

Shaetlan

A primer

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(www.iheardee.com)



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Shaetlan is a structured language. Dis primer serves as a ineetial sketch o whit wye it wirks. Da comprehensive grammar o da language at'll come efter'll be avaelable here:

<https://www.iheardee.com/shaetlan/shaetlan-grammar-dictionary>

Dis primer is ey bein updaetit. Firbye dat, da URL abün is whar you'll fin da maist updaetit version o dis primer.

Shaetlan is a structured language. This primer serves as an initial sketch of how it works. The forthcoming comprehensive grammar of the language will be available here:

<https://www.iheardee.com/english/shaetlan-grammar-dictionary>

This primer is continuously updated. The URL above is also where you'll find the most updated version of the primer.

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1 Introduction

Shaetlan is da language spokken along wi English in Shetland, da maist norderly pairt o da UK. Hit pre-daets English apø da isles an isna mutually intelligible wi English. Aa Shaetlan spaekers is bilingual wi English. Hits main ancestor languages is Norn (extinct) an Scots, wi a lok o Dutch an Low German bits ithin it.

Shaetlan is the language spoken alongside English in Shetland, the northernmost part of the UK. It pre-dates English on the islands and is not mutually intelligible with English. All Shaetlan speakers are bilingual in English. Its main ancestor languages are Norn (extinct) and Scots, with a lot of Dutch and Low German influence.

1.1 Twartree facts

Wharabouts: da string o isles at maks up da boarder atween da Atlantic tae da wastert, an da Nort Sea tae da aest, pittin it atween Great Britain, Norwa an Faroe.

Capital: Lerwick

Population: aroon 23,000

Estimated number o Shaetlan spaekers: aboot 30-50% o da population. Da number at's gien atidda 2011 census gies da wrang appearance an shaas da fact at da census onli taks accoont o English an Scots bit no Shaetlan. Hoosumivver, maist Shaetlan spaekers dunna see demsels as bein spaekers o a Scots variety, nidder dø dey see demsels as Scots fokk, bit reidder as saeperit Shetland fokk wi a saeperit language variety. Widn you ken at dis maks sense historicolinguistically spaekin: Shaetlan can be kent tae be a braali saeperit variety o Scots noo, wi it haein a strong Norn substrate an strong contact fae da Low Germanic languages, hit isna mutually intelligible wi idder varieties o Scots aless fir da eens idda plaesses at wis wint tae spaek Norn (Orkney an Caithness).

Da language is traetend, wi less transmission, wi no as mony fokk waantin tae spaek Shaetlan tae dir bairns. An fir aa dat, Shaetlan is nivver bøn kent o as a language tae lairn da bairns wi at da skül, an even noo hit's traetit as bein “wrang” whin bein øsed idda classroom an ithin skülwark.

Aboot da language naem: Da autonym, or naem fir da language gien bi da spaekers demsels, is Shaetlan /'ʃɛtlən/ fir maist spaekers. Twartree spaekers wid caa da language as Shetlandic, bit dis naem is wint tae be devisive.

Hit isna uncommon fir languages an plaesses tae hae da sam or braali seemlar naems. A ert kent example o a plaess an a language haein da exact sam naem wid be Suomi (Finland) / suomi (Finnish). Idder examples wid be Lao (Laos) / lao (Lao), Kiribati (Kiribati) / kiribati (Gilbertese), Lallans (Lowlands Scotland) / lallans (Lowlands Scots), alang wi a lok o idders. Examples whar da naem fir da plaess an da language is jüst about da sam wid be Malta (Malta) / malti (Maltese), Hrvatska (Croatia) / hrvatski (Croatian), València (Valencia, Spain) / valencià (Valencian).

Glottocode: shet1241

Location: an archipelago forming the border between the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the North Sea to the east, situated between Great Britain, Norway and the Faroe islands.

Capital: Lerwick

Population: ca 23,000

Estimated number of Shaetlan speakers: ca 30-50% of the population. The number given the 2011 census is misleading and reflects the fact that the census only included English and Scots but not Shaetlan. However, most Shaetlan speakers do not identify themselves as speakers of a Scots variety, nor as a Scots population, but rather as a distinct Shetland population with a distinct language variety. This is, in fact, historicolinguistically justified: while Shaetlan can now be argued to be a highly distinct variety of Scots, due to its strong Norn substrate and strong contact influence from Low Germanic languages, it is not mutually intelligible with other varieties of Scots except for those in the former Norn speaking areas (Orkney and Caithness).

The language is endangered, with dwindling transmission, as an increasing amount of parents are choosing not to speak Shaetlan with their children. Furthermore Shaetlan has never been recognised as a medium of instruction in schools, and is still actively discouraged from use in the classroom and in school work.

About the language name: The autonym, or the name of the language by the speakers themselves, is *Shaetlan* /'ʃɛtlən/ for most speakers. A minority of speakers also refer to the language as *Shetlandic*, though this name tends to be divisive.

It is not uncommon for languages and places to have the same or very similar names. A well known example of a place and a language with the same name is Suomi (Finland) / suomi (Finnish). Other examples are Lao (Laos) / lao (Lao), Kiribati (Kiribati) / kiribati (Gilbertese), Lallans (Lowlands Scotland) / lallans (Lowlands Scots), among many others. Examples where the name for the place and the language are near-identical are Malta (Malta) / malti (Maltese), Hrvatska (Croatia) / hrvatski (Croatian), València (Valencia, Spain) / valencià (Valencian).

Glottocode: shet1241

1.2 Whit wye Shaetlan is important

Hoo important a language variety is tae da fukk an da sense o plaess til a boadi o fukk canna be miscoontit. Da lang an da short o it is at a language is da braeth o da culture an hit hadds ithin it; aa da knowledge, history an character o a culture. Hoosumivver, language firbye dat is capital an sud be taen on as a valuable commodity wi da sam value as idder naiteral resources.

Fukk is wint wi finnin linguistic repression whar naiteral resources is bein exploitit bi onli a coarn fukk at hadds pooer. Da language o da eens at hadds da pooer is in dat wye seen tae shaa status an wealt, an dat maks fukk idda community hae da tocht at dir ain language is “no sae good as” an hit’ll hinder dem comin aheid socially. Dis maks fir da promotion o ee language ower an abün da tidder an a shift awa fae da stigmatised variety. De sud be acceptance o da baith o da varieties whar de’r seen as bein languages at can be øsed fir aathin an onythin, an languages at can benefit fae een anidder. Da stigmatisation o een o da varieties, an shift awa fae it, comes tae be a pairteen atween fukk’s kennin o demsels an dir haem, an idda end comes tae be a loss o baith self-confidence an waantin tae look tae dir ain. Hoosumivver, ithin communities whar aa kind o language is come tae be accepted to hae its ain richt, da sense o identity, confidence an resilience is mair laekli tae be stronger, an dat maks fir better education an economy. A example o dat is Faroe, at’s shaan a graet vand tae be soople an can problem solve fir demsels, an even trowe da pandemic crisis eenoo. A example o da first een wid be Jamaica, at’s seen hit’s naiteral resources sookit dry bi twartree unken fukk an dis is leid tae a lang-lestin linguistic repression o da language spokken bi da maist fukk. An dat is leid tae graet inequality ithin education an da economy, wi da ootcome at educated fukk move awa. Pitten idderwise, fukk at’s confident i dir language is mair wint tae hae success, wharas fukk at’s subjected tae linguistic repression is wint wi fukk movin awa fir wark an education, an dir economies suffer. Wi aa dat, haein it’s ain language variety fir da speerit o a fukk canna be overestimated.

Shaetlan is a language variety at cam firnenst a lok o idder eens richt trowe it’s time. Da main eens wis da noo extinct Scandinavian Norn, da language at wis eense spokken bi da Viking settlers, an Scots. He is still braali distinct language fae idder varieties o Scots, an da Scandinavian bits o it is still veeve idda language.

Shetland is bøn a meeteen plaess fir hunders o years. Da isles wis aareidy bidden ithin whin Norsemen flittit tae dem fae da Wast o Norwa fae da hindmaist end o da 8th century. Dey brocht wi dem dir Norse language (Norn) at wis spokken apø da

isles fir weel efter da Scots tøk ower in 1469. Da shift fae Norn tae Scots geed peerie wyes an tøk at laest 250 year. Da trang trade atween Shetland an mainland Scotland, an firbye dat wi da Hanseatic League, parteclarli in connection wi da herrin industry, led tae multilingualism apø da isles trowe da middle ages an renaissance an intil modren times. Dat wye da language spokken ithin Shetland is ey bidden fairly different an hit's a muckle pairt o wir local identity, an forms a huge pairt o da heritage o Shetland.

Da 20t century is seen a staedi move fae Shaetlan tae English, an dat shift seems tae a gotten smerter idda hindmaist generation. Dis shift is affen blemt apø da upsteer idda economics an demographics at da oil industry brocht wi it tae da isles, startin idda middle o da 1970s an bein at its height idda middle o da 1980s. Hoosumivver, as yit de ir nae description o da language as it wis afore da oil boom, an dat means at da assumption at da shift gyaan on eenoo is connecit wi da effects o da oil industry is bidden anecdotal an unquantified. Dat bein dat, da aim o dis project is tae mak a comprehensive grammar o baith pre-oil an da language as it is eenoo. Dis'll alloo da documentation an description o Shaetlan at a critical stage, whin hit bein endangered nicht be able tae be hindered, if no keepit.

The importance of a language variety to the identity and sense of place of a community cannot be overestimated. Essentially a language is the breath of the culture and embodies the collective knowledge, history and character of a culture. However, language is also capital and should be recognised as a valuable commodity on a par with other natural resources. Linguistic repression is typically seen where natural resources are being exploited by a minority of power holders. The language of the powerholders is consequently equated with status and wealth, leading to the false assumption that the language of the wider community is inferior and a hindrance to social advancement. This in turn leads to the promotion of one language over the other and a shift away from the stigmatised variety, instead of furthering acceptance of the legitimate and symbiotic co-existence of both varieties. This stigmatisation of and shift away from one of the varieties in turn leads to a disconnection between the sense of identity and sense of place, and ultimately to collective lack of self-confidence and sense of self-determination. However, in communities where each language variety is accepted in its own right, the sense of identity, confidence and resilience tends to be stronger, in turn leading to higher educational and economic achievements. An example of the latter is the Faroe Islands, which has shown high flexibility and problem solving inventiveness, not the least during the current pandemic crisis. An example of the former community is Jamaica, which has seen its natural resources exploited by a small linguistic minority and where this has led to a long-standing, deeply ingrained linguistic repression of the majority community language, which in turn has led to great educational and economic inequalities and subsequent brain drains. Put differently: communities that are linguistically confident tend to also be educationally and economically successful, whereas communities who are subjected to linguistic repression tend to experience brain drains and economic

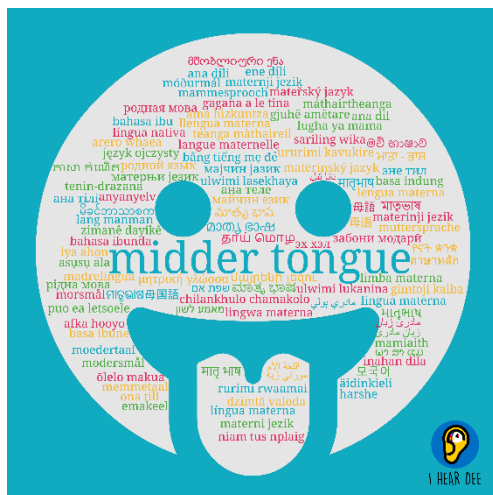
stagnation. Consequently the importance of a language variety to the welfare of a community cannot be overestimated.

Shaetlan is a language variety that has seen intense contact throughout its history. Its main input languages are the now extinct Scandinavian Norn, the language once spoken by the Viking settlers, and Scots. It is still highly distinct from other varieties of Scots, with the Scandinavian elements still noticeable in the language.

The Shetland Islands have been a place of contact for centuries. The islands were inhabited when settled by Norsemen from Western Norway starting in the late 8th century. They brought with them their Norse language (Norn) which was the language spoken on the islands until well after the Scots take-over in 1469. The shift from Norn to Scots was gradual and lasted at least 250 years. The intense trade contacts between Shetland and mainland Scotland, as well as with the regions within the Hanseatic League, especially in connection with the herring industry, led to multilingualism on the islands throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance and into modern times. The language spoken in Shetland has thus always remained unique and is strongly tied to the local identity, and as such forms part of the intangible heritage of Shetland.

The 20th century has seen a steady shift from Shaetlan to English, and that shift seems to have accelerated in the last generation. This shift tends to be attributed to the radical economic and demographic changes that the oil industry brought with it to the islands, starting in the mid-1970s and peaking in the mid-1980s. However, there is as yet no description of the language as it was before the oil boom, which means that the assumption that the ongoing shift is related to the effects of the oil industry have remained anecdotal and unquantified. The aim of this project is therefore to produce a comprehensive grammar of both the pre-oil and the contemporary language. This will also allow the documentation and description of Shaetlan at a critical stage, when endangerment might be possible to stem, if not turn.

1.3 Whit is a midder tongue?



Da Oxford English Dictionary definition o **mother tongue** is “one’s native language; a first language” (*sv*), firbye dis hit’s referred til as a **L1** an noo an agein as a ‘mother language’. Da term is attestit fae 1425. Da term **native language** can sometimes be

seid tae be spaekin about a **languoid** o a ethnic group, ridder as da foremaist language o a single body. A body can growe up tae hae mair as ee midder tongue or L1, an a body in dat caess wid be bilingual or multilingual. In fact mair fokk growes up as bein bi- or multilingual aroond da wirlde as dem at's monolingual (see below).

Da foremaist language(s), da midder tongue(s), is a pairt o ony body's social an cultural identity. Bit no aa midder tongues gits da sam recogneection, an some is pitten doon fir nae raison o ony sense, certainly no ony scientific een. Hoosumivver, as pointit oot bi John Graham "a mother tongue is not easily eradicated" an so, trowe nivver leetin da needless stigma o Shaetlan fir dat lang, Shetlanders is "cultivated a bi-lingualism [sic] which [have] enabled them to communicate on two levels" (1993: xviii). We agree wi Christine De Luca (2018: 163):

I would contend that everything we do should be to enhance our mother tongue, retain its authenticity and build it up so that access to a rich linguistic heritage remains a worthwhile right to hand on to succeeding generations.

This brings me back to the importance of ensuring young people never succumb to the notion that their mother tongue is a debased language; indeed, to the whole issue of the categorisation of language versus dialect.

Shetland is bøn recognised as a bilingual community fir hunders o years. Noo is da time tae shaa dis aff as bein a acht tae hae firbye.

The Oxford English Dictionary definition of **mother tongue** is "one's native language; a first language", also referred to as **L1** and sometimes as 'mother language'. The term is attested since 1425. The term **native language** can sometimes also refer to the **languoid** of an ethnic group rather than the first language of an individual. A person can grow up to have more than one mother tongue or L1, and is in that case bilingual or multilingual. In fact more people in the world grow up as bi- or multilingual than those who are monolingual (see below).

The first language(s), the mother tongue(s), is part of any person's social and cultural identity. But not all mother tongues get the same recognition, and some are actively discouraged for no real reason, certainly not any scientific one. However, as pointed out by John Graham "a mother tongue is not easily eradicated" and so, despite the unjustified stigma of Shaetlan for so long, Shetlanders have "cultivated a bi-lingualism [sic] which [have] enabled them to communicate on two levels" (1993: xviii). We agree with Christine De Luca (2018: 163):

I would contend that everything we do should be to enhance our mother tongue, retain its authenticity and build it up so that access to a rich linguistic heritage remains a worthwhile right to hand on to succeeding generations.

This brings me back to the importance of ensuring young people never succumb to the notion that their mother tongue is a debased language; indeed, to the whole issue of the categorisation of language versus dialect.

Shetland has been recognised as a bilingual community for centuries. It is now time to also celebrate that as an asset.

1.3.1 Da differ atween a language an a dialect



A aft aksed question is “Whit differ ir de atween a language an a dialect?” Hit’s no sae aisy tae say wan wye or da tidder. Linguistically it boils doon tae da scael o mutual intelligibility: at ee end o da scael aabody understaands aathin (spaek da sam language), an at da tidder naebody understaands onythin (spaek different languages), an dialects faa sumwye in-atween. bit mutually intelligible varieties can be naemed different languages (laek Standirt Swedish an Standirt Norwegian, or laek Dutch an Low German). So a aft quoted answer wid be “A language is a dialect wi a army an a navy”, fur it boils doon tae politics. Da sayeen “A language is a dialect wi a army an a navy” (“א שפראך איז א דיאלעקט מיט אן ארמיי און פלאט” / A shprakh iz a dialect mit an army un flot”) wis first seid bi a anonymous student tae Max Weinreich in his coorse *Problems in the history of the Yiddish language*. Max Weinreich brocht it tae da wirlid in 1945 in a article published ithin da journal *Yivo-bletter*.

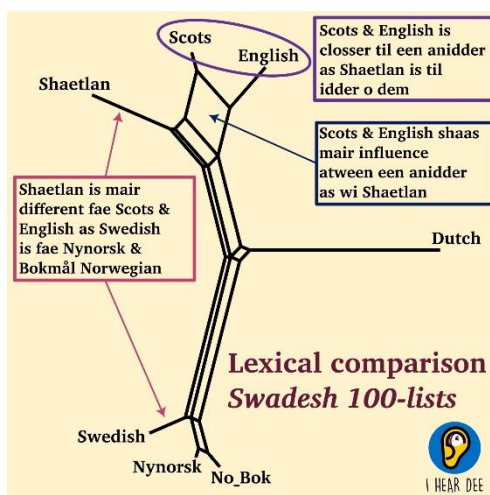
Da twa main languages spoken ithin Shetland is Shaetlan an English. De ir mair linguistic differ atween da twa o dem as de ir atween Dutch an Low German, or Standirt Swedish an Standirt Norwegian. In truth dey even hae different forebears: Shaetlan comes fae Norn an Scots, wi a lok o influence fae da Low Germanic languages. Shaetlan is wint wi bein talked about as jüst “dialect”, an English is affen spokken aboot as bein “proper” or “richt”. Dis isna richt linguistically or historically: Shaetlan is nae mair a dialect o English as English is a dialect o Shaetlan, an English

isna ony mair linguistically “proper” or “richt” as Shaetlan. Fir dis raison, an fae a linguistic point o view Shaetlan is nae less viable is ony idder language variety, we ey caa da language wi its ain naem, Shaetlan, an no as a anonymous “dialect”.

A common question is “What is the difference between a language and a dialect?”. It’s a tricky one. Linguistically it boils down to a scale of mutual intelligibility: on the one end of the scale everybody understands everything (speak the same language), on the other nobody understands anything (speak different languages), and dialects fall somewhere in-between. But mutually intelligible varieties can be labelled different languages (like Standard Swedish and Standard Norwegian, or like Dutch and Low German). So a common answer is “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy”, because it boils down to politics. The dictum “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy” (“א שפראך איז א דיאלעקט” / מיט אן ארמיי און פלאָט / A shprakh iz a dialect mit an army un flot”) was first uttered by an anonymous student to Max Weinreich in his course *Problems in the history of the Yiddish language*. Max Weinreich brought it to the world in 1945 in an article published in the journal *Yivo-bletter*.

The two main languages spoken in Shetland are Shaetlan and English. They are linguistically more different from each other than Dutch and Low German, or Standard Swedish and Standard Norwegian are. In fact they even have different ancestors: Shaetlan descends from Norn and Scots, with a lot of influence from Low Germanic languages. Shaetlan is often referred to merely as “dialect”, and English is often referred to as “proper” or “richt”. This is linguistically and historically incorrect: Shaetlan is not a dialect of English any more than English is a dialect of Shaetlan, and English is no more linguistically “proper” or “richt” than Shaetlan. For this reason, and because Shaetlan is linguistically a fully viable language variety, we are consistently referring to the language variety by its own name, Shaetlan, rather than the anonymous “dialect”.

1.3.2 Comparin Swadesh lists



Da Swadesh 100- an 200-lists is lists o wirds at’s toch tae be da maist basic wirds athin ony gien language at fokk spaeks. As a experiment, we pat tagidder Swadesh lists o seven languages: Shaetlan, Scots, English, Nynorsk Norwegian, Bokmål Norwegian, Swedish an Dutch. Wir warkmaets at Aarhus University tøk an pat dis

data trowe a phylogenetic netwirk. Da results shaas at (1) Shaetlan is ferder awa fae baith Scots an English as Swedish is fae da twa Norwegians; (2) Scots an English closser til een anidder as Shaetlan is til idder o dem; (3) Scots an English shaas mair influence atween een anidder as wi Shaetlan.

Dis fairly shaas at “Language is a dialect wi a army an a navy” (see abün): Swedish an da twa Norwegians is krøled closs up tagidder, an dey ir tocht o as bein saeperit languages. Yit Shaetlan, at’s no nearly as muckle laek idder Scots or English, keeps bein spokken aboot as bein a “dialect” despite whit da linguistic data shaas.

Wi aa wir tanks til Associate Prof. Dr Peter Bakker an his assistants Móeiður Vigfúsdóttir, Cecile Meilby Jensen, Teis Lykke Tambjerg & Anna Damgaard Hansen, Aarhus University, fir comin wi dis graph ti’ wis.

The Swadesh 100- and 200-lists are lists of those words which are thought to be the most basic words in any given human language. As an experiment, we put together Swadesh lists of seven languages: Shaetlan, Scots, English, Nynorsk Norwegian, Bokmål Norwegian, Swedish and Dutch. Our colleagues at Aarhus University then ran this data through a phylogenetic network. The results show that (1) Shaetlan is more distant from both Scots and English than Swedish is from the two Norwegians; (2) Scots and English are closer to each other than Shaetlan is to either of them; (3) Scots and English show more influence between each other than with Shaetlan.

This neatly illustrates that “Language is a dialect with an army and a navy” (see above): Swedish and the two Norwegians cluster very closely together, and are considered separate languages. Yet Shaetlan, which is quite removed from both Scots and English, keeps being referred to as a “dialect” despite what the linguistic data shows.

With many thanks to Associate Prof. Dr Peter Bakker and his assistants Móeiður Vigfúsdóttir, Cecile Meilby Jensen, Teis Lykke Tambjerg & Anna Damgaard Hansen, Aarhus University, for providing us with this graph.

References fir dis comparisons:

English: fixed list & native speaker knowledge (Viveka Velupillai)

Scots: Robinson, Mairi. 1985. *The concise Scots dictionary*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

Shaetlan: native speaker knowledge (Ronnie Eunson)

Nynorsk Norwegian: *Nynorskordboka*. 2023 Språkrådet og Universitetet i Bergen. Available at: <http://ordbokene.no> (last access 27 March 2023).

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Swedish: native speaker knowledge (Viveka Velupillai)

Dutch: native speaker knowledge (Hilly van der Sluis)

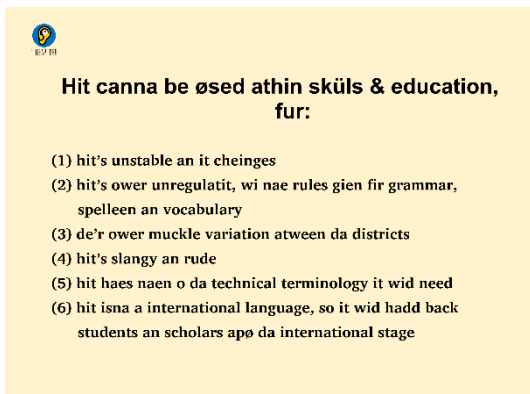
Fir good owerviews on Quantitative comparative linguistics, Swadesh lists an Phylogenetic netwirks, see dis respective Wiki articles wi ferder references:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quantitative_comparative_linguistics

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swadesh_list

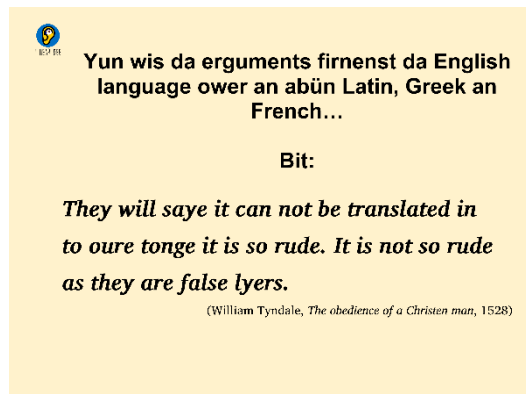
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phylogenetic_network

1.3.3 A nott on language attitudes



Hit canna be øsed athin sküls & education, fur:

- (1) hit's unstable an it cheinges
- (2) hit's ower unregulatit, wi nae rules gien fir grammar, spelleen an vocabulary
- (3) de'r ower muckle variation atween da districts
- (4) hit's slangy an rude
- (5) hit haes naen o da technical terminology it wid need
- (6) hit isna a international language, so it wid hadd back students an scholars apø da international stage



Yun wis da erguments firnenst da English language ower an abün Latin, Greek an French...

Bit:

They will saye it can not be translated in to oure tonge it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false lyers.

(William Tyndale, *The obolence of a Christen man*, 1528)

Here's whit's bøn seid: it canna be a language fir sküls an education fur:

- (1) hit's unstable an it cheinges, an ower unregulatit, wi nae richt rules fir grammar, spelleen an vocabulary;
- (2) de'r ower muckle variation atween da districts;
- (3) hit's no proper but slangy an rude;
- (4) hit døsna hae da technical terminology it needs;
- (5) hit's no a international language an isna understød onywy idder, so it wid hadd back students an scholars apø da international stage.

Soond familiar? Weel, dis wis da erguments firnenst da English language ower an abün Latin, Greek an French.¹ Bit as William Tyndale pat it in 1528

¹ Twartree references:

Algeo, John. 2010. *The origins and development of the English language*. 6t ed. Boston: Thomson Wadsworth.

Barber, Charler, Beal, Joan A. & Philip A. Shaw. 2009. *The English language. A historical introduction*. 2nt edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barber, Charles. 1997. *Early Modern English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press (esp. Ch2: Attitudes to English)

They will saye it can not be translated in to oure tonge it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false lyers


Here's what's been said: it cannot be a language for schools and education because

- (1) it is unstable and changing, and too unregulated, with no proper rules for grammar, spelling and vocabulary;
- (2) there is too much variation between the regions;
- (3) it is not eloquent but slangy and rude;
- (4) it lacks the necessary technical terminology;
- (5) it is not an international language and is not understood elsewhere, so students and scholars would be at a disadvantage on the international stage.

Sound familiar? Well, these were the arguments against the English language in favour of Latin, Greek and French.² But as William Tyndale said in 1528

They will saye it can not be translated in to oure tonge it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false lyers

1.3.4 Language richts



Article 4.3

States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities may have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.

UN Commission on Human Rights
Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.
Adopted by General Assembly resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992

Hit's a fundamental human richt tae git sküleen i yir midder tongue(s). De irna a single body apø da faess o da aert at's boarn literate. We aa hae tae be *lairned* tae read an write i wir midder tongues. Bit even yit dis fundamental richt is strippit fae maist spaekers o minority languages idda wirlid.

Shetlanders gits a minimum o nine year o faerce sküleen in English. Fir at laest dis last 200 year Shetlanders is gotten tellt at English is da "proper" language, an Shaetlan

Baugh, Albert C. & Thomas Cable. 2002. *A history of the English language*. 5t edn. London: Routledge.

² See footnote above for some references.

is a “improper” een. Dis notion is totally ideeless wi its linguistic raisoneen. Shaetlan haes as muckle structure - an hit’s as soled an fit fir ony purpise - as ony idder lanuage idda wirl. Ithin a bilingual plaess laek Shetland de’r nae lingustic raison fir why it canna be øsed fir lairnin bairns alang wi English fae P1 til S6 athin ony an ivvry subjct, includin da sciences.

It is a fundamental human right to receive schooling in your mother tongue(s). There is not a single human being on this planet who is born literate. We all have to be *taught* to read and write in our mother tongues. Yet this fundamental right is still denied to most speakers of minority languages in the world.

Shetlanders receive a minimum of nine years of rigorous schooling in English. For the last 200 years at least Shetlanders have been told that English is the “proper” language, while Shaetlan is not. This has no linguistic justification whatever. Shaetlan is as structured, solid and viable as any other language in the world. In a bilingual community like Shetland there is no linguistic reason why it cannot be used in teaching alongside English from P1 to S6 in any and every subject, including the sciences.

1.4 Da history o Shaetlan

Da airliet keneen o fokk bidin in Shetland wid be idda shall mideen o Wast Voe daetit tae 4200-3600 BC. Dis settlin fokk wis fisher/hunter-gadderers an we dunna ken whin dey cam tae Shetland or whar fae, nidder dø we hae ony wye o kennin whit languages dey spak. Da Indo-European languages haedna wun tae dis plaesses at yun time.

At ee point aroon about 3700-3600 BC de’r evidence o fairmin lifestyle in Wast Voe, as dey fan da banes o de’r kye, sheep an goats idda middeens. Firbye dat de’r fun da brucks o lemm. Da tombs, tools an lemm is laek dat at’s fun idda wast o Scotland, bit no wi whit’s fun ithin Orkney an Caithness. In dat wye hit looks laek dis neolithic fairmers cam tae Shetland straicht fae da wast o Scotland, an no trowe Orkney. Dey laekli cam in waves reidder as in wan muckle colonisin settlement. Hit wis dis settlers at brocht da kye an sheep tae Shetland at’s da ancestors o da Shetland breeds o kye an sheep at we hae noo. Da horse wid onli start shaain up in Shetland about 1,000-1,500 year efter.

Da fisher/hunter-gadderers (at wis ithin Shaetlan whin da fairmin fokk cam) seem tae a taen on da new wyas an blendit in wi dis new fokk. Whit languages dis fokk spak you canna ken, bit da Indo-European languages still widna win i dis pairt o da wirl till at laest 2,500 year laetter.

We’ll ging ahead about 4,000 year tae 4-500 AD. Bi noo aa o Europe is bøn settled bi spaekers o aa kind o Indo-European languages fir 1,500 year or mair. W’ir seen da

Greek an Roman Empires come an ging. An about 400 AD de'r a lok o fokk flittin aa aroon Europe.

Bi noo da hale o da British an Irish mainlands wis settled bi spaekers o aa kind o Celtic languages. Idda nort o Scotland we hae da Picts. Da Picts spak a language at's bidden unken fir lang, bit we tink noo at it wis laekli Celtic an fae da sam branch as Welsh.

Aroon about 4-500 AD, maebbi even as airly as about 300 AD, da Picts settle dem in Shetland. At da sam time, whit Roman troops is left in Britain moves oot an maks deals wi mercenaries fae aa dis Germanic tribes tae come an act as paecekeepers. Da raison wis tae keep doon apø da Celtic tribes at wis traetenin da Roman settlements. Da hindmaist Roman legion gings fae Britain idda year 407, an at da sam time mercenaries at spak varieties o da Nort Sea Germanic languages flit tae Britain: da Jutes cam fae Jutland in whit's noo da nort o Denmark; da Angles cam fae da Nort Sea area o whit's noo da Nort o Germany an da Nederlands, an da Frisians cam fae da Nort Sea area o whit's noo da Nederlands an da nort o Belgium.

Da varieties o da Nort Sea Germanic languages dis tribes spak wis distinct bit understandable atween een anidder. Dey settled dem in saeparate plaesses o da British mainland: da Jutes gied tae whit's noo Kent idda sooth-aest o England; da Frisians gød jüst tae da nort o dat, an braali shün cam tae blend in we dir neebirin Germanic tribes; da Saxons gød tae whit's noo da sooth an sooth-wast o England; an da Angles gød tae twa big areas: Mercia, at's noo da middle an aest o England, an Northumbria, at's noo da nort o England an da sooth o Scotland.

Dis main plaesses is relevant tae da linguistics: hit wis da languages o dis fower main tribes at wid come tae be Aald English. Bit Aald English wis nivver ee single language at wis aa da sam. Mairsae, hit wis ey fower distinct dialects: da Kentish Aald English (spokken bi da descendants o da Jutish settlers), da West Saxon Aald English (spokken bi da descendants o da Saxon settlers) da Mercian Aald English (spokken bi da descendants o da Angles at settled dem in Mercia) an da Northumbrian Aald English (spokken bi da descendants o da Angles at settled dem in Northumbria). We dunna hae muckle idda wye o traeces o Kentish Aald English left. We hae a braa grain o material ithin West Saxon Aald English, fur dat wis da language o King Alfred an he commissioned a lok o translations fae Latin tae da language o da fokk, i.e. his language an da language spokken ithin his kingdom. So maist o wir information about Aald English is fae da West Saxon variety. We dunna hae muckle left o Mercian Aald English, bit we dø hae a grain left o Northumbrian English.

Dis fower varieties o Aald English wid be braali established bi about 600 AD, an at dat time spaekers o Gaelic startit flittin fae Ireland tae da wast o Scotland. Wi dis, twa varieties o Gaelic cam tae be: Irish an Scottish Gaelic. Dis means at Scottish Gaelic an Northumbrian English established demsels at about da sam time in Scotland. Baith o dem cam at peerie wyes: Scottish Gaelic cam fae da wast, an Northumbrian Aald English expandit fae da sooth-aest gyaan tae da nort an middle.

So dan – bi about 800 AD we ken about dis main linguistic groups ithin da British Isles: Gaels in Ireland an da nort-wast o Scotland. Picts idda nort o Scotland, Orkney an Shetland. Northumbrian Aald English idda middle an sooth o Scotland. Mercian Aald English idda nort, middle an aest o England. Welsh in Wales an Cornish in Cornwall. West Saxon Aald English idda sooth o England. An finally Kentish Aald English in da soot-aest o England.

An noo da Norse expansion starts. Shetland wis first settled bi spaekers o West Norse about 790. We dunna ken fir definite whit happent wi da Pictish folk at wis aareidy bidin in Shetland at yun time. Very little is left o dir language: da tree plaess naems Yell, Unst an Fetlar is tocht tae be pre-Norse, bit idder as dat de'r herdly onythin linguistic left o da population aforehaand.

Spaekers o West Norse colonised Faroe an Iceland firbye, an raided an colonised da Scottish Wastern Isles an Ireland an aa. At about da sam time spaekers o da Aest Norse raided an dan colonised da aest cosst o England. Bi 900 da Danelaw area wis grown tae tak in nearly aa o da aest an nort o England, and pushed English Mercia tae da wast. Northumbria bed independent o da Danelaw. Da land rule o da Danelaw brocht a lok o Aest Norse influence apø da language o da plaess.

Danadays Shetland wi aaned bi da Norwegian king an da dominant language ithin baith Shetland an Orkney wis West Norse, at wid come tae be Norn. At da sam time da Northumbrian Aald English wid come tae be Scots, an Mercian Aald English wid come tae be English.

Norn wid end up bein spokken fir about 1,000 year in Shetland. Idda middle ages spaekers o Scots wid start movin tae Shetland graeter numbers. Whin Shetland wis pawned tae Scotland in 1469 da language o administration cam tae be, Scots, an efter a start Shetland cam tae be a bilingual plaess wi Scots an Norn. Da twa languages wid be spokken alangside een anidder fir anidder 250 years or sae. At da sam time de wir a lok o Hanseatic trade as weel as a lok o trade wi da Dutch fisheen fleet. Dis means at Shetlanders widda haed lang an closs keneen wi spaekers o Middle Dutch an Middle Low German. Dat wye Shetland wis a multilingual plaess: mair an mair spaekers wid

be bilingual ithin Scots an Norn, an at da sam time wid be fairly wint wi Dutch an Low German. Dis wis da linguistic seteen at wid shaep modren Shaetlan.

Da hindmaist spaeker (or “minder”) o Norn died in 1850. An wi dat Norn wis slookit.

English cam tae hae mair an mair influence in Scotland wi da Union o da Croons in 1603. James I haed da Bible translatit intil English (no Scots) in 1611. So bit bi bit hit wid be English, no Scots, at wid be promotit ithin Scotland. Efter a start dis wid spreid tae Shetland an aa. In 1709 da Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge wis established, an dey set aboot establishin sküls whar da language o instruction wis English. Dis established an promotit English ower Scots even mair. Bi 1827 de wir a skül a ivvri parish o Shetland, an wi dat cam da tinkeen at English wis a mair valuable language as Shaetlan.

Dis isna justified linguistically. Shaetlan is bøn shaepit bi its rich history intil a unique language wi a unique structure. Hit’s ivvri bit as valuable as ony idder language idda wirld, an ivvri bit as complex an sophisticated as ony idder language idda wirld. Baith da vocabulary an grammar is a mixter o Norn, Scots, English, Dutch an Low German. Shaetlan is grown an cheinged wi da history o Shetland, an hit really shaas da sowl o da plaess. Pitten simply, hit’s da braeth o da culture o Shetland.

Shetland is noo a bilingual community in English an Shaetlan. Dis diversity is a asset an sud be a raison tae be prood. Hit sud firbye dat be celebratit an promotit, giein baith da twa languages equal spaess ithin aa pairts o society, especially as a language o instruction in sküls.

The earliest evidence of human settlement in Shetland is the shell midden of West Voe dated 4200-3600 BC. These settlers were fisher/hunter-gatherers and we don’t know when they came to Shetland or where from, and we also have no way of knowing what language(s) they spoke. The Indo-European languages had not arrived in these areas at the time.

At some point around 3700-3600 BC we see evidence of a farming lifestyle in West Voe, for example that cattle, sheep and goat bones now start appearing in the middens. We also get fragments of ceramics. The tombs, tools and pottery show similarities with those in western Scotland, but not with those in Orkney and Caithness. It therefore looks like these neolithic farmers came to Shetland directly from the western Scottish mainland and not via Orkney. They probably came in waves rather than in one big colonising settlement. It was these settlers who brought the kye and the sheep to Shetland which are the ancestors of the current native Shetland breeds of kye and sheep. The horse would only start appearing in Shetland some 1,000-1,500 years later.

The fisher/hunter-gatherers that were already in Shetland when the farming population came seem to have gradually adopted the new ways and blended in with the new population. What languages

these people spoke is again impossible to know, but the Indo-European languages would still not arrive in these parts of the world until at least some 2,500 years later.

We'll fast forward some 4,000 years to 4-500 AD. By now all of Europe has been settled by speakers of different Indo-European languages for 1,500 years or more. We have seen the Greek and Roman empires come and go. And at around 400 AD there is a lot of migration and population movement in Europe.

By now the entire British and Irish mainlands are settled by speakers of various Celtic languages. In the north of Scotland we have the Picts. The Picts spoke a language that has long remained an enigma, but that we now think was probably Celtic and of the same branch as Welsh.

At around 4-500 AD, possibly even as early as around 300 AD, the Picts settle in Shetland. At the same time the remaining Roman troops in Britain move out and have made deals with mercenaries from various Germanic tribes to come and act as peacekeepers. The purpose was to control the Celtic tribes that were threatening the Roman settlements. The last Roman legion leaves Britain year 407 AD and at the same time mercenaries speaking varieties of the North Sea Germanic languages migrated to Britain: the Jutes came from Jutland in what is now northern Denmark; the Angles came from the North Sea area of what is now southern Denmark and northern Germany; the Saxons came from the North Sea area of what is now northern Germany and the Netherlands; and the Frisians came from the North Sea area of what is now the Netherlands and northern Belgium.

These Germanic tribes spoke distinct but probably mutually intelligible varieties of North Sea Germanic languages. They settled in different areas of the British mainland: the Jutes settled in what is now Kent in south-eastern England; the Frisians settled just north of that and rather quickly came to blend in with their neighbouring Germanic tribes; the Saxons settled in what is now south-central and south-western England; and the Angles settled in two large areas: Mercia, which is now central and eastern England, and Northumbria, which is now northern England and southern Scotland.

These main areas are linguistically relevant: it was the languages of these four main tribes that would become Old English. But Old English was never one unified, monolithic language. Rather, it was always four distinct dialects: the Kentish Old English (spoken by the descendants of the Jutish settlers), the West Saxon Old English (spoken by the descendants of the Saxon settlers), the Mercian Old English (spoken by the descendants of the Angles that settled in Mercia) and the Northumbrian Old English (spoken by the descendants of the Angles that settled in Northumbria). We don't have much in the way of traces of Kentish Old English left. We have a fair bit of material in West Saxon Old English, because that was the language of King Alfred and he commissioned a lot of translations from Latin to the language of the people, i.e. his language and the language spoken in his kingdom. So most of our information on Old English is from the West Saxon variety. We don't have much left of Mercian Old English, but we do have some left of Northumbrian Old English.

These four varieties of Old English would be fairly established by about 600 AD, at which time speakers of Gaelic started migrating from Ireland to western Scotland. With this, two varieties of Gaelic emerged: Irish Gaelic and Scots Gaelic. This means that Scots Gaelic and Northumbrian Old English established themselves at roughly the same time in Scotland. Both of them gradually expanding: Scots Gaelic expanding from the west inwards, and Northumbrian Old English expanding from the south east towards the north and centre.

By about 800 AD we are therefore aware of these main linguistic groups on the British Isles: Gaels in Ireland and north-western Scotland. Picts in northern Scotland and the northern isles (Orkney and Shetland). Northumbrian Old English in central and southern Scotland. Mercian Old English in northern, central and eastern England. Welsh in Wales and Cornish in Cornwall. West Saxon Old English in south-central and southern England. And finally Kentish Old English in south-eastern England.

And now the Norse expansion starts. Shetland was first settled by speakers of Western Norse around 790. We don't know exactly what happened with the Pictish population that was already living in Shetland at the time. Very little remains of their language: the three place names Yell, Unst and Fetlar are thought to be pre-Norse, but other than that there are hardly any linguistic traces of the previous population.

Speakers of Western Norse also colonised Faroe and Iceland, as well as raided and colonised the Scottish Western Isles and Ireland. At roughly the same time speakers of Eastern Norse raided then colonised the eastern coast of England. By 900 the Danelaw area had expanded to include nearly all of eastern and northern England, and pushed English Mercia to the west. Northumbria remained independent of Danelaw. The long rule of Danelaw brought a lot of Eastern Old Norse influence on the language of the area.

At the same time Shetland now belonged to the Norwegian king and the dominant language in both Shetland and Orkney was Western Norse, which would evolve into Norn. Meanwhile the Northumbrian Old English would evolve into Scots and Mercian Old English would evolve into English.

Norn would end up being spoken for about 1000 years in Shetland. In the middle ages speakers of Scots would start moving to Shetland in greater numbers. When Shetland was pawned to Scotland in 1469 the language of administration became Scots, and Shetland gradually became a bilingual place in Scots and Norn. The two languages would co-exist for another 250 years or so. At the same time there was a lot of Hanseatic trade as well as a lot of trade with the Dutch fishing fleet. This means that Shetlanders would have been in long and intense contact with speakers of Middle Dutch and Middle Low German. Shetland was therefore a multilingual place: more and more speakers would be bilingual in Scots and Norn, and at the same time would be proficient in Dutch and Low German. This was the linguistic setting that would shape modern Shaetlan.

