* (JG.96); *he’s heicher an ony o’s*; *he’s auler an me*.

The correlative particles are *as – as*, *nae sae – as*, of which the second is invariably incorporated: *as soon’s a bell*; *milk as blue’s a blivert, he’s an a’fu chap yon*,⁶⁷ *jist as daft’s ever, he’s as hame’s owre’s yersel’*;⁶⁸ *he’s nae sae heich’s ’is breeder*; *nae sae aul’s me*. The second *as* may introduce a consequential clause: *he was as coorse as aw threesh ’im the day* [‘he was so rude that I thrashed him today’].

The predicative comparative and superlative have the article only when defined: *fat’neen’s youngest?*; *faa’s laid’s heichest?*; *fitch o’ ye’s aulest?*; *he’s the aulest o’s*. Referring to a noun mentioned before, it usually has *een* after it: *the twa sma’est eens, he hed a littler een* (caup) *tae haud’s milk in*.

⁶⁷ [This is not an example of the point being illustrated.]

⁶⁸ [Sic. *hame’s ower* is probably for *hameower*: this form is not cited in the SND, and the source of the quotation is not identified.]

The irregular comparison differs from St.E. in the following:

far farrer farrest: *I'se gae nae farrer nor 'imsel' (JG.131);*
 till ye come tae the faurest awa' corner (Gl.50).

near nearer neist: *the neist thing;*
 wyte till nearer the term (Gl.80).

ull waur waurst: *ye'll be neen the waur o' a piece (Gl.77);*
 fat's waurst like wi' ye.

aul auler aulest *her aulest sin; the auler fowk (Gl.74).*

Forms with Umlaut are not known.

From adverbs of place, superlatives are derived by means of *-most (mist)*, which need not be a weakened form of *me'st*, but may well represent the old double superlative *-mest*.

inmost: *the inmost in a raw (row).*

benmost: *the benmost eyn o' a hoose.*

ootmost: *rax doon the pirn, the ootmost een.*

eemost (i·mist): *he's maybe ris'n wi the vrang side eemist (upmost).*

nethmost: *till the vera nethmost shall o' the lamp's dry (JG.87).*

tapmost: *the tapmost brainch.*

formost: *he was formost wi' his wark (the first, leading).*

hin'most: *the hin'most stook's lead, the hin'most we saw o' 'im.*

Of the last there is an alternative form through assimilation: *heemist: the first and the heemist een.*

The opposite effect of toning down, generalising a statement has *-like* added to an adjective; it often conveys the idea of St.E. 'as it were'. It is one of the expressions the frequency of whose use partly depends on the temperament. A determined person would use it more sparingly. *The breeks is lichtsomer like:* 'the trousers are, as it were, less heavy' (when tied up with a kneestrap); *he's jist a kin' o' daumer't i' the heid like* (stupefied: JG.56); *I was thinkin' 'im luikin jist rael wainish't-like aboot the queets* (as if he were vanishing, i.e. shrunken: JG.199); *he's a nice like loon.*

muckle and *little* have a double meaning, that of (1) size, (2) quantity (the latter also in St.E.): *we hinna muckle taties* = (1) our potatoes are all small, (2) we did not grow many potatoes. Speaking of two sisters we discriminate *the muckle een* (or *big een*): *the littl'een* (or *sma' een*). *there's nae muckle*

fowk (also *monie fowk*) *on the road yet; foo muckle are ye seekin?* The comparative *muckler* is confined to the first meaning (size) and there again to the attributive position: *he has a muckler toon nor me but his toon's bigger nor mine*. The comparative in the other sense is *mair*; *less* on the other hand stands for both:

<i>muckle</i>	<i>little</i>
<i>muckler</i> <i>mair</i>	<i>less</i> <i>less</i>

tyavin' (toiling) *mair gin we sud dee; I'll gie ye a pucklie mair; lippnin' till a muckle price afore hairst, ye may get a less* (JG.37); *nae less nor twa hun'er an' sixty-one protested* (JG.41); *I never tyeuk less nor fourteen* (JG.44).

muckle in the first sense is interchangeable with *big*. It is, however, not used in *the big hoose* (the Laird's house); cf. *she earn't at the big hoose. the big half = maist o't, the faik o't*.

eneuch (**m'jux**) is, like French *assez de*, mostly connected with the noun by *o'*. The plural is generally **mju o**. *aw hed eneuch adee wintin't*, but also *eneu adee. fan your fader was able to gi'e's faimily aneuch o' onything* (JG.49), *we hivna eneu' o' sticks tae pit by Sunday*.

weel and *ull* are used adjectively where St.E. would or might have 'good' and 'bad'. *it's weel at he's deen't tae ye; did she say ony ull upo' me?* (JG.96); *there's you turn't up again like the ull penny; the maister was in a terrible ill teen* (bad humour: JG.96); *it's an ill servan' 't's nae worth's maet* (JG.15).

ain (**e'æn**) 'own', preceded by the possessive pronoun. *nain*, the agglutinated form, regularly met with in JG. is no longer heard. *aw hed ma ain adee; he took his ain life; is't yer ain sel; it's yer ain wyte* (fault); *aw cud hardly ca' ma heid ma ain, we gaed awaa on wer⁶⁹ ain*.

sic means not only 'of a certain kind' but 'of what a kind'. *it's jist sic man sic mester; look sic a road he's dyaun*.

gey (French *gai*) is very commonly used, but in a wider sense which admits of application with almost any noun. *That's gey* is an expression suggesting that the speaker appreciates the importance and impressiveness of what he has been told. In the scale of importance it conveys a fairly high grade. *That's a gey shooer* = rather, quite a good attempt at a shower. *That's a gey story* = (1) a rather dreadful story or (2) an incredible story. *A gey loon* = (1) well into

⁶⁹ [Sic, though this is not a usual spelling. Quotation not identified.]

the period of life during which a boy is described as a loon; (2) not well behaved.

A number of adjectives are restricted to predicative use. They are generally of some special origin.

to be + a- compound:

alike : *we're a' voters alike noo* (JG.26).

a-gley: *ye're a' agley*.

a-hin': *ye'll be ahin'*.

aweers (to feel like):⁷⁰ *a was aweers o' thrashin 'im, o nae dyaun farer*.

to be + participle adjective:

made: *the nyags (nags) was sair made wi' their laids (loads); am made o' ma supper, o' deein' naething* (tired of).

come: *he's nae near a' thegither come* (Gl.81).

ettlin': *a'm jist ettlin' tae wun at 'im*.

lang: *they're lang o' winnin' oot the nicht; foo lang it'll be ere the cat there kittle* (Gl.114).

like: *she's like tae brak' 'er hert aboot him* (Gl.78); *it's like tae be rain*.

A peculiar idiom is *to have + acc. + adj.* In St.E. it would be a predicative expression to which the cause is added by 'with'. 'The paper is black with the smoke' runs in our speech *the reek has the paper black*. *The wither has this room damp; this reek his them [cogs, i.e. wooden pails] as broon as berries* (BB.21); *ye hinna't vera clear* (you don't fully understand it); *aw hiv't gey clear* (I know it well by heart).

An adjective can, without formal alteration, be used as an adverb of manner, just as in German: *that's nae vera easy deen* (JG.9); *I'm easy physicket* (JG.32); *wus ye sleepin' terrible soun', Jinse?* (JG.22); *they war owre dear bocht* (JG.43); *ye've seerly been sair ta'en up* (JG.86); *a chap 't cud 'a deen that, as exact 's ye like* (JG.89); *eh, aw dinna ken richt* (JG.96); *for a public speaker it [desk]'s unco crampit* (JG.103); *a've gaen a' steyt* (wrong), *ye're speakin' steyt*,⁷¹ *u'll keep ye fae thinkin' lang; it is a bious or gey caul' day; the feck o' 't's settin for a gey fair crappie* (JG.37); *a dreidfu, awfu' coorse nicht; it wis a fell coorse day*.

⁷⁰ [This is inaccurate: the form means "about to —, on the point of —ing".]

⁷¹ [These two examples (source unidentified) are doubtful: the second in particular should almost certainly be *ye're speakin' stite*: not a past participle of the verb *stey*, for which no sense would give this meaning, but a common noun meaning "nonsense".]

§217. **The Pronouns.** The personal pronoun has different forms according to its function and position in the sentence.