The last known speaker (or rememberer) of Norn died in 1850. With that Norn became extinct.

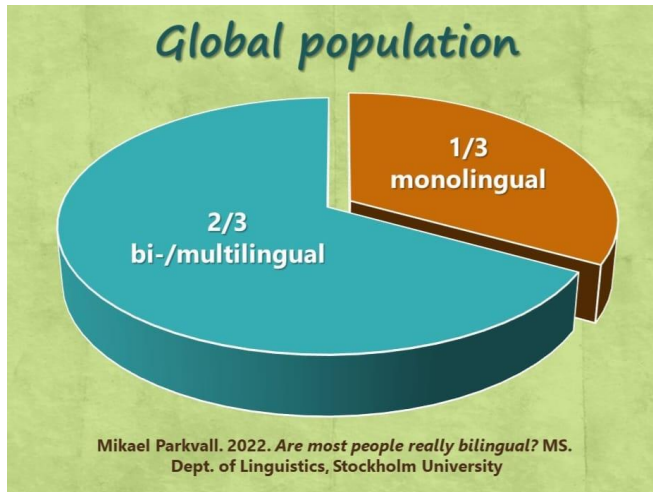
English would gain more and more influence in Scotland with the Union of the Crown in 1603. James I translated the bible into English (not Scots) in 1611. So gradually it would be English, not Scots, that would be promoted in Scotland. This would eventually spread to Shetland too. In 1709 the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was established, and they set about establishing schools where the medium of instruction was English. This further established and promoted English over Scots. By 1827 there was a school in every parish of Shetland, and with that came the attitude that English was a more valuable language than Shaetlan.

This is not linguistically justified. Shaetlan has been shaped by its rich history into a unique language with a unique structure. It is every bit as valuable as any language in the world, and every bit as complex and sophisticated as any other language in the world. Both the vocabulary and grammar is a blend of Norn, Scots, English, Dutch and Low German. Shaetlan has grown and evolved with the

history of Shetland, and embodies the soul of the place. It is, quite simply, the breath of the culture of Shetland.

Shetland is now a bilingual community in English and Shaetlan. This diversity is an asset and should be a source of pride. It should also be celebrated and promoted, giving each of the two languages equal space in all areas of society, especially as a medium of instruction in schools.

A NOTT ON BILINGUALISM



Bilingualism is affen traetit as sumthin unkan, wharas monolingualism is traetit as da norm. Yit it turns oot hit's da tidder wye aboot. In a survey baessed apün census data fae jüst under $\frac{1}{4}$ o da countries idda wairld, Dr. Parkvall fan at $\frac{1}{3}$ o da global population is monolingual, wharas $\frac{2}{3}$ is bi-/multilingual. In idder wirds: spaekin twa languages (or mair) is a lok mair common as spaekin jüst een.

Hit's wirt mindin at dis study is baessed on whit census data wis avelable. Dis means at da data is wint tae shaa mair whit laek it is idda nations at haes da infrastructure tae be kerryin oot censuses. Da idder ting is hit's dependent on dis censuses allooin fir fokk bein bi-/multilingual. A census at onli lats fokk pick ee language risks da data bein skewed bi no giein spaess tae multilingualism. In idder wirds, da monolingual fokk could very laekli be ower-represented bi census bias.

Wir tanks tae Dr. Mikael Parkvall (Department of Linguistics, University of Stockholm) fir lattin wis øse his survey at's gyaan on eenoo.

Bilingualism is often treated as something exceptional, something different, while monolingualism is treated as the norm. Yet in fact it is the other way about. In a survey based on census data from just under $\frac{1}{4}$ of the countries in the world, Dr. Parkvall found that about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the global population is monolingual, while $\frac{2}{3}$ are bi-/multilingual. In other words: bilingualism is much more common than monolingualism.

It's important to keep in mind that this study is based on available census data. This means that the data is likely to be skewed towards nations that have the infrastructure in place to carry out censuses. It also means that the data is dependent on censuses allowing for bi-/multilingualism. A census that demands that respondents choose only one language risks skewing the data by not giving space to multilingualism. In other words, it is likely that the monolingual proportion is overrepresented due to census bias.

We thank Dr. Mikael Parkvall (Department of Linguistics, University of Stockholm) for letting us use his ongoing survey.

1.5 Shaetlan isna Lowland Scots

Da best definition o Scots is as a **macro language**, dat is, a language area at consists o varieties wi aa kind o backgrounds. Dis varieties is braali clossli relatit, bit d'ir enyoch o a differ atween dem tae be braali far apairt on da scael o mutual intelligibility. De'r actually far mair differ idda pronunciation, grammar an vocabulary atween Shaetlan an Lowland Scots as de ir idda pronunciation, grammar an vocabulary atween Standirt Swedish an Bokmål Norwegian. Hit is da caess at Lowland Scots is een o da major ancestor languages fir Shaetlan, bit it isna da onli een, an da influence fae Norn along wi da Continental Low Germanic languages (see da previous section) maks a big enyoch odds fae a linguistic point o view tae alloo fir Shaetlan tae be kent as a variety in its ain richt.

Hit's wirt mindin firbye at languagedom is a maitter o whit wye fokk identifies: self-identification maks a important pairt o it. Fir da maist pairt Shetlanders dunna identify wi Lowland Scots as representin dir speech an language. As wis seid, dis is actually justified lookin at it linguistically. Hit's justified firbye tinkin aboot whit wye da unique history an evolution apø da Shetland Isles is come aboot.

Fir da sociohistorical raisons spokken aboot abün, as weel as da linguistic raisons gien trowe da rest o dis primer, pitten along wi da wye at Shetland society self-identifies itsel, it alocs fir traetin Shaetlan as a variety in it's ain richt, bilangin ithin da bigger Scots macro area.

Scots is best defined as a **macro language**, that is, a language area consisting of highly diverse varieties. These varieties are very closely related, but are different enough to be fairly far apart on the scale of mutual intelligibility. The differences in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary between Shaetlan and Lowland Scots are in fact larger than the differences between pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary between Standard Swedish and Bokmål Norwegian. While Lowland Scots is one of the major ancestor languages to Shaetlan, it is not the only one, and the influence by Norn as well as the Continental Low Germanic languages (see previous section) is considerable enough linguistically to warrant Shaetlan recognition as a variety in its own right.

It is also important to keep in mind that languagehood is a matter of identity and affinity: self-identification is an important factor. Shetlanders by and large do not identify with Lowland Scots as representing their speech and language. As mentioned, this is in fact linguistically justified. It is also justified in terms of the unique history and evolution that the Shetland archipelago has seen.

The sociohistorical factors described above, as well as the linguistic factors described in the rest of this primer, in combination with the general self-identification of the Shetland society, therefore warrant treating Shaetlan as a variety in its own right, belonging within the larger Scots macro-area.

1.6 Shaetlan isna “local English”

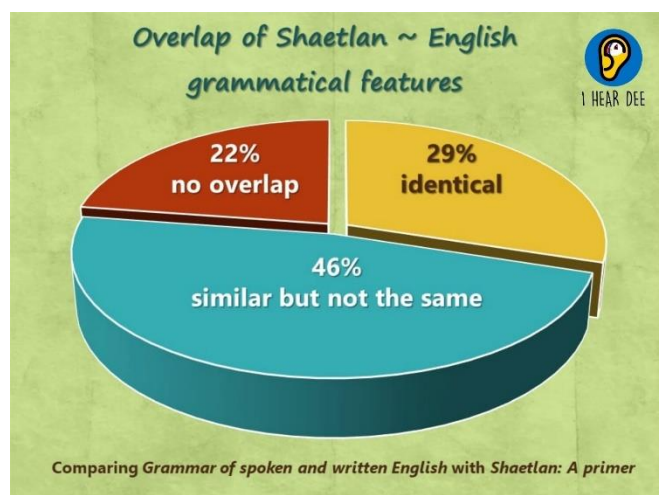


Shaetlan is a bilingual plaess; ivvri Shaetlan spaeker growes up spaekin Shetland English firby. Da term ‘Shetland English’ is a standirt term øsed baith in an oot o academia tae refer til da local accent o (Standirt) English. De’r a gret quantity o Standirt Englishes aroond da wirld, da laeks o Australian English, Canadian English, Ghanaian English, an dem. Athin dis big plaesses de’r varieites o English fir peerier districts. Athin da UK de’r da macro areas laek, fir example, Scottish English, Welsh English, an Irish English. Athin Scottish English we hae fir example, Orcadian English, Shetland English an Caithness English. Dis Englishes hae a odds mainly in accent, no lexicon or grammar. So hit’s impoartant no tae mix up Shetland English (linguistically a accent o da language kent o as English spokken aroond da wirld) wi Shaetlan (linguistically anidder language in its ain richt). As shün as a Shaetlan spaeker comes apø onybody wi a non-Shaetlan voice, wi dat sam dey code-switch ti’ Shaetlan English. Linguistically dis is shaan idda prosidy (da intonation or "melody" o da language) an idda vocabulary an grammar an aa. Fir example, da average Shaetlan spaeker will jüst ging aheid an code-switch da Shaetlan utterance *We’ll see dee in a peerie start* / *Yun eens yunder* / *I’m haed denner* / *He’s a stervation* / *I dunna ken* / *A’m gyaan haem* til *We’ll see you in a bit* / *Dose wans dere* / *I’ve haed lunch* / *It’s freezin cold*

/ *I don't know* / *I'm goin hom* whin comin apün a non-Shaetlan voice. Hit's a mistak at's aft maed fir veesitors tae mak oot at dey ir hearin Shaetlan, whin really da Shetlander is no bein rude an is *_knappin_* (spaekin Shetland English) wi dem. Fir a splendid study on Shaetlan/English code-switchin, see Karam (2017).

Shetland is a bilingual community; every Shaetlan speaker grows up also speaking Shetland English. The term 'Shetland English' is a standard term used both inside and outside academia to refer to the local accent of (Standard) English. There are a vast number of Standard Englishes around the world, such as Australian English, Canadian English, Ghanaian English, and so on. Within these big regions there are regional varieties of English. Within the UK there are the macro areas of, for example, Scottish English, Welsh English and Irish English. Within Scottish English we have for example, Orcadian English, Shetland English and Caithness English. These Englishes differ mainly in **accent** (way of pronunciation), not lexicon or grammar. It is therefore important not to confuse Shetland English (linguistically an accent of the world-wide language we refer to as English) with Shaetlan (linguistically a different language in its own right). As soon as a Shaetlan speaker encounters anyone with a non-Shaetlan voice, they automatically code-switch to Shetland English. Linguistically this is evident in the prosody (the intonation or "melody" of the language) as well as in the vocabulary and grammar. For example, the average Shaetlan speaker will automatically code-switch the Shaetlan utterance *We'll see dee in a peerie start* / *Yun eens yunder* / *I'm haed dennor* / *He's a stervation* / *I dunna ken* / *A'm gyaan haem* to Shetland English *I'll see you in a bit* / *Dose wans dere* / *I've had lunch* / *It's freezin cold* / *I don't know* / *I'm goin hom* when encountering a non-Shaetlan voice. It is a very common mistake for visitors to assume that they are hearing Shaetlan, when in fact the Shetlander is politely *knappin* (speaking Shetland English) with them. For an excellent study on Shaetlan/English code-switching, see Karam (2017).

COMPARIN SHAETLAN TIL ENGLISH AN SWEDISH



Noo an agein fokk claems at da grammar o Shaetlan is "maistly English" (cf. Graham 1993: xix). Dis implies twa things: (1) at Shaetlan comes fae English, an (2) at if a language haes grammatical features at owerlap wi English, dan dey surely mosst come

fae English. Baith is plein wrang factually spaekin: (1) Shaetlan døsna come fae English, insteid hit's a mixter o Scots, Norn an da Low Germanic languages; an (2) aa Germanic languages, (Swedish, Dutch, German, etc) hae a lok o grammatical features at owerlap wi English but dat døsna mean at d'ir taen dem fae English. Hit jüst means at dey ir clossly relatit.

W'ir combined da major features listit fir English in da *Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 2021) wi da features listit fir Shaetlan sae far inna dis primer. Twartree features wis da exact sam. Fir example, baith languages hae da sam basic wird oarder (subject-verb-object), bit so døs 35.4% o da wirl'd's languages. Twartree features wis alaek but no fairly da sam. Fir example, baith languages hae reglar an irreglar verbs (as døs aa idder Germanic languages), but de'r a differ in WHIT verbs is reglar or irreglar. Twartree features døsna owerlap atween da twa languages. Fir example, Standirt English haes relative pronouns (*who/which*), but Shaetlan døsna. Relative pronouns is braaly rare, onnly fun in 7.2% o da wirl'd's languages. On da idder haand, Shaetlan haes a associative plural (*an dem*) an a speecial form fir da 2sg person (*du*), bit Standirt English haes nidder. Agein yun maks Standirt English a streinge language fae a global perspective: 84.4% o da languages around da wirl'd hae a associative plural; an tae no hae a 2sg person is "rarissiumum" aboot da wirl'd (terrible rare).

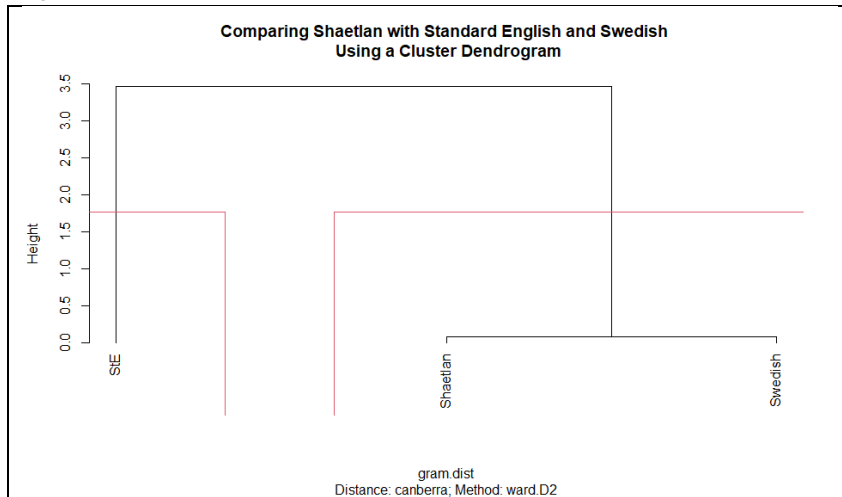
Da result o wir comparison is at oot o da 243 major features inna wir databaess, 69 (29%) is identical, 111 (46%) is alaek but no da sam, an 54 (22%) haes nae owerlap atween da twa languages ava. So dan, dis data døsna suppoart da claem at da grammar o Shaetlan is "mainly English".

It is sometimes claimed that the grammar of Shaetlan is "mainly English" (cf. Graham 1993: xix). This implies two things: (1) that Shaetlan descends from English, and (2) that if a language has grammatical features that overlap with English, then they must come from English. Both are factually incorrect: (1) Shaetlan does not descend from English, but is a blend of Scots, Norn and the Low Germanic languages; and (2) all Germanic languages, (Swedish, Dutch, German, etc) have many grammatical features that overlap with English but that doesn't mean that they have taken them from English. It simply means that they are closely related.

We have combined the major features listed for English in the *Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 2021) with the features listed for Shaetlan so far in this primer. Some features were identical. For example, both languages have the same basic word order (subject-verb-object), but so do 35.4% of the languages of the world. Some features were similar but not the same. For example, both languages have regular and irregular verbs (as do all other Germanic languages), but they differ in WHICH verbs are regular or irregular. Some features had no overlap between the languages. For example, Standard English has relative pronouns (*who/which*), but Shaetlan does not. Relative

pronouns are very rare, only found in 7.2% of the languages globally. On the other hand, Shaetlan has an associative plural (*an dem*) and a special form for the 2sg person (*du*), but Standard English has neither. Again that makes Standard English globally quirky: 84.4% of the languages globally have an associative plural; and to not have a 2sg person is globally “rarissimum” (extremely rare).

The result of our comparison is that of the 243 major features in our database, 69 (29%) are identical, 111 (46%) are similar but not the same, and 54 (22%) have no overlap between the two languages. These data therefore do not support the claim that the grammar of Shaetlan is “mainly English”.



Spaekin about da claem at Shaetlan grammar is “maistly English” we ir addit Swedish til wir grammatical features databaess an aa. De’r twa raisons fir dis: (1) da mair data we git, da mair we fin bits athin Shaetlan at’s bøn hoidin afore wir very een; (2) Swedish is as muckle alaek wi Shaetlan as whit Standirt English is. Da ancestors o Shaetlan is Scots (no Standirt English) + Norn (no Swedish) + Dutch/Low German. Scots isna an nivver wis a dialect o English ony mair as English is or wis a dialect o Scots: dey come fae twa saeperit branches o Aald English. An Norn nivver wis a dialect o Swedish ony mair as Swedish is or wis a dialect o Norn: dey come fae twa saeperit branches o Aald Norse. So da genetic distance atween dis tree languages is aboot da sam.

We øsed da `hclust` function in R³ tae plot a Cluster Dendrogram, whar da algorithm gadders data baessed on hoo alaek or unaleak dey ir. Da branches an boxes shaas at Shaetlan an Swedish gadder tagidder wharas Standirt English sits on its ain. So da algorithm says at baessed on dis dataset, Shaetlan an Swedish is mair alaek wi een anidder, grammatically spaekin, as idder o dem is til Standirt English. We hae serious doots at onybody wid tak a notion tae ergue at Shaetlan is a “dialect” o Swedish. Dis

³ R is a programmeen language fir statistical computeen an graphics. Hit’s øsed by maist resaerchers fae aa kind o disciplines tae analyse a shaa aff data.

Cluster Dendrogram shaas at at de'r even less raison tae describe Shaetlan as a "dialect" o Standirt English.

Regarding the claim that the grammar of Shaetlan is "mainly English" we have now also added Swedish to our database. There are two reasons for this: (1) the more data we get, the more we discover features in Shaetlan that have been hiding in plain sight; (2) Swedish is as closely related to Shaetlan as Standard English is. The ancestors of Shaetlan are Scots (not Standard English) + Norn (not Swedish) + Dutch/Low German. Scots is not and never was a dialect of English any more than English is or was a dialect of Scots: they come from two different branches of Old English. And Norn never was a dialect of Swedish anymore than Swedish is or was a dialect of Norn: they come from two different branches of Old Norse. So the genetic distance between these three languages is roughly the same.

We used the `hc1ust` function in R⁴ to plot a Cluster Dendrogram, where the algorithm clusters data based on how similar or dissimilar they are. The branches and boxes show that Shaetlan and Swedish cluster together while Standard English sits on its own. So the algorithm says that based on this dataset, Shaetlan and Swedish are grammatically more similar to each other than either of them is to Standard English. We doubt very much that anyone would take it into their head to argue that Shaetlan is a "dialect" of Swedish. This Cluster Dendrogram shows that it is even less justified to describe Shaetlan as a "dialect" of Standard English.

References fir dis comparisons:

- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey N. Leech, Susan Conrad & Edward Finnegan. 2021. *Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
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- Teleman, Ulf, Staffan Hellberg, Erik Anderson. 1999. *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*. Stockholm: Svenska Akademien. Available at: <https://svenska.se/grammatik/>.
- Velupillai, Viveka. 2012. *An Introduction to Linguistic Typology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

⁴ R is a programming language for statistical computing and graphics. It is used by most researchers from all sorts of disciplines to analyse and display data.

1.7 Shaetlan is a dynamic language



Ivvri livin naiteral language isna da sam ivvriwhar. Hit's normal fir a language tae cheinge ower time. In fact, nae spaeker ivver maks da exact sam utterance twice ower, bit aa da variations you git wi a single spaeker is dat little at dey irna wirt leetin. Variations ower a speech community ir wint tae be mair notticable an ower time aa languages cheinge wan wye or anidder. Some languages cheinge quicker as idders an far mair as idders. Bit hit's a fact at da onnli kind o language at døsna cheinge is een at isna øsed onymair (is geen extinct).

Firbye yun hit's normal fir a language tae shaa differs atween different districts (**dialects**) an atween different social groups (**sociolects**). Aa languages kent o shaa some kind o variation. Agein, nae spaeker maks da sam utterance twice ower, bit agein, da variations you git wi a single spaeker, or wi a single faimly, is wint tae be dat peerie at at dey end up nivver maitterin.

Jüst laek ony idder language, Shaetlan haes baith dialectal an socialectal variation. Hit's affen assumed at "Shetland mosst be da plaess wi da maist differ in da wirld atween da wye fokk spaeks in different districts". Dat's wrang. De'r plenty o idder plaesses in da wirld at shaas far mair linguistic variation, an in a peerier area an aa. Da maist linguistically diverse plaess per km2 kent o on da planet is Vanuatu, wi 138 different languages at aa hae differs athin ivvri een o dem. Athin Shaetlan d'ir twa major languages: Shaetlan an Shetland English. Maist o da differ atween dis twa languages in Shetland is shaan trowe **accent** (da wye things is pronounced), an dis is whit maist spaekers ir wint tae be maist awar o. Hoosumivver, Shaetlan shaas dialectal differs firbye in it's lexicon an grammar, as wid be lippent in a group o islands laek dis. Fir example, we ir fun at de'r a differ atween districts whar dey idder spaekers differentiate atween da verbal particle *tae* (*tae spaek*) an da preposeetion *til*

(*gie til her*); or whidder spaekers hae a possessive plural (*mines/dines*) or no. Da sociolectal differs in Shaetlan is maistli tae *dø* wi hoo muckle influence Shetland English is haed on da language. Fir example, dem at's mair exposed til English, trowe writeen, literature, education or employment, is wint tae copy English grammar even if dey ir *øsin* Shaetlan wirds, laek wirkin wi *du* fir aabody (an no sayin *you* fir politeness, or sometimes even *øsin* it idda plural!), or *øsin* idder onnli *tae* or sometimes onnli *til* fir baith da verbal particle an da preposeetion, or *øsin fur* in aa contexts (an no shaain a differ atween *fur* an *fir*), an da laek. Da linguistic term fir dis is **pattren replication**, whar da pattren o ee language is taen ower inti' da tidder. We laek tae shaa sicn differs idda relevant sections athin dis primer.

Nae grammar description ivver claems tae shaa aff ivvri peerie mootie peetlik o its language. Dat wid be impossible fur you wid hae tae tak an describe ivvry single utterance ivvri single body nicht ivver say ower dir hael lifetime, seein as nae spaeker maks da sam utterance twice ower. Hit gings ithoot sayin at a description o a grammar tries tae catch aa da main distinctive features at ties a language tagidder. Hit's a fact at aa Shetlanders understaand da absolute maist o whit is seid bi idder Shetlanders, despite da differs at de ir ower da speech community. Hit's dis systematic *ø*s o utterances at maks up da language we spaek about as bein Shaetlan.

Every living natural language is varied and dynamic. It is normal for a language to change over time. In fact, no speaker ever makes the exact same utterance twice, but the absolute variations within a single speaker are so minimal that they become irrelevant. Variations across a speech community tend to be more noticeable and over time all languages change to some degree. Some languages change faster than others and more radically than others. But it is a fact that the only kind of language that does not change is one that is no longer used (has gone extinct).

It is also normal for a language to show variation between different regions (**dialects**) and between different social groups (**sociolects**). All known languages show some kind of variation. Again, no speaker makes the same utterance twice, but again, the variations within a single speaker, or within a single family, tend to be so minimal that they end up being irrelevant.

Just like any other language, Shaetlan has both dialectal and sociolectal variation. It is often assumed that "Shetland must be the most linguistically diverse place on earth". That is incorrect. There are many areas in the world that show much greater linguistic variation, also on a smaller area. The linguistically most diverse place per km² known on earth is Vanuatu, with 138 different languages that all have internal variation. In Shetland there are two major languages: Shaetlan and Shetland English. Most of the variation of these two languages in Shetland relates to **accent** (way of pronunciation), and this is what most speakers tend to be most aware of. However, Shaetlan also shows dialectal variation in its lexicon and grammar, as would be expected in an archipelago like this. For example, we have found that there is regional variation in whether speakers differentiate between the verbal particle *tae* (*tae spaek* 'to speak') and the preposition *til* (*gie til her* 'give to her') or whether

speakers have a possessive plural (*mines/dines*) or not. The sociolectal variation in Shaetlan mostly relates to how much influence Shetland English has had on the language. For example, those more exposed to English, through writing, literature, education or employment, tend to copy the grammar of English even if they use Shaetlan words, such as using *du* to everyone (and not making politeness distinctions, or sometimes even using it in the plural!), or using either only *tae* or only *til* for both the verbal particle and the preposition, or using *fur* in every context (and not differentiating between *fur* and *fir*), and so on. The linguistic term for this is **pattern replication**, where the pattern of one language is taken over into the other language. We tend to indicate such variation in the relevant sections in this primer.

No grammatical description ever claims to capture every facet of a language. That would be impossible because it would mean describing every single individual's every utterance over that individual's entire lifetime, since no speaker makes the same utterance twice. It goes without saying that a grammatical description aims to capture the main distinctive features that ties a language together. It is a fact that all Shetlanders understand the absolute majority of the utterances made by other Shetlanders, despite the variations across the speech community. It is this systematic use of utterances that makes up the language we refer to as Shaetlan.

1.8 About dis primer

Dis primer gies a overview o whit wye Shaetlan is pitten tagidder. Hit's designed tae gie peerie grains o accessible information about whit different features o Shaetlan de ir fir a total beginner an new haands tae idder Shaetlan or linguistics (or baith). Da basic linguistic terminology is gien whar it's needit an is gaddered atidda look-up glossary at da hinder end. Dis primer is onli fir giein a peerie taest. Hit's baessed on naethin bit wir ain resaerch, participant observation, an whit we ken as linguists, fieldwarkers an L1 spaekers o Shaetlan. Fir mair in-depth spaেকেens an fir mair references, you can lippen wir *Grammar* an wir *Dictionary* firbye, at you'll be able tae fin at: <https://www.iheardee.com/shaetlan/shaetlan-grammar-dictionary> (bein wrocht wi).

As you'll be seen aareidy, dis primer is bilingual wi Shaetlan as da deafult, an wi English translation tae ging alang wi it section bi section.

This primer gives a general overview of the structure of Shaetlan. It is designed to give bite sized and accessible information about the different features of Shaetlan for the complete beginner and newcomer to Shaetlan and/or to linguistics. Basic linguistic terminology is given where needed and collated in the look-up glossary at the end. This primer provides an initial sketch only. It is based exclusively on our own research, participant observation and knowledge (as linguists, fieldworkers and L1 speakers of Shaetlan). For more in-depth discussions and for further references, see our forthcoming *Grammar* as well as *Dictionary*, which will be available at: <https://www.iheardee.com/shaetlan/shaetlan-grammar-dictionary> (in preparation).

As has been seen already, this primer is bilingual with Shaetlan as the default, and an accompanying English translation section by section.

2 Phonology: da soond system o Shaetlan

Phonology is da study o soonds, an dis section spaeks about da soond system o Shaetlan.

Phonology is the study of sounds and this section describes the sound system of Shaetlan.

2.1 Da major phonemes o Shaetlan

Ivvri language haes a system o **contrastive soonds (phonemes)**. Dis contrastive soonds (phonemes) is da peeriest units at distinguishes meaneens idda language, so if you swappit onli ee soond ithin a wurd, da meaneen'll be cheinged. Fir example, in English da soonds /s/, /ɪ/ an /t/ maks da wurd *sit*. Bit if we gied an swappit jüst een o yun soonds, laek swappin da hindmaist een tae /p/ we git *sip*, an dat means sumthin totally idder. Da phonemes o a language is dem at, fir da maist part, maks up da toolbox o meaneen distinguishin soonds. Aa spokken languages haes baith vowels an consonants.

Da neest twartree sections'll describe dis vowels an consonants at's maistli contrastive in Shaetlan, i.e. da major **phonemes** o Shaetlan. Dis is baessed apün Shaetlan accents (voices) fae aa ower, so hit'll no leet wi ivvri peerie differ at can be fun atween ivvri parish o Shetland. Reider, whit dis is describin is, ithin a braali gineral wye, da contrastive soonds at maks da average body, nivver leetin whar in Shetland exactly da body is fae, hear a parteeclar wurd wi a parteeclar meaneen whin a parteeclar strip o maistli seemlar soonds faas oot o da mooth. In idder wurd, da phonemes isna da very parteeclar soonds o a certain spaeker, bit d'ir da gineral soond system at maks da community o spaekers able tae understand een anidder atween da accents o da districts.

Every language has a system of **contrastive sounds (phonemes)**. These contrastive sounds (phonemes) are the smallest units that distinguish meanings in the language, so that if you swap only one sound in a word the meaning will be changed. For example, in English the sounds /s/, /ɪ/ and /t/ form the word *sit*. But if we swap only one of those sounds, for example swap the last one to /p/ we get *sip*, which means something entirely different. The phonemes of a language are those sounds which, broadly speaking, make up the toolbox of meaning distinguishing sounds. Every spoken language has both vowels and consonants.

The following sections will describe the generally contrastive vowels and consonants of Shaetlan, i.e. the major **phonemes** of Shaetlan. This is based on a broad spectrum of Shaetlan accents (voices) and will not cover all the individual variations that can be found in pretty much every parish of Shaetlan. Rather, what this describes is, in very broad terms, the contrastive sounds that makes the

general population, irrespective of exactly where in Shetland they are from, hear a certain word with a certain meaning when a certain string of broadly similar sounds are uttered. In other words, the phonemes are not the absolute sounds of a given speaker, but the general sound system that makes the community of speakers able to understand each other across regional accents.

2.1.1 Vowels

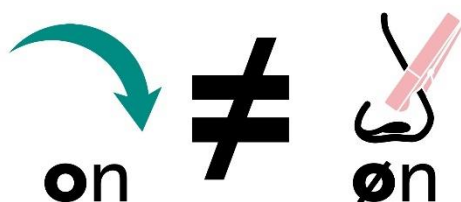
Vowels is formed bi lattin air blaa ithoot onythin idda wye fae da lungs tae da mooth. Whit odds dey ir atween da vowel soonds is maed bi cheingin da position o da tongue inna da mooth. A **monophthong** is a single vowel soond, wharas a **diphthong** is whin da vowel soond cheinges idda middle o da pronunciation. Vowels can be “strong” (stressed) or “waik” (unstressed). Shaetlan haes da follooin major vowel phonemes:

Vowels are formed by letting the air flow freely from the lungs through the mouth. The differences between vowel sounds are made by changing the position of the tongue in the mouth. A **monophthong** is a single vowel sound, whereas a **diphthong** is when the vowel sound changes during the pronunciation. Vowels can be “strong” (stressed) or “weak” (unstressed). Shaetlan has the following major vowel phonemes:

Stressed monophthongs		
i	high front unrounded vowel	/stikət/ (steekit), /birsi/ (birsie)
y	high front rounded vowel	/ʃyn/ (shün)
e	mid front unrounded vowel	/me:lɪʃən/ (maillishon)
ɛ	lowered mid front unrounded vowel	/tɛkit/ (taekit)
ɛ	mid-low front unrounded vowel	/pɛ:x/ (pech)
ø	mid front rounded vowel	/jøl/ (Yøl)
a	low central unrounded vowel	/hɛntilɑ:gəts/ (hentilaagets)
u	high back rounded vowel	/du/ (du), /suk/ (sook)
o	mid back rounded vowel	/gjo:/ (gyo)
ɔ	mid-low back rounded vowel	/glɔ:f/ (gluff)
ɑ	low back unrounded vowel	/stand/ (stand; regionally occurring pronunciation)
ɒ	low back rounded vowel	/ənpɔ:χ/ (enyoch)
Unstressed monophthongs		
ɪ	near-high near-front unrounded vowel	/tɛkɪt/ (taekit)
ə	mid central unrounded vowel (schwa)	/stikət/ (steekit), /gairɛr/ (guizer), /dəmoərn/ (damoarn)
ɐ	near-low central unrounded vowel	/swa:rɐ/ (swaara)

Diphthongs	
oɐ	/voɐr/ (voar)
ɛɪ	/ˈmɛɪfluɐr/ (meyfloer)
ɔɪ	/fɔɪ/ (foy)
eɐ	/beɐrn/ (bairn)
aɪ	/grais/ (grice), /blaid/ (blyde), /wai/ (wye), /gɔɪzɐr/ (guizer)
eɜ	/kɛɜrd/ (kaird)
au	/traui/ (trowie)

2.1.1.1 Front rounded vowels



Da soonds /ø/ an /y/ ir weel-kent an gyaan naewye in Shaetlan. It is whit dey caa front rounded vowels. Techincally d’ir caaed “front roondit vowels” an d’ir maed in da sam wye at /i/ an /e/ is, excep fir da roondeen o da lips. In idder wirds, da only differ de ir atween *lay*/le:/ an *lø* (‘listen clossly’) is at wi *lay* da lips is a peerie bit streeched, but wi *lø* da lips is roondit; an da only differ de ir atween *shin* /ʃɪn/ an *shün* (‘in a peerie start’) is at wi *shin* da lips is a peerie bit stretched but wi *shün* da lips is roondit. Dis soonds is meaneen distinguishin an de sud be shaan tae hae a differ atidda spelleen o dem. Becis <y> is wint tae shaa a soond laek a /i/ trowe da influence o English, w’ir pickit <ü> fir da high roondit vowel. Fir da mid front roondit vowel w’ir pickit <ø> (see below).

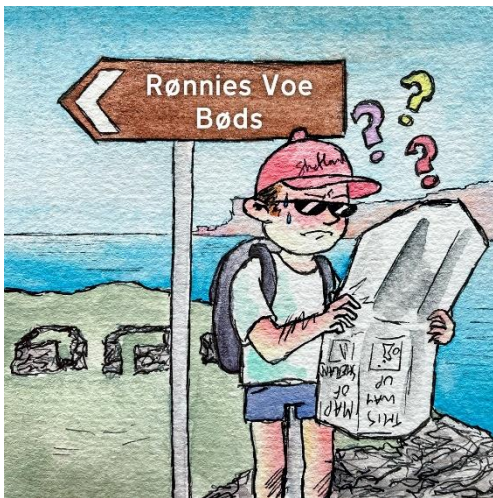
Aald English haed dem, an Aald Norse did an aa – da twa main ancestors o Shaetlan. Dis soonds isna fun aa dat affen aroon da wirl, an is onli fun in Eurasian languages. Da Scandinavian languages, as weel as German an French hae dem. Nearly aa English varieties is lost dem, bit you can still fin dem in Northumbrian English.

The sounds /ø/ and /y/ are still prolific and very stable in Shaetlan. Technically they are front rounded vowels. They are formed in the same way as /i/ and /e/, with the only difference being that the lips

are rounded. In other words, the only difference between *lay* /le:/ and *lø* ('listen intently') /lø:/ is that with *lay* the lips are slightly stretched, but with *lø* the lips are rounded; and the only difference between *shin* /ʃin/ and *shün* ('soon') /ʃyn/ is that with *shin* the lips are slightly stretched but with *shün* the lips are rounded. These sounds are meaning distinguishing and should be differentiated in the spelling. Because <y> is often used to indicate an /i/-like sound through influence from English, we have chosen to use <ü> for the high front rounded vowel. For the mid front rounded vowel we have chosen <ø> (see below).

Old English had them, as did Old Norse, the main ancestors of Shaetlan. They are uncommon world-wide and is almost only found in Eurasian languages. The Scandinavian languages, German and French have them. Almost all English varieties have lost them, but they remain in Northumbrian English.

NAE DIFFER ATWEEN <Ø> AN <Ö>



Twartree bøds in Rønnies Voe.

Da soond /ø/ can be spellt wi <ö>. Eider spelleen is fine, an some languages øses ø (laek Norwegian), wharas idders øses ö (laek Swedish). Whit is important is tae shaa at hit's a front rounded vowel. In idder wirds, tae øs <o> wid be wrang, fur yun shaas a fairly diffrent soond. Fir example, da wurd *on* means 'on', bit da wurd *øn* (or *ön*) means 'vaam, smoorin air'. Da twa soonds is meaneen distinguishin an de sud be a differ idda spelleen an aa tae shaa dat. In idder wirds, spellin *bød* as "bod" wid be wrang, as it pits across twa soonds at's no da sam ava.

Wir pickit <ø> as it's da sam as whit's øsed idda International Phonetic Alphabet. Firby, hit's da sam symbol at Aald Norse an Aald English baith øsed, and d'ir da twa main ultimate ancestors o Shaetlan. An on tap o dat, hit's da symbol fir da front rounded vowel øsed ithin aa da descendants o Wast Norse (Norwegian, Icelandic an Faroese), and in dis peerie wye it shaas aff da closs linguistic an cultural ties Shaetlan haes ootbye idda idder plaesses about da Nort Atlantic.

Pictir: Julie Dennison.

A few bøds in Rønnies Voe.

The sound /ø/ is sometimes spelled as <ö>. Either spelling is fine, and some languages use ø (e.g. Norwegian) while others use ö (e.g. Swedish). What is important is to indicate that it is a front rounded vowel. In other words, to use <o> would be wrong, because that indicates a completely different sound. For example, the word *on* means ‘on’ but the word *øn* (or *ön*) means ‘odor; stuffy atmosphere’. The two sounds are meaning distinguishing and should be distinguished in spelling too. In other words, spelling *bød* as “bod” would be wrong: it implies two completely different sounds.

We have chosen <ø> because it is the same as the symbol in the International Phonetic Alphabet. It is also the same symbol as both Old Norse and Old English used, the two main ultimate ancestors of Shaetlan. Furthermore, it is the symbol for the front rounded vowel used in all the descendants of Western Norse (Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese), and as such neatly captures the linguistic affinity of Shaetlan with the wider North Atlantic cultural area.

Picture: Julie Dennison.

2.1.2 Consonants

Consonants is maed bi blockin da airflow on it’s wye fae da lungs oot trowe da mooth. Dis can be døn in twartree different mainners an at twartree different plaesses, an dat affects da soond at’s maed. Wi **stops** da air is completely cut aff fir a peerie bit; wi **nasals** da air gings trowe da neb reider as da mooth; wi **trills** da tongue maks a trillin soond sumwye idda mooth; wi **fricatives** da air is pitten trowe a peerie oppeneen, **affricates** ir a combination o a stop an a fricative; **approximants** onli maks a braali waik closure fir da airflow an d’ir seemlar tae maist vowels. Dis kinds o obstructions can idder be døn bi da lips (**bilabials** an **labiodentals**), wi da tongue at sum point alang da herd or saft goom at da rüf o da mooth (**dentals**, **alveolars**, **palatals** an **velars**), or doon idda hass fir deeper soonds (**uvulars**, an **glottals**). Consonants can be **voiced** or **voiceless**: if yir vocal coards berr whin you say a consonant, he’s voiced (laek *b, d, g, z, v*, etc); if yir vocal chords dunna berr whin you say da consonant, he’s voiceless (laek *p, t, k, s, f*, etc). Shaetlan haes da follooin major consonant phonemes:

Consonants are formed by obstructing the airflow on its way from the lungs out through the mouth. This can be done in various manners and at various places, and that affects the sound produced. With **stops** the air is completely cut off for an instant; with **nasals** the air passes through the nose rather than the mouth; with **trills** the tongue creates a trilling sound at some place in the mouth; with **fricatives** the air passes through a small opening; **affricates** are a combination of a stop and a fricative; **approximants** create only a very weak closure for the airflow and are the most similar to vowels. These kinds of obstructions can either be done by the lips (**bilabials** and **labiodentals**), with the

tongue at some point along the hard or soft gum at the roof of the mouth (**dentals, alveolars, palatals** and **velars**), or down in the throat for deeper sounds (**uvulars**, and **glottals**). Consonants can be **voiced** or **voiceless**: if your vocal chords vibrate when you produce a consonant, it is voiced (such as *b, d, g, z, v*, etc); if the vocal chords do not vibrate while you produce the consonant, it is voiceless (such as *p, t, k, s, f*, etc) Shaetlan has the following major consonant phonemes:

p	voiceless bilabial stop	/pɛ:x/ (pech)
b	voiced bilabial stop	/bɛərn/ (bairn)
t	voiceless alveolar stop	/tɛkit/ (taekit)
d	voiced alveolar stop	/dɛmoərn/ (damoarn)
k	voiceless velar stop	/kɪʃi/ (kishie); /ka:/ (caa)
g	voiced velar stop	/glɔf:/ (gluff)
f	voiceless labiodental fricative	/fɔɪ/ (foy)
v	voiced labiodental fricative	/voər/ (voar)
θ	voiceless dental fricative	/əθu:t/ (ithoot)
s	voiceless alveolar fricative	/suk/ (sook)
z	voiced alveolar fricative	/gəɪzər/ (guizer); /bɔ:zi/ (bosie)
ʃ	voiceless postalveolar fricative	/ʃa:ɪd/ (shaald)
ʒ	voiced postalveolar fricative	/dəri:ʒən/ (dereeshion)
x	voiceless velar fricative	/pɛ:x/ (pech)
h	voiceless glottal fricative	/hɛɪ/ (helli)
ts	voiceless alveolar affricate	/hɛntɪlɑ:gəts/ (hentilaagets)
tʃ	voiceless postalveolar affricate	/tʃɔ:f.d/ (chuffed), /plʊtʃ/ (plootch)
m	bilabial nasal	/ˈmɛɪfluər/ (meyfloer)
n	alveolar nasal	/nu:st/ (noost)
ɲ	palatal nasal	/ɲa:f/ (nyaaf)
ŋ	velar nasal	/swɪŋkɪ/ (swingkl)
r	alveolar trill	/ru:g/ (roog)
l	alveolar lateral	/blɑɪd/ (blyde)
ɭ	voiced alveolar lateral approximant (“thick l”)	/ʃa:ɪd/ (shaald)
ɹ	voiceless labiovelar approximant	/ɹɪt/ (whit)
w	voiced labiovelar approximant	/wərsɪt/ (wirset)
j	palatal approximant	/jɔl/ (Yøl)

2.1.2.1 Da dental fricatives



Da Standard English “th” sounds is afaal rare, onli fun ithin about 7.5% o da languages o da wairld. Linguistically d’ir caaed ‘dental/alveolar non-sibilant fricatives’ an da phonetic symbols fir dem is /θ/ fir da voiceless soond in *think* (/θɪŋk/) and /ð/ fir da voiced soond in *them* (/ðɛm/). Phonetically d’ir braali whiet an herd tae mak oot. In Shaetlan, jüst laek in maist varieties o English an Scots aroon da wairld, dis soonds is maistli herdent tae da plosives /t/ an /d/ (at’s aesier tae mak oot), as in *tink* (/tɪŋk/) an *dem* (/dɛm/), aless inna sum wairds (laek *ithoot* ‘without’, pronounced /əθ’ut/).

Pictir: Julie Dennison.

The Standard English “th” sounds are very rare, found only in ca 7.5% of the languages of the world. Linguistically they are called ‘dental/alveolar non-sibilant fricatives’ and the phonetic symbols for them are /θ/ for the voiceless sound in *think* (/θɪŋk/) and /ð/ for the voiced sound in *them* (/ðɛm/). Phonetically they are very quiet and hard to perceive. In Shaetlan, just like in most varieties of English and Scots around the world, these sounds have mostly hardened to the more perceptible plosives /t/ and /d/ as in *tink* (/tɪŋk/) and *dem* (/dɛm/), except inside some words (like *ithoot* ‘without’, pronounced /əθ’ut/).

Picture: Julie Dennison).

2.1.2.2 Da voiceless velar fricative

SKAETIN ON A FROZEN “LOCK”?



Shaetlan haes a consonant at soonds a peerie bit laek clearin da back o yir trott. Hit’s spelt <ch> an it’s caaed a voicless velar fricative /x/. Dis consonant is whit dey caa a phoneme – dat means at hit’s meaneen distinguishin: swappin dis soon fir anidder cheinges da meaneen o da wird. Fir example <loch> (pronounced /lɒx/) means ‘lake’ wharas <lock> (pronounced /lɒk/) means ‘tae shut (laek a door)’, an <pech> (pronounced /pɛx/) means ‘tae braithe heivy’ wharas <peck> means ‘tae bite wi a neb (laek a hen aetin)’.

Standirt English dɒsna ae da voiceless velar fricative athin its consonant system, so spaekkers o Standirt English øses da “herd” k-soond fir Shaetlan <ch>-wirds braaly aft. Bit dis fairly cheinges da meaneen o da wird. Tae spaek about a “skating on a frozen lock” or “pecking in the heat” dɒsna mak muckle sense. Da twa soonds sud be keepit apairt, an dat’s why d’ir no spelt da sam.

Da voicelss velar fricative is affen fun trowe da languages o da wirld. German haes it an aa, an hit’s idda naem o da ert-kent composer J. S. Bach: hit sud be pronounced /bax/ wi yun saft frushin soond at da back o yir trott, an no /bak/ wi a “herd” k-soond.

Shaetlan has a consonant that sounds a bit like softly clearing the back of your throat. It is spelled <ch> and is called a voiceless velar fricative /x/. This consonant is a so-called phoneme, which means that it is meaning distinguishing: swapping this sound for another changes the meaning of the word. For example <loch> (pronounced /lɒx/) means ‘lake’ while <lock> (pronounced /lɒk/) means ‘to close (as in a door)’, and <pech> (pronounced /pɛx/) means ‘to pant’ while <peck> means ‘to bite with a beak (as in a hen eating)’.

Standard English does not have the voiceless velar fricative in its consonant system, so speakers of Standard English very often use the “hard” k-sound for Shaetlan <ch>-words. But this alters the meaning of the word completely. To speak about “skating on a frozen lock” or “pecking in the heat”

doesn't make much sense. The two sounds should be kept apart, which is also why they are spelled differently.

The voiceless velar fricative is common among the languages of the world. German also has it and it is in the name of the famous composer J. S. Bach: it should be pronounced /bax/ with that soft hissing noise at the back of your throat, and not /bak/ with a "hard" k-sound.

2.1.2.3 Da kn- soonds

Tae knap in Shaetlan means tae spaek English (in a akwirt wye). Da wird *knap* originally meant 'tae doose, ding' in baith Middle English an Aald Scots. Bit hit's bøn øsed wi da meaneen o "tae spaek in a akwirt wye" fae at laest 1581.

Hit's pronounced /knap/ wi da <kn> seid jüst laek it's spelt, k- + -n-. In fact de'r a braa few peerie plaesses in Shetland whar <kn> is seid in full, so at *knife*, *knowe*, *knee*, *knot* etc is pronounced /knaif/, /knau/, /kni:/ an /knɔt/ (no /nɪf/, /ni:/, /nɒt/ laek wi Standirt English, whar da k- isna pronounced). Dis is laek idder Germanic languages, whar baith da k- an da -n- is soounded oot, laek in da German *Knie* (/kni:/) an Swedish *knä* (/knæ:/), 'knee'. Da k- in wirds laek *knife*, *knot* an *knee* cam tae be unspokken aboot da 16C idda English varieties, bit ithin Scots varieties yun cheinge happent laetter. Bi noo *kn-* pronunciations is completely geen fae maist Scots varieties. Hit could be at Shaetlan is keepit dis pronunciation trowe hit bein fun in da Scandinavian substrate firbye.

To knap in Shaetlan means to speak English (in an affected manner). The word *knap* originally meant 'to strike, knock' in both Middle English and Old Scots. But it has been used with the meaning of "to speak in an affected manner" since at least 1581.

It is pronounced /knap/ with the <kn> sounded out as k- + -n-. In fact, there are a fair few regions in Shetland where <kn> is fully sounded out, so that *knife*, *knowe* ('hillock'), *knee*, *knot* etc are pronounced /knaif/, /knau/, /kni:/ and /knɔt/ (not /nɪf/, /ni:/, /nɒt/ as in Standard English, where the k- is silent). This is similar to other Germanic languages, where both the k- and the -n- are sounded out, like in German *Knie* (/kni:/) and Swedish *knä* (/knæ:/), 'knee'. The k- in such words as *knife*, *knight* and *knee* became silent around the 16C in the English varieties, but in the Scots varieties that change happened later. By now *kn-* pronunciations are obsolete in most Scots varieties. It is possible that Shaetlan has kept this pronunciation through reinforcement from the Scandinavian substrate.

2.2 Da syllables o Shaetlan

Phonemes is pitten tagidder tae form bigger units, syllables, and dey in turn form wirds. A syllable is really jüst a unit o speech soond(s) at can be seid on dir ain. Ivvri syllable at its hert haes a vowel or a soond at's laek a vowel (V), so da peeriest syllable in ony language is maed wi ee single vowel, laek da Shaetlan indefinite article *a*.

Shaetlan alocs fir braali complicated syllables, wi up tae tree consonants (C) afore an efter da core, as shaan below.

V	CV/VC	CCV/VCC	CVC	CCVCC	CCCVCCC
<i>a</i> , <i>ee</i> 'one'	<i>coo</i> 'cow' <i>at</i> 'that'	<i>kloo</i> 'ball of yarn' <i>aert</i> 'earth'	<i>sook</i> 'suck'	<i>stand</i>	<i>strents</i> 'strengths'

Phonemes are put together to form larger units, syllables, which in turn form words. A syllable is essentially a unit of speech sound(s) which can be pronounced in isolation. Every syllable has a core of a vowel or vowel like sound (V), so the smallest syllable in any language consists only of one vowel, like the Shaetlan indefinite article *a*. Shaetlan allows fairly complex syllables, with up to three consonants (C) before and after the core, as shown above.

2.3 Prosody: Da melody an rhythm o Shaetlan

Prosody describes da rhythm an melody o a language: da intonation, da pitch, da duration and da loodness o soonds. In Shaetlan, syllables hae different lents an stresses, an langer strings o wirds haes different kinds o intonation (risin, faain, or level).

Prosody describes the rhythm and melody of a language: the intonation, the pitch, the duration of sounds and the loudness of sounds. In Shaetlan syllables have different length and stress, and larger utterances have different kinds of intonation (rising, falling, or level).

2.3.1 Lent

Shaetlan haes lang an short vowels baith. Hoosumivver, de'r no wint tae distinguish wirds' meaneens, bit reider dey come tae be lang or short depeindin on whar dey shaa up ithin a wird. Linguistically dis means at dey irna phonemic, bit dey hae **complementary distribution** atween dem, meanin at de'r certain kinds o combinations o soonds at's short, an fir idders at's lang. Lang vowels is jüst eens at's pronounced a peerie start langer as short vowels. Da gineral rules is tae shaa a lang vowel wi a : (as in /a:/). Twartree examples o short an lang pairs is:

/hɛɪ/ (helli)

/pɛ:x/ (pech)

/had/ (hadd)

/ɲa:f/ (nyaaf)

Shaetlan haes lang an short consonants an aa. Agein, a lang consonant jüst means at it's pronounced fir a peerie start langer as a short een. Sum examples o lang consonants is:

/gɫɔf:/ (gluff)

/tɪk:/ (tick)

Shaetlan has both long and short vowels. However, they do not tend to be meaning distinguishing, but rather be long or short depending on where they occur in a word. Linguistically this is means that they are not phonemic, but stand in **complementary distribution** to each other, meaning that for certain kinds of sound combinations they are short, and for other they are long. Long vowels are simply pronounced for a slightly longer time than short vowels. The general rule is to mark a long vowel with a : (as in /a:/). Some examples of short versus long pairs are:

/hɛɪ/ (helli)

/pɛ:x/ (pech)

/had/ (hadd)

/ɲa:f/ (nyaaf)

Shaetlan also has long and short consonants. Again, a long consonant simply means that it is pronounced for slightly longer than a short one. Some examples of long consonants are:

/gɫɔf:/ (gluff)

/tɪk:/ (tick)

2.3.2 Stress

Stress (caaed accent firbye) is whit comes fae cheingin hoo lood you say sumthin: a looder or mair prominent syllable is a **stressed** een (noo an agein caaed “strong” ithin non-linguistic writeens) an a waiker or less prominent syllable is a **unstressed** een (noo an agein caaed “waik” in non-linguistic writeens). Ithin Shaetlan, stress maks a odds espeeially inna da peerie wirds, so at de'll be twa forms fir twartree o da pronouns an twartree o da prepositions, dependin on whidder d'ir in a stressed position or no, laek:

my (stressed) ~ *mi* (unstressed)

dy (stressed) ~ *di* (unstressed)

himsel (stressed) ~ *him* (unstressed)

demsels (stressed) ~ *dem* (unstressed)

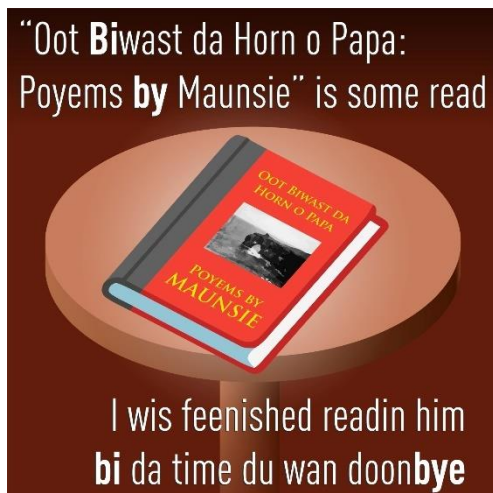
by (stressed) ~ *bi* (unstressed)

Da odds de ir idda grammar atween aa dis forms'll be shaan idda relivant sections ferder trowe, bit in general stress an emphasis is wint tae ging tagidder, in da wye at da stressed form is whit's øsed if a grain o emphasis is needit.

Stress (also called accent) is produced by different degrees of loudness: a louder or more prominent syllable is a **stressed** one (sometimes called “strong” in non-linguistic literature) and a weaker or less prominent syllable is an **unstressed** one (sometimes called “weak” in non-linguistic literature). In Shaetlan stress plays a role especially in the small words, so that there will be two forms for some of the pronouns and some of the prepositions, depending on whether they are in a stressed position or not, such as:

my (stressed) ~ *mi* (unstressed)
dy (stressed) ~ *di* (unstressed)
himsel (stressed) ~ *him* (unstressed)
demsels (stressed) ~ *dem* (unstressed)
by (stressed) ~ *bi* (unstressed)

The grammatical difference between these various forms will be shown in the relevant sections below, but in general stress and emphasis tend to go hand in hand, in that it is the stressed form that is used if some kind of emphasis is needed.



Shaetlan haes twa forms ‘by’: da unstressed *bi* (/bɪ/) an da stressed *by* (/baɪ/), as in:

— *He cam bi himsel*

versus

— *Da poyem by Maunsie.*

Da twa forms bides apairt in compounds firbye, whar da stressed *bi-* shaas up at da begineen o a wird an tells you aboot whit wye sumthin's gyaan, wharas da stressed *-bye*⁵ sits apø da ends o wirds an tells you aboot whar sumthin is:

— *Oot biwast da Horn o Papa*

versus

— *A'm pitten dem doonbye.*

Dis differentiation is braali aald an gings straicht back tae Aald English. Da ultimate origin o da baith o da forms is da Proto-Germanic **bi* 'by, at, closs, aroon' at comes fae Proto-Indo-European **h₁epi* 'on, at, closs'. In Aald English de cam tae be twa forms, da strong or stressed *bî, bī, by, bij, bei*, and da waik or unstressed *bĭ, bĕ*. The strong/stressed form wis øsed fir adverbs an strong prepositions an da waik/unstressed form fir verbal prefixes an waik prepositions. Da wye de wir keepit saeperit is ey bidden da sam in da nortaboot an Scots varieties ivver fae syne. Tae "correct" dis twa *bi/by* forms tae merge wi een or da tidder wid be baith wrang baith linguistically an historically.

Shaetlan has two forms for 'by': the unstressed *bi* (/bɪ/) and the stressed *by* (/baɪ/), as in:

— *He cam bi himsel.* ('He came by himself.')

versus

— *Da poyem by Maunsie.* ('The poem by Maunsie.')

The two forms remain distinct also in compounds, where the unstressed *bi-* appears at the beginning of the word and indicates a direction, while the stressed *-bye*⁶ sits at the end of words and indicates location:

— *Oot biwast da Horn o Papa.* ('Out westward of the Horn of Papa.')

versus

— *A'm pitten dem doonbye.* ('I've put them down there [at a known location].')

This differentiation is very old and goes straight back to Old English. The ultimate origin of both forms is the Proto-Germanic **bi* 'by, at, near, around' which comes from Proto-Indo-European **h₁epi* 'on, at, near'. In Old English two forms emerged, the strong or stressed *bî, bī, by, bij, bei*, and the weak or unstressed *bĭ, bĕ*. The strong/stressed form was used for adverbs and strong prepositions and the

⁵ Becis o da wye at da last element is ey braali stressed ithin locational compounds, da wye maist fukk is wint tae spell it is *-bye*. W'ir follooin dis convention.

⁶ Due to the highly stressed nature of the last element in locational compounds, the general intuition is to spell it as *-bye*. We are following this convention.

weak/unstressed form for verbal prefixes and weak prepositions. This differentiation has remained consistent in the northern and Scots varieties ever since. To “correct” these two *bi/by* forms to merge with one or the other would be both linguistically and historically misguided.

2.4 Spellin in Shaetlan

Da follooin spelleen conventions is øsed ithin dis primer an da hale o da Shaetlan Project. Fir a far mair detailed discussion aboot da idees fir dis spelleen system, see *Spellin in Shaetlan* at <https://www.iheardee.com/shaetlan/spellin-in-shaetlan> .

As is wint tae be døn wi idder languages wirldwide, da lent o a soond (quantity) is shaan wi a dooble-up grapheme. Fir example, a lang vowel is shaan wi dat vowel grapheme doobled-up, as in *waar* /wa:r/, *maak* /ma:k/, *taak* /ta:k/. Lang or stressed consonants is shaan wi a doobled-up grapheme, laek in *tell* /teł/, *bigg* /big/, *brinnie* /bryni/. Wi da lang or stressed velar soond w’ir pickit a system seen as aft internationally tae render it wi <ck>, laek in *puckle* /pøkł/, *muckle* /møkł/, *back* /bak/. As wi ony transcription system, de’r ey twartree exceptions tae dis at’s established demsels troo hoo aft d’ir øsed, e.g. <fokk> fir /fɔ:k/ (wi a lang vowel).

Sound	Description	Representation	Example	Pronunciation
Consonants				
p	voiceless bilabial stop	p	pech	/pɛ:x/
b	voiced bilabial stop	b	bairn	/beərn/
t	voiceless alveolar stop	t	taekit	/tɛkɪt/
d	voiced alveolar stop	d	damoarn	/dæmoərn/
k	voiceless velar stop	k/c ⁷	kishie/caa	/kɪʃi/; /ka:/
g	voiced velar stop	g	gluff	/gɫɔf/
f	voiceless labiodental fricative	f	foy	/fɔɪ/
v	voiced labiodental fricative	v	voar	/voər/
θ	voiceless dental fricative	th	ithoot	/əθu:t/
s	voiceless alveolar fricative	s	sook	/suk/
z	voiced alveolar fricative	z/s	guizer/bosie	/gəzər/; /bɔ:zi/
ʃ	voiceless postalveolar fricative	sh	shaald	/ʃa:ld/
ʒ	voiced postalveolar fricative	sh	dereeshion	/dəri:ʒən/
x	voiceless velar fricative	ch	pech	/pɛ:x/
h	voiceless glottal fricative	h	helli	/hɛɫɪ/
ts	voiceless alveolar affricate	ts	hentilagets	/hentɪla:gɛts/
tʃ	voiceless postalveolar affricate	ch/tch	chuffed, ploodch	/tʃɔf:d/, /pluʃ/
m	bilabial nasal	m	meyfloer	/ˈmɛɪfluər/
n	alveolar nasal	n	noost	/nust/
ɲ	palatal nasal	ny	nyaaf	/ɲa:f/
ŋ	velar nasal	ng	swingkl	/swɪŋkɫ/
r	alveolar trill	r	roog	/ru:g/
l	alveolar lateral	l	blyde	/blɪd/
ɭ	voiced alveolar lateral approximant (“thick l”)	l	shaald	/ʃa:ld/
ɱ	voiceless labiovelar approximant	wh	whit	/mɪt/
w	voiced labiovelar approximant	w	wirset	/wərsɪt/
j	palatal approximant	y	Yøl	/jøl/

Stressed monophthongs				
i	high front unrounded vowel	ee ⁸ , ie	steekit, birsie	/stikət/, /bɪrsi/
y	high front rounded vowel	ü	shün	/ʃyn/
e	mid front unrounded vowel	ai	maillishon	/me:lɪʃən/
ɛ	lowered mid front unrounded vowel	ae	taekit	/tɛkɪt/
ɛ	mid-low front unrounded vowel	e	pech	/pɛ:x/
ø	mid front rounded vowel	ø	Yøl	/jøl/
a	low central unrounded vowel	a	hentilaagets	/hentɪla:gəts/
u	high back rounded vowel	u, oo	du, sook	/du/, /suk/
o	mid back rounded vowel	o	gyo	/gjo:/
ɔ	mid-low back rounded vowel	u	gluff	/gɫɔf/
ɑ	low back unrounded vowel	a	stand	/stand/ (regionally occurring pronunciation)
ɒ	low back rounded vowel	o	enyoch	/əɲɔ:χ/
Unstressed monophthongs				
ɪ	near-high near-front unrounded vowel	i	taekit	/tɛkɪt/
ə	mid central unrounded vowel (schwa)	i, e, a	steekit, guizer, damoarn	/stikət/, /gaɪzər/, /dəmoərn/
ɐ	near-low central unrounded vowel	a	swaara	/swa:rɐ/

⁷ The choice of **grapheme** (representative symbol) has where possible been made based on available etymological information. The exception to that is the contact induced convention from Standard English to tend to interpret <ci-, ce-, cy-> as indicating “soft” s-sounds (palatal fricatives or sibilants). Because of that we choose to render “hard” k-sounds (velar plosives) before /i, e, y/ (high front vowels) with <k>, as in *kerry* ‘carry’.

⁸ This is an anglicised spelling, but probably intuitive for most speakers by now.

Diphthongs				
œ		oa	voar	/voər/
ɛɪ		ei	meyfloer	/ˈmɛɪfluər/
ɔɪ		oy	foy	/fɔɪ/
eə		ai	bairn	/beərən/
aɪ		i/y/ye/ui ⁹	grice, blyde, wye, guizer	/graɪs/, /blaɪd/, /waɪ/, /gaɪzər/
eɜ		ai	kaɪrd	/keɜrd/
au		ow ¹⁰	trowie	/traui/

The above spelling conventions are used in this primer and the entire Shaetlan Project. For a very detailed discussion about the principles for this spelling system, see *Spelling in Shaetlan* at <https://www.iheardee.com/english/spelling-in-shaetlan>.

In accordance with the internationally widespread convention, sound length (quantity) is indicated with a doubled grapheme. For example, a long vowel is indicated with the vowel grapheme doubled, as in *waar* /wa:r/, *maak* /ma:k/, *taak* /ta:k/. Long or stressed consonants are indicated with a double grapheme, such as in *tell* /tɛł/, *bigg* /big/, *brünnie* /bryni/. With the long or stressed velar sound we have chosen the internationally common system of rendering it with <ck>, as in *puckle* /pɔkł/, *muckle* /mɔkł/, *back* /bak/. As with any transcription system, there are a few exceptions to this, which have established themselves through frequency of use, e.g. <fokk> for /fɔ:k/ (with a long vowel).

2.4.1 Whin tae øs k an whin tae øs c fir da “herd” k-soond

Baith *k* an *c* is øsed in Shaetlan tae shaa da “herd” *k*-soond (da velar plosive), an whin an whar dir øsed can be confusin. W’ir decidit tae streamline da choice tae ken better whit’s gyaan tae be øsed: w’ir baessin it apø da history o da wurd. Da wurd at comes fae Scandinavian or Low Germanic is spelt wi a *k*, laek *krø* ‘sheep pen’. Da wurd at comes fae Aald English, Latin or da Romance languages is spelt wi a *c*, laek *caa* ‘herd’ an *corbie* ‘raven’. Da exception is Latin or Romance wurd at haes a /sk/- or /k/-soond afore front vowels (“soft” vowels), whar (*s*)*c* implies a soft soond, laek wi *science* an *century*. Here w’ir decidit on spellin da wurd wi a *k* tae shaa da consonant is herd, laek wi *skül* ‘school’ an *kerry* ‘carry’.

Both *k* and *c* are used in Shaetlan to indicate the “hard” *k*-sound (the velar plosive), and the conventions can be confusing. We have chosen to streamline the choice to make it more predictable: we base it on the history of the word. Those words that descend from Scandinavian or Low Germanic are spelled

⁹ All of these are anglified spellings but, as mentioned above, seem to be fairly established. There does not seem to be any immediately discernible complementary distribution; streamlining to <i> with exceptions for <y> and <ui> would probably be closest to the community intuition.

¹⁰ Contact induced anglified spelling.

with a *k*, such as *krø* ‘sheep pen’. Those words that descend from Old English, Latin or the Romance languages are spelled with a *c*, such as *caa* ‘herd’ and *corbie* ‘raven’. The exception is Latin or Romance words that have an /sk/- or /k/-sound before front vowels (“soft” vowels), where (s)c implies a soft sound, as in *science* and *century*. Here we have chosen to spell the words with a *k* to indicate that the consonant is hard, as in *skül* ‘school’ and *kerry* ‘carry’.

2.4.2 Lonnwirds

As is da wye wi maist international orthographies, lonnwirds, whidder de’r fae English or ony idder language, keeps dir original spelleens. So Kensington Gardens, Piccadilly Circus, champaign, rioja, sputnik, tagliatelle, schadenfreude, etc. bides wi dir original spelleens. Da sam is da caess fir aalder lonns, maistli fae Latin an Greek, laek declaration, documentation, variation, psychology, archaeology, etc.

In accordance with general international orthographic conventions, loanwords, whether from English or any other language, keep their original spellings. Thus *Kensington Gardens*, *Piccadilly Circus*, *champaign*, *rioja*, *sputnik*, *tagliatelle*, *schadenfreude*, etc. remain in their original spellings. So do older loans, mainly from Latin and Greek, such as *declaration*, *documentation*, *variation*, *psychology*, *archaeology*, etc.

2.4.3 Silent letters

Shetland is a bilingual community at’s bøn formally lairnt an trained in Standirt English literacy an spelleen. Becis o dat, aa norms o da Standirt English orthography, fir aa at d’ir in a lok o wyes aald farrant an ower herd tae mak oot bi noo, is weel røtit atidda intuitions o Shaetlan spaekers. Da øse o silent <e> an <w> characters is fun aawye ithin da community conventions, fir example blyde /blaid_/, wrocht /_rɔxt/, writin /_raitɪn/, etc. See da sample text doon below (writin, wrot, happened).

Shetland is a bilingual community formally schooled and trained in Standard English literacy and spelling. The conventions of the Standard English orthography, in many ways antiquated and opaque by now, are therefore deeply rooted in the intuitions of Shaetlan speakers. It is extremely widespread to use silent <e> and <w> characters in the community conventions, for example *blyde* /blaid_/, *wrocht* /_rɔxt/, *writin* /_raitɪn/, etc. See the sample text below (*writin*, *wrot*, *happened*).

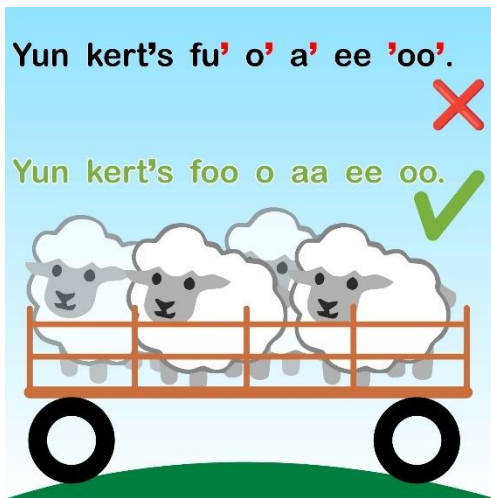
2.4.4 Contractions

De’r a weel røtit intuition tae shaa contractions wi da apostrophe <’>, at parallels twartree idder orthographic conventions aroon da wirld (cf., fir example, French j’ai ‘I hae’ fir je ai, Italian c’è ‘de ir’ fir ci é, German gibt’s ‘de ir’ fir gibt es, etc). We reserve dis fir contractions o twa wirds, sic as *du’s* (fir *du is*), *de’r* (fir *de ir*), *we’ll* (fir *we will*), etc. It sud be notted at dis is onli fir Shaetlan contractions, an no fir situations

whar de'r a odds atween da Shaetlan wye o sayin it an da English wye. Fir example, tae write <'oo' > implies at soonds is bøn contracted, bit dat isna da caess: da Shaetlan wird fir 'wool' (in Standirt English) is oo, so da hale wird is <oo>. In da sam wye, da Shaetlan suffix fir da present participle is /ən/, spelt -in, an dat means at a wird laek winnin doesna hae ony contractions ithin it an so it sudna be spelt wi ony apostrophe. Nottice at de'r ee single exception tae dis rule becis o contact induced influence: da possessive marker -s, laek da *cat's tail*, fir maist fokk is intuitively written wi a apostophe an aa becis o da influence fae Standirt English. Dis isna justified linguistically, seein as it isna a contracted form (an de'r nae lang form equivalent), bit w'ir decidit tae keep dis convention fur fokk is dat wint wi it.

There is a deeply ingrained intuition to indicate contractions with the apostrophe <'>, which parallels a number of other orthographic conventions internationally (cf., for example, French *j'ai* 'I have' for *je ai*, Italian *c'è* 'there is' for *ci é*, German *gibt's* 'there is' for *gibt es*, etc). We have chosen to follow this convention to indicate reduced, unemphasised pronunciations with the apostrophe, such as *du's* (for *du is*), *de'r* (for *de ir*), *we'll* (for *we will*), etc. It should be noted that this is for Shaetlan contractions only, and not situations where the Shaetlan expression is different from English. For example, to write <'oo' > implies that sounds have been contracted, but that is not the case: the Shaetlan word for 'wool' (in Standard English) is *oo*, so the full word is <oo>. Likewise, the Shaetlan suffix for the present participle is /ən/, spelled -in, which means that a word like *winnin* does not contain any contractions and should therefore not be spelled with any apostrophe. Notice that there is one exception to this rule due to contact induced influence: the possessive marker -s, as in the *cat's tail*, is for most people also intuitively written with an apostrophe because of the influence from Standard English. Linguistically this is not justified, since it is not a contracted form (and there is no full form equivalent), but we have chosen to keep this convention because of the deeply ingrained habit.

Nae apologetic apostrophes!



Da Shaetlan wirts fir 'wool', 'all', 'of', 'full' is *oo*, *aa*, *o* an *foo*. Becis dey irna da sam as da Standirt English eens noo an agein d'ir written wi whit dey caa a apologetic apostrophe, laek dis:

'oo'

a'

o'

fu'

fur da writer tinks at somethin is missin idda Shaetlan wirt. Dis notion onnly startit in da Scots spaekin plaesses idda 18C as pairt o da Anglicisation process o Scots. Bit aa at da apologetic apostrophe døs is tae mak oot at Scots is a croppit doon wye o spaekin Standirt English, an dat's wrang fae a historic point o view. Dis eens is perfectly richt an full Shaetlan wirts in dir ain richt. Da equivalent wid be somethin laek writin

'bike

h'ook

n'ook

(wi a apologetic apostrophe) athin Standirt English, becis da Shaetlan wirts is langer (*pushbike*, *hyook*, *nyook*).

Da Shaetlan wirt *oo* comes fae da Aald Scots *oull* (attestit fae 1447), an dat in turn comes fae da Aald English (*w*)*uul(l)*. Hit's a braaly aald wirt at gings aa da wye back til Proto-Indo-European an it's fun athin aa branches o dat language faimily. Athin

Aald Norse hit wis *ull* (an yun's da wye it is yit in aa da Scandinavian languages). Da pronunciation /u:l/ (ithoot a /w-/) is attestit in Aald English fae da 8C. Da pronunciation /u:/ (ithoot /w-/ or /-l/) is attestit in Scots fae at laest da 18C.

The Shaetlan words for 'wool', 'all', 'of', 'full' are *oo*, *aa*, *o* and *foo*. Because they differ from Standard English they are sometimes written with a so-called apologetic apostrophe, such as

'oo'

a'

o'

fu'

because the writer thinks something is missing in the Shaetlan word. This practice only started in the Scots speaking area in the 18C as part of the Anglicisation process of Scots. But the apologetic apostrophe only serves to imply that Scots is a truncated version of Standard English, which is historically incorrect. These are perfectly correct and complete Shaetlan words in their own right. The equivalent would be a bit like writing

'bike

h'ook

n'ook

(with an apologetic apostrophe) in Standard English, because the Shaetlan words are longer (*pushbike*, *hyook*, *nyook*).

The Shaetlan word *oo* 'wool' comes from Old Scots *oull* (attested since 1447), which in turn comes from Old English (*w*)*uul(l)*. It is a very old word that goes all the way back to Proto-Indo-European and is found in all branches of that language family. In Old Norse it was *ull* (which it still is in all Scandinavian languages). The pronunciation /u:l/ (without a /w-/) is attested in Old English from the 8C. The pronunciation /u:/ (without /w-/ or /-l/) is attested in Scots since at least the 18C.

PS: caption translation 'That cart's full of one [kind of] wool' (meaning all the wool has the same colour)

2.4.5 A nott on *-ly* versus *-li*

De'r twa origins tae da *-ly/-li* endeens, laek in *helli/helly* an *laekli/laekly*: Aald English *-líc* an Aald English *-líce*. Bi da 15^t century baith forms wis gotten reduced tae *-li/ly* (maist laekli becis o da influence fae Aald Norse). Dis means at niddar spelleen is wrang, kinda laek da verbal endeens *-ize* or *-ise* at's baith bøn fine tae øs in British English fae da 16^t century – Oxford University Press wis wint tae øse *-ize* spelleens fir baith phonetic an etymological raisons (*-ize* is closser tae da original Greek *-izo*).

W'ir sayin at baith *-ly/-li* spelleens is allooed in Shaetlan, makkin e.g. *laekli* an *laekly* as acceptable as een anidder, sae lang as whitivver een is pickit is øsed da sam wye trowe da sam text.

There are two origins to the *-ly/-li* endings, as in *helli/helly* and *laekli/laekly*: Old English *-líc* and Old English *-líce*. By the 15th century both forms had got reduced to *-li/-ly* (probably due to influence from Old Norse). This means that both forms are equally justified, a bit like the verbal endings *-ize* or *-ise* which have been equally acceptable in British English since the 16th century – Oxford University Press traditionally used *-ize* spellings on both phonetic and etymological grounds (*-ize* is closer to the original Greek *-izo*).

We propose to allow for the *-ly/-li* variation in spelling in Shaetlan, making e.g. *laekli* and *laekly* equally acceptable, as long as the choice is consistent within the same text.

2.4.6 A nott on *-(o)cht* versus *-(o)wt*

Past tense forms *laek bocht*, *wrocht*, *tocht* etc, wis wint tae be fir whit dey caa waik verbs wi a waik Germanic *t*-endeen. Da Aald English form *bohte* (*boh-te*) shaas da Proto-Wast-Germanic *boh-ta* ‘bocht’, whar da Germanic *u*-stems is wint tae git lowered til a *o*-vowel wi a *-ta* endeen (laek *worh-ta* ‘wrocht’ fae *wurkjan* ‘tae wirk’). In da sam wye, da Standirt English wird *daughter* an da Scots wird *dochter* gings back til da Proto-Wast-Germanic wird **dochter*. Da Scots forms *bocht*, *wrocht*, *tocht* (< Aald English *ðohte*) an *dochter* shaas da aalder pronunciation (/axt/ for *-ocht*) an is attestit fae da 16^t century. Da idder endeen *-owt* (as in *bowt*, *towt*, *dowter*) shaas a newer pronunciation /ʒut/ at’s come about trowe contact wi da English varieties efter da Great Vowel Shift (ca 1400-1700). Da Great Vowel Shift startit idda sooth o English idda 15^t century an spreid peerie-wyes til da nordert, but hit nivver cam tae be a internal cheing idda Scots varieties.

W'ir decidit on da forms at dey wir ey wint tae be wi *-(o)cht*, da sam wye as wis wi da original *-icht* forms (as in *licht*), even if de ir a differ idda pronunciation o dem. Dis wid be jüst da sam as whit’s *døn* wi da braaly aald-farrant Standirt English *-ought* an *-ight* forms, fur naen o dem haes da /ʒ/ soond at da <gh> in *-ought* an *-ight* wis meant tae pit across, so at *bought* is pronounced /bɔ:t/ an *light* is pronounced /laɪt/.

Past tense forms such as *bocht*, *wrocht*, *tocht* etc, was originally for so-called weak verbs with a weak Germanic *t*-ending. The Old English form *bohte* (*boh-te*) reflects the Proto-West-Germanic *boh-ta* ‘bought’, where the Germanic *u*-stems regularly get lowered to an *o*-vowel with a *-ta* ending (such as *worh-ta* ‘worked’ from *wurkjan* ‘to work’). Similarly, the Standard English word *daughter* and the Scots word *dochter* go back to the Proto-West-Germanic word **dohter*. The Scots forms *bocht*, *wrocht*, *tocht* (< Old English *ðohte*) and *dochter* reflect the older pronunciation (/axt/ for *-ocht*) and are attested

since the 16th century. The alternative *-owt* ending (as in *bowt*, *towt*, *dowter*) reflects a newer pronunciation /ʒʊt/ influenced by the English varieties after the Great Vowel Shift (ca 1400-1700) and has entered through contact. The Great Vowel Shift started in southern England in the 15th century and gradually spread northwards, but was never an internal change in the Scots varieties.

We propose the original forms with *-(o)cht* as a parallel to the original *-icht* forms (as in *licht* ‘light’), even if there is a pronunciation variation for them. This would mirror the fairly archaic Standard English *-ought* and *-ight* forms, none of which have the /ʒ/ sound that the <gh> in *-ought* and *-ight* reflect, so that *bought* is pronounced /bɔ:t/ and *light* is pronounced /laɪt/.

2.4.7 Da peerie *d*-wirds

Hit maks sense fir a orthographic system tae shaa de’r a differ atween different function wirds, i.e. yun kind o wirds at dunna kerry muckle semantic meaneen demsels, but reider jüst hae grammatical functions atidda sentence. Fir example, *they’re*, *their* an *there* is aa pronounced da sam wye. But tae hae ee single form fir dem aa wid hoid whit grammar functions dey hae; a sentence athin Standirt English laek *There over there lifting there potatoes* maks aafil little sense ava. Da different forms doesna jüst gie clues aboot da etymologies o da wirds, but it shaas aff dir functions an aa. In da sam sorta wye w’ir deciddit tae keep da forms apairt atween da definite article *da*, da locative adverbial *dere*, da third person plural *dey*, da third person plural possessive pronoun *dir*, da contracted form fir da third person plural + BE *d’ir*, da existential dummy *de*, an da present tense existential form *de’r* baessed on da table below¹¹. Tae hae different forms at gits øsed ony aald wye wid mak even less sense; something laek *Their over they’re lifting there potatoes* maks nae sense ava. English Spaekers fae aa erts can mak oot da differ atween da Standirt English forms *the/there/their/they’re/there’s/theirs/they* jüst fine dependin on whit it’s døin idda sentence, espeeially whin d’ir gien sküleen. Shaetlan spaekers could bear ill wi dem at tinks Shaetlan spaekers widna be able tae dø da sam.

¹¹ Da existential ‘there is’ is commonly spelt <der> by contact induced analogy tae da English *there*, espeeially athin modal constructions laek *Der canna be ony left* fir ‘There can’t be any left’, at shaas it bein jüst da analogy wi da Standirt English existential expression. Dis nicht git it wittered up wi *dey* *ir* an *dere* firbye (see da fitnott abün), dat’s agein why w’ir geen fir haein dem different.

FORM	PRON.	DEFINITION	FUNCTION	SPELLEEN RAISONEEN
<i>da</i>	/də/	definite article ('the')	serves tae point oot a specific item	Common usage, especially athin <i>digitalk</i> , is maed dis form da maist intuitive fir da definite article.
<i>dere</i>	/der/	remote locative adverbial ('there')	serves tae shaa a remote plaess	Reflects da pronunciation o da locative adverbial wi a dental plosive (reider as a fricative); da vowel is a centralised diphthong. A silent <i>e</i> apø da end is meaneenfil fir orthographic differentiation.
<i>dey</i>	/de/	3pl ('they')	serves tae spaek about a gadderie o fokk/entities	Reflects da pronunciation o da third person plural pronoun wi a dental plosive (reider as a fricative); da vowel is a closs-mid een. Da final silent <i>y</i> is meaneenfil fir orthographic differentiation.
<i>dir</i>	/dər/	3pl possessive ('their')	serves tae spaek about da fact at a group o fokk/entities aans somethin	Reflects da pronunciation o da locative adverbial wi a dental plosive (reider as a fricative); da vowel is a mid-high central een. Serves tae differentiate it orthographically fae da locative adverb (abün)
<i>d'ir</i>	/dər/	3pl + BE ('they're')	contracted form o da third person pronoun an da inflected form o da verb <i>be</i>	Serves tae differentiate fae da present tense existential (below)
<i>de</i>	/de/	existential dummy	da plaess-holder athin a existential construction. A existential construction serves tae shaa at somethin exists or is dere.	Derives fae Norn <i>de</i> 'hit/it'.
<i>de'r</i>	/dər/	present tense existential ('there is')	contracted form o da present tense existential construction.	Derives fae da Norn <i>de</i> 'hit/it' + <i>er</i> 'is'. Grammaticalised intil a fossilised existential marker, doesna mak sense tae try an parse ony mair. By analogy an hypercorrection reanalysed tae <i>dey/they ir/are</i> , bit da phrase nivver reflected da 3rd plural

pronoun, neider did it ony
plural form o da verb BE.

It makes sense for an orthographic system to differentiate between different function words, i.e. those kinds of words that in themselves do not carry much semantic meaning but rather just have grammatical functions in the sentence. For example, *they're*, *their*, and *there* are all pronounced in the same way. But to have one single form for them would obscure their grammatical functions; a sentence in Standard English like *There over there lifting there potatoes* is nearly impossible to comprehend. The different forms in fact not only give a clue to the different etymologies of the words, but also to their functions. To that effect we have chosen to differentiate between the definite article *da* 'the', the locative adverbial *dere* 'there', the third person plural *dey* 'they', the third person plural possessive pronoun *dir* 'their', the contracted form for the third person plural + BE *d'ir* 'they're', the existential dummy *de*, and the present tense existential form *de'r* 'there's' based on the above.¹² To have different forms that are simply used randomly would be even more irrational; something like *Their over they're lifting there potatoes* makes no sense at all. Speakers of English all over the world are perfectly capable of distinguishing between the different Standard English forms *the/there/their/they're/there's/theirs/they* according to their functions, especially when given schooling. It would be quite unreasonable to not assume the same capability for Shaetlan speakers.

¹² The existential 'there is' is commonly spelled <der> by contact induced analogy to the English *there*, especially in modal constructions such as in *Der canna be ony left* for 'There can't be any left', which shows a complete analogy with the Standard English existential expression. This also potentially confuses it with *dey ir* and *dere* (see footnote above), which is again why we opt for differentiation.

3 Morphology an wird-formation: makkin an inflectin wirts in Shaetlan

Morphology is da study o shaeps. If phonemes is da peeriest units at distinguishes meaneens ithin a language, da **morphemes** is da peeriest units at kerries meaneens ithin a language. Da lang an da short o it is at dey ir da “biggeen stanes” o wirts. Dis section spaeks aboot da main biggeen stanes o wirts in Shaetlan.

Morphology is the study of shapes. Whereas phonemes are the smallest meaning distinguishing units in a language, the **morphemes** are the smallest meaning carrying units in a language. They are essentially the building blocks of words. This section describes the main building blocks of words in Shaetlan.

3.1 Makkin words

Aa languages haes wyes o combinin morphemes tae express different idees, an tae mak new wirts. Da peeriest unit at haes sum kind o **semantic content** (i.e. sum kind o meaneen in an o itsel) is a **røt**. A røt canna be cut up intil peerier units. Examples o røts wid be *oo*, *dug*, *bag*, *hoose*, *gadder*, *spaek*, *ken*, *blyde*.

All languages have ways of combining morphemes to express different things, and to create new words. The smallest unit which has some kind of **semantic content** (i.e. some kind of meaning in itself) is a **root**. A root cannot be chopped up into smaller units. Examples of roots are *oo* ‘wool’, *dug* ‘dog’, *bag*, *hoose* ‘house’, *gadder* ‘gather’, *speak*, *ken* ‘know’, *blyde* ‘happy’.

3.1.1 Compounds

Ee wye o makkin new wirts is tae pit twa røts tagidder intil **compounds**. Fir example, we can pit tagidder *oo* + *bag* tae be *oobag*, or *dug* + *hoose* tae be *dughoose*. Shaetlan haes a rich, creative an yasp wye o makkin compounds, so at a hale phrase can be flatched doon intil a single compound, laek *Tae kerry on* → *a onkerry* (or insteid *a kerryon*).