<i>Subject-form accented:</i>	ɑ·e	ju, i:	hi, fi, ɪt	wi	ðe
<i>unaccented:</i>	ɑ, ə, ʌ	ji	ɪ, fi, t		ðe⁷²
<i>Object form accented:</i>	mi·	ju	hɪm, hɪr, ɪt	hɪz, hʌz	ðem
<i>unaccented:</i>	mɛ, mʌ	ji	m, r, t	z	ðəm

The forms of the first line come out in contrast or under emphasis generally, cf. the skit on Byth:⁷³ **ken ji fa· ðat mɪθ bi· — di·lə ken ɑ·e ken i:?** [*Ken ye fa that mith be? — Deilie ken I; ken ee?*]; **am ðə le·rd o wɪdnɪz fi:l fa·z fi·l ɑr'i:?** [*I'm the Laird o Udney's feel; fa's feel are ee?*]⁷⁴ **ən ji⁷⁵ hɪd ðə me·tən o ðəm z ɑ·e he·** [*an'ye hed the maetin o' them 's I hae*] 'if you had to cook for them as I have' (JG.50); **ɑ kanə θɪŋk o oneθɪŋ kud i:** [*I canna think o onything, could ee?*] **dɪnə i: lat on** [*dinna ee lat on*] 'do not let anybody see'; often with the inversion **fɪnt ə he·r ke·r ɑ·e** 'not a hair do I care'; **se· div ɑ·e.**

The forms of the second and fourth lines are reduced in bulk owing to their lack of stress in proclitic and enclitic positions. *aw wud dee't ɑ wʌd di:t; I've been əv bi:n; I'll dee't ʌl di:t; faur'll aw pit... fa·r lə pɪt* 'where will I put...'. In choosing between a number of things: emphatic **fʌtni·n wɪd i: tak** 'which would you take'.

The object forms are invariably incorporated: *aw saw'm, saw't* etc. In the 3rd plural this is not so easily done: **ɪt fortʃəm⁷⁶** 'it shortens them (the days)'; **ɪts ne⁷⁷ wʌrθt** 'it's not worth it'; **ðat setsji** or **setʃi** 'that sets you = suits you'; The difference between subject and object form of the 2nd person is somewhat blurred. Correct: *Ye raelly wud need a bit shalt to cairry you no* (JG.173); *the fear o' [...] you gyaun tae the boddom o' the sea, ye wud seen...* (JG.17); *I wud raither gi'e you the prefairence* (JG.26); but: *she bad's seek some preens fae ye* (JG.36); *we was lippenin on ye.*

⁷² [No form is given for the first singular subject unaccented, but the expected one would be **wɪ.**]

⁷³ [The reference to "the skit on Byth" is uncertain, but cf. p.10, fn.15: the series *Swatches o Hamespun* from this publisher includes numerous "skits".]

⁷⁴ [Attributed to Jamie Fleeman. See John B. Pratt, *The Life and Death of Jamie Fleeman, the Laird of Udney's Fool*, first published 1831, facsimile edition Turriff: Heritage, 1980.]

⁷⁵ [*Sic*, but since a contrast is implied the expected form would be **ji·.**]

⁷⁶ [*Sic*, but the second *f* should certainly be *s*.]

⁷⁷ [A length mark here would be expected.]

You is the only form in the vocative or when accompanied by a noun: *Roun', Jess — wo — still, you thing* [to a horse] (JG.47); *You lads, wud ony o'ye gie' me...?*

The transfer of *you* from the accusative to the nominative has taken place in St.E too; not, however, in the other persons. In our and the other Scottish dialects *me, him, her, huz, them* stand for the subject in the following circumstances:

(1) when the subject is separated from the verb by a numeral, noun or relative sentence: *We gaed* (we went) but *huz twa gaed* or else with a different construction *the twa o's gaed, hiz kin' o fowk a' has them* (unlike *oor kin' o' fowk a' has them* this clearly includes the speaker); *them that buys beef buys banes* (JG.174); *an' you that's el'yers never sees...* (JG.216).

(2) when the verb is to be added from the previous clause, as the question, or a comparison: *Faa did it? — Hiz; them; ye was there as weel's me* (JG.106).

(3) when the subject is double: *him an' me keest it up in a han' clap* (JG.57); *him and you can sattl't atween ye* (JG.185); *sin' him and me sleepit i' the aul' chaumerie thegither* (JG.170); *Peter an her tee wud 'a fain made oot...* (JG.257)

(4) as a predicative after *to be*: *gin I was her; Ou, it's you is't Molie?* (JG.145); *na, that's her an' oor Benjie, tee* (JG.256); *there's him an Willie M'Aul baith weel aneuch fit to be trustit* (JG.258).