In sum caesses da stressed an unstressed versions o da sam wird nicht compound ithin different wyes an gie different meaneens. Fir example, da wird ‘by’ in Shaetlan haes twa versions, da unstressed *bi* an da stressed *by*. In compounds da unstressed *bi* is da foremaist element an shaas da ert: *bisooth* ‘southwards’, *binort* ‘northwards’, etc; hoosumivver, da stressed *by* is da last element an indicates a (kent) relative plaess: *upbye* ‘up (over) **there**’, *ootbye* ‘out (over) **there**’.

One way of creating new words is to combine roots together into **compounds**. For example, we can merge *oo* + *bag* to *oobag* ‘wool sack’ or *dug* + *hoose* to *dughoose* ‘dog house’. Shaetlan has a rich,

creative and flexible way of compounding, so that entire phrases can be condensed into a compound, such as *Tae kerry on* ‘to carry on’ → *a onkerry* (alternatively *a kerryon*) ‘a disturbance, commotion’.

In some cases the stressed and unstressed versions of the same word may compound in different ways and give different meanings. For example, the word for ‘by’ in Shetland has two versions, the unstressed *bi* and the stressed *by*. In compounds the unstressed *bi* is the first element and indicates direction: *bisooth* ‘southwards’, *binort* ‘northwards’, etc; the stressed *by*, however, is the last element and indicates (known) relative location: *upbye* ‘up (over) there’, *ootbye* ‘out (over) there’.

3.1.2 Derivations

Whit dey caa derivational morphemes maks new wirds. D’ir eekit on tae existin wirds fur tae gie dem sum kind o new meaneen. Dey can idder be eekit on tae da begineen o a wird (as a **prefix**), or at da end o a wird (as a **suffix**).

So-called derivational morphemes create new words. They are attached to existing words in order to give them some kind of new meaning. They can either attach to the beginning of a word (as a **prefix**) or at the end of a word (as a **suffix**).

3.1.2.1 *-ie* versus *-in*



Shaetlan haes a braali versatile derivational morpheme *-ie* at can be øsed fir different kinds o derivations. Ee systematic øse o *-ie* is tae mak nouns (entities) oot o verbs (actions):

tae blink > *a blinkie*

tae creep > *a creepie*

tae gadder > *a gadderie*

Whit dey caa inflectional morphemes expresses grammatical information (see below). Shaetlan haes da morpheme *-in* at shaas de’r action gyaan on:

tae blink > [*X is*] *blinkin*

tae creep > [*X is*] *creepin*

tae gadder > [*X is*] *gadderin*

Becis Standirt English haes a derivational morpheme *-ie* an aa (laek in *daftie*, *sweetie*, etc) at's wrangly assumed tae be new an slangy (really hit's a aalder version o *-y*), da Shaetlan *-ie* forms is sumtimes "fixed" tae *-in* (*a *creepin*, *a *gadderin*), bit dat mixes wir biggeen stanes richt up: *-in* expresses actions gyaan on wharas *-ie* maks nouns.

Shaetlan has a very versatile derivational morpheme *-ie* which can be used for different kinds of derivations. One systematic use of *-ie* is to create nouns (entities) out of verbs (actions):

tae blink ('to blink') > *a blinkie* ('a torch light')

tae creep ('to creep') > *a creepie* ('a low stool')

tae gadder ('to gather') > *a gadderie* ('a group, a gathering')

So-called inflectional morphemes express grammatical information (see below). Shaetlan has the morpheme *-in* which indicates ongoing action:

tae blink ('to blink') > [*X is*] *blinkin* ('[...] blinking')

tae creep ('to creep') > [*X is*] *creepin* ('[...] creeping')

tae gadder ('to gather') > [*X is*] *gadderin* ('[...] gathering')

Because Standard English also has a derivational morpheme *-ie* (as in *daftie*, *sweetie*, etc) which is mistakenly assumed to be new and slangy (in fact it is an older version of *-y*), the Shaetlan *-ie* forms are sometimes "corrected" to *-in* (*a *creepin*, *a *gadderin*), but that confuses the building blocks entirely: *-in* expresses ongoing action while *-ie* creates nouns.

3.1.2.2 *-een* versus *-in*



Een o da derivational morphemes in Shaetlan is *-een* (pronounced /in/) an hit maks nouns (entities) oot o verbs (actions):

tae mind > *a mindeen*

tae bigg > *a biggeen*

tae drookle > *a drookleen*

-een comes fae Aald English *-ing/-ung* at formed nouns fae verbs. Ithin Sooth English bi da 13th century dis form wis mair an mair wittered up wi da form *-inde* (fae AE *-ende*), at shaas a action gyaan on. Ithin Scots da twa forms wis nivver mixed up an actions gyaan on is markit wi *-in* (pronounced /ən/):

tae mind > [X is] *mindin*

tae bigg > [X is] *biggin*

tae drookle > [X is] *drooklin*

Becis da twa endeens merged inta *-ing* in Standirt English, the *-een* and *-in* words in Shaetlan is “corrected” noo an agein tae *-ing*. Bit døin dat is isna richt lookin at it fae a historic or linguistic point o view: da twa forms is ey bøn saeperate an dey hae saeperate functions: *-een* maks nouns fae verbs, wharas *-in* shaas actions gyaan on.

One of the derivational morphemes in Shaetlan is *-een* (pronounced /in/), which creates nouns (entities) out of verbs (actions):

tae mind (‘to remember’) > *a mindeen* (‘a memory’)

tae big (‘to build’) > *a biggeen* (‘a building’)

tae drookle (‘to soak’) > *a drookleen* (‘a soaking’)

-een comes from Old English *-ing/-ung* which formed nouns from verbs. In Southern English this form was by the 13th century increasingly confused with the form *-inde* (from OE *-ende*), which indicates ongoing actions. In Scots the two forms were never confused and ongoing actions are marked with *-in* (pronounced /ən/):

tae mind (‘to remember’) > [X is] *mindin* (‘[...] remembering’)

tae big (‘to build’) > [X is] *biggin* (‘[...] building’)

tae drookle (‘to soak’) > [X is] *drooklin* (‘[...] soaking’)

Because the two endings merged into *-ing* in Standard English, the *-een* and *-in* words in Shaetlan are sometimes “corrected” to *-ing*. However, that is historically and linguistically unjustified and uninformed: the two have always been distinct in form and function: *-een* creates nouns from verbs, while *-in* indicates ongoing actions.

3.1.2.3 Idder common derivational morphemes

Dis is twartree o da common derivational morphemes ithin Shaetlan:

These are some of the common derivational morphemes in Shaetlan:

MAKKIN NOUNS (ENTITIES)

-ster: *bluster* ‘rough, mossy peat’ (*blue* + *-ster*)

-nis (maks abstract entities): *bitternis* ‘cold and stormy weather’ (*bitter* + *-nis*)

-(i)ment (maks abstract entities): *plaessment* ‘placement’ (*plaess* + *-ment*)

-dom (maks abstract entities): *bairndom* ‘childhood’ (*bairn* + *-dom*)

-ik (maks peerier entities): *boolik* ‘pimple’ (*bool* + *-ik*)

-kin (maks peerier entities): *cøttikin* ‘ankle-sock’ (*cøt* + *-kin*)¹³

FAE PEERIE SMORES TAE SWEET SMOORIKINS

Da sweet Shaetlan *smoorikin* is haed sum vaige tae win tae its meaneen. Hit’s maed wi da Scots *smuirich* + da Middle Low German *-kin*. Da Scots *smuirich* means ‘kyiss, caress’ an hit’s a intensive form o *smuir* ‘scomfish, shock’ at ultimately gings back tae da Proto-Germanic **smurōnq* ‘tae smore, trottle’. Da diminutive endeen *-kin* shaas at sumthin is peerie. Da Low Germanic endeen ultimately gings back tae da Proto-Germanic diminutive **-ikinq*. So smoorikins is geen fae bein peerie suffocations tae sweet kyisses.

The sweet Shaetlan *smoorikin* has had a bit of a journey in its meaning. It is composed of the Scots *smuirich* + the Middle Low German *-kin*. The Scots *smuirich* means ‘kiss, caress’ and is an intensive form of *smuir* ‘smother, stifle, choke’ which ultimately goes back to the Proto-Germanic **smurōnq* ‘to

¹³ Da diminutive *-kin* derives fae Middle Dutch *-kijn/-ken* an Middle Low German *-kin*. Hit’s cognate wi da High German *-chen* an ultimately derived fae da Proto-Germanic diminutive **-ikinq/*-ukinq*. W’ir pickit da spelleen *-kin* becis o da wye da suffix is unstressed, at maks da pronunciation no be da sam as e.g. *ken* ‘know’.

The diminutive *-kin* derives from Middle Dutch *-kijn/-ken* and Middle Low German *-kin*. It is cognate with High German *-chen* and ultimately derives from the Proto-Germanic diminutive **-ikinq/*-ukinq*. We have chosen the spelling *-kin* due to the unstressed nature of the suffix, which makes the pronunciation slightly different from that of e.g. *ken* ‘know’.

suffocate, strangle'. The diminutive ending *-kin* indicates that something is small. The Low Germanic ending ultimately goes back to the Proto-Germanic diminutive **ikīnq*. So smoorikins have gone from being small suffocations to sweet kisses.

MAKKIN VERBS (ACTIONS)

-er: *sneester* 'to snigger' (*sneest* + *-er*)

-en (tae enter a state o): *stivven* 'to become stiff' (*stiv* + *-en*)

MAKKIN ADJECTIVES (DESCRIPTIVE WIRDS)

wan- (maks da negated description): *wanwirt* 'trifle' (*wan-* + *wirt*)

-(g)it: *daddit* 'weary' (*dadd* + *-it*)

-ie/-y: *birsi* 'stubbly' (*birse* + *-i*)

-ly: *ruckly* 'uneven' (*ruckel* + *-ly*)

-ed: *duddered* 'shabby' (*dudder* + *-ed*)

-able: *biddable* 'obedient' (*bid* + *-able*)

MAKKIN ADVERBS (MODIFIER WIRDS)

-lins: *backlins* 'backwards' (*back* + *-lins*)

-wye ('-where'): *aawye* 'everywhere' (*aa* + *-wye*)

3.2 Inflectional morphemes: Markin wirts fir grammatical information

Inflectional morphemes gies grammatical information. Dat means at da baess wirt (da **røt** or **stem**) bides da sam an haes da sam basic meaneen, bit it's modified fir grammatical information. Fir example *dugs* haes da inflectional morpheme *-s*, at gies da grammatical information at de'r mair as ee dug (da noun is **plural**), bit da basic meaneen o 'dug' bides da sam. Da follooin gies da main inflectional morphemes ithin Shaetlan. Fir mair details aboot da grammar at dis morphemes comes wi, see below inna dir ain sections.

Inflectional morphemes give grammatical information. That means that the base word (the **root** or **stem**) stays the same and has the same basic meaning, but is modified for grammatical information. For example *dogs* has the inflectional morpheme *-s*, which gives the grammatical information that there are more than one dog (the noun is in the **plural**), but the basic meaning of 'dog' stays the same. The following gives the main inflectional morphemes in Shaetlan. For more details about the grammar these morphemes flag up, see below in the respective sections.

3.2.1.1 Common inflectional morphemes

WI NOMINALS: ENTITIES AN THINGS AT REFERS TAE ENTITIES

Plural: Mair as een o da sam

-(e)s: *dratsis* ‘otters’; *mooses* ‘mice’

WI ADJECTIVES: DESCRIPTIVE WIRDS

Comparative: Mair o a quality

-(e)r: *peerier* ‘small’; *roonder* ‘rounder’

Superlative: Maist o a quality

-(e)st: *peeriest* ‘smallest’; *roondest* ‘roudest’

WI VERBS: ACTIONS AN PROCESSES

Present tense: Hit’s happenin eenoo

-s: *spaeks* ‘speaks, talks’

Past tense: Hit happened afore

-(e)d/-(e)t: *tellt* ‘said (to); told’

Present participle: Hit’s a action gyaan on eenoo

-in: *spaekin* ‘speaking, talking’

Past participle: Da action is feenished

-d: *shaad* ‘showed’

-en: *pitten* ‘put’

WI AUXILIARIES: FUNCTION VERBS AT MODIFIES LEXICAL VERBS

Verbal negator: Da action is quet

-na: *dunna* ‘don’t’

Tag negator: Turnin staetments intil yis/no-questions

-(e)n: *A'm here, amn I?* 'I'm here, aren't I' / *Du'll come, willen du?* (You'll come, won't you)

3.2.1.2 -in isna -ing



Ithin Shaetlan da present participle is shaan wi da suffix *-in* (pronounced /ən/), as in *He's rainin*. It comes fae da Aald English *-ende*, an dat comes tae be fae da Proto-Germanic form **-andz*. Idda Sooth English dialects, da Aald English form wis waikent tae *-inde*, an bi da 13^t century it wis mair an mair wittered up wi da suffix *-ing* (laek *wedding* ‘wedding’). Dis is why Standirt English noo haes da sam form øsed baith wyes. Da descendants o Northumbrian Aald English, hoosumivver, alang wi Scots, nivver wittered tagidder da twa endeens. If sumeen maks oot at sayin *sweemin* an *singin* wi *-ən* is “wrang” or “døless”, dey ir trøtlin – nivver leet onyeen at comes wi dat!

In Shaetland the present participle is indicated with the suffix *-in* (pronounced /ən/), as in *He's rainin* (It's raining). It derives from the Old English *-ende* which in turn derives from the Proto-Germanic form **-andz*. In the Southern English dialects the Old English form weakened to *-inde* and by the 13th century it was increasingly confused with the suffix *-ing* (Old English *-ing/-ung*) that formed nouns from verbs (such as *wedding* ‘wedding’). This is why Standard English now has the same form for both functions. The descendants of Northumbrian Old English, however, such as Scots, never confused the two endings. To claim that the pronunciation of *swimmin* and *singin* with *-ən* is “incorrect” or “sloppy” is therefore historically unjustified and uninformed.

4 Da noun phrase: Da entities o a Shaetlan sentence

Da **noun phrase** is a **phrase** (a peerie gadderie o wirts at bilangs tagidder) dat haes a **noun** (entity) or **pronoun** (a wirt at spaeks about fokk or things) idda hertholl o it. In idder wirts, a noun phrase is da noun/pronoun an aathin at bilangs tagidder wi it. Noun phrases can be maed up o as little as ee single wirt, or as muckle as twartree wirts an even hale claases. Examples o noun phrases wid be:

Da man spak tae da wife.

He spak tae her.

Da braali taal an dark man spak tae da wife at wis juist wun an wis aksin fir directions.

Noun phrases dø parteeclarli important grammatical wark in sentences (mair about dat inna Chapter 7). Dis section'll look first at da lexical classes o da noun phrase, dat is nouns an **adjectives** (descriptive wirts), dan at da functional classes, dat is **articles** (wirts at indicates if sumthin is identifiable or no) an pronouns.

The **noun phrase** is a **phrase** (a small groups of words that belong together) that has a **noun** (entity) or **pronoun** (a word that refers to people or things) as its centre. In other words, a noun phrase is the noun/pronoun and everything that belongs together with it. Noun phrases can consist of as little as a single word, or as much as several words and even entire clauses. Examples of noun phrases are:

The man spoke to the woman.

He spoke to her.

The very tall and dark man spoke to the woman who had just arrived and was asking for directions.

Noun phrases have fundamental grammatical roles in sentences (more about that in Chapter 6). This section will first look at the lexical classes of the noun phrase, namely nouns and **adjectives** (descriptive words), then at the functional classes, namely **articles** (words that indicate if something is identifiable or not) and pronouns.

4.1 Nouns in Shaetlan

Nouns bilang tae da lexical class o wirts, an dat means dey ir content wirts – wirts at haes mair or less set, parteeclar meaneens. Hit's a **open class** o wirts, meanin hit's aisy tae mak new nouns. Atween fokk bein creative in a linguistic wye, an cheinges in society, spaekers mak new nouns braali aft. A *windypick* 'pneumatic hammer' and a *webinar*, fir example, ir recently maed nouns.

De'r different kinds o nouns ithin ony language. Laek in maist languages, da main kinds o nouns in Shaetlan is **proper nouns** (or **proper names**) an **common nouns**.

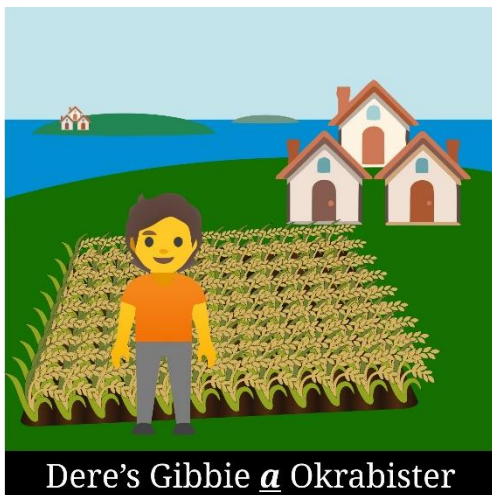
Nouns belong to the lexical class of words, which means that they are content words – words that have more or less concrete and specific meanings. It is an **open class** of words, meaning that it is easy to create new nouns. Linguistic creativity and changes in society both combine to make speakers create new nouns on a regular basis. A *webinar*, for example, is a recently created noun.

There are different kinds of nouns in any language. Like in most languages, the main types of nouns in Shaetlan are **proper nouns** (or **proper names**) and **common nouns**.

4.1.1 Proper nouns

Proper nouns refers tae parteeclar bodies or plaesses, laek *Mary*, *Mr Johnson*, *Lerwick*, *Shetland*, *Sandiloch*, *Unst*.

Proper nouns refer to specific individuals or places, such as *Mary*, *Mr. Johnson*, *Lerwick*, *Shetland*, *Sandiloch*, *Unst*.



Appellation naems ir proper naems at describes whar sumeen's fae, laek *Anne a Greengables*. Ithin Stardirt English dis kinds o naems ir constructed wi *of*, sumtimes shortened tae *o'* (as in *John o' Groats*). Hoosumivver, in Shaetlan appellation naems ir maed wi *a* 'on', laek *Gibbie a Okrabister*. Dis wye is da neebir o een o da Aald Norse wyes o makkin appellation naems, wi *á* 'on' as in *Atli á Gaulum* 'Atli of Gaulum' [lit. 'Atli on Gaulum'], at can still be fun as een o da options fir sicn naems idda modren Scandinavian languages (laek *Anne på Grönkulla*, lit. 'Anne on Greengables').

Noo an agein Shaetlan appellation naems ir "fixed" or altered tae read as 'o' (*Gibbie o Okrabister or even *Gibbie of Okrabister), bit dis is a hypercorrection baessed apø da Stardirt English system. Da Shaetlan naems ey came tae be formed wi *a* 'on' as dey ir a remnant o da Norn wye o naemin fokk dat ir *bøn* hoidin ithin plein sicht.

Appellation names are proper names that describe a place of origin, such as *Anne of Greengables*. In Standard English these kinds of names are constructed with *of*, sometimes shortened to *o'* (as in *John o' Groats*). In Shaetlan, however, appellation names are formed with a 'on', such as *Gibbie a Okrabister*. This parallels one of the Old Norse ways of forming appellation names, with *á* 'on' as in *Atli á Gaulum* 'Atli of Gaulum' [lit. 'Atli on Gaulum'], which can still be found as one of the options for such names in the modern Scandinavian languages (as in *Anne på Grönkulla*, lit. 'Anne on Greengables').

Sometimes Shaetlan appellation names are "corrected" or altered to read 'of' (**Gibbie o Okrabister* or even **Gibbie of Okrabister*), but this is a hypercorrection based on the Standard English system. In fact the Shaetlan names were always formed with a 'on' and as such are a remnant of Norn naming practices that have been hiding in plain sight.

4.1.2 Common nouns

Common nouns can be spleet intil **coont nouns**, **mass nouns** an **collective nouns**. Coont nouns is entities at can be coontit, laek *shair*, *floer*, *draem*, *idee*. Coont nouns can be spleet ferder intil **concrete nouns** (laek *shair* an *floer*) an **abstract nouns** (laek *draem* an *idee*). Mass nouns is nouns at canna be coontit, laek *air*, *saand*, *birse*. Collective nouns is dem at act laek dey wir a gadderie o da sam entity. Fir example, we can spaek about *a coo* 'a cow' or *five coos* 'five cows', bit *da kye* is da collective 'cattle', i.e. a gadderie o coos as ee single gadderie entity.

Common nouns can be divided into **count nouns**, **mass nouns** and **collective nouns**. Count nouns are entities that can be counted, like *chair*, *flower*, *dream*, *idea*. Count nouns can be further divided into **concrete nouns** (like *chair* and *flower*) and **abstract nouns** (like *dream* and *idea*) Mass nouns are nouns that cannot be counted, like *air*, *sand*, *anger*. Collective nouns are those that act as a group of the same entity. For example, we can speak of *a coo* 'a cow' or *five coos* 'five cows', but *da kye* is the collective 'cattle', i.e. a group of cows as one group entity.

4.1.3 Grammatical gender in Shaetlan



Shaetlan haes a set wye o spaekin about non-livin tings as bein *he*, *shø* or *it/hit*, so at a *pen drive* is a "he", a *phone* is a "shø", an *oo* is "(h)it". Tings at you can coont (laek

laptops or *fiddles*) ir idder “he” or “shø”, wharas onythin at canna be coontit, laek *saand* or *oo*, an abstract tings laek a *idea* or *draem*, wid be “(h)it”. Dis is caaed grammatical gender an isna da sam as naiteral gender, whar livin craeters ir “he/she” gyaan bi dir biological sex, wharas onythin idder is “it”. Aald English an Aald Norse haed grammatical gender. German haes it still: a shair is a he (*der Stuhl*), a floer is a shø (*die Blume*), an a lass is an it (*das Mädchen*). English is lost dis wye o wirkin an onli haes naiteral gender aless for vehicles, boats an countries at ir “shø”s, bit Icelandic, Faroese an Wast Norwegian dialects still hae grammatical gender.

Pictirs: Julie Dennison.

Shaetlan systematically refers to inanimate things as *he/she/it*, so that a *pen drive* is a “he”, a *phone* is a “she”, and *oo* is “(h)it”: things that can be counted, like *laptops* and *fiddles*, are either “he” or “she”, while things that cannot be counted, like *sand* and *wool*, and abstract things, like *idea* and *dream*, are “(h)it”. This is called grammatical gender and is different from natural gender, where living things are “he/she” based on their biological sex and everything else is “it”. Old English and Old Norse had grammatical gender. German still has it: a chair is a he (*der Stuhl*), a flower is a she (*die Blume*), and a girl is an it (*das Mädchen*). English has lost the feature and only has natural gender, except that vehicles, sea vessels and countries are “she”s, but Icelandic, Faroese and Western Norwegian dialects still have grammatical gender.

Picture: Julie Dennison.

4.1.4 Number: Een or a lok o da sam

Number as a grammatical feature shaas whidder w’ir spaekin aboot ee entity, or mair as een o da sam entity. Ithin Shaetlan, jüst laek wi maist o da wirld’s languages (but no Standirt English) de’r a kind o group plural an aa caaed da **associative plural**.

The grammatical feature of **number** expresses whether we are speaking about one or more of the same entity. In Shaetlan, as in most languages of the world (but not Standard English) there is also a kind of group plural called **associative plural**.

Maist nouns can idder be idda **singular** (exactly een o da entity) or idda **plural** (mair as een). Da exception is mass nouns: you canna hae **twa saands* aless you ir makkin on de’r twa kinds o saand.

Maist nouns in Shaetlan is inflected fir da plural wi da suffix *-(e)s*: *hoose* ~ *hooses*, *croft* ~ *crofts*, *bairn* ~ *bairns*, *floer* ~ *floers*, etc,. De’r twartree exceptions tae dis, laek *ee* ~ *een*, *sheep* ~ *sheep*, *fit* ~ *feet*, etc.

Most nouns can be in either the **singular** (exactly one of the entity) or in the **plural** (more than one). The exception is mass nouns: you cannot have **two sands* unless you are implying two types of sand.

Most nouns in Shaetlan are inflected for the plural with the suffix *-(e)s*: *hoose* ‘house’ ~ *hooses*, *croft* ~ *crofts*, *bairn* ‘child’ ~ *bairns*, *floer* ‘flower’ ~ *floers*, etc. There are some exceptions to this, such as *ee* ‘eye’ ~ *een*, *sheep* ~ *sheep*, *fit* ‘foot’ ~ *feet*, etc.

ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL IN SHAETLAN



Ithin Shaetlan da expression *X an dem* means ‘X an da fokk at’s associated wi X’. Jüst wha *an dem* is referrin tae depends apø da context, bit de’r seldom ony doot about wha’s bein spokken about. Laek, if John is ithin a baand, da question,

– *Will John an dem be playin at da festival?*

de’r nae doot – hit’s spaekin about John an da members ithin his baand. Dis is a gramatically richt wye o spaekin about gadderies o fokk, an der naethin ill-mainered about it. Linguistically it is a grammatical feature caaed da **associative plural**. Hit can come ithin different forms, bit y’ir very wint tae fin it – 85% o da wirl’d’s languages hae it. Standirt English bilangs tae da minority o languages at doesna hae associative plural.

Pictirs: Julie Dennison.

In Shaetlan the expression *X an dem* means ‘X an those associated with X’. Who exactly *an dem* refers to depends on the context, but it is rarely ambiguous. For example, if John is a member of a band, the question

– *Will John an dem be playing at the festival?*

is unambiguous: it refers to John and the members in his band. This is a perfectly neutral and grammatically correct way of referring to groups of people. Linguistically it is a grammatical feature called the **associative plural**. It can come in different forms, but it is a very common feature: 85% of

the world's languages have it. Standard English belongs to the minority of languages that lack the associative plural.

Pictures: Julie Dennison.

4.2 Adjectives in Shaetlan

Adjectives pit across qualities or attributes an dey ir wint tae describe nouns. Examples o adjectives wid be *muckle*, *peerie*, *black*, *blue*, *roond*, *boannie*, an sic laek. A lok o da time adjectives can be specified fir degree: da **comparative** degree means at de'r mair o da quality bein spokken aboot an da **superlative** degree means at de'r da maist o da quality bein spokken aboot. In Shaetlan peerier adjectives is wint tae shaa comparision wi da suffixes *-(e)r* an *-(e)st*, wharas langer adjectives shaas degree wi *mair* an *maist*:

peerie 'small' ~ *peerier* ~ *peeriest*
roond 'round' ~ *roonder* ~ *roondest*
fantin 'hungry' ~ *mair fantin* ~ *maist fantin*
døless 'lazy' ~ *mair døless* ~ *maist døless*

De'r twartree exceptions, laek *ill* ~ *waar* ~ *warst*.

Adjectives denote qualities or attributes and they usually describe nouns. Examples of adjectives are *muckle* 'big', *peerie* 'small', *black*, *blue*, *roond* 'round', *boannie* 'pretty', and so on. Typical for adjectives is that they can be specified for degree: the **comparative** degree means that there is more of the given quality and the **superlative** degree means that there is most of a given quality. In Shaetlan shorter adjectives tends to indicate comparison with the suffixes *-(e)r* and *-(e)st*, while longer adjectives indicate degree with *mair* 'more' and *maist* 'most':

peerie 'small' ~ *peerier* ~ *peeriest*
roond 'round' ~ *roonder* ~ *roondest*
fantin 'hungry' ~ *mair fantin* ~ *maist fantin*
døless 'lazy' ~ *mair døless* ~ *maist døless*

There are some exceptions, such as *ill* 'bad' ~ *waar* 'worse' ~ *warst* 'worst'.

4.3 Pronouns in Shaetlan

Pronouns is øsed instead o nouns an dey refer tae bodies or things. Maist languages hae different kinds o pronouns. Dey aa bilang tae da closed class o functional wirds, meanin dey hae little semantic content an dat de'r onli a peerie twartree o yun kind o wirds idda class.

Pronouns are used instead of nouns and refer to persons or things. Most languages have different kinds of pronouns. They all belong to the closed class of functional words, meaning that they have little semantic content and that there is only a limited number of such words in the class.

4.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns spaeks aboot da spaeker (da **first person**), da addressee (da **siccint person**) or sum idder ting at's maed clear bi da context (da **third person**). Dis can idder spaek aboot ee body (idda singular) or tae mair as ee body (idda plural). De'r twa forms dependin on da role da person haes idda sentence: da **subject** form (indicatin da een at does sumthin) an da **object** form (da een at sumthin is døn tae). Da paradigm below shaas da Shaetlan personal pronouns.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	SUBJECT	OBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT
1	I ¹⁴	me	we	wis
2	du (informal)/you (polite)	dee (informal)/you (polite)	you	you
3M	he	him	dey	dem
3F	shø	her		
3N	(h)it	it		

Personal pronouns refer to the speaker (the **first person**), the addressee (the **second person**) or some other thing that the context makes clear (the **third person**). These can either refer to one person (in the singular) or to more than one person (in the plural). There are two forms depending on the role the person has in the sentence: the **subject** form (indicating the one that does something) and the **object** form (the one that something is done to). The paradigm above shows the Shaetlan personal pronouns.

¹⁴ Community intuition based on contact induced anglicisation as well as the sense of distinction between Shaetlan and Lowland Scots varieties: speaker perception, not entirely justified by the data, is that 1st person sg is pronounced /aɪ/ and not /a/. The anglicised spelling thus seems to be an important identity marker. However, community practice has established a habit of graphically rendering the contracted form *I'm* (*I am*) as <A'm> to indicate the perceived weaker pronunciation of the first person singular in the contracted form.

4.3.1.1 Da differ atween da subject an da object pronoun in Shaetlan



Hit's braali common aa ower da wirlt tae shaa whit role da pronoun haes atidda sentence, as Shaetlan does:

I/we spak til Mary

means at da spaeker(s) did sumthin, so da pronoun is idda **subject** form. Da subject form o da idder pronouns is:

Du/you spak til Mary.

He/shø/hit/dey spak til Mary.

Hoosumivver, in a sentence laek:

Mary spak til me/wis

sumthin is happenin TIL da spaeker, so da pronoun is idda **object** form. Da object forms o da idder pronouns is:

Mary spak til dee/you

Mary spak til him/her/it/dem.

Becis Standirt English onli haes ee form fir da addressee ('you'), whidder or no it's een or twartree, or whidder hit's a subject or a object, noo an agein fokk assumes dis is da wye o it in Shaetlan. Hoosumivver, a sentence laek **A'll see du damoarn* is impossible in Shaetlan an maks as little sense as sumthin laek **We'll see she tomorrow* wid in Standirt English.

It is very common in the world to show what role the pronoun has in the sentence, as Shaetlan does:

I/we spak til Mary ‘I/we talked to Mary.’

means that the speaker(s) did something, so the pronoun is in the **subject** form. The subject form of the other pronouns are:

Du/you spak til Mary. ‘You talked to Mary.’

He/shø/hit/dey spak til Mary. ‘He/she/it/they talked to Mary.’

However, in a sentence like:

Mary spak til me/wis. ‘Mary talked to me/us.’

something is happening TO the speaker, so the pronoun is in the **object** form. The object forms of the other pronouns are:

Mary spak til dee/you. ‘Mary talked to you.’

Mary spak til him/her/it/dem. ‘Mary talked to him/her/it/them.’

Because Standard English only has one form for the addressee (*you*), no matter whether it is one or many, or whether it is a subject or object, this is sometimes assumed to be the case for Shaetlan too. However, a sentence like **A'll see du damoarn* is impossible in Shaetlan and makes as little sense as something like **We'll see she tomorrow* would in Standard English.

PERSONAL DATIVES



In Shaetlan da object form o a pronoun can be øsed tae shaa at da subject is benefittin fae somethin, laek:

- *A'm catched me a fysh*
- *Shø's bocht her a car*
- *D'ir gotten dem a dug*
- *We laek wis wir tattie soup*
- *He's fun him a new hoose*

In linguistics dis is caaed a “personal dative”, or noo an agein a “benefactive personal dative”, fur da indirect objict (*me/her/dem/wis/him*), da een at's affectit bi da action, is da sam body as main actor o da sentence (da subjict *A/shø/dey/we/he*).

A lok o da time hit translates til a Standirt English reflexive construction, as da translations shaas: (*for*) *myself/herself/themselves/himself*. Bit no aa personal dative constructions hae Standirt English equivalent. Somethin laek **“We like ourselves some reestit mutton soup”* jüst døsna wirk in Standirt English.

Personal dative constructions is maist common athin Sooth US English, espeeially in Applachian English, bit it can be fun in twartree idder non-standirt Englishes an aa. Hit’s a quick peerie wye o stressin da subjict hivin been involved athin a event. Tae “correct” it wid be wrang.¹⁵

In Shaetlan the object form of the pronoun can be used to show that the subject is benefitting from something, as in:

- *A’m caught me a fysh* (‘I’ve caught myself a fish’)
- *Shø’s bocht her a car* (‘She’s bought herself a car’)
- *D’ir gotten dem a dug* (‘They’ve got themselves a dog’)
- *We laek wis wir tattie soup* (‘We do like our reestit mutton soup’)
- *He’s fun him a new hoose* (‘He has found a new house for himself’)

In linguistics this is called a “personal dative”, sometimes “benefactive personal dative”, because the indirect object (*me/her/dem/wis/him*), the one who is affected by the action, is the same person as the main actor of the sentence (the subject *A/shø/dey/we/i*).

In many cases it translates to a Standard English reflexive construction, as the translations show: (*for*) *myself/herself/themselves/himself*. But not all personal dative constructions have Standard English equivalents. Something like **“We like ourselves some reestit mutton soup”* just doesn't work in Standard English.

Personal dative constructions are most common in Southern US English, especially in Appalachian English, but it can also be found in a number of other non-standard Englishes. It is a neat tool to stress the subject’s involvement in an event. To “correct” it would be misguided.¹⁶

¹⁵ Da term “ethical dative” wis borrooed fae Latin grammar (*dativus ethicus*) an means at da body referred til haes a interest athin, or is indirectly affectit bi da event. Hit isna da sam as da personal dative fur, wi da peronsal dative, da indirect objict haes tae be coreferential wi da subjict (dat is, refer ti’ da sam entity as da subjict), bit dis isna needit wi da ethical dative.

¹⁶ The term “ethical dative” was borrowed from Latin grammar (*dativus ethicus*) and means that the person referred to has an interest in or is indirectly affected by the event. It is not the same as the personal dative because with the personal dative the indirect object has to be coreferential with the subject (ie refer to the same entity as the subject), but this is not necessary with the ethical dative.

HERE'S DEE DY SWEETIE

Anidder kind o haandy construction at y'ir wint tae see in Shaetlan is da existential *here's*, laek *Here's dee dy sweetie* or *Here's you yir posster*. Dis haandy construction wi a dative or indirect object isna øsed in Standirt English: somethin laek “Here’s your poster for you” soonds odd or contrived. Hit’s maistly øse in spaekin straicht til anidder body, whar da recipient or da een benefittin is bein spokken til directly. Hoosumivver, in twartree plaesses da construction can be øsed tae refer til a third person, as in *Here’s Jak his bane* (‘Here’s Jak’s bone’) or *Here’s dem dir tabnabs* (‘Here’s their snacks’). Agein, somethin laek **“Here’s Jak’s bone for him”* or **“Here’s their snacks for them”* døsna wirk in Standirt English.¹⁷

Dis construction isna Shetland specific, bit it can be fun in twartree non-standirt English an Scots varieties. Hit parteeklarly aft fun athin Sooth US Englishes, includin athin Cajun country.

Another kind of beneficial construction that is common in Shaetlan as with the existential *here's* as in *Here's dee dy sweetie* (‘Here’s your sweetie’) or *Here's you your poster* (‘Here’s your poster’). This beneficial construction with a dative or indirect object is not used in Standard English: something like “Here’s your poster for you” sounds odd or contrived. It is mostly used in direct addresses, where the recipient or the one benefitting is being addressed directly. However, in some areas the construction can be used to refer to a third person, as in *Here's Jak his bone* (‘Here’s Jak’s bone’) or *Here's dem dir*

¹⁷ Tae øs *here's* wi plural subjects, as in *Here's dem dir tabnabs* ‘Here’s their snacks’ is fun aft enyoch in Standirt English an aa, bit in Standirt English d’ir wint onnly tae be fun athin conversation an in fittion spaekeens, ridder as in formal written language.

tabnabs ('Here's their snacks'). Again, something like *'Here's Jak's bone for him' or *'Here's their snacks for them' doesn't work in Standard English.¹⁸

This construction is not Shetland specific, but can be found in a number of non-standard English and Scots varieties. It seems particularly common in Southern US Englishes, including in Cajun country.

PRONOUN TAGS



In Shaetlan da object form o da personal pronoun can be øsed as a tag apø da end o a staetment. Dis grammar tool is caaed **dislocation**, whar things is shifted about fir da sake o emphasisin it.

A'm stentit, me. (approx. Standirt English 'I am really full, I am')

Shø's in Waas, her. (approx. Standirt English 'She's in Waas, she is')

Standirt English can mak øs o tags firbye, but no in da sam wye, as da translations shaas. Dislocation is fun athin a lok o da wirl'd's languages, an hit's øswally a tool øsed bi da spaeker tae alter da flow o infirmation or tae emphasise things. A lok o languages øses tags fir dis, but exactly whit wye da tags look wanna be da sam atween languages. Da Shaetlan pronominal tags is a peerie, neat grammar device fir emphasisin da subject idda claase. Hit's niddir wrang, or slang or a dølfil wye o spaekin – hit's richt Shaetlan grammar. Tae "correct" it wid be wrang.



In Shaetlan the object form of the personal pronoun can be used as a tag at the end of a statement. This grammatical tool is called **dislocation**, where things are shifted around for the sake of emphasis.

A'm stentit, me. (approx. 'I am really full, I am')

¹⁸ To use *here's* with plural subjects, as in *Here's dem dir tabnabs* 'Here's their snacks' is common in Standard English too, but in Standard English they tend to only be found in conversation and in fictional dialogue rather than in formal written language.

Shø's in Waas, her. (approx. 'She's in Waas, she is')

Standard English can also make use of tags, but not in the same way, as the translations indicate. Dislocation is found in many languages of the world, and is usually a tool used by the speaker to adjust the information flow or to emphasise things. Many languages use tags for this, but exactly how the tags look will differ between languages. The Shaetlan pronominal tags are a neat, economic grammatical device for emphasising the subject in the clause. It is neither wrong, nor slang nor sloppy speech, but proper Shaetlan grammar. To "correct" it would be misguided.

4.3.1.2 Shaain politeness in Shaetlan



Shaetlan haes twa pronominal address forms: *du* an *you*. Baith translates tae Sandirt English 'you'. Da first form (*du*) is onli øsed tae spaek about ee body (singular addressee) wharas da siccint form (*you*) is øsed as shün as de'r mair as ee addressee. Standirt English is parteeclarli rare in dat it doesna shaa der bein ony odds atween singular an plural addressees: onli about 7% o da wirl'd's languages haes da sam form fir *du* an *you*.

Hoosumivver, da Shaetlan addressee forms haes a politeness distinction firbye: *du* is da hame-aboot form fir a singular addressee (øsed wi freends, bridders an sisters, bairns, etc.) wharas *you* is da polite form fir a singular addressee (øsed wi fokk aalder as you, unkan fokk, in formal situations, etc). Standirt English haes nae politeness distinctions, so *you* is øsed aawye an tae ony addressee (een or twartree, hame-aboot or no). Da wye at sum fokk øses *du* fir ony singular addressee in Shaetlan (whidder d'ir fameeliar or no) in a wye maks Shaetlan structure mair laek Standirt English. As weel as dat, øsin *du* wi fokk aalder as you can be taen as bein rude. In linguistics dis is caaed **pattren replication**: da form maebbi looks no tae be da sam (laek Shaetlan *du* vs Standirt English *you*), bit in fact it's copyin da grammar o Standirt English an taks it awa fae whit Shaetlan grammar wis ey wint tae be.

Pictir: Julie Dennison.

Shaetlan has two pronominal addressee forms: *du* and *you*. Both translate to Standard English ‘you’. The first form (*du*) is only used to address one person (singular addressee), while the second form (*you*) is used as soon as there is more than one addressee. Standard English is exceptionally rare in not differentiating between singular and plural addressees: only some 7% of the world’s languages have the same form for you[singular] and you[plural].

However, the Shaetlan addressee forms also have a politeness distinction: *du* is the familiar form for a singular addressee (used with friends, siblings, children, etc), while *you* is the polite form for a singular addressee (used with elders, people you don’t know, in formal situations, etc). Standard English has no politeness distinctions, so *you* is used in every situation and to any addressee (one or several, familiar or not). The act of using *du* for any singular addressee in Shaetlan (whether familiar or not) therefore makes the Shaetlan structure more similar to Standard English. Also, using *du* with elders, people you don’t know or in formal situations can be felt as rude. In linguistics this is called **pattern replication**: the form might look different (like Shaetlan *du* vs Standard English *you*), but in fact it copies the grammar of Standard English and moves away from the original grammar of Shaetlan.

Pictures: Julie Dennison.

4.3.1.3 Whin tae øse *hit* an whin tae øse *it* in Shaetlan



Shaetlan haes twa forms at baith translates tae Standard English ‘it’: *hit* an *it*. Da wyys da twa o dem is øsed isna fairly da sam. Da form *hit* kerries mair emphasis an is wint tae be øsed as “dummy” subjects ithin impersonal sentences laek:

Hit will come clear laetter.

whar *hit* doesna refer tae onythin in parteeclar. Firbye dat, *hit* is da default form in whit’s caaed “cleft sentences”. Cleft means ‘dividit, spleet’ an a cleft sentence is een

at's bøn spleet, so at ee pairt is moved tae anidder position fur tae gie mair emphasis, laek in

Hit wis fir da soup at I cam.

Hit wis becis dey wir gotten gluffed at dey jump.

In a corpus o spokken Shaetlan wi mair as 316,000 wirds by far an awa da maist o da hit-forms wis øsed as impersonal dummies an in clefts (fir dem at's statistically mindit: $X_2=59.76$, $df=1$, $N=3,805$, $p<.00001^{***}$). In idder wirds, *hit* haes a saeperit grammatical function fae *it*. Tae no mak a odds atween hit an it – so, idder tae onli øse *hit* aawye, or onli *it* aawye – wid be a hypercorrection at hoids dis grammatical refinement in Shaetlan an wid mak da language mair laek Standirt English. Firbye dat, hearin *hit* øsed aawye can be gratin: hit maks it soond contrived fur aathin soonds owerly focused an emphasised.

Standirt English øses *it* fir aa kind o impersonal “dummies”, bit ithin Shaetlan da wadder an da time is expressed wi *he*, as in *He's tømìn* an *He's 5 o'clock eenoo*. De'r a semantic logic tae dis: wadder represents a dynamic force (especialy ithin Shetland!) an time is sumthin fluid at keeps movin.

Pictir: Julie Dennison.