(5) in an absolute form with a participle or predicative adjective: *an' them nedder able to manage their awcres themsel's; him nae ac'in upright an' hiz tyavin' here* (JG.15).

(6) as a single subject pronoun (rare): *an' me hed 'er in aboot at the Lodge* (JG.268).⁷⁸

(7) as a determinative.

⁷⁸ [This is not a simple replacement of the normal subject pronoun by *me*. The full quote is “Na, Hairry, but ye dee gar me ferlie; an' me hed 'er in aboot at the Lodge nae passin' aucht days syne.” The speaker (Meg Raffan, henwife and gossip-monger), discussing the family affairs of a farmer and his domineering wife (the “her” in the sentence), has been startled by a piece of information from her interlocutor; and the overtone is something like “I’m amazed at that—I had no inkling of it *even though* I spoke with the woman a few days ago”. The *me* in the second clause is an absolute rather than a subject pronoun, and the *hed* has the force of “having had” rather than standing as a finite verb. That is, the quote is a further example of the usage illustrated in the preceding paragraph.]

Just as *you* stands also for the singular *thou*, *thee*, thus the 1st plural *we* and *us* (or rather its reduced form –s) can take the place of *I* and *me*. The coalescence of the two numbers is not so complete in the first person as it is in the second. When used in the nominative it conveys like the *plural majestatis*⁷⁹ a statement with less directness; cf. Swiss **mər**⁸⁰ **wend luəgə, ɪ wil luəgə**. It is softer and more general: *we'se lat 'im rest's beens in peace* (JG.23); *gin ye dinna we'll ken fat wye to tak' an order o' ye* (JG.49); *we ken brawly that Gushets an' 's wife tee's awa' fae hame* (JG.22).⁸¹ In using this form the speaker is conscious of the plural number and therefore makes the possessive agree: *ye better come awa wi' oor preens at ony rate an' lat's be gyaun, or I'll get up my fit for bidin' sae lang* (JG.36).⁸²

us for 'me' can have the same connotation; the more commonly used *'s* is more colloquial and less dignified: *Wud ye gi'e 's a kiss gin aw war to dee't?* (JG.20); *My mither bad 's tell ye* (JG.38); *though the maister was in a terrible ill teen jist, about 's gyaun awa an' that, I was waur, gin waur cud wun, fan she scault 's* (scolded me: JG.96); *aw didna meet in wi' naebody belangin 's*.⁸³ *us* is invariably incorporated, as is natural with colloquial speech. In all these cases *me* might be used equally well.

With two pronominal objects, the word order observed is different from St.E., since the dative precedes the accusative, as in German *gib mir 's*. **hi gizmæt** (gives it me); **hiz gi nmæt**; **hiz gi njæt**; *an' awat ye've gi'en 's't richt gweed* (us [sg.] it: JG.117); *ere I cud mak' up my min' about tellin' ye't* (JG.119); *we gie's*⁸⁴ *them 't* (we give them (the nowt) it (the chaff)). With indefinite: *aw dinna like tae be due naebody naething*.

⁷⁹ [Apparently a term for “the royal ‘we’”.]

⁸⁰ *Mir*, a Swiss (or Alemannic) dialect form for the first person plural pronoun.

⁸¹ [In these three examples the usage is almost certainly nothing but a simple plural. In the first and third, which are taken from the same episode in the book, the speaker is one of two men and uses *we* throughout as speaking for himself and his companion; in the second, it is the farmer's wife mentioned in ft. 78 (previous page) addressing the fee't men (hired workers) and using *we* to imply that what she says represents the stance of her husband too.]

⁸² [Here the speaker is a servant girl addressing a merchant, and the implication of *oor preens* is that the pins belong to the household and not to her personally. The *us* in *lat 's be gyaun* is certainly an example of the plural pronoun used with a singular referent: as an object or indirect object this usage is still widely current.]

⁸³ [The source of this quote is not identified, but the sense certainly suggests that the plural *'s* refers to a group (perhaps a household) which the speaker assumes himself to be representing, not to the speaker alone.]

⁸⁴ [If the –'s is correct as a representation of an actual pronunciation, it illustrates the use of an -s ending in other forms than the 3rd singular to indicate general or habitual practice: that is, the form should be written *gies*, not *gie's*. The quote is unidentified.]

The possessive is often replaced by the preposition *o* + personal pronoun. With the 3rd singular neuter this is the only possible way of expression, since *its* is unknown. *Tak' aff the lid o't; an' we can coont about the price o't* (JG.60); *the chaumer door lyin' in shaars an' the hinges o't a' twisted* (Gl.86).

With the other persons some special effect is thereby achieved.

In connection with parts of the body it expresses contempt; it also gives a more emphatic word order: *canna ye haud the han's o' ye* (JG.239); *nae anither cheep oot o' the heids o' ye* (JG.49); *owre af'en! birst the stamacks o' ye* (JG.49); *till the verra guts o'm hack again* (Gl.91); *for a' the bouk* (bulk, size) *o' me* (Gl.125); *till the timmers o' her shak again* (of the mill: Gl.62); *wi' the twa muckle een o' him burnin like can'les in's heid* (Gl.18).

With reference to persons it singles out more emphatically. *ay, ay, the fader o' 'im was a lang-heidit schaimin carle* (JG.15); *I heard the clatter o' them* (JG.101); *the like o' them's aye yap* (JG.15); *the like o' 'er* (JG.50); *to lay the pride o' 'er the richt gate* (JG.242); *it's i' the vera natur o' 'im to lee* (JG.255).

thoo (thou) 2nd singular, which is still in use in several parts of Scotland (even north of Aberdeenshire, e.g. the Black Isle: cf. Grant & Dixon § 22) I have never heard.

3rd singular neuter. The emphatic form **hit** (OE *hit*), which is not uncommon on Deeside and further south (cf. Murray), has disappeared: i.e. the aspiration is left off. *ye're it jir et* (*du bist's*), to be the player whose turn it is to catch. *He wis terrible fleyt at it* (Gl.86).

it is used as an object where St.E. has an adverb and as a grammatical subject where St.E. would leave it out: *no, aw dinna think it* (very common: JG.38); *I'll need to gyaung to the kirk the morn, for I wisna in't last Sunday* (St.E. "there": Gl.115); *an' gin that war 't a'* (if that were all: JG.60).

Resuming the idea of the preceding clause: *ye wull mak' me licht-heidit gin ever a body was't* (JG.117); *we've been obleeg't till 'im mony a time an' may be't again* (JG.122).

it for St.E. *there* as grammatical subject: *it's awfu' dubby road* (the road is very mucky); *fin't cam' on rain, thunner*.

The simple personal pronoun can act as reflexive with a verb: *she lean't her doon* (JG.93); *tell Annie tae hist her doon bye* (BB.46); *Hist ye back!* More common after preposition: *the mear ... lays fae 'er like the vera deil* (Gl.75);

a horse is layin' fae 'im (kicking); *lay oot o' ye* (go at it!) As a rule, however, the reflexive is preferred now, i.e. the combination *masell*, *yersell*, etc. **mäsel**, **jirsel**, **ımsel**, **ırsel**, **ıtsel**, **wırsel** and **wırselz**, **jırselz**, **ðämsel**, **ðersel** and **ðerselz**. These forms serve various purposes: (1) purely reflexive: *aw saved masel'*, *aw hurtit masel'*; (2) emphatic reflexive: *he wis mutt'rin' t'l 'imsel'*; (3) emphatic nominative: *oot o' the road! u'll dee't masel'*; (4) adverbial for 'alone': *aw've deen't masel'*.

*Dinna tyauve yersel' at that;*⁸⁵ *will ye ever leern to conduct yersel'* (JG.121); *he'll jist hae tae tak' on 'imsel'* (to stick it); *she'll come tull 'ersel'*; *it's* (the calf has) *hang't itsel'* (Gl.107); *afore we ken't o' wırsel's* (before we are aware of it), *tak the wulls o' yersel'*; *to haud masel oot o langer* (Gl.82); *are they awa theirsel's?*; *they did it atween them twa' sel's*, or *themsels twa*.

In the function of emphatic personal pronoun: *fat's aye deein' wi' yersel'?*. Along with the subject-pronoun: *is she in 'irsel'*; *is he in 'imsel'*; *we shawv'd*⁸⁶ *them wırsel's*; *aw got a' this fae her hersel'* (JG.116).⁸⁷

⁸⁵ This section appears to illustrate different usages of the reflexive pronouns.

⁸⁶ The third letter of this word is unclear: *shawv'd* "sowed [seed]" is the most probable reading.

⁸⁷ In the text quoted the word *hersel'* is in italics: unmistakably an emphatic pronoun.