Shaetlan has two forms that both translate to Standard English 'it': *hit* and *it*. They are not used in exactly the same ways. The form *hit* carries more emphasis and tends to be used as “dummy” subjects in impersonal sentences like

It will become clear later.

where *it* does not refer to anything in particular. *Hit* is also the default form in so-called “cleft sentences”. Cleft means ‘divided, split’ and a cleft sentence is one which has been split, so that one part is moved to a different position so as to give it more emphasis, like in

It was for the soup that I came.

It was because they got scared that they jumped.

In a corpus of spoken Shaetlan with more than 316,000 words the absolute majority of *hit*-forms were used as impersonal dummies and in clefts (for the statistically minded: $X_2=59.76$, $df=1$, $N=3,805$, $p<.00001^{***}$). In other words, *hit* has a different grammatical function from *it*. To not differentiate between *hit* and *it* – that is to only use *hit* all the time, or *it* all the time – would be a hypercorrection that masks this grammatical refinement in Shaetlan and would make the language more similar to Standard English. Also, to hear *hit* used all the time can be grating: it makes it sound contrived because everything sounds overly focused and emphasised.

Standard English uses *it* for all kinds of impersonal “dummies”, but in Shaetlan weather and time are expressed with *he*, as in *He’s tømìn* ‘It’s pouring down with rain’ and *He’s 5 o’clock eenoo* ‘It’s 5 o’clock now’. There is a semantic logic to this: weather represents a dynamic force (especially in Shetland!) and time is something fluid that keeps moving.

Picture: Julie Dennison.

4.3.2 Possessive pronouns

Possesive pronouns is øsed tae indicate ownership, as in *Hit’s mine/yirs/dirs*. Dey come in tree persons an twa numbers firbye, as shaan in da paradigm below. Da first an siccint persons singular hae twa forms: een at speaks aboot singular nouns (jüst ee item), an een at spaeks aboot plural nouns (mair as ee item). In idder wirlds, fir da first an siccint persons da form o da possessive pronoun haes tae match da noun hit’s referrin til, as shaan below:

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
	SG.N	PL.N	
1	mine	mines	wirs
2	dine	dines	yirs
3M	his		dirs
3F	hers		
3N	(h)its		

Possessive pronouns are used to indicate ownership, as in *It’s mine/yours/theirs*. They also come in three persons and two numbers, as shown in the paradigm above. The first and second persons singular have two forms: one which refers to singular nouns (one item only), and one which refers to plural nouns (more than one item). In other words, for the first and second persons the form of the possessive pronoun has to match the noun it refers to, as shown below:

INFLECTED POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS



Da possessive pronoun pits across wha aans somethin. In Standirt English de'r onnly ee form per body, it dōsna maitter hoo mony o da aaned items de ir:

- *You carry your bag and I'll carry **mine**.*
- *You clean your boots and I'll clean **mine**.*
- *He can carry his bag and you can carry **yours**.*
- *He can dry his boots and you can dry **yours**.*

In baith da caesses abūn da first example is spaekin about onnly ee item an da siccint is spaekin tae twa items, but da possessive pronoun (*mine, yours*) bides da sam.

Hoosumivver, in some varieties o Shaetlan, da possessive pronoun is inflected fir da plural:

- *Du kerry dy bag an A'll kerry **mine**.*
- *Du clean dy bōts and A'll clean **mines**.*
- *He can kerry his bag an du can kerry **dine**.*
- *He can dry his bōts an du can dry **dines**.*

Whin de'r mair as ee aaned item, da 1st an 2nd sg possessive hae tae be idda plural form (aa idders end in -s idda baess form: *his/hers/(h)its/wirs/yirs/dirs*. So dey hae nae richt wye tae cheinge meaneenfilly) Dis is a richt plural form. Somethin laek **Du can kerry dy bag an A'll kerry mines* wid soond wrang is dis varieties. Dis is da sam as in da Scandinavian languages, whar da possessive haes tae be in da plural form if it spaeks about mair as ee item:

- *Du kan bära din väska så bär jag **min**.*
- *Du kan torka dina stövlar så torkar jag **mina**.*

Dis wis documentit already in 1894.¹⁹ Hit's inherited fae Aald Norse, whar da possessive haed tae match da noun(s) dey wir spaekin aboot. Firbye dat dis wis wint tae be da caess in Aald English, bit dat wis lost already in Middle English. Tae "correct" da Shaetlan plural possessive forms wid be wrang: dis is a really aald grammatical differ in Shaetan at's bøn hoidin afore wir very een.²⁰

The possessive pronoun expresses ownership. In Standard English there is only one form per person, no matter how many the owned items are:

- *You carry your bag and I'll carry **mine**.*
- *You clean your boots and I'll clean **mine**.*
- *He can carry his bag and you can carry **yours**.*
- *He can dry his boots and you can dry **yours**.*

In both cases above the first example refers to only one item and the second refers to two items, but the possessive pronoun (*mine, yours*) stays the same.

However, in some varieties of Shaetlan, the possessive pronoun is inflected for the plural:

- *Du can kerry dy bag an A'll kerry **mine**.*
- *Du can clean dy bøts and A'll clean **mines**.*
- *He can kerry his bag an du can kerry **dine**.*
- *He can dry his bøts an du can dry **dines**.*

When the owned items are more than one, the 1st and 2nd sg possessive have to be in the plural form (all others end in -s in the base form: *his/hers/(h)its/wirs/yirs/dirs*. So they can't change meaningfully). This is a genuine plural form. Something like **Du can kerry dy bag an A'll kerry mines* would sound wrong in these varieties. This is the same as in the Scandinavian languages, where the possessive has to be in the plural form if it refers to more than one item:

- *Du kan bära din väska så bär jag **min**.*
- *Du kan torka dina stövlar så torkar jag **mina**.*

¹⁹ Ross, David. 1893-4. Place-names and dialect of Shetland. *Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, 108-118. Glasgow: John Smith & Son.

²⁰ Da Scots form *mines* spaeks aboot singular items: –*Wi Jack's Bonnie face (sae bonnie!) hingin ower mines...* [OED, sv]. Hit haes a different formation history fae da Shaetlan plural possessive forms an sudna be mixed up wi dem. Da Scots form is nidder new, nor slang, nor a døless wye o spaekin an is attestit fae 1661 at da laetest.

This was documented already in 1894²¹ and is inherited from Old Norse, where the possessive had to match the noun(s) they referred to. This also used to be the case in Old English, but that was lost already in Middle English. To “correct” the Shaetlan plural possessive forms would be misguided: this is a very old grammatical distinction in Shaetlan that has been hiding in plain sight.²²

4.3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns pit across at entities is closs or far awa idda speech situation, laek *See dis!*, *Is du seen yun?*, an sic laek. Shaetlan haes tree distance contrasts in its demonstrative system: da proximate *dis* (shaain at sumthin is clossbye), da **distal** *yun* (indicatin sumthin ferder awa) an da **remote** *dat* (indicatin sumthin wey oot). Dey dunna cheinge fir number, so dey bide da sam whidder it’s ee entity or twartree at’s bein spokken aboot. Fir mair detail aboot da distance contrasts an number in demonstratives, see Sections 4.4.2.1 an 4.4.2.2 below.

Demonstrative pronouns refer to entities that are close or distant in the speech situation, such as *Look at this!*, *Have you seen that?*, and so on. Shaetlan has three distance contrasts in its demonstrative system: the **proximate** *dis* (indicating something near), the **distal** *yun* (indicating something further away) and the **remote** *dat* (indicating something remote). They do not change for number, so they stay the same whether it is one or several entities that is referred to. For more details about the distance contrasts and number in demonstratives, see Sections 4.4.2 and 0 below.

4.3.4 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns indicates a entity at’s da exact sam as sumthin idder at’s aareidy bøn mentioned afore idda sentence, as in *A’m hurt mesel* or *Mary saa hersel idda lookeen gless*. In Shaetlan de’r twa forms fir reflexive pronouns, a langer stressed (emphatic) een an a shorter unstressed een, as shaan idda paradigm below. Nottice at da stressed plural forms aa end wi da plural -s, at means at fir da reflexive pronoun da stressed forms shaas a odds idda siccint person atween da polite singular an plural forms.

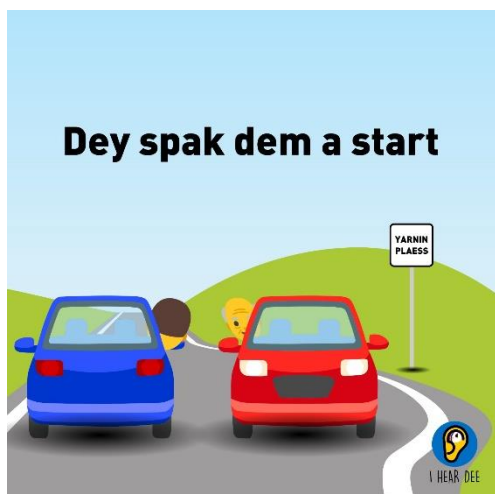
²¹ Ross, David. 1893-4. Place-names and dialect of Shetland. *Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, 108-118. Glasgow: John Smith & Son.

²² The Scots form *mines* refers to singular items: –*Wi Jack's Bonnie face (sae bonnie!) hingin ower mines...* [OED, sv]. It has a different formation history from the Shaetlan plural possessive forms and should not be confused with them. The Scots form is neither new, nor slang, nor sloppy speech and is attested since 1661 at the latest.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	STRESSED	UNSTRESSED	STRESSED	UNSTRESSED
1	mesel	me	wirsels	wir
2	deesel (informal)/yirsel (polite)	dee (informal)/you (polite)	yirsels	you
3M	himsel	him	demsels	dem
3F	hersel	her		
3N	hitsel	(h)it		

Reflexive pronouns indicate an entity which is identical with something that has already been mentioned in the sentence, as in *I hurt myself* or *Mary saw herself in the mirror*. In Shaetlan there are two forms for reflexive pronouns, a longer stressed (emphatic) one and a shorter unstressed one, as shown in the paradigm above. Notice that the stressed plural forms all end with the plural -s, which means that for the reflexive pronoun the stressed forms show a difference in the second person between the polite singular and plural forms.

4.3.5 Reciprocal constructions



Whit's caaed reciprocal clauses is tae dø wi pairtnership. In Standirt English dis is shaan wi “each other”:

– *They spoke with each other for a while.*

In Shaetlan yun can be expressed wi da object form o da pronoun:

– *Dey spak dem a start.*

Dis is proper Shaetlan grammar an tae “correct” it widna be richt. Hit's seemlar (but no identical) ti' da Old Norse wye, at haes a speecial form da verb (action wird) along wi da dative object form o da pronoun:

– *Talask þau við.* (‘Dey spaek dem’, lit. “spaek dem wi”)

Da Old Norse *-sk* verbal endeen ultimately gings back ti' da pronoun *sik* 'eensel'. Hit's still fun idda Scandinavian passive forms: Sw. *talas (vid)*, Da./BoNo. *tales (vid)*, NyNo./Icel. *talast (vid/við)*.

Da speecial verb form is geen fae Shaetlan, bit da pronoun object form bides on. Hit isna impossible at da Shaetlan reciprocal could be a substratal Norn feature at's bøn hoidin afore wir very een.

So-called reciprocal clauses involve mutuality. In Standard English this is expressed with "each other":

– *They spoke with each other for a while.*

In Shaetlan that can be expressed with the object form of the pronoun:

– *Dey spak dem a start.* (Lit. "They spoke them a while")

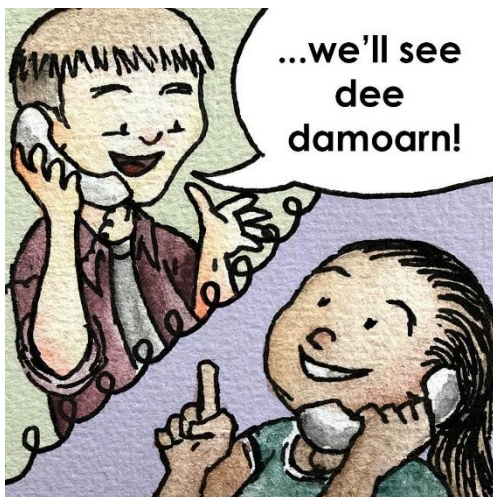
This is proper Shaetlan grammar and to "correct" it would be misguided. It is similar (but not identical) to the Old Norse construction, which has a special form the verb (action word) plus the dative object form of the pronoun:

– *Talask þau við.* ('They speak with each other', lit. "speak them with")

The Old Norse *-sk* verbal ending ultimately goes back to the pronoun *sik* 'oneself'. It survives in the Scandinavian passive forms: Sw. *talas (vid)*, Da./BoNo. *tales (vid)*, NyNo./Icel. *talast (vid/við)*.

The special verb form has disappeared in Shaetlan, but the pronoun object form remains. It is not impossible that the Shaetlan reciprocal could be a substratal Norn feature that has been hiding in plain sight.

SINGULAR WE



In Shaetlan da form *we* can be øsed noo an agein even if it's onnly spaekin aboot ee single spaeker:

– *We'll see dee laeter!* ('I'll see you later!')

Dis almosst onnly comes aboot whin de'r somethin mutual happenin, whit's caaed reciprocal claases, wi a direct addressee (body 1 is spaekin ti' body 2). Standirt English øses "een anidder" in reciprocal claases, so da example abün could translate ti' somethin laek "We'll see each other later".

Idda Scandinavian languages reciprocal claases is expressed wi a speecial form o da verb (action wurd), whit's caaed da passive form:

– *Vi ses senare!* (We'll see dee/you laeter!')

Dis form gings back ti' da Old Norse *-sk* endeen, at cam aboot fae da pronoun *sik* 'eensel'.

Pictir: Julie Dennison

In Shaetlan the form we can sometimes be used even if it only refers to one speaker:

– *We'll see dee laeter!* ('I'll see you later!')

This almost only happens in situations of mutuality, so-called reciprocal clauses, with a direct addressee (person 1 is speaking to person 2). Standard English uses "each other" in reciprocal clauses, so the example above could translate to something like "We'll see each other later".

In the Scandinavian languages reciprocal clauses are expressed with a special form of the verb (action word), the so-called passive form:

– *Vi ses senare!* (We'll see each other later!')

This form goes back to the Old Norse *-sk* ending, which developed from the pronoun *sik* 'oneself'. See previous post for more on reciprocal constructions in Shaetlan.

Picture: Julie Dennison

4.3.6 Indefinite pronouns



Indefinite pronouns ir whit's øsed fir naethin/naebody in parteeclar, or aathin/aabody in general. In Shaetlan da indefinite is *onyeen* or *onybody*. *Onyeen* derives fae Aald English *ǣniġ* ('ony') + Aald English *ān* ('ee'), an *onybody* derives fae *ǣniġ* + Aald English *bodiġ* ('boady, middle, etc.'). Da Scots form *ony/onie* is attestit fae 1258. Da Aald English numeral *ān* (StE 'one') spleet intil a nort/sooth divide fae da airly 13^t century, whar da nort form keepit a haddis o da oppen front vowel (*een/aen/ee/ai/etc*) wharas da sooth form cheinged intil a roondit vowel (*o/on/un/oon/one/won/etc*). Anidder version o da sooth forms wis borroed laetter on intil Scots idda 19^t century, so at noo Shaetlan haes baith da aalder *ee(n)* an da newer *wan* fir da numeral 'one'.²³ Tae "correct" *onyeen* tae **anyone* widna be richt linguistically or historically.

Indefinite pronouns are those used for nothing/nobody in particular, or everything/everybody in general. In Shaetlan the indefinite is *onyeen* ('anyone') or *onybody* ('anybody'). *Onyeen* derives from Old English *ǣniġ* ('any') + Old English *ān* ('one'), and *onybody* derives from *ǣniġ* + Old English *bodiġ* ('body, torso, etc.'). The Scots form *ony/onie* is attested since 1258. The Old English numeral *ān* 'one' split into a north/south divide from the early 13th century, where the northern form retained the open front vowel (*een/aen/ee/ai/etc*) while the southern form evolved into a back rounded vowel (*o/on/un/oon/one/won/etc*). A variant of the southern forms was later borrowed into Scots in the 19th century, so that Shaetlan now has both the older *ee(n)* and the newer *wan* for the numeral 'one'.²⁴ To "correct" *onyeen* to **anyone* would therefore be linguistically and historically inaccurate.

²³ Strictly spaekin da sooth form cheinged fae a oppen front unrounded vowel tae a back rounded monophthong, at laetter cam tae be a diphthong (/wa-/). It wis dis Mod.Eng. form at wis borroed intil Scots (*wan*).

²⁴ Strictly speaking the Southern form evolved from a open front unrounded vowel to a back rounded monophthong, which later became a diphthong (/wa-/). It was this Mod.Eng form which was borrowed into Scots (*wan*).

DA TANE & DA TIDDER



Shaetlan haes da pronoun opposition *da tane... da tidder* at translates tae Standirt English ‘the one... the other’. You fin dis ithin various forms troo da entire Scots spaekin area, an dis is nidder new, or “slang”, or “improper”. Dis is aald forms, at cam oot o laet Aald English, espeeially idda nort plaesses, aboot 1200-1250: *þe* cam tae be da general form fir da definite article (‘the’) an so da *-t* ithin *þæt ān* ‘da/yun een’ wis shiftit tae *ān* so as it güd tae bein *þæ tān* > *þe tane* > *da tane* insteid. Da sam happent wi *þæt oðer* ‘da/yun idder’ at güd tae bein *þæ tōðer* > *þe tithyr* > *da tidder*. Apart fae da Scots spaekin plaesses, hit’s onli fun in various forms ithin pockets o conservative English varieties, bit no ithin Standirt English ony langer.

Shaetlan has the pronoun opposition *da tane ... da tidder* which translates to Standard English ‘the one ... the other’. This is found in various forms in the entire Scots speaking area, and is neither new, nor “slang”, nor “improper”. These are old forms, which emerged in late Old English, especially in the northern areas, around 1200-1250: *þe* became the general form for the definite article (‘the’) and so the *-t* in *þæt ān* ‘the/that one’ got shifted to *ān* so that it became *þæ tān* > *þe tane* > *da tane* ‘the one’ instead. The same happened with *þæt oðer* ‘the/that other’ which became *þæ tōðer* > *þe tithyr* > *da tidder* ‘the other’. Apart from the Scots speaking areas, it is only found in various forms in pockets of conservative English varieties, but no longer in Standard English.

4.3.7 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns is øsed ithin questions whin da entity isna kent, as in *Wha wrat dis letter?*. Shaetlan haes twa pronouns laek yun, *wha* (fir fokk) an *whit* (fir aathin else):

- *Wha spak til dee?*
- *Whit number did du phone?*

Interrogative pronouns are used in questions when the entity is unknown, as in *Who wrote this letter?*. Shaetlan has two such pronouns, *wha* (for people) and *what* (for everything else):

- *Wha spak til dee?* ‘Who spoke to you[INFORMAL]?’
- *Whit number did du phone?* ‘Which number did you[INFORMAL] call?’

4.4 Determiners in Shaetlan

Determiners is øsed tagidder wi nouns fur tae nairroo doon da reference o dis nouns – in idder wirds, dey *determine* whit nouns w’ir spaekin aboot. De’r different kinds o determiners, bit d’ir aa da sam wi da wye at d’ir øsed tagidder wi da noun. A lok o determiners owerlaps wi da pronouns idda section abün: da differ de ir is at dey wirk laek pronouns whin d’ir øsed on dir ain, bit dey wirk laek determiners whin øsed tagidder wi da noun. Firbye dat, dey aa bilang tae da closed class o functional wirds, at means at dey hae little semantic content an at de’r onli a leemited quantity o wirds laek dat idda class. Noo an agein d’ir referred tae as adjectives, bit da differ at dey ir atween da twa is at adjectives *spaeks aboot* a noun, wharas determiners wirks oot *whit* noun(s) w’ir spaekin aboot. Firbye dat, adjectives bilangs til da oppen lexical class o wirds, wharas determiners bilangs til da closed functional class o wirds.

Determiners are used in combination with nouns and serve to narrow down the reference of those nouns – in other words, they *determine* which noun(s) we are referring to. There are different kinds of determiners, but common to them all is that they are used in combination with the noun. Many determiners in Shaetlan overlap with the pronouns in the section above: the difference is that they act as pronouns when they are used on their own, but as determiners when used together with the noun. They also all belong to the closed class of functional words, meaning that they have little semantic content and that there is only a limited number of such words in the class. They are sometimes referred to as adjectives, but the difference between the two is that adjectives *describe* a noun, whereas determiners determine *which* noun(s) we are speaking about. Also, adjectives belong to the open lexical class of words, while determiners belong to the closed functional class of words

4.4.1 Articles

Articles is øsed tae shaa whidder a entity is identifiable or no.

Articles are used to indicate whether an entity is identifiable or not.

4.4.1.1 Da definite article

Da definite article shaas a parteeclar thing an assumes at baith da spaeker an da body bein spokken tae kens whit entity is bein spokken aboot, as in *da book*, referrin tae a parteeclar book. Da Shaetlan definite article is *da* an is øsed as a maitter o coorse mair affen as it ivver wid be in Standirt English wi *the*, laek:

wi saisons: *da voar*, *da simmer*, *da hairst*, *da winter* (in Standard English da definite wid onli be øsed whin ee specific period wis meant, laek *The spring of 2020 saw lockdown in most countries.*)

wi da naems o illnesses: *Shø's ill wi da caald/da gulsa/da Covid.*

generic nouns: *Shø jüst canna bear da dratsis.*

wi coont nouns at haes sum kind o closs relationship tae da spaeker (wi idder time, plaess or socially), or wi habitual actions: *He gings tae da kirk a Sunday, D'ir startit da skiil noo.*

The definite article encodes specificity and assumes that both the speaker and addressee know what entity is being spoken about, as in *da book* ('the book'), which refers to a specific book. The Shaetlan definite article is *da* and is used as a default in more contexts than the Standard English *the*, such as:

with seasons: *da voar* 'spring', *da simmer* 'summer', *da hairst* 'autumn', *da winter* 'winter' (in Standard English the definite would only be used when one specific period is meant, such as *The spring of 2020 saw lockdown in most countries.*)

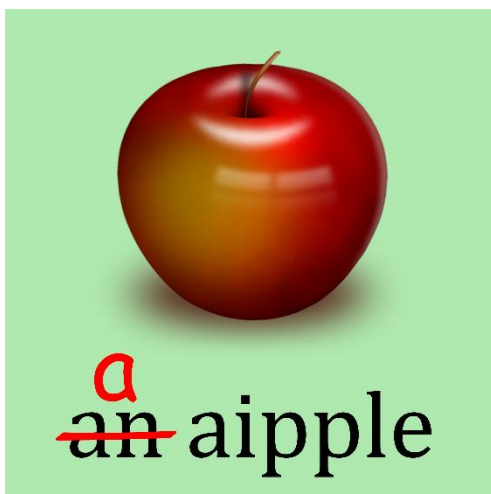
with the names of illnesses: *Shø's ill wi da caald* 'She's ill with a cold' / *da gulsa* '... jaundice' / *da Covid.*

generic nouns: *Shø jüst canna bear da dratsis.* 'She just can't stand otters.'

with count nouns that have some kind of close relationship to the speaker (in either time, place or socially), or with habitual actions: *He gings tae da kirk da Sunday* 'He goes to church on Sundays', *D'ir startit da skiil noo* 'They've started school now'.

Strictly speaking it is Standard English which is unusual in having the so-called zero article (i.e. when the definite article is left out) in these kinds of contexts.

4.4.1.2 Da indefinite article



Indefinite articles is øsed whin da entity bein referred tae isna a parteeclar een, as in *a book*. In Shaetlan da indefinite article *a* is da sam whidder or no da neest wird starts

wi a consonant or a vowel: *a aple, a bottle*. Da wird originally cam fae Aald English *ān* ‘ee/wan’ an fae da 12^t century startit lossin da hindmaist *-n*. Bi da 15^t century it wis bøn lost in aa plaessments, an dis is still fun aawye ithin mony varieties o Scots an English aroon da wirl. Hoosumiver, Standirt English is keepit da hindmaist *-n* afore vowels, as wis da wye it wis ey bøn døn atidda sooth-aest o England an da wider London area ithin aerly Modren English.

Indefinite articles are used when the entity referred to is not a specific one, as in *a book*. In Shaelan the indefinite article *a* is the same irrespective of whether the following word starts with a consonant or a vowel: *a apple, a bottle*. The word is originally from Old English *ān* ‘one’ and from the 12th century started to lose the final *-n*. By the 15th century it had been lost in all positions, and this is still widespread in many varieties of Scots and English around the world. Standard English, however, has retained the final *-n* before vowels, reflecting the convention that had established itself in the south-east of England and the wider London area by early Modern English.

4.4.2 Demonstrative determiners

Demonstrative determiners indicates da distance o da entity bein spokken about. Whin øsed on dir ain, ithoot da noun, dey wirk laek pronouns (see Section 4.3.3 abün).

Demonstrative determiners indicate the distance of the entity referred to. When used on their own, without the noun, they function as pronouns (see Section 0 above).

4.4.2.1 Tree distances



Demonstratives is øsed tae point sumthin oot in a situation or a utterance. Shaelan haes a 3-wye contrast system wi *dis* / *yun* / *dat* whar *dis* is da closseset (**proximal**), *yun* is ferder awa (**distal**) an *dat* is even ferder awa in plaess or time (**remote**): *dis ram is moorit*, *yun ram yundroo is catmoget*, *bit da ram mi fukk haed*, *dat ram wis a aafil boannie*

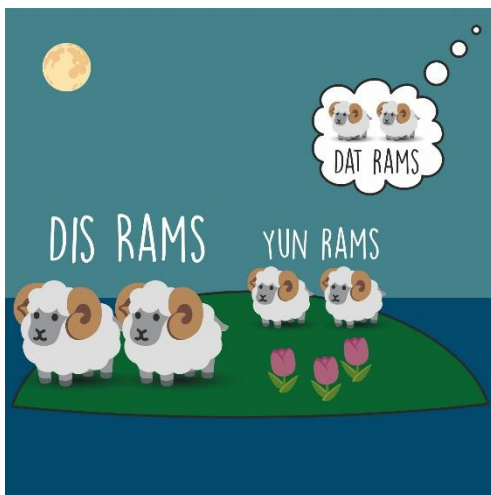
sholmet een. Dis is different fae da Standirt English wye, at onli haes a 2-wye contrast, an mair laek da Spanish 3-wye system.

Becis Standirt English onli haes twa contrasts, *yun* an *dat* baith translates tae English ‘that’. Bit dat onli shaas at da Standirt English system isna as parteclar as da Shaetlan system an doesna mean at *yun* an *dat* can be swappit fir een anidder.

Demonstratives are used to point something out in a situation or an utterance. Shaetlan has a 3-way contrast system with *dis* / *yun* / *dat* where *dis* is closest (**proximal**), *yun* is further away (**distal**) and **dat** is even more removed in space or time (**remote**): *dis ram* is *moorit*, *yun ram yundroo* is *catmoget*, *bit da ram mi fokk haed*, *dat ram wis a boannie sholmet een* (‘this ram is brown, that ram there is black bellied, but the ram that my parents had, that ram was a beautiful white faced one’). This is different from the Standard English system, which only has a 2-way contrast, and more similar to the Spanish 3-way system.

Because Standard English only has two contrasts, *yun* and *dat* both translate to English ‘that’. But that only reflects the less fine-grained nature of the Standard English system and does not mean that *yun* and *dat* are interchangeable.

4.4.2.2 Number invariant



Ithin Shaetlan da demonstratives bide invariant, unlaek in Standirt English, whar dey inflect fir plural. So dat wye:

dis rams / *dis eens ir moorit*

yun rams / *yun eens ir catmoget*

but in dat days dey haed gulmoget rams

...is aa examples o richt Shaetlan grammar. Tryin tae wengle it tae fit da Standirt English system — sic as tae **dese/*dhese/*these* or **dose/*dhose/*those* — isna richt: d’ir twa different systems o grammar.

In Shaetlan the demonstratives remain invariant, unlike in Standard English, where they inflect for plural. So that:

dis rams / dis eens ir moorit ('these rams / these ones are brown')

yun rams / yun eens ir catmoget ('those rams / those ones are black bellied')

but in dat days dey haed gulmoget rams ('but in those days they had light bellied rams')

...are all examples of correct Shaetlan grammar. Any attempt to alter that to the Standard English system — such as to *dese/*dhese/*these or *dose/*dhose/*those — would be misguided: it is two different grammatical systems.

4.4.3 Possessive determiners

Possessive determiners shaas dat a body aans da noun at's bein spokken about, laek *He's her book*. Shaetlan haes a paradigm o possessive determiners fir tree persons an twa numbers, as shaan below.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	my/mi ²⁵	wir
2	dy/di	yir
3M	his	
3F	her	dir
3N	hits	

Possessive determiners indicate that someone possesses the noun that is being spoken about, such as *It's her book*. Shaetlan has a paradigm of possessive determiners for three persons and two numbers, as shown above.

4.4.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers specifies da amoont (quantity) o entities bein referred tae. Shaetlan haes a braa twartree quantifiers. Dat can reinge fae *ee* or sum specified number, tae a unspecified peerie quantity (*sum*, *twartree*) tae a unspecified big quantity (*mony*, *a lok*). Quantifiers can be inclusive, as in *aa*, *baith*, *ivvri*; dey can be negative, as in *nae*, *nidder*; or dey can be arbitrary, as in *ony*, *idder*.

Quantifiers specify the amount (quantity) of entities referred to. Shaetlan has a number of quantifiers. That can range from *ee* 'one' or some specified number, to an unspecified small quantity (*some*, *twartree* 'a few') to an unspecified large quantity (*mony* 'many', *a lok* 'a lot'). Quantifiers can be inclusive, as in *aa* 'all', *baith* 'both', *each*, *ivvri* 'every'; they can be negative, as in *nae* 'no', *nidder* 'neither'; or they can be arbitrary, as in *ony* 'any', *idder* 'either'.

²⁵ The 1st and 2nd person sg both have an emphatic possessive form (*my/dy*) and an unemphatic possessive form (*mi/di*). This is not found in any of the other persons/number.

4.5 Numerals in Shaetlan

Numerals is sets o wirts at indicates da parteeclar number o sumthin. **Cardinals** set oot da number ithin a set an gies a answer tae da question “hoo mony?”, wharas **ordinals** set oot da order in a strip o things, an answers da question “whit een?”

Numerals are sets of words that indicate the precise number of something. **Cardinals** specify the number in a set and answers the question “how many?”, whereas **ordinals** specify the rank in a series and answers the question “which?” in an order.

4.5.1 Cardinals

Dis is twartree o da common cardinals in Shaetlan (below)

0 naen/naethin	10 ten	20 twinty
1 ee/een/wan	11 eeleven	30 therty
2 twa/two	12 twaal	40 forty
3 tree	13 therteen	50 fifty
4 fower	14 forteen	60 sixty
5 five	15 fifteen	70 seeventy
6 six	16 sixteen	80 eichty
7 seeven	17 seeventeen	90 ninety
8 eicht	18 eichteen	100 a hunder
9 nine	19 nineteen	1000 a thoosan

These are some of the common cardinals in Shaetlan (above).

THE ATTRIBUTIVE *ee* VERSUS THE ABSOLUTE *een*



In Shaetlan de'r twa forms at translate tae Standirt English 'one': *ee* an *een*. Dey hae saeperit functions: *ee* is da numeral form an is øsed attributively, wi a noun:

– *I mind ee day...*

But *een* is øsed absolutely an substitutes da noun an wirks laek a pronoun:

– *Gie me yun een.*

– *A'm seen yun eens afore.*

Baith forms ging back tae Aald English *ān* 'een'. Startin fae da 13^t century *ān* wis reduced tae *a* or *ai* afore consonants idda nort plaesses. Dis spleet cam tae be permanent an tøk on a different grammatical meanin at's still reflected in Shaetlan: da full form (*ān* > *een*) wis set by fir øse as da pronoun, wharas da reduced form (*a(i)* > *ee*) wis set by fir attributive øse. Standirt English doesna hae dis differentiation.

In Shaetlan there are two forms which translate into Standard English 'one': *ee* and *een*. They have separate functions: *ee* is the numeral form and is used attributively:

– *I mind ee day...* 'I remember one day...'

But *een* is used absolutely and substitutes the noun, and functions like a pronoun:

– *Gie me yun een.* 'Give me that one.'

– *A'm seen yun eens afore.* 'I've seen those ones before'

Both forms go back to Old English *ān* 'one'. Starting in the 13th century *ān* was reduced to *a* or *ai* before consonants in the northern areas. This split became permanent and got a grammatical meaning difference which is still reflected in Shaetlan: the full form (*ān* > *een*) was reserved for the pronoun function, while the reduced form (*a(i)* > *ee*) was reserved for the attributive (descriptive) function. Standard English lacks this differentiation.

4.5.2 Ordinals

Dis is twartree o da common ordinals in Shaetlan (below)

1 st first	11 ^t eeleevent	30 ^t thertiet
2 ^{nt} siccint	12 ^t twaalt	40 ^t fortiet
3 rd third	13 ^t therteent	50 ^t fiftiet
4 ^t fort	14 ^t forteent	60 ^t sixtiet
5 ^t fift	15 ^t fifteent	70 ^t seeventiet
6 ^t sixt	16 ^t sixteent	80 ^t eichtiet
7 ^t seevent	17 ^t seeventeent	90 ^t ninetiet
8 ^t eicht	18 ^t eichteent	100 ^t a hundred
9 ^t nint	19 ^t nineteent	1000 ^t a thoosant
10 ^t tent	20 ^t twintiet	

These are some of the common ordinals in Shaetlan (above).

5 Da verb phrase: actions, processes and staets in a Shaetlan sentence

Da **verb phrase** is a phrase at haes a **verb** (action, process or staet) at it's hert. In idder wirts, a verb phrase is da verb an aathin at gings along wi it. Verbs is wint tae mak up da core o a sentence. Verb phrases can be maed up o as little as ee single wurd, or as muckle as twartree wirts an even entire claases. Examples o verb phrases wid be:

Da man spak tae da wife.

He wis spaekin tae her.

Da man wis jüst seid eenoo at he wid nivver hae onythin tae dø wi dem.

Verb phrases hae fundamental grammatical roles ithin sentences (mair about dis inna Chapter 7). Dis section'll look first at da lexical class o verbs, dan at da functional class o **auxiliaries** (grammatical function wirts), an last at da lexical class o **adverbs** (modifiers).

The **verb phrase** is a phrase that has a **verb** (action, process or state) as its centre. In other words, a verb phrase is the verb and everything that belongs together with it. Verbs tend to form the core of a sentence. Verb phrases can consist of as little as a single word, or as much as several words and even entire clauses. Examples of verb phrases are:

The man spoke to the woman.

He was speaking to her.

The man had just recently said that he would never have anything to do with them.

Verb phrases have fundamental grammatical roles in sentences (more about that in Chapter 6). This section will first look at the lexical class of verbs, then at the functional class of **auxiliaries** (grammatical function verbs), and last at the lexical class of **adverbs** (modifiers).

5.1 Verbs an auxiliaries in Shaetlan

Verbs refers tae actions (laek *dance, hosst, write*), processes (laek *growe*) an staets (laek *ken, exist*) Dey bilang tae da oppen, lexical class o wirts, at means at d'ir content wirts – wirts at haes mair or less set an parteclar meaneens. Fokk bein creative wi linguistic an cheinges in society baith combines tae mak spaekers tak an mak new nouns aa da time. *Tae whatsapp* fir example wid be a new maed verb.

Auxiliaries is function wirts, dat's eens at's fir da maist pairt semantically empty, an da maist o dir wark is in pittin across grammatical information. Dey bilang tae a closed class o wirts. Dey ir wint tae be unstressed ithin sentences (becis da main content is wi da verb), an d'ir affen contracted, as shaan idda example paradigm below. Da main auxiliaries is *be, hae, dø, can, sall* and *will*.

Verbs and auxiliaries combine to indicate the **tense** (when something happens), **aspect** (the perspective of what's happening), **modality** (the attitude to what's happening) and **voice** (whether what's happening is an active or passive act).

BE	FULL FORM	CONTRACTED FORM
1.SG	I am	A'm
2.SG	du is	du's
3.SG	he/shø/(h)it is	he's/shø's/(h)it's
1.PL	we ir	w'ir ²⁶
2.PL	you ir	y'ir
3.PL	dey ir	d'ir ²⁷

Verbs refer to actions (such as *dance*, *cough*, *write*), processes (such as *grow*) and states (such as *know*, *exist*). They belong to the open, lexical class of words, which means that they are content words – words that have more or less concrete and specific meanings. Linguistic creativity and changes in society both combine to make speakers create new nouns on a regular basis. *To whatsapp*, for example, is a recently created verb.

Auxiliaries are function words, that is, are semantically more or less empty, and function mainly to convey grammatical information. They belong to a closed class of words. They tend to be unstressed in the sentences (because the main content is with the verb), and are often contracted, as shown in the example paradigm above. The main auxiliaries are *be*, *hae* 'have', *dø* 'do', *can*, *sall* 'shall' and *will*.

Verbs and auxiliaries combine to indicate the **tense** (when something happens), **aspect** (the perspective of what's happening), **modality** (the attitude to what's happening) and **voice** (whether what's happening is an active or passive act).

5.1.1 Tense

Tense places an event on a timeline. As in most languages, Shaetlan has three simple tenses: the **present** tense (the event is happening now), the **past** tense (the event happened before now) and the **future** tense (the event will happen after now). A fourth tense, the **perfect** tense, is a little bit more complicated because it indicates that something happened in the past but is still relevant now.

Tense places an event on a timeline. As with most languages, Shaetlan has three simple tenses: the **present** tense (the event is happening now), the **past** tense (the event happened before now) and the **future** tense (the event will happen after now). A fourth tense, the **perfect** tense, is slightly more complex because it indicates that something happened in the past but is still relevant now.

²⁶ It is fairly common to spell the contracted form of *wi ir* ('we are') as <wir>, but that confuses the form with the possessive form *wir* 'our'. We would like to avoid that confusion.

²⁷ It is fairly common to spell the contracted form of *dey ir* ('they are') as <der> but that risks confusion with the locative adverbial, which we choose to spell *dere* 'there'. We would like to avoid that confusion by this double differentiation.

5.1.1.1 Da present tense

Da present tense shaas at sumthin is happnin eenoo. It's shaan bi laivin da verb ithin it's baess form apairt fae da siccint an third person singular, at's markit wi da present tense *-(e)s*, as shaain idda example prardigm below. Da onli auxiliaries at haes ony kind o speecial form fir da present tense is *be* an *hae* (idda siccint an third persons singular), as shaan below.

	KERRY	SPAEK
1.SG	I kerry	I spaek
2.SG	du kerries	du spaeks
3.SG	he/shø/(h)it kerries	he/shø/(h)it spaeks
1.PL	we kerry	we spaek
2.PL	you kerry	you spaek
3.PL	dey kerry	dey spaek

	BE	HAE	WILL
1.SG	I am	I hae	I will
2.SG	du is	du haes	du will
3.SG	he/shø/(h)it is	he/shø/(h)it haes	he/shø/(h)it will
1.PL	we ir	we hae	we will
2.PL	you ir	you hae	you will
3.PL	dey ir	dey hae	dey will

The present tense indicates that something is happening now. It's shown by leaving the verb in its base form except for the second and third person singular, which is marked with the present tense *-(e)s*, as shown in the example paradigm above. The only auxiliaries which have any kind of special form for the present tense are *be* and *hae* (in the second and third persons singular), as shown above.

5.1.1.2 Da past tense



Da past tense shaas at sumthin's happent afore noo. Aa Germanic languages haes twa main kinds o verbs: reglar ("waik") verbs an irreglar ("strong") verbs. In Standirt English reglar verbs forms dir past tense an past participle wi da endeen *-(e)d*, as in

fill (to fill in a form) ~ filled (I filled it in yesterday) ~ filled (it has been filled in with a red pen)

Hoosumivver, irreglar verbs isna formed wi *-e(d)*, d'ir formed in twartree idder wyes. Ivver sae aft da vowel'll cheinge, as in

tell (to tell a story) ~ told ~ (I told him a story) ~ told (that story has been told already)

Bit whit parteeclar verbs comes tae be reglar an whit eens comes tae be irreglar isna ey da sam atween languages.

Laek aa Germanic languages, Shaetlan haes reglar an irreglar verbs baith an aa. Reglar verbs is formed wi idder *-(e)d* or *-(i)t*:

owse 'bale out, empty' (tae owse oot o da essibag) ~ owsed (I owsed him oot dastreen) ~ owsed (A'm jüst owsed oot o him)

tell (tae tell a story) ~ tellt (He tellt me dastreen) ~ tellt (A'm jüst bøn tellt)

Irreglar verbs is formed in idder wyes, an, laek da wye it is wi idder Germanic languages, da vowel aft cheinges:

jimp (tae jimp ower a fence) ~ jamp (we jamp ower da fence dastreen) ~ juppen (w'ir jüst juppen ower da fence)

Da reglar/irreglar verbs doesna fairly owerlap atween an Standirt English. Nidder system is mair “richt” as da tidder or ony idder Germanic language. Aa it is, is d’ir different systems.

The past tense indicates that something happened before now. All Germanic languages have two main types of verbs: regular (“weak”) verbs and irregular (“strong”) verbs. In Standard English regular verbs form their past tense and past participle with the ending *-(e)d*, as in

fill (to fill in a form) ~ *filled* (I filled it in yesterday) ~ *filled* (it has been filled in with a red pen).

Irregular verbs, however, are not formed with *-(e)d*, but in various other ways. Very often the vowel changes, as in

tell (to tell a story) ~ *told* (I told him a story) ~ *told* (that story has been told already). However, exactly which verbs will be regular and which will be irregular can differ between languages.

Like all Germanic languages, Shaetlan also has both regular and irregular verbs. Regular verbs are formed with either *-(e)d* or *-(i)t*:

owse ‘bale out, empty’ (*tae owse oot o da essibag* ‘to empty out from the bin bag’) ~ *owsed* (I owsed him oot dastreen ‘I emptied it out last night’) ~ *owsed* (A’m jüst owsed oot o him ‘I’ve just emptied out from it’)

tell ‘say, tell’ (*tae tell a story*) ~ *tellt* (*He tellt me dastreen* ‘he told me last night’) ~ *tellt* (A’m jüst been tellt ‘I’ve just been told’).

Irregular verbs are formed in other ways, and, like with other Germanic languages, often the vowel changes:

jimp ‘jump’ (*tae jimp ower a fence*) ~ *jamp* (*we jamp ower da fence dastreen*) ~ *juppen* (*we’r jüst juppen ower da fence*)

The regular/irregular verbs do not completely overlap between Shetland and Standard English. Neither system is more “correct” than the other or than the system of any other Germanic language. They are simply different systems.

REGLAR (WAIK) VERBS

lowse ‘pour down’ ~ *lowsed*

tøm ‘empty’ ~ *tømed*

tell ‘say’ ~ *tellt*

steep ‘soak’ ~ *steepit*

IRREGLAR (STRONG) VERBS

bide ‘live’ ~ *bed*

burn ‘burn’ ~ *brunt*

buy ~ *bocht*

come ~ *cam*

fin 'find' ~ *fan*

ging 'go' ~ *güd*

jimp 'jump' ~ *jamp*

spæk 'speak, talk' ~ *spak*

PAST TENSE O DA MAIN AUXILIARIES

be ~ *wis*

hae 'have' ~ *haed*

sall 'shall' ~ *sud*

will ~ *wid*

can ~ *could*

may ~ *micht*

dø ~ *did*

5.1.1.3 Da future tense

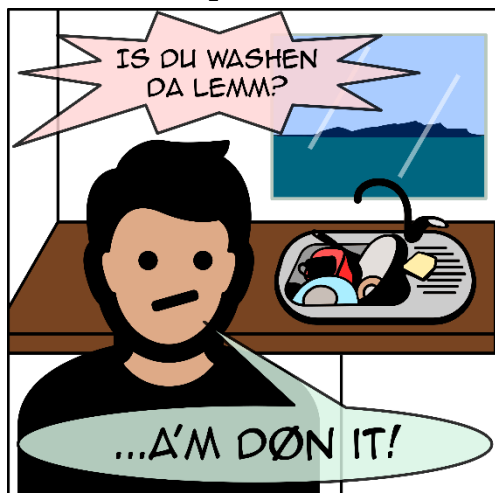
Da future tense shaas at sumthin'll happen efter noo. Hit's wint tae be formed øsin da auxiliary *will*, *sall* or da phrase *gyaan tae* + a verb.

A'll dø it damoarn. 'I'll do it tomorrow'

A'm gyaan tae dø it damoarn. 'I'm going to do it tomorrow.'

The future tense indicates that something will happen after now. It is usually formed by using the auxiliary *will*, *sall* or the phrase *gyaan tae* + a verb.

5.1.1.4 Da perfect tense



Da perfect tense shaas at sumthin happent afore noo, bit is still relevant eenoo. Shaetlan shaas da perfect tense bi da øse o *BE* + an whit dey caa da **past participle** o da verb. Da **participle** is a form o da verb at can function as a adjective (decriptive

wird) firbye. Fir reglar verbs da past participle looks laek da past tense form. *A'm seen da film aareidy, bit du isna / Y'ir bøn dere afore, bit shø isna / Dey ir aa pitten oot dir essibags, onli we irna*. Dis isna da sam as Standirt English, whar da perfect tense is shaan bi øsin HAVE (*I've seen the film already, but you haven't / You've been there before, but she hasn't / They have all put out their bin bags, only we haven't*). In idder wirts, Standirt English maks øse o da sam form fir da perfect tense as it does fir aanin (tae HAE onythin: *I have a phone / She has a cat / They have a house / etc*). Dis is aafil rare aroon da wirl: onli 6.5% o da languages at haes perfect tense dø dis, an d'ir aa fun ithin Wast Europe. Dis maks Standirt English a lok mair unkan as Shaetlan fir dis pairt o da grammar.

The perfect tense indicates that something happened before now, but is still relevant now. Shaetlan expresses the perfect tense with a form of BE + the so-called **past participle** of the verb. The **participle** is a form of the verb which can also function as an adjective (descriptive word). For regular verbs the past participle looks like the past tense form. *A'm seen da film aaraidy, but du isna / Y'ir been dere afore, but shø isna / Dey ir aa pitten oot der essibags, onli we irna*. This is different from Standard English, where the perfect is expressed with a form of HAVE (*I've seen the film already, but you haven't / You've been there before, but she hasn't / They have all put out their bin bags, only we haven't*). In other words, Standard English uses the same form for the perfect as for possession (to HAVE something: *I have a phone / She has a cat / They have a house / etc*). This is extremely rare globally: only 6.5% of the languages that have the perfect tense do this, and they are all found in Western Europe. This makes Standard English much more unusual than Shaetlan for this part of the grammar.

5.1.2 Da progressive aspect: Happeens gyaan on in Shaetlan

Min, did du ken at Robbie's bocht a new sporty car?



Weel, A'm sittin whaar I heard it!

Aspect shaas da perspective taen on a event an in Shaetlan, as wi Standirt English, de'r onli ee aspect, da **progressive**, at indicates at a event is gyaan on. Dis is formed wi da øse o BE idda present tense + da **present participle** o da verb. In Shaetlan da

present participle is formed wi da suffix *-in* (no *-ing!* See Section 3.2.1.1), as shaan below.

	CONTRACTED AUXILIARY	VERB
1.SG	A'm	
2.SG	du's	
3.SG	he's/shø's/(h)it's	spaekin
1.PL	w'ir ²⁸	
2.PL	y'ir	
3.PL	d'ir ²⁹	

Pictir: Julie Dennison.

Aspect indicates the perspective taken on an event and in Shaetlan, as in Standard English. there is only one aspect, the **progressive**, which indicates that an event is ongoing. This is formed by the use of BE in the present tense + the **present participle** of the verb. In Shaetlan the present participle is formed with the suffix *-in* (not *-ing!* See Section 3.2.1.1), as shown above.

Picture: Julie Dennison.

5.1.3 Modality

Modality shaas da spaekers attitude aboot something happenin, laek lippenin somethin or dootin somethin'll happen, or da quality o da information, or da abeelity o a action bein kerried oot, an da laek. Aa languages haes wyes o pitten across dis kinds o things in aa mainner o wyes, but no aa languages haes saeperit grammar categories fir dem.

Shaetlan haes twartree modal auxiliary verbs at shaas aa kinds o attitudes, laek da eens below.

<i>man</i> 'must'	whit's caaed deductive modality: da spaeker is makkin oot somethin baessed on some kind o evidence firbye dat whit's caaed situational modality: da spaeker is giein oot a somethin at ocht tae be døn.
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²⁸ It is fairly common to spell the contracted form of *wi ir* ('we are') as <wir>, but that confuses the form with the possessive form *wir* 'our'. We would like to avoid that confusion.

²⁹ It is fairly common to spell the contracted form of *dey ir* ('they are') as <der> but that risks confusion with the locative adverbial, which we choose to spell *dere* 'there'. We would like to avoid that confusion by this double differentiation.

<i>mey/micht</i> 'may/might'	whit's caaed deductive modality: da spaeker is staetin a possibeelity
<i>bøst</i> 'have to, must'	whit's caaed situational modality: da spaeker is giein oot a somethin at ocht tae be døn.
<i>sall/sud</i> 'shall/should'	whit's caaed situational modality: da spaeker is sayin fir certain at somethin will happen
<i>can/cud</i> 'can/could'	whit's caaed situational modality: da spaeker is staeting da abeelity tae dø somethin; alternatively da spaeker is pittin across permeession tae dø somethin

Modality indicates the speaker's attitude towards an event, such as expectations and predictions, or the quality of the information, or the ability of carrying out an action, and so on. All languages have ways of expressing such things in various ways, but not all languages have separate grammatical categories for them.

Shaetlan has a number of modal auxiliary verbs indicating various kinds of attitudes, such as the examples above.

Shaain predictions in Shaetlan

Whit's caaed assumptive modality is a judgement maed bi da spaeker baessed on whit is kent about whit a body bein spokken about is wint tae dø gyaan by dir habits. In idder wirts, da spaeker is pittin across whit dey lippen baessed on whit d'ir døn afore idda past. Standirt English døsna hae a parteclar marker or set expression fir assumptive judgements, bit Shaetlan døs.

A so-called **assumptive** modality is a judgement made by the speaker based on what is generally known about the typical patterns or habits of the person or situation spoken about. In other words, the speaker is expressing a prediction based on previous experience. Standard English does not have a specific marker or set expression for assumptive judgements, but Shaetlan does.



Da Shaetlan wird *laek* gits øsed in a lok o wyes. Da wird itsel cam inti' Scots fae Old English *ġelīc* 'laek, seemlar; alæk, equal' an yun in turn wis infludenced bi Old Norse (*g*)*líkr* 'sam, laek, equal; laek tae happen, laekly, øswal; güd'. Baith comes fae Proto-Germanic **galikaz* 'laek, seemlar, sam' at ultimately comes fae dae Proto-Indo-European **leyg-* 'seemlar; even, level'.

In Shaetlan hit can shaa whit you lippen in whit's caaed a **predicative øs** (makkin oot somethin about da main actor idda claase):

I pat da car til da gerridge but dey wir nivver laek tae fix her.

I pat ower muckle claase on da line an he wis laek to brak.

He wis ey laek tae be laet/airly.

Da closset translation ti' Standirt English is 'to be likely to...' bit yun døsna pit ower da wye it can mean 'jüst aboot tae' or 'behaviour you'd lippen' idda 2nt an 3rd examples.

Dis øs o *tae be laek(in) tae* is nidder new, or slang, or a døless wye o spaekin. Hit's attestit fae da 15C, an can still be fun in Scots, da Sooth o da US an African-Amecian varieties. In Shaetlan de'r a langer *laekin* an a shorter form *laek*. Da langer form is mair common in da Scots varieties and da shorter form is mair common idda American varieties.

Pictir: *Solution concept with hand stopping wooden blocks from falling in the line of domino* by Marco Verch. Licent under CC-BY-2.0.

The Shaetlan word *laek* can be used in many ways. The word itself came to Scots from Old English *ġelīc* 'like, similar; alike, equal' and that in turn was influenced by Old Norse (*g*)*líkr* 'same, like, equal;

probable, likely, usual; good'. Both came from Proto-Germanic *galikaz 'like, similar, same' which ultimately came from Proto-Indo-European *leyg- 'similar; even, level'.

In Shaetlan it can express an expectation in a so-called **predicative** use (asserting something about the main actor in the clause):

I pat da car til da gerridge but dey wir nivver laek tae fix her. ('I brought the car to the garage but it wasn't likely that they would get it fixed [any time soon].')

I pat ower muckle claise on da line an he wis laek to brak. ('I put too many clothes on the line and it was about to snap'.)

He wis ey laek tae be laet/airly. ('You could always expect him to be late/early'.)

The closest translation to Standard English is 'to be likely to...' but that doesn't capture the sense of "to be on the verge of" or "habitual behaviour" in the 2nd and 3rd examples.

This use of *tae be laek(in) tae* is neither new, nor slang, nor sloppy speech. It is attested since the 15C, and can still be found in Scots, Southern US and African-American varieties. In Shaetlan there is a longer form *laekin* and a shorter form *laek*. The longer form is more common in the Scots varieties and the shorter form is more common the American varieties.

Pic: *Solution concept with hand stopping wooden blocks from falling in the line of domino* by Marco Verch. Licenced under CC-BY-2.0.

5.2 Reflexive verbs in Shaetlan

Twartree verbs in Shaetlan is expressed wi da shorter (unstressed) form o da reflexive pronoun. Dis is wint tae be da wye wi verbs at haes sum kind o cheinge o location sumwye or idder, laek *come*, *ging*, *haste*, *sit doon*, etc:

– *A'll maebbi jüst set me doon fir a peerie start afore I ging.*

As weel as dat, da Standard English equivalent is wint tae be da kind at doesna tak a object, whit dey caa intransitive verbs. Laek in *I'm coming* or *I'm sitting down* de'r nae object, onli da action an da dø-er. Bit in Shaetlan dey dø tak a object: da spaeker. Dis is seemlar tae parteclar kinds o verbs idda Scandinavian languages at's reflexive an aa, laek da posture verbs *att sätta/ställa/lägga sig* 'tae sit doon/staand up/lie doon' (lit. 'tae set eensel doon/staand eensel up/lie eensel doon').

A number of verbs in Shaetlan are expressed with the shorter (unstressed) form of the reflexive pronoun. This is usually done with verbs that involve a change of location somehow, like *come*, *go*, *haste*, *sit down*, etc:

– *A'll maebbi jüst set me doon fir a peerie start afore I ging.* 'I'll maybe just sit down for a little while before I go.'

Also, the Standard English equivalents tend to be the kind that do not take an object, so-called **intransitive verbs**. For example, in *I am coming* or *I am sitting down* there is only the action and the doer, but no object. But in Shaetlan they do take an object, namely the self. This is similar to certain kinds of verbs in the Scandinavian languages, which are also reflexive, like the posture verbs *att sätta/ställa/lägga sig* ‘to sit down/stand up/lie down’ (lit. ‘to sit oneself down/stand oneself up/lie oneself down’).

5.3 Adverbs: Modifiers in Shaetlan

Adverbs bilang tae da lexical class o wirds at hae a braali transparent semantic content. Dey kinda wirk as modifiers o different kinds. Dey micht tell you da **setteen** o time an plaess (*here, dere, below, abiin; noo, dan, daday, nivver*), da **degree** (*mair lood*), da **manner** o actions, processes or staets (*he spaeks weel, dey laive shortly, I ken enyoeh*), attitudes o hale **sentences** (*surely d’ir no bidin*) an linkin atween claases (*hoosumivver, hit wisna true*). While mainner adverbs is wint tae be formed wi *-ly* in Standirt English, in Shaetlan dey look da sam as adjectives. A sentence laek *Yun’s aafil slow* in yun wye is richt Shaetlan an sudna be “corrected” tae sumthin laek *aafilly.

Adverbs belong to the lexical class of words that have a fairly transparent semantic content. They essentially function as modifiers of different kinds. They may express the **setting** of time and place (*here, there, below, above; now, then, today, never*), the **degree** (*more noisy*), the **manner** of actions, processes or states (*he speaks well, they leave shortly, I know enough*), attitudes of entire **sentences** (*surely they’re not staying*) and **linking** between clauses (*however, it wasn’t true*). While manner adverbs are usually formed with *-ly* in Standard English, in Shaetlan they look the same as adjectives. A sentence like *Yun’s aafil slow* ‘That’s awfully slow’ is thus proper Shaetlan and should not be “corrected” to something like *aafilly.

6 Peerie function wirds

6.1 Prepositions

Prepositions kinda conneks noun phrases wi idder structures idda sentence. Dey bilang til a closed functional class o wirds, an dey ir wint tae be short.

Prepositions essentially connects noun phrases with other structures in the sentence. They belong to a closed functional class of words, and they tend to be short.

DA DIFFER ATWEEN O AN A



Peerie function wirds ir wint tae be unstressed in maist languages, an very affen hae twa forms: a langer stressed een an a shorter unstressed een. In Shaetlan da unstressed version o Standirt English 'of' is *o*, an da unstressed version o 'on' is *a*:

Wi a bit o luck we'll see dee a Setterdy

Dis is nidder new, or slang, or a døless wye o spaekin. Hit wis started aareidy in Aald English: fae da 12^t century *of* startit tae be reduced tae *o* in unstressed plaesses, especially if da neest wurd startit wi a consonant. Da preposition *on* descends fae Proto-Germanic **ana* an turnt intil *an/on* in Aald English. In unstressed plaesses it wis reduced ferder tae *a*, aless da neest wurd startit wi a vowel. Dat's why it's still *ashore* (*on* + *shore*) ithin Modren English.

Small function words tend to be unstressed in most languages, and very often have two forms: a longer stressed one and a shorter unstressed one. In Shaetlan the unstressed version of 'of' is *o* and the unstressed version of 'on' is *a*:

Wi a bit o luck we'll see dee a Setterday ('With a bit of luck we'll see you on Saturday')

This is neither new, nor slang, nor sloppy language. It started already in Old English: from the 12th century *of* started to be reduced to *o* in unstressed positions, especially if the following word started

with a consonant. The preposition *on* descends from Proto-Germanic **ana* and evolved to *an/on* in Old English. In unstressed positions it was further reduced to *a* unless the next word started with a vowel. That's why it is still *ashore* (*on* + *shore*) in Modern English.

WE BIDE IN SHETLAND



Da choice o prepositions can say a lok. We aa bide IN a community or plaess. An ithin Shaetlan you bide IN Shetland / Burra / Fetlar / Yell, wharas you staand ON a stane / holm (a peerie isle at's no bidden apün) / røf / shair / leyder. Hit's common fir island communities aroon da wirld tae bide IN dir isles. Tae “correct” dis tae ‘on’ is wrang an could be taen as belittlin trøtl at could be aff-pittin tae da islander.

The choice of prepositions can be telling. We all live IN a community or place. And in Shaetlan you live IN Shetland / Burra / Fetlar / Yell, while you stand ON a stone / holm (small, uninhabited island) / roof / chair / ladder. It is common for island communities worldwide to live IN their islands. To “correct” this to ‘on’ would be misguided and would indicate a distancing that could risk being alienating to the islander.

DA DIFFER ATWEEN *FIR* AN *FUR*



A lok o languages haes peerie wirds at indicates da relationships atween things (prepositions): *Da man stüid ON da stane / Da wife bides IN Shetland / Da boy cam EFTER tae / Da lass maed it FIR her midder*. A lok a languages haes peerie wirds firbye at joins up phrases or sentences (conjunctions): *Da man stüid still AN da dratsi cam closs / Da dratsi cam closs BECIS da man wis staandin still*.

Shaetlan haes twa forms at baith translates tae Standirt English ‘for’: da preposition *fir* (pronounced /fər/ or /fir/) at means ‘fir da benefit o’ (*I did it fir dee*), ‘towards’ (*Run fir da hill!*), ‘suppoartin’ (*Wha’s fir gyaan daday?*), an da laek. Wharas, da conjunction *fur* (pronounced wi a roounded vowel as in /fər/ or /fɔr/) means ‘becis, seein as, etc’ (*Du’ll hae tae spaek up fur I canna hear dee*).

Finnin a differ in da pronunciation o *fir/fur* is bøn nottit idda DSL as shaain up aa troo da Scots spaekin plaesses: “fɔr, for, and in unstressed position, fər, fir (n.Sc.)” (sv. *fur*). An it folloos idda Shaetland data: ithin a corpus o 37½ oors o spokken Shaetlan (> 316,000 wirds) o Archive recoardeens fae aa aerts in Shetland, da preposition an da conjunction could be tellt apairt audibly da absolute majority o da time (fir dem at’s statistically minded $X_2 = 262.28$, $df = 1$, $p < .00001^{***}$). Bit gien da dominance o Standirt English an da lack o ony formal teacheen in Shaetlan, it’s laekli dat contact induced anglification micht’ll a maed sum spaekers merge da twa functions intil da sam form, in a pattren replication o Standirt English.

Baith fir an fur gings back tae da Aald English *for* (‘becis, o, fir [da sake o], ago, etc’ bit fae da 12th century fir startit tae be øsed as a conjunction an aa. Idda Scots plaesses da stressed version *fur* cam tae be reserved fir conjunctions wharas da unstressed *fir* cam tae be øsed fir prepositions. Tae “correct” idder o da forms tae da Standirt English for widna be richt.

Many languages have small words that indicate relationships between things (prepositions): *The man stood ON the stone / The woman lives IN Shetland / The boy came AFTER tea / The girl made it FOR her mother*. Many languages also have small words that connect phrases or sentences (conjunctions): *The man stood still AND the otter came close / The otter came close BECAUSE the man was standing still*.

Shaetlan has two forms that both translate to Standard English ‘for’: the preposition *fir* (pronounced /fær/ or /fir/), which means ‘for’ as in ‘towards’ (*Run for the hills!*), ‘for the benefit of’ (*I did it for you*), ‘supporting’ (*Who’s for going today?*), and so on. The conjunction *fur* (pronounced with a rounded vowel as in /fœr/ or /fœr/), however, means ‘because, since, seeing that, etc’ (*You’ll have to speak up for I can’t hear you*).

The differentiation in pronunciation of *fir/fur* has been noted in the DSL as a pan-Scots phenomenon: “fœr, for, and in unstressed position, fær, fir (n.Sc.)” (sv. *fur*). This is borne out in the Shetland data: in a corpus of 37½ hours of spoken Shaetlan (> 316,000 words) of Archive recordings spread over the length of Shetland, the preposition and conjunction were audibly differentiated the absolute majority of the time (for the statistically minded $X^2 = 262.28$, $df = 1$, $p < .00001^{***}$). However, given the dominance of Standard English and the lack of formal teaching in Shaetlan, it is likely that contact induced anglicisation might have made some speakers merge the two functions into the same form, in a pattern replication of Standard English.

Both *fir* and *fur* go back to the Old English *for* ‘because of, for [the sake of], ago, etc’ but from the 12th century *for* also started to be used as a conjunction. In the Scots areas the stressed version *fur* got reserved for conjunctions while the unstressed *fir* got reserved for prepositions. To “correct” either of the forms to the Standard English *for* would be misguided.

TAE SPAEK TIL SUMEEN



In Standard English the particle *to* has two functions and labels. As a particle it's an infinitive marker and works with a verb: *to speak, to eat, to be, to have*. As a preposition it shows direction/target/goal/result/etc: *go to the shop/speak to someone/read to the end/etc*. This directional function is the oldest of the two, but they start to get confused together in late Auld English and early Middle English in various varieties. However, in Northumbrian Auld English the two functions were kept apart: *to* was used for *ta(e)/te(h)* (pronounced /ta, te, tə/) and it worked as the infinitive

marker: *tæ spaek, tæ aet, tæ be, tæ hae*. Da idder functions wis expressed wi *til*, fae Aald Norse *til* (a directional preposition): *tæ ging til da shop/tæ spaek til sumeen/tæ read til da end/etc*. Da forms an functions is saeperit atidda Scandinavian languages an aa: *att gå till affären/att tala till någon/att läsa till slutet/etc*.

In Shaetlan da twa forms is still keepit apairt in a lok o plaesses. Hoosumivver, de ir districts whar da function o da particle an da functions o da preposition *bøn* pitten tagidder in da form *tæ* in a pattren replication o Standirt English, so at de'r twartree plaesses at'll express it as *tæ ging tæ ging tæ da shop/tæ spaek tæ sumeen/tæ read tæ da end/etc* (as in Standard English *to go to the school/to speak to someone/to read to the end/etc*).³⁰ Dis cheinge wis aareidy comin in whin Jakob Jakobsen wis gyaan aboot fir his resaerch in Shetland in 1893-95 (at means at dis startit lang afore da oil boom cam tæ Shetland), an he speecially mentions dis in his dictionary as a bein becis o contact wi Standirt English. De'r affen a social dimension tæ dis pateeclear kind o cheinge: you wid lippen at dem at wis mair exposed tæ Standirt English, laek dem at haed langer education, or dem involved wi trade an traivel, wis dem at widda *bøn* da first eens tæ a startit wi dis merger. Athin sociolinguistics dis is caaed 'cheinge fae abün', whar dem at starts wi sum linguistic feature belongs tæ da jantry, an wis wint tæ be dem in poseetions at haed pooer an wis dem at wis da maist literate. In dis caess high literacy wid mean high literacy athin Standirt English, an so bein exposed mair tæ Standirt English. Tæ be able tæ investigate wha da eens wis at first cam wi dis cheinge, we wid need tæ win at da biographical information fir aa da spaekers at gied data fir Jakob Jakobsen's resaerch.

If de ir sumthin tæ *dø* wi da social class fir dis cheinge, dan you wid lippen at da districts whar baith functions is gotten pitten tagidder til da form *tæ* wid owerlap wi da districts at wis wint tæ be haem tæ da wealtier pairs o society, laek merchants – laek Lerwick, Hillswick, Baltasound, etc – at wid a haed mair fokk wi langer exposure tæ education an literacy, an mair trade an contact firbye. On da idder hand, we wid lippen at da districts whar da ancient wye o keepin *tæ* an *til* fir saeperit functions is still *øsed* wid owerlap wi da traditional croftin plaesses, laek Tingwall an Cunningsburgh.

In Standard English the little word *to* has several functions and labels. As a so-called **particle** it is an infinitive marker and functions to flag up a verb: *to speak, to eat, to be, to have*. As a preposition it indicates direction/target/goal/result/etc: *go to the shop/speak to someone/read to the end/etc*. This

³⁰ Athin twartree plaesses dis original differ comes tæ be keepit in da way at *ta* shaas da prepositional functions (original *til*) wharas *tæ* is *øsed* fir da verbal particle functions.

directional function is the oldest of the two, but they started to merge in late Old English and early Middle English in the southern varieties. However, in Northumbrian Old English the two functions were kept apart: *to* weakened to *ta(e)/te(h)* (pronounced /ta, te, tə/) and functioned as the infinitive marker: *tae spaek, tae aet, tae be, tae hae*. The other functions were expressed by *til*, from Old Norse *til* (a directional preposition): *tae ging til da shop/tae spaek til sumeen/tae read til da end/etc*. The forms and functions are also separate in the Scandinavian languages: *att gå till affären/att tala till någon/att läsa till slutet/etc*.

In Shetland the two forms and functions are still widely kept separate. However, there are regions where the function of the particle and the functions of the preposition have merged to the form *tae* in a pattern replication of Standard English, so that some areas will express it as *tae ging tae da shop/tae spaek tae sumeen/tae read tae da end/etc* (as in Standard English *to go to the school/to speak to someone/to read to the end/etc*).³¹ This change had already started when Jakob Jakobsen was doing his fieldwork in Shetland in 1893-95 (which means that this started long before the oil boom came to Shetland), and he specifically mentions it in his dictionary as a contact effect with Standard English. There is often a social dimension to this particular kind of change: it is likely that those who were more exposed to Standard English, for example through longer education, through trade and through travel, were those who would have been the first to start with this merger. In sociolinguistics this is called ‘change from above’, where the initiators of some linguistic feature belong to the socially higher classes of society, and tended to be those in positions of power and those who are the most literate. In this case high literacy would mean high literacy in Standard English, and therefore high exposure to Standard English. In order to investigate who the originators were of the change, we would need access to the biographical information for all the speakers that provided data for Jakob Jakobsen’s fieldwork.

If there is a social dimension to the origin of this change, then it is likely that the regions where both functions have merged to the form *tae* would overlap with regions that traditionally housed the wealthier parts of society, such as merchants – for example Lerwick, Hillswick, Baltasound, etc – which would have had a higher concentration of people with longer exposure to education and literacy, and also a higher concentration of trade and contact. Conversely, we would then expect those regions where the ancient system of keeping *tae* and *til* for separate functions is still used to overlap with traditional crofting areas, such as Tingwall and Cunningsburgh.

³¹ In some regions this original differentiation has in fact been kept in that *ta* appears with the prepositional functions (original *til*) while *tae* is used for the verbal particle functions.

LENT O TIME WI IN



In Shaetlan a lent o time is affen shaan wi da preposeetion *in*, whaaras Standard English haes ‘for’:

– *Da peerie red hen kempit in thoosands o ooers tae gadder her gair, wi nidder help or tanks, so eence at her cake wis feenished shø widna leet da eens at cam wi oppen mooths.*³²

Dis is nidder new, or slang, or a døless wye o spaekkin. Da øs o *in* tae shaa a lent o time is attestit in Aald English fae da 10C at da laetest. Firbye dat hit’s da normal wye tae pit across a lent o time idda Scandinavian languages (cf. *Den lilla röda hönan kämpade i tusentals timmar...*), gyaan back til da wye at Aald Norse øsed it. Da øs o *in* fir lents o time wis laekly reinforced becis o it bein in Norn an hit’s anidder aald substratal feature at’s bøn hoidin afore wir very een.

In Shaetlan it is common to indicate duration with the preposition *in*, where Standard English has ‘for’:

– *Da peerie red hen kempit in thoosands o ooers tae gadder her gair, wi nidder help or tanks, so eence at her cake wis feenished shø widna leet da eens at cam wi oppen mooths.* (‘The little red hen worked hard for thousands of hours to gather her material, without any help or even thanks, so once her cake was finished she had no time for the mouths that came gaping.’)³³

³² Fir dem at døсна ken da story, *The Little Red Hen* is a American story about hoo impoartant herd wark an wirkin fir yirsel is. Whin da hen fins a scaar o bere an wants tae mak a loff, naen o da idder animals on da croft wants tae help her ava. So shø plants, maas an grinnds it til hersel. Hoosumivver whin da loff is feenished da idder animals is aa keen tae glaep da hen’s ain loff.

³³ For those who don’t know the story, “The Little Red Hen” is an American fable about the importance of hard work and personal initiative. When the hen finds some barley and wants to make some bread, none of the other animals on the farm wants to help her at any point. So she plants, harvests and mills it herself. However when the bread is finished the other animals are all eager to help her eat the bread.

This is neither new, nor slang, nor sloppy speech. The use of *in* to indicate duration is attested in Old English since the 10C at the latest. Also, it is the standard way of expressing duration in the Scandinavian languages (cf. *Den lilla röda hönan kämpade i tusentals timmar...*), going back to Old Norse usage. It is likely that the use of *in* for duration was reinforced by Norn and is another old substratal feature that has remained hidden in plain sight.

6.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions is peerie wirds at conneks entities (wirds, phrases or hael claases). Dey belang til a closed class o functional wirds an aa, an ir wint tae be peerie. Examples o conjunctions wid be *an* (cat an moose/a muckle stane an a peerie flooer/A'm readin an du's writin), *bit* (tired bit blyde/a muckle stane bit a peerie flooer/A'm readin bit du's writin), *or* (cat or moose/a muckle stane or a peerie flooer/I can read or du can spaek). Dis is aa caaed **coordinatin conjunctions** fur de'r nae hierarchy atween da entities.

Idder kinds o conjunctions is øsed tae bigg in a claas intil anidder claas an d'ir caaed **subordinatin conjunctions**. Examples o subordinatin conjunctions wid be *at* (*Mary saa at da dug jump ower da fence*), *fur* (*I bocht him fur I tocht du needit him*; see abün fir da differ atween *fur* an *fir*), *if* (*Du'll pass di exam if du does di haemwark*), etc.

Conjunctions are small words that connect entities (words, phrases or entire clauses). They too belong to a closed class of functional words and tend to be short. Examples of conjunctions are *and* (cat and mouse/a big stone and a small flower/I am reading and you are writing), *but* (tired but happy/a big stone but a small flower/I am reading but you are writing), or (*cat or mouse/a big stone or a small flower/I can read or you can speak*). These are all called **coordinating conjunctions** because there is no hierarchy between the entities.

Other kinds of conjunctions are used to build in a clause into another clause and they are called **subordinating conjunctions**. Examples of subordinating conjunctions are *that* (*Mary saw that the dog jumped over the fence*), *because* (*I bought it because I thought you needed it*; see above for the difference between *fur* and *fir*), *if* (*You will pass your exam if you do your homework*), etc.

NAE DIFFER ATWEEN AS AN IR



Comparative conjunctions is *ø*sed fir comparisons. Idda Standirt English sentence *He's smaller than me* the peerie wird *than* is da conjunction. Shaetlan haes twa comparative conjunctions: *as* an *ir*.

He's peerier as me

or

He's peerier ir me

Da first form (*as*) is braaly aald an gings back til da Aald English *eallswā* 'an aa; as'. Hit can be fun firbye as a conjunction idda German *als*, as in *Er ist kleiner als ich* ('He is peerier as me'). Da siccent form (*ir*) gings back til a waikent form o *nor* 'as' an is attestit in Scots fae ca 1400. Da comparative conjunction *nor* (waikent til *ne/na/ir*) is fun athin varieties o English aboot da British Isles, fae Cornwall an Hampshire til Shetland, in Ireland firbye an in Nort America. Hit's neider new or nor slang. Baith as an *ir* is jüst as richt in Shaetlan grammar.

Hoosumivver, a sentence laek *He is peerier dan me* wid shaa aff a lonn o Standirt English *than*. Tae "correct" da original Shaetlan forms *as/ir* til something laek **dan/*than* widna be richt.

Comparative conjunctions are used for comparisons. In the Standard English sentence *He's smaller than me* the little word *than* is the conjunction. Shaetlan has twa comparative conjunctions: *as* and *ir*.

He's peerier as me ('He's smaller than me')

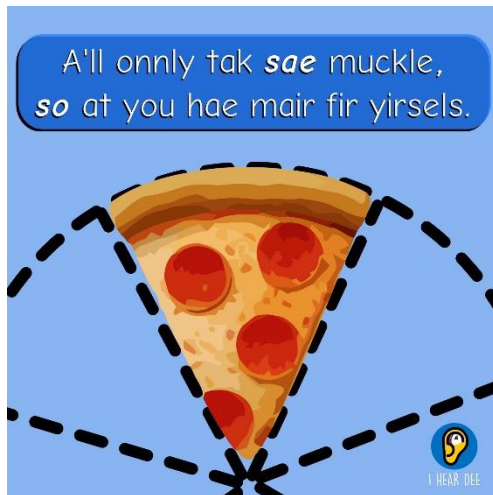
or

He's peerier ir me ('He's smaller than me')

The first form (*as*) is very old and goes back to Old English *eallswā* ‘also; as’. It can also be found as a conjunction in the German *als*, as in *Er ist kleiner als ich* (‘He is smaller than me’). The second form (*ir*) goes back to a weakened form of *nor* ‘than’ and is attested in Scots from ca 1400. The comparative conjunction *nor* (weakened to *ne/na/ir*) is found in varieties of English across the British Isles, from Cornwall and Hampshire to Shetland, also in Ireland and in North America. It is neither new nor slang. Both *as* and *ir* are equally correct Shaetlan grammar.

However, a sentence like *He is peerier dan me* would reflect a loan of Standard English *than*. To “correct” the original Shaetlan forms *as/ir* to something like **dan/*than* would be misguided.

DA DIFFER ATWEEN SO AND SAE



Shaetlan haes twa wirds at baith can translate til Standirt English ‘so’: da conjunction *so* (pronounced /so/) an da adverb *sae* (pronounced /se/). Dey dunna mean da sam thing but de’r aft muddled up.

Adverbs is øsed as different kinds o modifiers. Da peerie wird *sae* shaas hoo muckle or hoo far:

- *A’m needin a grain o clith at’s sae lang* [gesture]
- *A’m nivver seen sae mony touries!*
- *Hit’s no sae ill*

Conjunctions is peerie wirds at conneks entities (wirds, phrases or hael claases). Some conjunctions biggs a claase intil anidder claase an maks dem intil a element o dat idder claase. Yun kind o conjunctions is caaed subordinate conjunctions. Da peerie wird *so* is øsed tae mak subordinate claases:

- *I cam airly so (at) I wid hae time*
- *I wis fantin so I aksed if de wir ony sassermaet*

Hit can be øsed as a cüllyin interjection an aa:

– *So so!*

Tae “correct” sae til so widna be richt. Dis twa wirts haes døs different jobs in Shaetlan. Tae alwis øs sae in aa poseetions widna be richt idder: dat wid be a pattren replication o Standirt English at wid tak in da Standirt English grammar an bruck da mair subtle Shaetlan grammar.

Shaetlan has two words that can both translate to Standard English ‘so’: the conjunction so (pronounced /so/) and the adverb sae (pronounced /se/). They don’t mean the same but are often confused.

Adverbs are used as modifiers of different kinds. The little word sae indicates degree or extent:

– *A’m needin a grain o clith at’s sae lang* [gesture] (‘I need a bit of cloth that’s this long [gesture]’)

– *A’m nivver seen sae mony touries!* (‘I’ve never seen that many tourists!’)

– *Hit’s no sae ill* (‘It’s not that bad’)

Conjunctions are small words that connect entities (words, phrases or entire clauses). Some conjunctions build a clause into another clause and make them into an element of that other clause. Those kinds of conjunctions are called subordinate conjunctions. The little word so is used to create subordinate clauses:

– *I cam airly so (at) I wid hae time* (‘I came early so (that) I would have time’)

– *I wis fantin so I aksed if de wir ony sassermaet* (‘I was starving so I asked if there was any sassermaet’)

It can also be used as a kind of a soothing interjection:

– *So so!*

To “correct” sae to so would be misguided. These two words have different functions in Shaetlan. To always use sae for all functions would also be misguided: that would be a pattern replication of Standard English that would import the Standard English grammar and mask the more nuanced Shaetlan grammar

7 Simple sentences

Da biggeen stanes o languages is caaed **constituents**. Da main constituents o a sentence is predicates an arguments. Da **argument** is da core parteeecipant idda sentence, an da **predicate** tells wis whit da arguments(s) is or whit da arguments(s) does, or whit’s happnin tae da argument(s). At da very laest a sentence can be maed up wi wan predicate an wan argument, or it can hae wan predicate an twartree arguments:

The building blocks of sentences are called **constituents**. The primary constituents of a sentence are predicates and arguments. The **argument** is the core participant in the sentence and the **predicate** tells us what the argument(s) is or does, or what is happening to the argument(s). A sentence can consist of minimally one predicate and one argument, or of one predicate and several arguments:

<i>Shø sang.</i>	
<i>she</i>	<i>sang</i>
ARGUMENT	PREDICATE

<i>Da kind wife wis gyaan tae gie a boannie maed braesslet tae da excited lass.</i>			
<i>The kind woman</i>	<i>was going to give</i>	<i>a beautifully crafted bracelet</i>	<i>to the excited girl</i>
ARGUMENT	PREDICATE	ARGUMENT	ARGUMENT

Da predicate is wint tae be a verb or a verb phrase, an da argument(s) is øswally da **subject** (da argument at’s døin sumthin) an **object(s)** (da arguments at sumthin’s døn tae).

The predicate is usually a verb or a verb phrase, and the argument(s) are usually the **subject** (the argument that’s doing something) and **object(s)** (the arguments that something is done to).

7.1 Sentence structure in Shaetlan

Laek wi about twa thirds o da languages in da wirld, a standirt deafult Shaetlan staetment at da very laest haes tae hae wan predicate (a verb or a verb phrase) an wan argument (da subject). Idder kinds o utterances, laek questions an comaands, is maebbi laek tae wirk in idder wyes – mair about dat idda sections efter dis.

Like about two thirds of the languages in the world, a standard default Shaetlan statement must minimally consist of at least one predicate (a verb or verb phrase) and one argument (the subject). Other kinds of utterances, like questions and commands, might behave differently – more about that in the coming sections.

7.1.1 Intransitive sentences

Intransitive sentences is dem at's formed wi a predicate (verb or a verb phrase) dat onli aloo ee single argument (da subject), laek sleep. Idda follooin sentences de'r ey onli wan predicate an wan argument (da subject):

John sleepit.

John wis sleepin

Da debaetless John keepit sleepin fir oors.

*Bit sumthin laek *John sleepit sumthin* isna possible (aless wi poetic license). Da default wi Shaetlan is dat da subject comes afore da verb/verb phrase.

Intransitive sentences are those formed with a predicate (verb or verb phrase) that only allow one argument (the subject), such as sleep. In the following sentences there is always only one predicate and one argument (the subject):

John slept.

John was sleeping.

The very tired John kept sleeping for hours.

But something like **John slept something* is not possible (except under poetic license). The default in Shaetlan is that the subject comes before the verb/verb phrase.

7.1.2 Transitive sentences

Transitive sentences is formed wi predicates (verbs or verb phrases) at demaands twa arguments (a subject an a object) at haes sum kind o relationship atween een anidder. Da subject is wint tae dø sumthin tae da object sumwye:

Mary kerried him.

Da man killed da flee.

Da aafil kind wife helpit da lass at wis muddled up an vexed.

Here de'r ey wan predicate an twa arguments, wan subject an wan object. Sumthin laek **Mary kerried*, **Da man killed* or **Da aafil kind wife helpit* widna be possible. Da default ithin Shaetlan is dat da subject comes afore da verb/verb phrase an da object comes efter him.

Transitive sentences are formed with predicates (verbs or verb phrases) which demand two arguments (a subject and an object) which stand in some kind of relationship to each other. Usually the subject does something to the object somehow:

Mary carried him.

The man killed the fly.

The very kind woman helped the confused and distressed girl.

Here there is always one predicate and two arguments, one subject and one object. Something like **Mary carried*, **The man killed* or **The very kind woman helped* wouldn't be possible. The default in Shaetlan is that the subject comes before the verb/verb phrase and the object comes after it.

7.1.3 Ditransitive sentences

Twartree predicates (verbs or verb phrases) demaands a subject an twa objects an dey mak ditransitive sentences, laek

John gied Mary a flooer.

John sellt da hoose tae Mary

In dis kind o sentences da object at cheinges haands is da **direct object** an da recipient is da **indirect object**. Da default in Shaetlan is dat da subject comes afore da verb/verb phrase, bit da order o da twa objects can be swappit: idder da subject gies da direct object TAE da indirect object (*John sellt da hoose*_{DIRECT.OBJECT} *tae Mary*_{INDIRECT.OBJECT}), or da subject presents da indirect object wi da direct object (*John gied Mary*_{INDIRECT.OBJECT} *a flooer*_{DIRECT.OBJECT}).

Some predicates (verbs or verb phrases) demand a subject and two objects and create ditransitive sentences, as in

John gave Mary a flower.

John sold the house to Mary.

In these kinds of sentences the object that changes hands is the **direct object** and the recipient is the **indirect object**. The default in Shaetlan is that the subject comes before the verb/verb phrase, but the order of the two objects may vary: either the subject gives the direct object TO the indirect object (*John sold the house*_{DIRECT.OBJECT} *to Mary*_{INDIRECT.OBJECT}), or the subject presents the indirect object with the direct object (*John gave Mary*_{INDIRECT.OBJECT} *a flower*_{DIRECT.OBJECT}).

7.1.4 Dummy subjects



He's tømmin! Da Germanic languages is unkan compared wi maist idders aroon da wairld in dat dey øs emty “dummy” subjects whin spaekin about da wadder (*it is rainin*, whar *it* is emty an doesna really refer tae onythin). Dis isna fun ony idder wye apairt fae in Nicobarese (Andaman Islands), Comanche (USA) and Záparo (Ecuador). Shaetlan is even mair unkan in dat it øses *he* fir da dummy. Aa da Standirt Germanic languages øses da neuter *it* apairt fae West Norwegian an its descendants Icelandic an Faroese. (Da French dummy *il* taks influence fae Germanic bit hit's no da sam – de'r onli *il* 'he' or *la* 'shø', so da neuter isna a option.) In maist languages you say da laeks o *Rain rains* (laek Turkish *yağmur yağıyor*) or jüst *Rains* (laek Italian *piove*).

Pictir: Julie Dennison.

It's pouring down! The Germanic languages are globally unusual in using empty “dummy” subjects in weather expressions (*it is raining*, whar *it* is emty an really doesn't refer to onythin). This is otherwise ony found in Nicobarese (Andaman Islands), Comanche (USA) and Záparo (Ecuador). Shaetlan is even mair unusual in using *he* fir da dummy. All the Standard Germanic languages use the neuter *it* except for Western Norwegian an its descendants Icelandic an Faroese. (The French dummy *il* is an influence from Germanic but is differnt: there are ony *il* 'he' or *la* 'she', so the neuter does not exist as an option.) In most languages you say something like *Rain rains* (like Turkish *yağmur yağıyor*) or jüst *Rains* (like Italian *piove*).

Picture: Julie Dennison.

7.2 Predication

As mentioned abün, da predicate tells wis whit da subject is or whit he does. Bit noo an agein da predication is jüst describin it an hit onli really links a quality tae da subject, or jüst lays doon whidder da subject exists or no. Da first kind o predication

daels wi a copula construction in Shaetlan, dat bein a linker atween da subject an da description. Da siccint kind o predication is whit dey caa a existential construction.

As mentioned above, the predicate tells us what the subject is or does. But sometimes the predication is just descriptive and essentially only links a quality to the subject, or just asserts whether the subject exists or not. The first kind of predication involves a copula construction in Shaetlan, essentially a linker between the subject and the description. The second kind of predication is a s-called existential construction.

7.2.1 Copula constructions in Shaetlan an *come tae be*



Whit dey caa da **copula** is a grammatical feature at ties a description tae da wurd/phrase it's spaekin aboot: *he is a teacher* or *da dogs ir big*. Shaetlan haes dis kind o a copula, bit as weel as dat it haes a parteclar copula expression fir new or unlippent information: *X comes tae be Y*. Da closset translation fir dis intil Standirt English wid be da laeks o *it turns out that X is Y*:

Anna comes tae be his aunt.

Brian comes tae be da treasurer o da club.

'Bannock' comes tae be a Gaelic wurd.

Dis is aafil rare aroon da wairld, maebbi even unique.

Pictir: Julie Dennison. Excerpt: "A wrastle wi a hen" by Joseph Gray.

The so-called **copula** is a grammatical feature that ties a description to the word/phrase it describes: *he is a teacher* or *the dogs are big*. Shaetlan has this kind of a copula, but also has a specific copula expression for new or unexpected information: *X comes to be Y*. The closest translation for this into Standard English is something like *it turns out that X is Y*:

Anna comes tae be his aunt. ('It turns out that Anna is his aunt.)

Brian comes tae be da treasurer o da club. ('It turns out that Brian is the treasurer of the club.')

'Bannock' comes tae be a Gaelic wurd. ('It turns out that 'bannock' is a Gaelic word.')

This is very rare worldwide, possibly unique.

Picture: Julie Dennison. Excerpt: "A wrastle wi a hen" by Joseph Gray.

7.2.2 Existentials in Shaetlan



Whit dey caa da **existential clause** spaeks aboot sumthin at exists, or at's present, laek *De'r paece*, *De'r lochs*, *De'r a dratsi inna da gairden*, *De'r tammie nories at Sumburgh Heid*. In Standirt English dis is expressed wi da "dummy" *there*, at wirks laek an emty plaess holder fir a form o da verb BE (*is/was*, *are/were*). In Shaetlan existentials ir expressed wi da invariant form *de*, plus idder *ir* fir da present tense or *wir* fir da past:

Look, *de'r/de ir* a dratsi inna da gairden.

De wir a dratsi inna da gairden dastreen.

Da forms ging back tae Norn *de*, fae Aald Norse *þat* 'it', along wi Norn *er* 'is' and *vera/vesa* 'be'. Dis wyes o sayin dem soond braali seemlar tae da Scots wyes *ir* 'are' an *wir* 'were'. Trowe analogy an hypercorrection da existential wis spelt as "dey ir/wir" an anglified even as "they are/were". Bit da original wye wis nivver da wird fir 'they' an da original verb wis nivver idda plural. Da Shaetlan existential marker is in fact come straicht fae a Norn grammatical marker.

A so-called **existential clause** refers to something that exists or that is present, such as *There is peace*, *There are lakes*, *There is an otter in the garden*, *There are puffins at Sumburgh Head*. In Standard English this is expressed with the "dummy" *there*, which functions as an empty place holder for a form of the verb BE (*is/was*, *are/were*). In Shaetlan existentials are expressed with the invariant form *de* plus either *ir* for the present tense or *wir* for the past:

Look, *de'r/de ir* a dratsi inna da gairden. ('Look, there's an otter in the garden.')

De wir a dratsi inna da gairden dastreen. ('There was an otter in the garden yesterday.')

The forms go back to Norn *de*, from Old Norse *þat* 'it', plus Norn *er* 'is' and *vera/vesa* 'be'. These forms sound very similar to the Scots forms *ir* 'are' and *wir* 'were'. By analogy and hypercorrection the existential was spelled as "dey ir/wir" and anglicised even as "they are/were". But the original form was never the word for 'they' and the original verb forms were never in the plural. The Shaetlan existential marker is in fact a direct descendant of a Norn grammatical marker.

7.3 Negative sentences in Shaetlan

Negation pits da truth o a staetment da tidder wye aboot, so if we haed da staetment *Mary is spaekin*, da negated version *Mary isna spaekin* means at whitivver it is at Mary is døin, shø isna spaekin. Shaetlan haes twa different wyes o markin negation: a negative suffix fir auxiliaries an a invariant free form fir verbs.

Negation reverses the truth of a statement, so that if we have the statement *Mary is speaking*, the negated version *Mary is not speaking* means that whatever it is that Mary is doing, she is not speaking. Shaetlan has two different ways of marking negation: a negative suffix for auxiliaries and an invariant free form for verbs.

7.3.1 Auxiliaries: Negative suffix



In Shaetlan de'r twa wyes o makkin negative sentences. In sentences wi whit dey caa auxiliary verbs or function verbs (i.e. verbs at doesna hae muckle meanin i demsels bit ging along wi anidder, lexical verb) da negator is da morphological verbal suffix *-na*: *I dunna/didna see him, du sallna/sudna spaek, he willna/widna come, we irna/wirna hungry*. Dis isna da sam as Standirt English, whar da negator (*not*) is da sam fir baith auxiliary verbs an lexical verbs, bit can be shortened tae *n't* wi auxiliaries.

In Shaetlan there are two ways of forming negative sentences. In sentences with auxiliary verbs, also called function verbs (ie verbs that don't have much meaning in themselves but which accompany another, lexical verb) the negator is the morphological verbal suffix *-na*: *I dunna/didna see him, du sallna/sudna spaek, he willna/widna come, we irna/wirna hungry*. This is different from Standard English,

where the negator (*not*) is the same for both auxiliary verbs and lexical verbs, but can contract to *n't* with auxiliaries.

7.3.2 Lexical verbs: Invariant free form negator

Whit wye is du wantin it?



A'm no carin

Shaetlan haes twa wyes o negatin sentences. Wi auxiliary verbs da verbal suffix *-na* negates da sentence (see abün). Wi lexical verbs da invariant negative word *no* is pitten afore da verb tae negate a sentence: *A'm no sure*, *Du's no tellt*, *He's no comin*, *W'ir no heard yet*, *Y'ir no døn it*, *D'ir no bidin*. Ithin Standard English da negator (*not*) is da sam for baith auxiliary verbs an lexical verbs, bit it can contract tae *n't*: *I'm not sure*, *You've not said/You haven't said*, *He's not coming/He isn't coming*, *We haven't heard yet*, *You haven't done it*, *They're not staying/They aren't staying*.

Shaetlan has two ways of negating sentences. With auxiliary verbs the verbal suffix *-na* negates the sentence (see above). With lexical verbs the invariant negative word *no* is placed before the verb to negate a sentence: *I'm no sure*, *Du's no tellt*, *He's no comin*, *We're no heard yet*, *You're no don it*, *Dey'r no bidin*. In Standard English the negator (*not*) is the same for both auxiliary verbs and lexical verbs, but can contract to *n't*: *I'm not sure*, *You've not said/You haven't said*, *He's not coming/He isn't coming*, *We haven't heard yet*, *You haven't done it*, *They're not staying/They aren't staying*.

7.4 Questions in Shaetlan

Aa languages idda wirld haes wyes o aksin questions (or, bein parteclar, wyes o makkin **interrogatives**). De'r basically twa main kinds o questions, **content questions**, whar w'ir waantin mair set in stonn information, wi mair o da ins an oots o it; an **polar questions** (caaed **yes/no questions** firbye), whar w'ir basically jüst aksin fir confirmation or disconfirmation (i.e. lookin fir da answers *Yis* or *No*, bit we nicht accept *Maebbi* or *I dunna ken*). Content questions an polar questions behaves different in Shaetlan.

All languages in the world have ways of asking questions (or, technically, of forming **interrogatives**). There are essentially two main types of questions, **content questions**, where we want more exact and elaborate information, and **polar questions** (also called **yes/no-questions**), where we are essentially just asking for confirmation or disconfirmation (i.e. looking for the answers *Yes* or *No*, but we might also accept *Maybe* or *I don't know*). Content questions and polar questions behave differently in Shaetlan.

7.4.1 Polar questions in Shaetlan

Ee wye o makkin polar questions in Shaetlan is tae pit da auxiliary at da begineen o da sentence. Compare dis:

John is comin. (statement)

Is John comin? (polar question)

Dis strategy is fun in English an aa. Da wye at polar questions can hae a risin intonation, wi da pitch o da voice gyaan up at da end o da utterance, is fun ithin languages aawye aroon da wirld. Dis maks da question contrast wi da wye at staetments is wint tae hae braali level intonation. Techincally hit isna needit fir da laeks o yun polar questions abün, becis da wird order bein swappit aroon shaas at hit's a question. Bit if a language alloos fir a polar question tae hae da sam wird order as staetments, an baith English an Shaetlan (an a lok o idder langues) does, dan a risin intonation helps tae lat you wirk oot whit een it is oot o da twa kinds o sentences. Compare dis:

John is comin. (statement)

John is comin? (question)

Ithin Standirt English da first sentence wis be seid wi a level intonation, bit da siccint sentence wid be seid wi a risen intonation, shaain dat it's a yis/no question. Hoosumivver, in Shaetlan polar questions can hae a *faain* intonation. Dis is parteeclearly rare aroon da wirld, an sae far hit's onli bøn documentit fir Hawai'i Creole. Da faain intonation fir polar questions affen maks fir misunderstaandeens, whar da Shaetlan spaeker tinks d'ir seid a question, wharas da non-Shaetlan spaekin listener tinks d'ir heard a staetment or even a command.

One way of forming polar questions in Shaetlan is to place the auxiliary at the beginning of the sentence. Compare this:

John is comin. (statement)

Is John comin? (polar question)

This strategy is also found in English. It is extremely common for languages of the world to have a rising intonation for polar questions, with the pitch of the voice going up at the end of the utterance. This makes the question contrast with the usually fairly level intonation of statements. Technically it is not needed for such polar questions as above, because the change in word order shows that it is a question. But if a language allows a polar question to have the same word order as statements, as both English and Shaetlan (and very many other languages) do, then a rising intonation helps to disambiguate the two types of sentences. Compare this:

John is comin. (statement)

John is comin? (question)

In Standard English the first sentence would be uttered with a level intonation, but the second sentence would be uttered with a rising intonation, indicating that it is a yes/no-question. In Shaetlan, however, polar questions can have a *falling* intonation. This is exceptionally rare in the world, and has so far only been documented for Hawai'i Creole. The falling intonation for polar questions often leads to misunderstandings, where the Shaetlan speaker thinks he, she or they have uttered a question, while the non-Shaetlan speaking listener thinks he, she or they hear a statement or even a command.

TAGS



Tags is peerie constructions eekit on apø da end o staetments or commaands tae turn dem intil yis/no-questions. Da idea is d'ir a wye tae aks fir confirmation. Ithin Standirt English da tag is maed wi da pronoun alang wi da contracted negative auxiliary:

You know what I mean, don't you?

He can try again, can't he?

They'll send it, won't they?

Ithin Shaetlan da tag is maed wi da pronoun alang wi a auxiliary inflectit wi da negative suffix *-(e)n*:

You ken whit I mean, doen you?

He can try again, cannen he?

Dey'll send it, willen dey?

Firbye dat, unlæk Standirt English, Shaetlan inflects da BE auxiliary tag fir da 1st person singular: *A'm here, amn I?* (firnenst da Standirt English wye, at's: *I'm here, aren't I?*).

Tags are short constructions that are added at the end of statements or commands to turn them into yes/no-questions. Their function is as a request for confirmation. In Standard English the tag consists of the pronoun plus the contracted negative auxiliary:

You know what I mean, don't you?

He can try again, can't he?

They'll send it, won't they?

In Shaetlan the tag consists of the pronoun plus an auxiliary inflected with the negative verbal suffix -*(e)n*:

You ken whit I mean, doen you?

He can try again, cannen he?

Dey'll send hit, willen dey?

Also, unlike Standard English, Shaetlan inflects the BE auxiliary tag for the 1st person singular: *A'm here, amn I?* (where the Standard English equivalent would be: *I'm here, aren't I?*).

7.4.2 Content questions in Shaetlan

Content questions is maed bi øsin a question wird (a **interrogative**) fir da bit o information at's bein aksed aboot. Braali affen da question wird sits at da start o da utterance:

Wha's comin?

Whit is John døin?

Whit wye is John comin?

Whit wye is John winnin?

Whin did John come?

Whar did John ging?

Bit fir stylistic raisonseen or fir da sake o emphasis da question wird can be pitten sumwye idder idda sentence, læk *John did whit??, John gied whar??, an da læk.*

Content questions are formed by using a question word (an **interrogative**) for the bit of information that is being asked about. Very often the question word sits at the start of the utterance:

Who is coming?

What is John doing?

Why is John coming?

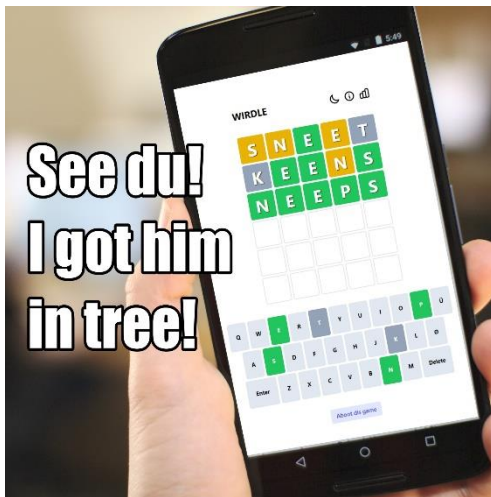
How is John coming?

When did John come?

Where did John go?

But for stylistic reasons or reasons of emphasis the question word can be placed somewhere else in the sentence, as in *John did what??*, *John went where??*, and so on.

7.5 Commaands in Shaetlan



Imperatives is grammatical wyes o shaain commaands. Imperative claases is wint tae be maed up in a wye at isna da sam as declarative claases (staetments) an interrogative claases (questions). Fir example, in Standirt English staetments an questions haes a visible subject:

- *You are writing.*
- *Are you writing?*

But no imperatives:

- *Write!*

In Standirt English you onli git da subject pitten in it noo an agein fir emphasis in a command (sumthin laek *You write (now)!*). In dat caesses da subject comes afore da verb.

In Shaetlan da default wye o expressin commaands is wi da subject, an da subject comes efter da verb:

- *Write du! / Write you!*

Dis is da sam as da wye dey wirk wi imperatives in Icelandic, whar a form o ‘you’ is eekit on tae da verb stem:

– *Skrifaðu!* / *Skrifiði!* (‘Write!’ [singular] / [plural])

Da pronouns *þú* / *þið* is come tae be verb endeens in reduced forms.

In Aald Norse da imperative subject wis optional bit you saa it a lok. In Aald English da imperative subject wis optional an aa, bit you seldom ivver saa it. Da Shaetlan imperatives nicht in dat wye be a ormal o da Norn grammar.

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Imperatives are grammatical ways of expressing commands. Imperative clauses tend to have a different structure from declarative clauses (statements) and interrogative clauses (questions). For example, in Standard English statements and questions have a visible subject:

- *You are writing.*
- *Are you writing?*

But not imperatives:

- *Write!*

In Standard English the subject is only optionally expressed for emphasis in commands (something like *You write (now)!*). In those cases the subject comes before the verb.

In Shaetlan the default way of expressing commands is with the subject, and the subject comes after the verb:

- *Write du!* / *Write you!*

This mirrors the structure of Icelandic imperatives, where a form of ‘you’ is added to the verb stem:

- *Skrifaðu!* / *Skrifiði!* (‘Write!’ [singular] / [plural])

The pronouns *þú* / *þið* have become verb endings in reduced forms.

In Old Norse the imperative subject was optional but common. In Old English the imperative subject was also optional, but very rare. The Shaetlan imperatives might therefore be a remnant of Norn.

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IMPERATIVES WI REFLEXIVE VERBS



In Shaetlan sum imperatives is expressed reflexively:

- *Come du dee!*
- *Set du dee doon!*

Dis is wint tae be da wye wi verbs at haes sum kind o cheinge o location sumwye or idder, laek *come*, *ging*, *haste*, *sit doon*, etc. As weel as dat, da Standirt English equivalent is wint tae be da kind at doesna tak a object (laek in *I'm coming* or *I'm sitting down* de'r nae object, onli da action an da d \emptyset -er; whit dey caa intransitive verbs), bit in Shaetlan dey d \emptyset tak a object: da spaeker. Dis is seemlar tae parteclar kinds o verbs idda Scandinavian languages at's reflexive an aa, laek da posture verbs *att sätta/ställa/lägga sig* 'tae sit doon/staand up/lie doon' (lit. 'tae set eensel doon/staand eensel up/lie eensel doon'). Da Shaetlan wye o makkin commaands fir dis kinds o verbs in dat wye looks braali unkan fae da Standirt English wye. Tae "correct" dis kinds o imperatives wid be wrang: de'r naetheen wrang wi dem an d'ir weel formed imperatives ithin da Shaetlan grammar.

Da expression

- *Come (du) dee wis!*

includes da spaeker ithin da commaand an is technically no a imperative bit whit dey caa a **hortative**. Becis da spaeker is includit in da commaand, da reflexive pronoun is *wis*. Da Shaetlan reflexive pronouns hae a lang form (*deesel*, *wirsels*, etc) an a short form (*dee/wis* etc). Mair aboot dis in Section 0.

In Shaetlan some imperatives are expressed reflexively:

- *Come du dee!* ('Come!', lit. 'Come yourself')
- *Set du dee doon!* ('Sit down!' lit. 'Set yourself down')

This is usually done with verbs that involve a change of location somehow, like *come*, *go*, *haste*, *sit down*, etc. Also, the Standard English equivalents tend to be the kind that do not take an object (in *I am coming* or *I am sitting down* there is only the action and the doer, but no object; so-called intransitive verbs), but in Shaetlan they do take an object, namely the self. This is similar to certain kinds of verbs in the Scandinavian languages, which are also reflexive, like the posture verbs *att sätta/ställa/lägga sig* ‘to sit down/stand up/lie down’ (lit. ‘to sit oneself down/stand oneself up/lie oneself down’). The Shaetlan way of forming commands for these kinds of verbs therefore look quite different from the Standard English way. To “correct these kinds of imperatives would be misguided: they are perfectly correct and well formed imperatives in the Shaetlan grammar.

The expression

– *Come (du) dee wis!* (‘Let’s go!’, lit. ‘Come (you) yourself ourselves!’)

includes the speaker in the command and is technically not an imperative but a so-called **hortative**. Because the speaker is included in the command the reflexive pronoun is *wis* ‘us; ourselves’. The Shaetlan reflexive pronouns have a long form (*deesel/wirsels*, etc) and a short form (*dee/wis*, etc). More about that in Section 0.

8 Complex sentences

Complex sentences is eens whar da biggeen stanes is hael claases. In idder wirts complex sentences is maed up o units at can wirk laek full sentences demsels. Dis claases can relate til een anidder in different wyes: claases can idder be coordinatit tae mak a langer sentence, laek *I saa a dug an I heard a sang*, whar da twa claases *I saa a dog* an *I heard a sang* ir wirk perfectly fine as full sentences; or ee claase can be subordinate til anidder athin a langer sentence, laek *I tocht at I heard da phone*, whar *I heard da phone* haes tae be includit athin da langer sentence – something laek *I tocht* or *I tocht at døsna* wirk as a full sentence an you wid lippen somethin idder firbye.

Shaetlan haes wyes o makkin different kinds o coordinatit sentences an different kinds o subordinatit sentences baith, as we'll shaa below.

Complex sentences are those where the building blocks are entire clauses. In other words complex sentences are made up of units that themselves can function as full sentences. The way these clauses relate to each other can be different: clauses can either be coordinated to form a larger sentence, as in *I saw a dog and I heard a song*, where the two clauses *I saw a dog* and *I heard a song* are perfectly functional as full sentences; or one clause can be subordinate to another within a larger sentence, as in *I thought that I heard the phone*, where *I heard the phone* functions as a necessary element within the larger sentence – something like *I thought* or *I thought that* doesn't work as a full sentence and we expect a continuation.

Shaetlan has ways of forming both different kinds of coordinated sentences and different kinds of subordinated sentences, as we will show below.

8.1 Coordination

Whin twa units combines tae mak a langer lok we hae syntactic **coordination**. Dis can be døn wi hael claases firbye: ivvri peerier sentence or claase can wirk on his ain, but d'ir bøn linkit wi a **coordinator** tae mak a langer sentence. De'r fower main kinds o coordination: **conjunctive** (whar things is connakit wi een anidder), **disjunctive** (whar you hae ee thing or anidder bit no baith at da sam time), **adversative** (whin things stand firnenst een anidder), an **causal** (whar something is becis o somethin idder). Shaetlan haes wyes o formin aa fower o dis kinds o coordination.

When two units combine to form a larger whole we have syntactic **coordination**. This can also be done with entire clauses: each smaller sentence or clause can function on its own, but they have been linked with a **coordinator** to form a larger sentence. There are four main types of coordination: **conjunctive** (where things are connected with each other), **disjunctive** (where things are mutually exclusive alternatives), **adversative** (when things stand in opposition to each other) and **causal** (where

something is because of something else). Shaetlan has ways of forming all four of these types of coordination.

8.1.1 Conjunctive coordination

Conjunctive coordination is when two units are connected with each other such as

- *A'm bocht sassermaet **an** mince.*
- *He's boiled da saat beef **an** set it oot tae cùil.*
- *We tøk da dugs oot **an** dey wir fairly playin wi da baa.*

Idda first sentence two noun phrases is conjoined (*sassermaet* + *mince*); idda siccint sentence two verb phrases is conjoined (*boiled da saat beef* + *set it oot tae cùil*); idda third sentence two full clauses is conjoined (*We tøk da dugs out* + *Dey wir fairly playin wi da baa*). In Shaetlan the conjunctive coordinator is *an*.

Conjunctive coordination is when two units are connected with each other such as

- *A'm bocht sassermaet **an** mince. ('I've bought sassermaet **and** mince.')*
- *He's boiled da saat beef **an** set it oot aside tae cùil. ('He's boiled the salt beef **and** set it aside to cool.')*
- *We tøk da dugs oot **an** dey wir fairly playin wi da baa. ('We took the dogs out **and** they really played with the ball.')*

In the first sentence two noun phrases are conjoined (*sassermaet* + *mince*); in the second sentence two verb phrases are conjoined (*boiled da saat beef* + *set it oot aside tae cùil*); in the third sentence two full clauses are conjoined (*We tøk da dugs out* + *Dey wir fairly playin wi da baa*). In Shaetlan the conjunctive coordinator is *an*.

8.1.2 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination is when two units are mutually exclusive from each other such as

- *Du can hae sassermaet **or** mince [bit no baith].*
- *He'll boil da saat beef **or** fry da fysh [bit no baith].*
- *We can tak da dugs oot **or** we can ging ti' da toon [bit no baith].*

Idda first sentence two noun phrases is disjoined or is mutually exclusive (*sassermaet* / *mince*); idda siccint sentence two verb phrases is disjoined (*boil da saat beef* / *fry da fysh*); idda third sentence two full clauses is disjoined (*We can tak da dugs oot* / *We can ging ti' da toon*). In Shaetlan the disjunctive coordinator is *or*.

Disjunctive coordination is when two units are mutually exclusive from each other such as

- *Du can hae sassermaet **or** mince [bit no baith]. ('You can have sassermaet **or** mince [but not both].')*

- *He'll boil da saat beef **or** fry da fysh [bit no baith].* ('He'll boil the salt beef **or** fry the fish [but not both].')
- *We can tak da dug's oot **or** we can ging ti' da toon [bit no baith].* ('We can take the dogs out **or** we can go to town [but not both].')

In the first sentence two noun phrases are disjoined or mutually exclusive (*sassermaet / mince*); in the second sentence two verb phrases are disjoined (*boil da saat beef / fry da fysh*); in the third sentence two full clauses are disjoined (*We can tak da dug's oot / We can ging ti' da toon*). In Shaetlan the disjunctive coordinator is *or*.

8.1.3 Adversative conjunction

Adversative coordination is when two units stand firmest one another, laek

- *I was blyde **bit** fantin.*
- *He'll boil da saat beef **bit** no peel da taaties.*
- *We can tak da dug's oot **bit** d'ir no tae ging efter da rams.*

In the first sentence two noun phrases are adverse or in opposition to one another (*blyde / fantin*); in the second sentence two verb phrases are adverse to one another (*boil da saat beef / peel da taaties*); in the third sentence two full clauses are adverse to one another (*We can tak da dug's oot / D'ir no tae ging efter da rams*). In Shaetlan the adversative coordinator is *bit*.

Adversative coordination is when two units stand in opposition to each other such as

- *I was blyde **bit** fantin.* ('I was happy **but** starving.')
- *He'll boil da saat beef **bit** no peel da taaties.* ('He'll boil the salt beef **but** not peel the potatoes.')
- *We can tak da dug's oot **bit** d'ir no tae ging efter da rams.* ('We can take the dogs out **but** they can't go after the rams.')

In the first sentence two noun phrases are adverse or in opposition to each other (*blyde / fantin*); in the second sentence two verb phrases are adverse to each other (*boil da saat beef / no peel da taaties*); in the third sentence two full clauses are adverse to each other (*We can tak da dug's oot / D'ir no tae ging efter da rams*). In Shaetlan the adversative coordinator is *bit*.

8.1.4 Causal coordination

Causal coordination is when something happens because of something else, laek

- *I pat on mi gansey **fur** he wis stervin wi da caald.*
- *Da dratsi cam closs **becis** da man wis staandin still.*

Here ee thing is da caase o something idder happenin (*He wis stervin wi da caald furt > I pat on mi gansey an Da man wis staandin still > Da dratsi cam closs*). In Shaetlan da adversative coordinator is *fur* or *becis*.

Causal coordination is when something happens because of something else, such as

- *I pat on mi gansey fur he wis stervin wi da caald furt*. (‘I put on my sweater **because** it was freezing cold outside.’)
- *Da dratsi cam closs becis da man wis staandin still*. (‘The otter came close **because** the man was standing still.’)

Here one thing is the cause of something else happening (*He wis stervin wi da caald furt > I pat on mi gansey an Da man wis staandin still > Da dratsi cam closs*). In Shaetlan the adversative coordinator is *fur* or *becis*.

8.2 Subordination

Subordinated clauses, caaed dependant clauses an aa, is clauses at wirks as constituents (units) ithin anidder main clause. Fir example, idda sentence *Mary seid at shø heard a sang apø da wireless* da hael clause [*at shø heard a sang apø da wireless*] wirks laek a objict ti’ da verb *seid*.

De’r different kinds o subordinate clauses. A **complement clause** wirks laek a subject or a objict ti’ da verb idda main clause. A **adverbial clause** wirks laek a modification ti’ da verb idda main clause. A **relative clause** cheinges da nounc phrase idda main clause. Shaetlan hae aa tree o dis kinds o subordinated clauses.

Subordinated clauses, also called dependent clauses, are clauses that function as constituents (units) within another main clause. For example, in the sentence *Mary said that she heard a song on the radio* the entire clause [*that she heard a song on the radio*] functions as an object to the verb *said*.

There are different kinds of subordinate clauses. A **complement clause** functions as a subject or an object to the verb in the main clause. An **adverbial clause** functions as a modification to the verb in the main clause. A **relative clause** modifies the noun phrase in the main clause. Shaetlan has all three of these types of subordinated clauses.

8.2.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses wirk as a subject or object ti’ da verb athin da main clause. Dey ir needit fir da hael sentence tae mak sense. Fir example, in

- *Mary seid at shø wis fantin*.

da hael clause [*at shø wis fantin*] is da object o da verb *seid* an ithoot it da sentence widna be hael: **Mary seid* __. De’r twa main kinds o complement clauses: **finite**

complement clauses, whar da claase is inflectit fir tense an haes tae hae a subject, an **non-finite complement clauses**, whar da claases isna inflectit fir tense.

Complement clauses function as a subject or object to the verb in the main clause. They are necessary for the whole sentence to make sense. For example, in

– *Mary seid at shø wis fantin.* ('Mary said that she was starving.')

the entire clause [*at shø wis fantin*] is the object of the verb *seid* and without it the sentence would be incomplete: **Mary seid*_. There are two main kinds of complement clauses: **finite complement clauses**, where the clause is inflected for tense and needs a subject, and **non-finite complement clauses**, where the clause is not inflected for tense.

8.2.1.1 Finite complement clauses



Finite complements is complement clauses at look laek a hael sentence, wi a subject an a inflectit verb, laek

– *Mary seid at shø fairly enjoys da makkeen classes.*

In dis sentence da claase [*at shø fairly enjoys da makkeen classes*] is da object o da verb *seid* in da main sentence. Da complement claase itsel wid look laek a oordinary sentence aless fir da peerie function wird *at*. Dis peerie wird, caaed da **complementizer**, is da signal at whit is tae come will be da complement claase athin da main sentence.

Da default complementizer in Shaetlan is *at*. Hoosumivver, in some caesses o bein unsure or non-committal, *as* can be øsed an aa:

- *I canna tink as he'd dø yun.*
- *Shø cudna say as shø kent him.*
- *Dey cudna mind as d'ir ivver seen her.*

– *We cudna say as w’ir notticed.*

Dis complementizer onnly shaas up athin negative sentences, an alwis in utterances at pits across haddin aff fae sayin somethin definite. Hit døsna seem tae come up wi da siccint person (*du/you*) as da subject. Dis is laekly beic is speaks about a attitude, so at it’s idder a utterance about da subject (idda first person *I/we*), or a report about hoo a body idda third person spak about dir attitude.

Twartree complement claases can be maed wi a question wurd firbye, sic as whit, hoo, whin:

– *I winder whit happent.*

– *Shø aksed whin dat cam tae be.*

– *Dey wir spaekin about hoo fine it wis.*

Dis sentences is wint tae idder be indirect questions or indirect exclamations.

Finite complements are complement clauses which look like a complete sentence, with a subject and an inflected verb, as in

– *Mary seid at shø fairly enjoys da makkeen classes.* (‘Mary said that she really enjoys the knitting classes.’)

In this sentence the clause [*at shø fairly enjoys da makkeen classes*] is the object of the verb *seid* in the main sentence. The complement clause itself would look like an ordinary sentence except for the little function word *at*. This little word, called the **complementizer**, is the signal that what is coming will be the complement clause within the main sentence.

The default complementizer in Shaetlan is *at*. However, in some cases of hesitancy or hedging, *as* can also be used:

– *I canna tink as he’d dø yun.* (‘I can’t think that he’d do that.’)

– *Shø cudna say as shø kent him.* (‘She couldn’t say that she knew him.’)

– *Dey cudna mind as d’ir ivver seen her.* (‘They couldn’t remember whether they’d ever seen her.’)

– *We cudna say as w’ir notticed.* (‘We couldn’t say that we’ve noticed.’)

This complementizer only appears in negative sentences, and always in utterances that indicate hesitancy or insecurity. It does not seem to occur with the second person (*du/you*) as the subject. This is probably because it describes an attitude, so that it is either an utterance about the subject (in the first person *I/we*), or a report about how a third person described their attitude.

Some complement clauses can also be formed with a question word, such as what, how, when:

– *I winder whit happent.* (‘I don’t know what happened.’)

– *Shø aksed whin dat cam tae be.* (‘She asked when that could have happened.’)

– *Dey wir spaekin about hoo fine it wis.* (‘They were saying how lovely it was.’)

These sentences tend to be either indirect questions or indirect exclamations.

8.2.1.2 Non-finite complement clauses

Non-finite complement clauses look a little bit different from the finite complement clauses. While finite complement clauses could in theory work as sentences on their own, non-finite complement clauses cannot. For one, the verb is not inflected like in an ordinary sentence. For example:

- *Mary fairly enjoys makkin lace.*
- *Mary laeks tae makk Fair Isle.*

Here the two complement clauses [*makkin lace*] and [*tae makk Fair Isle*] would not work as full sentences on their own. While the finite complement clause, like the participial complement clause, seems to be less common than the infinitival clause with *tae*.

Non-finite complement clauses look a bit different from the finite complement clauses. While finite complement clauses could in theory work as sentences on their own, non-finite complement clauses cannot. For one, the verb is not inflected like in an ordinary sentence. For example:

- *Mary fairly enjoys makkin lace.* ('Mary really enjoys knitting lace.')
- *Mary laeks tae makk Fair Isle.* ('Mary likes to knit Fair Isle.')

Here the two complement clauses [*makkin lace*] and [*tae makk Fair Isle*] would not work as full sentences on their own. While the finite complement clause, like the participial complement clause, seems to be less common than the infinitival clause with *tae*.

8.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial complement clauses work like modification of the verb in the main clause. Unlike complement clauses, adverbial clauses do not have any obligation for the sentence to be a full sentence. In that way they work like adverbials, and that's the very reason they are called adverbial clauses. Examples of adverbial clauses are

- *I heard it **whin** I pat on da wireless.* [time]
- *Mary bides **whar** da peerie bød øsed tae be.* [place]
- *Hadd dis wirset **laek** I shaaed dee.* [manner]
- *Mary phoned John **becis shø missed him.*** [reason]

In these examples the complement clauses (*whin I pat on da wireless* / *whar da peerie bød øsed tae be* / *laek I shaaed dee* / *becis shø missed him*) work to change or give more information to the verb in the main clause.

Adverbial complement clauses function as modifications to the verb in the main clause. Unlike complement clauses, adverbial clauses are not obligatory for the sentence to be complete. In that sense they function in a similar way to adverbials, which is also precisely why they are called adverbial clauses. Examples of adverbial clauses are

- *I heard it **whin** I pat on da wireless.* ('I heard it **when** I put the radio on.') [time]
- *Mary bides **whar** da peerie bød øsed tae be.* ('Mary lives **where** the little lodge used to be.') [location]
- *Hadd dis wirset **laek** I shaaed dee.* ('Hold this yarn **like** I showed you.') [manner]
- *Mary phoned John **becis shø missed him.*** ('Mary phoned John **because** she missed him.') [reason]

In these examples the complement clauses (*whin I pat on da wireless* / *whar da peerie bød øsed tae be* / *laek I shaaed dee* / *becis shø missed him*) serve to modify or give added information to the verb in the main clause.

PURPISE CLAASES IN SHAETLAN



Ee kind o adverbial complement claase wirks tae pit across da purpise fir a action. In Standirt English dis is pitten across wi da infinitive o da verb in da complement claase:

- *Mary went to town **to get groceries.***

Da adverbial complement claase [*to get groceries*] explains whit wye Mary geed tae toon, so it staets da purpise o da action idda main claase. In Shaetlan da purpise claase is expressed a peerie bit o a different wye, wi a *fir tae*-construction:

- *Mary geed ti' da toon **fir tae git da airrants.***

In Shaetlan da adverbial complement claase [*fir tae git da airrants*] staets da purpise o da action o da main claase. You aft fin a *fir tae*-construction fir purpise claases athin non-standirt English an Scots varieties around da wirld. Hit's nidder new, or slang, or a døless wye o spaekin, an hit's attestit athin English fae 1127. You fin it firbye athin Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* an da 1535 Bible, fir example. Hit's a peerie grammatical

wye o makkin eens tak nott o a claase at staets da purpise o a action. Tae “correct” it wid be wrang.

One type of adverbial complement clause functions to express the purpose of an action. In Standard English this is expressed with the infinitive of the verb in the complement clause:

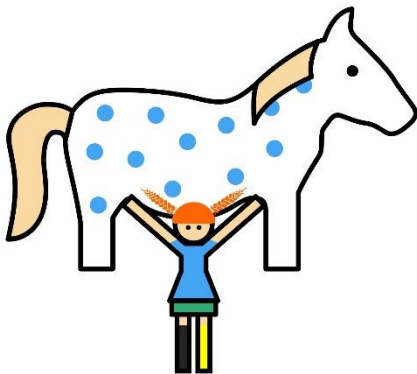
– *Mary went to town **to get groceries**.*

The adverbial complement clause [*to get groceries*] explains why Mary went to town, so it states the purpose of the action in the main clause. In Shaetlan the purpose clause is expressed slightly differently, with a *for to*-construction:

– *Mary geed ti’ da toon **fir tae git da airrants**.* (‘Mary went to town to get groceries.’)

In Shaetlan the adverbial complement clause [*fir tae git da airrants*] states the purpose of the action of the main clause. To have a *for to*-construction for purpose clauses is very common among non-standard English and Scots varieties across the world. It is neither new, nor slang, nor sloppy speech, and is attested in English since 1127. You’ll also find it in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* and the 1535 Bible, for example. It is a neat grammatical way to flag up a clause that states the purpose of an action. To “correct” it would be misguided.

8.3 Relative clauses in Shaetlan



da lass at’s
haddin da pony

Relative clauses wirk laek modifiers an say wha or whit is bein spokken about:

da lass at waved is spaekin about da parteeclar lass at waved, no ony idder lass.

da stane at fell is spaekin about dat parteeclar stane at fell, no ony idder stane.

Ithin Shaetlan dis is døn wi da invariant marker *at*, an hit’s a braali common wye o døin it aroon da wirl. Standirt English, hoosumivver, wirks wi relative pronouns, an whit een gits øsed depeinds apø da animacy o da referent: *who(m)* is for spaekin aboot animate bodies, wharas *which* spaeks aboot inanimate tings. Dis is braali rare aroon

da wirld, hit's onli fun ithin 5% o da languages at haes raelative claases, an it onli cam about braali laet on atidda English language.

Relative clauses function as modifiers and specify who or what is spoken about:

the girl who waved refers to that specific girl who waved, not any other girl.

he stone which fell refers to that particular stone which fell, not any other stone.

In Shaetlan this is done with the invariant marker *at*, which is a very common strategy worldwide. Standard English, however, has relative pronouns, and the choice of which to use depends on the animacy of the referent: *who(m)* refers to animates and *which* refers to inanimate things. This is very rare worldwide, only found in 5% of the languages that have relative clauses, and also only developed quite late in the English language.

9 Language in context

Language is far, far mair as jüst soonds an wirds on dir ain. Dis primer is taen a quick skoit intil da rich, complex grammar at's structed aawy in Shaetlan. Bit language is a lok mair as dat an aa. Firbye dat language is aboot whit wye it's øsed in context, an dat's da raison at da culture, an da environment at da culture is evolved ithin, shaeps da language as dey growe an shift an cheinge aboot een anidder. Dis section gies a quick mention o twartree parteclar linguistic features o Shaetlan.

Language is much, much more than simply sounds and words. This primer has given a very brief glimpse into the rich, complex and highly structured grammar of Shaetlan. But language is much more than that too. Language is also about how it is used in context, and that is why the culture, and the environment that the culture has evolved in, shapes the language as they grow and shift and change together. This section gives a brief mention of some culture specific linguistic features of Shaetlan.

9.1.1 Reactive responses



Whit dey caa **reactive responses** ir a kind o **backchannelin**, whar da body listenin lowsers at da een at's spaekin. Shaetlan haes a special kind o reactive response at means at you irna fir it, or dunna fairly agree. Hit's wint tae be a third person pronoun or da remote demonstrative: *dat dat!* / *he he!* / *shø şö!* / *dey dey!* Sic as:

— *John is bocht himsel a Jaguar.*

— *Dat dat!*

— *Shø seid şö wis tried her best.*

— *Shø şö!*

— *Dey seid dey didna git muckle tae aet.*

— *Dey dey!*

Da expression isna aisy tae git across ithin Standirt English, bit hit can be translated roughly as ‘oh pooh!’ / ‘not a bit!’ / ‘I see!’ / ‘is that so?’ / ‘as if!’ or dere an dere aboots.

Pictir: Julie Dennison.

So called **reactive responses** are a kind of **backchanneling**, where the listener interjects responses to the one who’s speaking. Shaetlan has a special form of reactive response which means that you’re not impressed or don’t quite agree. It’s usually a third person pronoun or the remote demonstrative: *dat dat!* / *he he!* / *shø şö!* / *dey dey!* For example:

- *John has bought himself a Jaguar.*
- *Dat dat!* (‘I see / Good for him / Tut tut’)
- *She said she had tried her best.*
- *She she!* (‘Och nonsense / As if’)
- *They said they didn’t get much to eat.*
- *They they!* (‘Oh pooh [they had plenty!]’)

The expression is difficult to capture in Standard English, but can be translated roughly as ‘oh pooh!’ / ‘not a bit!’ / ‘I see!’ / ‘is that so?’ / ‘as if!’ or something like that.

Picture: Julie Dennison.

9.1.2 Positive *No*



In Shaetlan da peerie negative wird *no* can wirk as a coversational tool an aa. Wirds at hae dis kinds o functions is caaed **discoorse markers** in linguistics, fur dey manige da flow an structure o **discoorse** (conversation or communication). As a discoorse marker da peerie negative *no* can actually mean somethin positive, laek wi:

- *No, hit wis a splendid pairty!*
- *No, I wis blyde tae see dem agein.*

– *No, de wir a really good turnout.*

Here da discourse marker wirks tae shaa a mixer o agreement an positive emphasis. Dis isna unique tae Shaetlan: functions laek dis fir *no* can be fun in da *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) o ower 1bil wirts, *International Computer Science Institute (ICSI) Meeting Corpus* wi 72 ooers o speech, an in da *Fisher English Training Corpus* wi nearly 2,000 ooers o speech. It seems tae be a new laek phenomenon an da COCA data shaas a hit fairly increasin bein øsed dis wye fae 1990. Owerall dis is a understudied feature at deserves mair attention.

In Shaetlan the little negative word *no* can also serve as a conversational tool. Words that have those kinds of functions are called **discourse markers** in linguistics, because they manage the flow and structure of **discourse** (conversation or communication). As a discourse marker the little negative *no* can actually mean something positive, as in:

- *No, hit wis a splendid pairty!* ('No, it was a lovely party!')
- *No, I wis blyde tae see dem agein.* ('No, I was glad to see them again.')
- *No, de wir a really good turnout.* ('No, there was a really good turnout.')

Here the discourse marker serves to show a combination of agreement and positive emphasis. This is not unique to Shaetlan: similar functions for *no* can be found in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) of over 1bil words, *International Computer Science Institute (ICSI) Meeting Corpus* of 72 hours speech, and in the *Fisher English Training Corpus* of nearly 2,000 hours of speech. It seems to be a fairly recent phenomenon and the COCA data shows a sharp increase in this use since 1990. Overall this is an understudied feature that deserves more attention.

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9.1.3 Phrasemes



A **phraseme** or **set phrase** is a fixed expression at haes mair as ee wird, bit it wirks laek a single unit. Da choice o wirds idda expression is set, an da order o dem is set an aa. You canna spleet up da phrase. Braali affen dey translate intil anidder language as ee wird. Laek, in Standirt English *all of a sudden* or *of course* da wirds can onli sit ithin dat order, an canna be spleet idderwyes (eg no **sudden of an all/*all, however, of a sudden...* or **course of/*of, I would say, course,...*). Dis Standirt English phrasemes can be replaessed wi *suddenly* an *certainly*.

Shaetlan haes a braa twartree twa-wird phrasemes at translates braali weel intil ee Standirt English wird, sic as:

whit wye (StE ‘why’, no “what way”):

— *whit wye is he no comin?* (‘Why isn’t he coming?’ no “what way is he not coming”)

Sumthin laek **whit is he no comin wye?* wid be ungrammatical in Shaetlan.

whit laek (StE ‘how’, no “what like”):

— *wait till du sees what laek it looks* (‘wait until you see how it looks’ no “wait until you see what like it looks”)

Sumthin laek **wait till du sees whit it looks laek* wid be ungrammatical Shaetlan.

peerie mootie (StE ‘tiny’ no “small very”)

— *he wis juist a peerie mootie dug* ('he was just a tiny dog')

Sumthin laek "he wis juist a tiny peerie dug" widna be Shaetlan, bit Standirt English wi a Shaetlan lonnwird (*peerie*). Da siccint element idda phraseme (*mootie*) isna wint tae wirk on its ain, so sumthin laek **a mootie dug* wid soond unkan.



A parteeclarly interestin phraseme is:

wi dat sam (StE 'immediately', no "with that same"):

— *I texted him, an he cam wi dat sam* ('I texted him an he came right away')

Dis phraseme is a pattren replication o Scandinavian *med detsamma* 'immediately' (lit. "wi da sam"), as in:

— *Jag smsade honom, och han kom med detsamma* ('I texted him and he cam dere an dan').

See da wye at da Aald Norse phrase is (*með/við*) *þár sem* 'at da sam time (as), apø da sam occasion (as)'. Dis looks laek yit anidder Scandinavian substrate feature at's bøn hoidin athin plein sicht in Shaetlan, whaar da wirds looks laek Standirt English but da structure isna.

A **phraseme** or **set phrase** is a fixed expression that consists of more than one word, but that functions as one unit. The choice of words in the expression is fixed, and the order of them is also fixed. You can't split the phrase. Very often they translate into another language as one word. For example, in Standard English *all of a sudden* or *of course* the words can only sit in that order, and can't be split by other things (e.g. not **sudden of an all/*all, however, of a sudden...* or **course of/*of, I would say, course...*). These Standard English phrasemes can be replaced with *suddenly* and *certainly*.

Shaetlan has a number of two-word phrasemes that neatly translate into one Standard English word, such as:

Viveka Velupillai & Roy Mulla

whit wye (StE ‘why’, not “what way”):

— *whit wye is he no comin?* (‘Why isn’t he coming?’ not “what way is he not coming?”)

Something like **whit is he no comin wye?* would be ungrammatical in Shaetlan.

whit laek (StE ‘how’, not “what like”):

— *wait till du sees what laek it looks* (‘wait until you see how it looks’ not “wait until you see what like it looks”)

Something like **wait till du sees whit it looks laek* would be ungrammatical Shaetlan.

peerie mootie (StE ‘tiny’ not “small very”)

— *he wis jüst a peerie mootie dug* (‘he was just a tiny dog’)

Something like “he wis jüst a tiny peerie dug” would not be Shaetlan but Standard English with a Shaetlan loanword (*peerie*). The second element in the phraseme (*mootie*) does not tend to work on its own, so something like **a mootie dug* would sound odd.

A particularly interesting one is:

wi dat sam (StE ‘immediately’, not “with that same”):

— *I texted him, an he cam wi dat sam* (‘I texted him and he came right away’)

This phraseme is a pattern replication of Scandinavian *med detsamma* ‘immediately’ (lit. “with the same”), as in:

— *Jag smsade honom, och han kom med detsamma* (‘I texted him and he came right away’).

Compare also the Old Norse phrase (*með/við*) *þár sem* ‘at the same time (as), on the same occasion (as)’. This looks like yet another Scandinavian substrate feature that has been hidden in plain sight in Shaetlan, where the words all look Standard English but the structure is not.

9.1.4 We bide IN Shetland



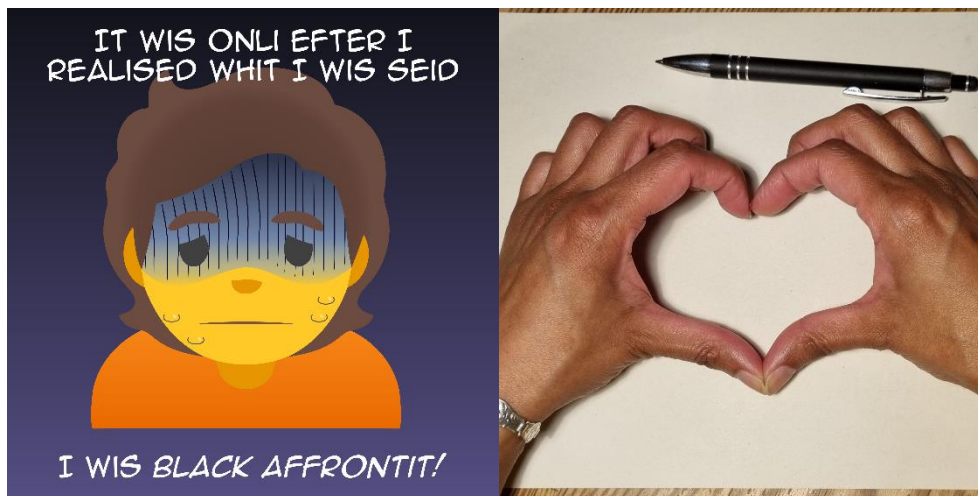
Hit’s aa idda details: Shetlanders bide *in* (no on) Shetland, an hit’s a archipelago maed up o da Shetland Isles. It ISNA “the Shetlands”. De irna sicca plaess. Hit tirs gats at Shetlanders tae hear dir plaess bein caaed “the Shetlands”.

“The Shetlands” is, if onythin, shorthaand øsed bi sum fokk tae refer tae da native Shetland breed o kye, sheep or horse (also caaed *Shetland ponies* or *Shelties*). An while w’ir spaekin aboot details: da kye, sheep or ponies irna Viking imports. Archaeological evidence shaas at da Shetland kye an sheep wir brocht here bi da Neolithic fairmers, nae laetter as 3600BCE, an da Shelties nae laetter as da Bronze Age aboot 2000BCE. So dey wir here a good 3-4000 year aerlier as da Vikings, bit de wir laekli sum interbreedeen wi livestock brocht bi da Norse settlers.

It’s all in the details: Shetlanders live *in* (not on) Shetland, which is an archipelago made up of the Shetland Islands. It is NOT “the Shetlands”. There is no such place. It is very grating on Shetlanders to hear their place referred to as “the Shetlands”.

“The Shetlands” is, if anything, a shorthand used by some to refer to the native Shetland breed of kye (cattle), sheep or horse (also called *Shetland ponies* or *Shelties*). And while we are into details: the cattle, sheep or ponies are not Viking imports. Archaeological evidence shows that the Shetland kye and sheep were brought here by the Neolithic farmers, no later than 3600BCE, and the Shelties no later than the Bronze Age about 2000BCE. So they were here some 3-4000 years earlier than the Vikings, but there was probably some interbreeding with livestock brought by the Norse settlers.

9.1.5 W’ir black fantin



Da followin is bøn written bi a pair o BIPOC haands at bilangs tae a linguist o mixed heritage.

Noo an agein da question is bøn brocht up aboot da history o Shaetlan expressions laek *black fantin*, *black affrontit*, *black dark*, *black calm*, etc, an whidder or no d’ir PC. Dis is da origin o da expressions:

Da wird *black* comes fae Aald English *blæc/blacc-* (Northumbrian), meanin ‘black, dark, ink’. Dat itsel comes fae Proto-Germanic **blakaz* ‘brunt; black’, bit ony ferder etymology w’ir no sure o. Hit startit bein øsed in a figurative wye wi negative

connotations nae laetter as trowe da 14^t century. Da meaneen o 'braali, extremely' is pan-Scots an is attestit fae da 19^t century.

Da wird *fantin* comes fae Aald Scots *fant* 'fent', an dat comes fae Aald French *faint/feint* 'feigned, sluggish, etc'. Da meaneen o 'bein hungry' is Shaetlan specific an attestit fae da 19^t century.

Da wird *affrontit* is maed up wi da noun *affront* + da adjective endin *-it*. It comes fae Middle English *afro(u)nt*, an dat itsel comes fae Aald French *afronter* 'tae ging firnenst'. Da meaneen 'tae caase offence' is attestit fae da 14^t century.

As you can see da expressions hae a lang an varied history. D'ir no seid wi da intention o caasin offence – d'ir onli inherited expressions ati dis contact language at haes a rich an fascinatin history. Dis café au lait coloured linguist is nivver come apün ony BIPOC body at's taen up ati dis expressions. Tae politicise dis inherited, veeve expressions wid tak away fae da real issue o racism an makkin idder fokka feel unkan.

The following was written by a pair of BIPOC hands, belonging to a linguist of mixed heritage.

Recently the question has been raised about the history of such Shaetlan expressions as *black fantin* ('extremely hungry, absolutely starving'), *black affrontit* ('very ashamed, mortified'), *black dark* ('pitch black'), *black calm* ('flat calm [eg of the sea]'), etc, and whether they are PC or not. This is the origin of the expressions:

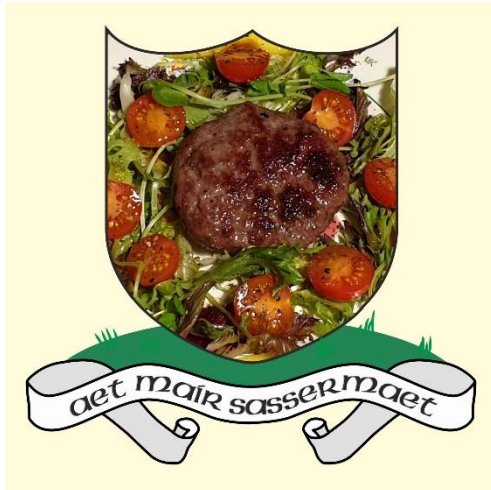
The word *black* descends from Old English *blæc/blacc-* (Northumbrian), meaning 'black, dark; ink'. It in turn descends from Proto-Germanic **blakaz* 'burnt; black', but the further etymology is uncertain. It started to be used in figurative senses with negative connotations no later than in the 14th century. The meaning of 'very, extremely' is pan-Scots and is attested since the early 19th century.

The word *fantin* descends from Old Scots *fant* 'faint', which in turn comes from Old French *faint/feint* 'feigned, sluggish, etc'. The meaning of 'starving' is Shetland specific and attested since the 19th century.

The word *affrontit* consists of the noun *affront* + the adjective ending *-it*. It comes from Middle English *afro(u)nt*, which in turn comes from Old French *afronter* 'to defy'. The meaning of 'to cause offence' is attested since the 14th century.

The expressions therefore have a long and varied history. They are not uttered with any intended offence, but are merely inherited expressions in a contact language with a rich and fascinating history. This café au lait coloured linguist has never encountered any BIPOC person who has remarked on these expressions. To politicise these inherited descriptive expressions risks trivialising the real issue of actual racism and othering.

9.1.6 Sassermaet fir denner!



Da heritage o maet is a essential pairt o ivvri culture's heritage, an da naem o a dysh is jüst as important. Sassermaet is a delicious traditional Shetland dysh. Da wird *sassermaet* (pronounced /'sasərmeɪ/) is a compound maed up wi da elements *sasser* + *maet*: *sasser* (originally meanin 'shappit') comes fae *saks* 'tae cut, mak inceesions; a inceesion(s) cut(s)' an is a decendant o Aald Norse *saxa* 'tae shap up, tae cut'; an *maet* (Eng. 'food') derives fae Aald Norse *matr* 'food'. Da wird fir maet is still *mat* ithin Norwegian, Swedish an Gutnish, wharas it's *mad* in Danish, *mæt* in Westrobothnian an *matur* in Icelandic an Faroese. So da wird fir da dysh literally means 'shappit maet', an dat's exactly whit it is: beef minced wi fat, rusks an saisonen. Hit's affen reanalysed tae an misspelt as "saucermeat" (an becis o dat it gits mispronounced), bit yun entirely misses da point o da dysh an its naem: hit nivver haed onythin tae dø wi saasers, an da siccond bit o it wis nivver da Standirt English "meat" bit alwis da Shaetlan wird fir Eng. 'food', i.e. *maet*.

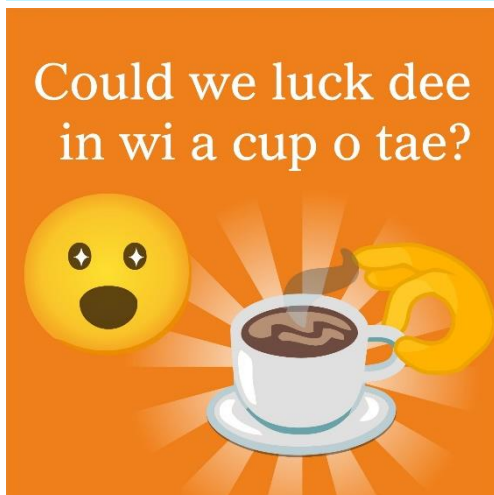
Aald English *mete/mæte* meant 'maet' as weel an haes da sam ancestor as Aald Norse *matr*: Proto-Germanic **matiz* 'maet'. So da meaneen o 'maet' isna Shetland specific, an could, theoretically, derive firbye fae, or be reinforced wi da Scots heritage o Shaetlan. Da meaneen o 'maet maed fae fleish' startit shaain up idda decendants o Aald English idda 13th century, bit da aald meaneen is still yunder in Modren English in compounds laek *sweatmeat*, *bakemeat*, *milkmeat*, etc.

The food heritage is an essential part of every culture's heritage, and the name of a dish is equally important. Sassermaet is a delicious traditional Shetland dish. The word *sassermaet* (pronounced /'sasərmeɪ/) is a compound consisting of the elements *sasser* + *maet*: *sasser* (originally meaning 'chopped') derives from *saks* 'to cut, make incisions; incision(s), cut(s)' and is a descendant of Old Norse *saxa* 'to chop (up), to cut'; and *maet* (meaning 'food') derives from Old Norse *matr* 'food'. The word for 'food' is still *mat* in Norwegian, Swedish and Gutnish, while it is *mad* in Danish, *mæt* in

Westrobothnian and *matur* in Icelandic & Faroese. So the word for the dish literally means ‘chopped food’, which is exactly what it is: beef minced with fat, rusks and seasoning. It is often reanalysed to and miss-spelled as “saucermeat” (and consequently mispronounced), but that entirely misses the point of the dish and its name: it never had anything at all to do with saucers, and the second component was never the Standard English ‘meat’ but always the Shetland word for ‘food’, ie *maet*.

Old English *mete/mæte* also meant ‘food’ and has the same ancestor as Old Norse *matr*: Proto-Germanic **matiz* ‘food’. So the meaning of ‘food’ is not Shetland specific, and could, theoretically, also derive from or be reinforced by the Scots heritage of Shetland. The meaning of ‘food made of flesh’ started appearing in the descendants of Old English in the 13th century, but the old meaning is still left Modern English in such compounds as *sweatmeat*, *bakemeat*, *milkmeat*, etc.

9.1.7 Faase freends



Watch oot fir faase freends! Linguistic “false freends” ir wirds or expressions at look or soond seemlar or jüst da sam, bit dir meanins irna. D’ir parteeclearly common atween clossli related languages, or languages at hae closs contact wi een anidder. D’ir aafil laek tae caase misunderstandaendens. Der a braa twartree false freends atween Shaetlan an Standirt English. Sic as:

- doot* = ‘think, expect’ in StE (no “doubt”!): *I doot he’s guilty!* (‘I think he’s guilty!’)
- wife* = ‘woman’ in StE (no necessarily mairried): *Shø was ey a boannie wife, bit shø nivver mairried.* (‘She was always a pretty woman, but she never married.’)
- denner* = ‘lunch’ StE (no “dinner”): *We’ll hae denner at twal daday so mind an be here in time.* (‘We’ll have lunch at twelve today so remember to be here in time.’)
- as* = ‘than’ StE (no “as”): *He’s taller as me.* (‘He’s taller than me.’)
- clock* = ‘beetle’ in StE
- traivel* = ‘walk (by foot)’ in StE
- messages* = ‘shopping, groceries’ in StE
- lock* = ‘close’ in StE: *Is du lockit da hame park grind?* (‘Have you closed the home park gate?’; common alternative: *Is du shut da grind?*)
- key* = ‘lock’ in StE: *Mind an key da door whin du gings.* (‘Remember to lock the door when you go.’)
- lairn* = ‘teach’ in StE: *Granny, can you lairn me hoo tae maak?* (‘Granny, can you teach me how to knit?’)
- till* = ‘to; so that’ in StE: *Try it first till du sees whit laek it taests.* (‘Try it first so that you see what it tastes like’)
- stervin* = ‘very cold’ in StE: *He’s a stervation oot yunder!* (‘It’s freezing cold out there!’)
- annoyed* = ‘cross, angry’ in StE: *Yun man’s annoyed me!* (‘That man has made me cross!’)
- vexed* = ‘annoyed, disappointed’ in StE: *I’m vexed I canna see mi fock becis o da restrictions* (‘I’m disappointed I can’t see my family because of the restrictions’)
- fool* = ‘bird’ in StE: *De’r a aafil lok o fools blaen in wi da aesterly, A’m even seen a nuthatch!* (‘There are lots of birds that have blown in with easterly winds, I’ve even seen a nuthatch!’)
- aakwirt* = ‘difficult’ in StE: *Dis sheep ir aafil aakwirt tae caa.* (‘These sheep are very difficult to gather.’)
- pen* = ‘feather’ in StE: *A’m fun dis horrid bonny pen fae a rain gøs.* (‘I’ve found this really pretty feather of a red throated diver.’)
- pig* = ‘earthenware bottle’ in StE: *We haed a lem pig full o linseed oil.* (‘We had a clay pot full of linseed oil.’)
- gaet* = ‘path’ in StE: *De’r a gaet richt alang da shooder o da hill.* (‘There’s a path right along the hill ridge’)

grind = ‘gate’ in StE: *Oppen da grind afore du tries tae shift da kye.* (‘Open the gate before you try to move the cattle.’)

luck = ‘entice, coax’ in StE: *Can we luck you in wi a cup o tae?* (‘Can we entice you [to come] in with a cup of tea?’)

silly = ‘feeble, sickly’ in StE: *A’m vexed tae see you lookin dat silly. Ir de onythin I can dø fir you?* (‘I’m sorry to see you looking so weak. Can I do anything for you?’)

talk = ‘speak English in an affected manner’ in StE: *Nah, whin d’ir in a meetin dey ey talk.* (‘Nah, when they’re in a meeting they’ll always speak English (in an affected manner).’)

spaek = ‘talk’ in StE: *We wid ey sit wi a pot o tae an jüst spaek an spaek fir oors.* (‘We would just sit with a pot of tea and talk for hours.’)

oilcloth = ‘linoleum’ in StE: *W’ir pickit oilcloth fir da keetchin flør.* (‘We decided on linoleum for the kitchen floor.’)

as = ‘than’ in StE: *Shø’s peerier as dee.* (‘She’s smaller than you.’)

hugg = ‘castrated male sheep’ in StE: *We’ll be clippin da huggs damoarn.* (‘We’ll be shearing the castrated males tomorrow.’)

bee = ‘fly (small insect)’ in StE: *De wir dat mony peerie bees aboot da cake.* (‘There were just so many little flies around the cake.’)

Tae “correct” faase freends is a mistak. Aa dey ir is different wirds an expressions ithin twa different languages at happen soond very alaek.

False Friend Alert! Linguistic “**false friends**” are words or expressions that look or sound similar or the same, but that mean different things. They are particularly common between closely related languages, or languages in close contact with each other. They tend to lead to misunderstandings. There are a number of false friends between Shaetlan and Standard English.

To “correct” false friends is misguided. It is simply different words/expressions in two different languages that happen to sound very similar.

10 Glossary o linguistic terms

abstract nouns Nouns at refers tae abstract entities, eg *idee*.

Nouns referring to abstract entities, eg *idea*.

accent Distinctive wye o pronouncin speech at gings wi bein fae a parteeklar district or social class.

Distinctive way of pronunciation associated with a particular region or social class.

adjective Pairt-o-speech at pits across qualities or attributes.

Part-of-speech denoting qualities or attributes.

adverb Pairt-o-speech at modifies categories idder as nouns (entities).

Part-of-speech which modifies other categories than nouns (entities).

adverbial claase Claase at wirks as a adverbial ithin a main claase.

adverbial clause Clause that functions as an adverbial inside a main clause.

adversative Wird or phrase at pits across da antithesis or very opposite.

Word or phrase that expresses the antithesis or opposite.

affricate Consonant at starts aff as a stop an feenishes aff as a fricative (*ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ*).

Consonant which starts as a stop and ends as a fricative (*ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ*).

alveolar Consonant at's maed bi heichtenin da tongue up tae da alveolar ridge ahint da teeth idda mooth (*t, d, n, s, l*).

Consonant produced by raising the tongue to the alveolar ridge behind the teeth in the mouth (*t, d, n, s, l*).

appellation naems proper naem at shaas whar someen is fae.

appellation names proper name indicating where someone is from.

approximant Consonant maed bi pittin dat little idda wye o da airflow so at very little friction (or naen ava) is maed (*w, j*).

Consonant produced by creating such a low degree of obstruction to the airflow that very little or no friction is produced (*w, j*).

argument Da main participant idda sentence.

The core participant in the sentence.

aspect Grammatical category at specifies da perspective at's bòn taen o a event.

Grammatical category that specifies the perspective taken on an event.

associative plural Grammatical device at shaas *X an dem at's associated wi X*.

Grammatical device indicating *X and those associated with X*.

assumptive modality A kind o modality at staets whit da spaeker lippens baessed on whit's happent til dem afore.

A type of modality that states a prediction made by the speaker based on previous experience.

auxiliary Verbs at's mair or less emty semantically, at gies grammar information aboot lexical verbs.

Semantically more or less empty verbs which give grammatical information about lexical verbs.

backchannelin Whin ee participant is spaekin an anidder een interjects responses.

backchanneling When one participant is speaking and another interjects responses.

bilabial Consonant at's maed bi pittin baith lips idda wye o da airflow (*p, b, m*).

Consonant produced by obstructing the airflow with both lips (*p, b, m*).

bilingual Body at haes twa midder tongues.

Person who has two mother tongues.

cardinals Numeral at specifies da number ithin a set.

Numeral specifying the number in a set.

closed class Class at haes a set lok o wirts ithin it.

Class that has a fixed set of words in it.

collective nouns Nouns at shaas a gadderie o some kind o entities.

Nouns indicating a collection of some entity.

common noun Nouns at refers tae things (reider as parteeclar bodies or plaesses).

Nouns referring to things (as opposed to specific persons or places).

comparative Form at shaas a higher degree.

Form to indicate a higher degree.

complement clause A clause at wirks as a subject or a objct ti' da verb in da main clause.

complement clause A clause which functions as a subject or an object to the verb in the main clause.

complementary distribution Whar soonds or forms is spreid oot so as dey ging along wi een anidder: twartree soonds/forms shaas in ee kind o context, whar da idders shaas idda idder context, but dey dunna owerlap.

Where sounds or forms are distributed such that they complement each other: some sounds/forms appear in some context, while the others appear in the other context, but they do not overlap.

compound Da joineen o twa lexemes tae mak a new lexeme.

A fusion of two lexemes to form a new lexeme.

concrete nouns Nouns at pits across concrete entities, eg *stane*.

Nouns indicating concrete entities, eg *stone*.

conjunction Pairt o speech function wird at conneks entities (wirts, phrases or hael clauses). A coordinatin conjunctions jüst conneks entities, wharas a subordinatin conjunction biggs clauses intil anidder claas.

Part of speech function word that connect entities (words, phrases or entire clauses). A coordinating conjunction simply connects entities, while a subordinating conjunction builds clauses into another clause.

consonant Soond maed bi makkin some kind o obstacle tae da airflow as it gings trowe da mooth.

Sound formed by creating some kind of obstacle to the airflow as it passes through the mouth.

conjunctive A wird or phrase at shaas a connection atween twa units.

A word or phrase that expresses a connection of two units.

constituent Biggeen stane o a sentence.

Building block of a sentence.

content question A question at akses fir mair parteeclar or elaborate information.

A question that asks for more specific or elaborate information.

contrastive soonds Soonds at wirks tae be meaneen distinguishin: if you swappit onli een o da soonds, da meaneen o da wird'll cheinge (laek wi *hat ~ cat*).

- contrastive sounds** Sounds that have a meaning distinguishing function: if you swap only one sound, the meaning of the word will change (as in *hat* ~ *cat*).
- copula** A “linker” atween da subject an da description.
A “linker” between the subject and the description.
- count nouns** Nouns at shaas entities at can be coontit, eg *stane*.
count nouns Nouns indicating entities that can be counted, eg *stone*.
- coordination** A process whar linguistic units is connekit tagidder tae mak a syntactic lok.
A process where linguistic units are linked together to form a syntactic whole.
- coordinator** A linker fir grammar coordination.
A linker for grammatical coordination.
- deductive modality** da spaeker is makkin on something baessed on some kind o evidence.
the speaker is supposing something based on some kind of evidence.
- definite article** A determiner at shaas a parteeclar, identifiable entity.
A determiner indicating a specific, identifiable entity.
- degree adverb** Adverb at expresses da degree o sumthin.
Adverb expressing the degree of something.
- demonstratives** Marker at’s øsed tae shaa da relative distance o a entity; øsed idder attributively or as a pronoun.
Marker used to indicate relative distance of an entity; used either attributively or as a pronoun.
- dental** Consonant maed bi heichtenin da tongue tae da back o da teeth (θ , δ).
Consonant produced by raising the tongue to the back of the teeth (θ , δ).
- derivational morpheme** A morpheme at maks a new wurd.
A morpheme that creates a new word.
- determiners** Markers at nairroos doon da reference o nouns.
Markers that narrow down the reference of nouns.
- dialect** Language variety at sits about da middle o da scael o intelligibility; øswally onli spaeks about a parteeclar geographic plaess ithin a speech community.
Language variety that sits roughly in the middle of the intelligibility scale; usually confined to a certain geographic region in a speech community.
- diphthong** Vowel at cheinges it’s quality trowe da articulation (*au*, *ea*, *oi*, etc).
Vowel which changes its quality during the articulation (*au*, *ea*, *oi*, etc).
- direct object** Da argument idda sentence at da subject does sumthin tae.
direct object The argument in the sentence that the subject does something to.
- discourse marker** A unit at maniges da flow an structure o a conversation or communication.
discourse marker A unit that manages the flow and structure of a conversation or communication.
- disjunctive** A wurd or phrase at pits across alternatives whar you can hae ee thing or da idder bit no baith at ee time.
A word or phrase that expresses mutually exclusive alternatives.
- dislocation** Whin units is moved ti’ da begineen or end o a utterance fir da sake o emphasisin it.
When units are moved to the beginning or end of an utterance for the sake of emphasis.
- distal** Shaain distance.
Indicating distance.

ditransitives Verbs that need a subject, a direct object and an indirect object.

Verbs which demand a subject, a direct object and an indirect object.

dummy subject An empty placeholder, that does not refer to any particular entity, that sits where the subject would normally be in a sentence.

dummy subject An empty placeholder, which does not refer to any actual entity, sitting where the subject would normally be in the sentence.

duration Feature of prosody that gives either short or long sounds.

Prosodic feature yielding either short or long sounds.

epenthetic vowel A vowel that is added to a word, usually between consonants.

A vowel that is added to a word, usually between consonants.

existentials Predications that declare that something exists.

Predications that declare that something exists.

false friends Words in two closely related languages that look or sound the same or similar but that have different meanings.

false friends Words in two closely related languages that look or sound the same or similar but that mean different things.

finite clause A clause where the verb is inflected for tense, mood and/or aspect. In the Germanic languages a finite clause needs to have a subject and an auxiliary.

finite clause A clause where the verb is inflected for tense, mood and/or aspect. In the Germanic languages a finite clause also demands a subject.

first person The speaker(s).

The speaker(s).

fricative Consonant made by creating an obstacle to the airflow that does not completely close it off.

Consonant produced by creating an obstacle to the airflow that does not completely close it off.

functional class Closed class of function words that mainly give grammatical information (rather than semantic content).

Closed class of function words that mainly give grammatical information (rather than semantic content).

future tense The tense that indicates something which is expected to happen but hasn't happened yet.

The tense that indicates something which is expected to happen but hasn't happened yet.

glottal Consonant produced with the glottis, situated far down the throat where the vocal chords are.

Consonant produced with the glottis, situated far down the throat where the vocal chords are.

grammatical gender Grammar category that sorts nouns, as well as inanimates, into one of a given set of genders irrespective of their biological sex.

Grammar category that sorts nouns, as well as inanimates, into one of a given set of genders irrespective of their biological sex.

grapheme The smallest unit of a writing system, the representative symbol of a sound.

The smallest unit of a writing system, the representative symbol of a sound.

hortative An expression where the speaker tries to encourage an action.

An expression where the speaker tries to encourage an action.

imperative a command.

a command.

indefinite article Determiner at shaas a entity at's niddar identifiable nor ony parteeclar een.

Determiner indicating a non-specific, non-identifiable entity.

indefinites Marker øsed tae shaa a entity at's no specific.

Marker used to indicate a non-specific entity.

indirect object Da argument idda sentence at da subject does sumthin fir.

indirect object The argument in the sentence that the subject does something for.

inflectional morpheme A morpheme at gies grammatical information.

A morpheme which gives grammatical information.

interrogatives Marker at's øsed tae identify a body or thing at isna kent .

Marker used to identify an unknown person or thing.

intonation Da pitch o da voice gyaan up an doon trowe a utterance.

Variation in the pitch of the voice over an utterance.

intransitive verb A verb at haes a subject but nae object.

A verb that has a subject but no object.

intransitives Verbs at onli needs a subject but dey canna hae objects.

Verbs which only demand a subject but cannot have objects.

L1 (firbye: **midder tongue, native language**) Da language at a spaeker is gotten tae lairn naiterally as a bairn.

(also: **mother tongue, native language**) The language that a speaker has acquired naturally as a child.

labiodental Consonant maed wi da tap jaa's front teeth an da boddam lip (*f, v*).

Consonant produced using the upper jaw front teeth and the lower lip (*f, v*).

linguoid Da language variety o a community

The language variety of a community.

lent Hoo lang a soond is seid fir.

length Prosodic property of duration.

lexeme Da peeriest semantic (meaneenfil) unit.

A minimal semantic (meaningful) unit.

lexical class Oppen class o content wirds.

Open class of content words.

linkin adverb Adverb at conneks claases.

linking adverb Adverb which links clauses.

macro language A area o languages maed up wi varieties at's fairly different fae een anidder. D'ir clossly relatit, but d'ir different enyoch tae be braali far apairt apø da scael o mutual intelligibility.

A language area consisting of highly diverse varieties which are very closely related, but different enough to be fairly far apart on the scale of mutual intelligibility.

manner adverb Adverb at expresses da mainner o a action, process or staet.

manner adverb Adverb expressing the manner of an action, process or state.

mass nouns Nouns at maks up a haep, e.g. *saand*.

Nouns that form a mass, e.g. *sand*.

minimal pair Set o twa wirds whar onli ee phoneme idda sam plaess is altered (*hat ~ cat*).

Set of two words where only one phoneme in the same location differs (*hat ~ cat*).

minimal set Set o mair as twa wirds whar onli ee phoneme idda sam plaess is altered (hat ~ cat ~ sat ~ bat ~ mat ~ ...).

Set of more than two words where only one phoneme in the same location differs (hat ~ cat ~ sat ~ bat ~ mat ~ ...).

modality Grammatical category at pits across da attitude taen on a event.

Grammatical category expressing the attitude taken on an event.

monolingual Body at onli haes ee midder tongue.

Person who has only one mother tongue.

monophthong A vowel at keeps da sam quality troo da articulation.

A vowel which keeps the same quality during the articulation.

morpheme Da peeriest meaneenfil biggeen stane o a wird.

The smallest meaningful building block of a word.

morphology Da study o da bigeen stanes o wirds.

The study of the building blocks of words.

mother tongue (firbye: **L1**, **native language**) Da language at a spaeker is gotten tae lairn naiterally as a bairn.

(also: **L1**, **native language**) The language that a speaker has acquired naturally as a child.

multilingual Body at haes mair as twa midder tongues.

Person who has more than two mother tongues.

nasal Consonant maed bi lattin da air flow troo da nose whin it's articulatit (*m, n, ŋ, ŋ*).

Consonant produced by letting the air flow through the nose during the articulation (*m, n, ŋ, ŋ*).

native language (firbye: **L1**, **midder tongue**) Da language at a spaeker is gotten tae lairn naiterally as a bairn.

(also: **L1**, **mother tongue**) The language that a speaker has acquired naturally as a child.

negation A wye fir pittin the truth o a staetment da tidder wye aboot fae whit it is.

a method for reversing the truth of a statement.

negator Da marker øsed tae mak sumthin ging da tidder wye aboot.

The marker used to create a negation.

non-finite claase Claase whar da verb isna in a finite form, i.e. isna inflectit fir tense, mood an / or aspect.

non-finite clause Clause where the verb is not in a finite form, i.e. is not inflected for tense, mood and/or aspect.

noun phrase A phrase at haes a noun or pronoun in idda middle o it.

A phrase that has a noun or pronoun as its centre.

noun Pairt o speech at refers tae entities (whidder d'ir concrete or abstract).

Part-of-speech which refers to entities (whether concrete or abstract).

number Grammatical category fir expressin whidder wan or mair o da sam entities is bein referred tae.

Grammatical category for expressing whether one or more of the same entities are being referred to.

numerals Pairt-o-speech øsed fir shaain da quantity o entities.

Part-of-speech used to indicate the amount of entities.

object Da argument idda sentence at da subject does sumthin fir.

object The argument in the sentence that the subject does something to or for.

open class Class at haes a unlimited set o wirds at bilangs tae it.

open class Class that has an unlimited set of words that belong to it.

ordinals Numeral øsed tae shaa da order ithin a series.

Numeral used to express the rank in a series.

orthography Spelleen system: set o conventions fir writin a language.

Spelling system: set of conventions for writing a language.

palatal Consonant maed bi pittin da tongue up tae da palate (*n, j*).

Consonant formed by raising the tongue to the palate (*n, j*).

particle A function wird at isna inflected, haes nae ain lexical definition an at codes grammatical categories or shaas da meaneen o sum idder wird or phrase.

A function word that is not inflected, has no lexical definition of its own and that codes grammatical categories or imparts the meaning of some other word or phrase.

participle A form o da verb at can be øsed tae shaa a action at's gyaan on, or dat a action is gotten feenished, but hit can be øsed as a adjective (a descriptive wird) an aa.

A form of the verb which can be used to indicate continuous action, or that an action has been completed, but which can also be used as an adjective (a descriptive word).

past tense Da tense at indicates at sumthin happent idda past.

The tense that indicates that something happened in the past.

pattren replication Borrooin, whar da function (but no da form) o a feature is taen ower fae some idder language.

pattern replication Borrowing where the function but not the form of a feature is taken over from some other language.

perfect tense Tense at specifees at sumthin happent afore noo but it's still relevant eenoo

Tense specifying that something happened before now but is still relevant now.

personal pronoun Pronoun at refers tae da spaeker, addressee or sumeen/sumthin idder

Pronoun referring to the speaker, addressee or someone/something else.

phoneme Da peeriest meaneen distinguishin soond unit.

The smallest meaning distinguishing sound unit.

phonology Da study o soond systems.

The study of sound systems.

phraseme A set group o wirds at functions laek ee single unit.

A set group of words that function as one unit.

pitch Da tone at a parteeclar bit o speech is seid wi.

Prosodic feature yielding different tones.

plural Number value at indicates mair as een o da sam entity.

Number value indicating more than one of the same entity.

polar question A question at onli akses fir *Yis* or *No* fir a answer.

A question which only demand *Yes* or *No* for an answer.

possessives Marker øsed tae shaa wha aans sumthin.

Marker used to indicate possession.

predicate Dat at tells wis whit da argument is or whit he does.

That which tells us what the argument is or does.

prefix A teddered morpheme pitten on da begineen o da wird.

A bound morpheme which attaches to the beginning of the word.

preposition Pairt o speech øsed tae connek da noun phrase wi some idder element o da sentence.

preposition Part-of-Speech used to connect the noun phrase with some other element of the sentence.

present tense Da tense at pits across at sumthin is happenin eenoo.

The tense that indicates that something is happening at the moment.

progressive aspect Aspect at specifies at a action is gyaan on.

Aspect specifying that the action is ongoing.

pronoun Pairt o speech at swaps oot a noun or a noun phrase.

Part-of-speech which substitutes a noun or noun phrase.

proper noun Noun at spaeks about a parteclar body or plaess.

Noun referring to a specific individual or place.

prosody Da wye at da pitch, lent, loodness an rhythm o speech cheinges.

Variations in the pitch, duration, loudness and rhythm of speech.

proximate Shaas hoo closs sumthin is.

Indicating nearness.

quantifiers A determiner at specifies da quantity o entities bein referred tae.

A determiner which specifies the amount of entities referred to.

reactive response A kind o backchannelin.

A type of backchanneling.

reflexives Markers at shaas a entity at's jüst da sam as sumthin at's aareidy bøn mentioned afore idda sentence.

Marker indicating an entity which is identical with something that has already been mentioned in the sentence.

relative claase A claase at wirks as a modifier an specifies wha or whit is bein spokken about.

relative clause A clause which functions as a modifier and specifies who or what is spoken about.

remote Shaain at sumthin is far awa.

Indicating that something is far away.

røt Da peeriest lexemic unit.

root The smallest lexemic unit.

siccint person Da addressee(s).

second person The addressee(s).

semantic content Da content at kerries inherent meaneen ithin it.

The content that carries inherent meaning in it.

semantics Da study o meaneen.

The study of meaning.

sentence adverb Adverb at pits across da attitude o a hale sentence.

Adverb which expresses the attitude of a whole sentence.

setting adverb Adverb at tells you whar in time o plaess sumthin is.

Adverb which locates something in time or place.

sibilant Consonant wi a hissin soond (s, z, ʃ, ʒ).

Consonant with a hissing sound (s, z, ʃ, ʒ).

singular Number value indicatin exactly wan entity.

Number value indicating one and exactly one of an entity.

situational modality A modality at gies condeetions fir actions, laek trowe obligations, permeesions, abeelity or willinness.

A modality that conditions actions, such as through obligations, permissions, ability or willingness.

stem Da baess fir a inflected wird form.

The base for an inflected word form.

sociolect A language variety markit oot bi it's social criteria.

A language variety defined by social criteria.

stop Consonant whar da airflow is fully shut aff fir a peerie meenit (p, b, t, d, k, g).

Consonant where the airflow is completely closed off for a moment (p, b, t, d, k, g).

stress Hoo lood a bit o speech is seid.

Prosodic parameter of loudness.

subject Da argument idda sentence at does sumthin.

subject The argument in the sentence that does something.

subordination A process whar a claase is a unit pitten ithin anidder claase.

A process where a clause is a unit embedded within another clause.

suffix A teddered morpheme at's eekit on apø da end o da wird.

A bound morpheme which attaches to the end of the word.

superlative Form at shaas da highest degree.

Form to indicate highest degree.

syllable A speech soond unit at can be seid on it's ain.

A speech sound unit which can be produced in isolation.

syntax Da study o whit wye constituents is arreinged.

The study of how constituents are arranged.

tag A question particle at's addit tae a staetment tae mak it intil a polar question.

A question particle added to a statement to turn it into a polar question.

tense A grammar category at pits a event apün a timeline.

A grammatical category that places an event on a timeline.

third person Body(s) or thing(s) at's nidder da spaeker(s) nor da addressee(s).

Person(s) or thing(s) that are neither the speaker(s) nor the addressee(s).

transitive verb A verb at haes tae hae a subject an a object baith.

A verb that has to have both a subject and an object.

transitives Verbs at haes tae hae a subject an a object.

Verbs which demand a subject and an object.

trill Consonant whar da tongue is birred firnest da plaess it's bein articulated (r).

Consonant where the tongue is rolled against the place of articulation (r).

uvular Consonant maed by pittin da back o da tongue up tae da uvula at da back o da mooth (ʁ , da “corby” soond).

Consonant produced by raising the back of the tongue to the uvula at the back of the mouth (ʁ , the “corby” sound).

variety A parteeclar form o a language or language cluster.

A specific form of a language or language cluster.

velar Consonant maed by pittin da tongue up tae da velum, da saft part o da rüf o da mooth (k , g , η , x).

Consonant formed by raising the tongue to the velum, the soft part of the roof of the mouth (k , g , η , x).

verb phrase A phrase at haes a verb idda middle o it.

A phrase that has a verb at its centre.

verb Part o speech at spaeks aboot actions an processes.

Part-of-speech which refers to actions and processes.

voice Grammar category at specifies if da event is active or passive.

Grammatical category which specifies if the event is active or passive.

voiced consonant Consonant maed wi da vocal faalds birrin.

Consonant produced with the vocal folds vibrating.

voiceless consonant Consonant maed ithoot da vocal faalds birrin.

Consonant produced without the vocal folds vibrating.

vowel Soond maed by lattin da air flow straicht trowe, ithoot onythin idda rodd, fae da lungs trowe da mooth.

Sound formed by letting the air flow freely, without obstruction, from the lungs through the mouth.

yis/no-question Polar question.

yes/no-question Polar question.

11 Twartree references pickit fir ferder readeen

Dis is twartree references pickit fir dem at's interestit in buksin ferder trowe da heddery hill o linguistics. Dey in turn'll gie ferder, mair specialised references.

A fuller, mair specialised reference list'll be maed avelable idda *Shaetlan Grammar* still tae come.

These are a few selected references for those interested in delving a bit deeper into linguistics. They in turn will give further, more specialised references.

A fuller, more specialised reference list will be made available in the forthcoming *Shaetlan Grammar*.

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11.2 Parteeclar tae Shaetlan

Dis is twartree references at's devoted parteeclarli tae da linguistics o Shaetlan, an aa pairs o it. Hit's by no means a list o aathin at's avelable.

These are a few references that are specifically devoted to various aspects of the linguistics of Shaetlan. It is by no means an exhaustive list.

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