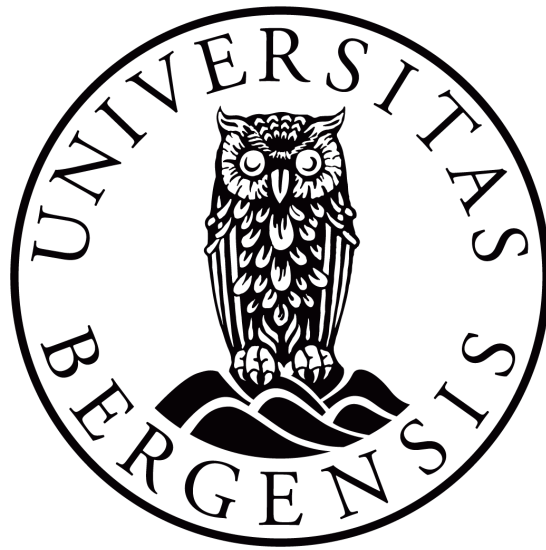


“Dey were gotten escapit”
A sociolinguistic study on pre-oil Shetland dialect

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Abstract – Norwegian

Denne oppgaven er en sosiolingvistisk studie om språklig endring på Shetland basert på intervjuer med Shetlendere født mellom 1877 og 1932. Intervjuene er hentet fra et nettarkiv med opptak fra nittenfemti, seksti og syttitallet. De ble gjennomført av både lokale forskere, og et flertall av forskere fra resten av Storbritannia. Jeg har delt informantene inn i tre aldersgrupper og to kjønnskategorier. Tidligere studier på Shetlandsdialekten har undersøkt talemålet til informanter som har vokst opp rett før, under, og etter oppdagelsen av olje utenfor Shetland i 1970. Disse har også undersøkt både variabler som opptrer i hele Skottland, og variabler som er spesifikke for Shetland. Jeg har valgt å fokusere på to variabler som er spesifikke for Shetland, nemlig *TH-stopping* og *be-perfektum*. Ut ifra tidligere forskning hadde jeg en forventning om at forekomsten av lokale varianter ville synke gradvis mellom de tre aldersgruppene. Mine data viser at det er en kjønnsforskjell i hvilke språklige endringsmønstre man ser i de ulike generasjonene. Hos mine mannlige informanter er det de eldste og de yngste talerne som bruker flest lokale trekk. Den mellomste mannlige gruppen bruker en overvekt av standardiserte trekk fra Standard Scottish English (SSE). Blant kvinnene fant jeg en mer gradvis dreining mot standardiserte trekk. For variabelen TH var den lokale varianten dominerende i de to eldste aldersgruppene, men den sank dramatisk hos den yngste aldersgruppen. Be-perfektum var minoritetsvariant i alle de tre aldersgruppene. I tillegg til alder og kjønn har den språklige bakgrunnen til intervjuerne vist seg å være en avgjørende faktor for informantenes talemønster. Det betyr at talernes evne til å tilpasse seg intervjuerne er en ny ukjent variabel i datasettet. Endringene vi ser i begge kjønnskategorier kan være et resultat av samfunnsmessige omveltninger som følge av verdenskrigene. Forskjellen mellom kjønnene stemmer også overens med tidligere sosiolingvistisk forskning på kjønn og språkendringer.

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Contents

CONTENTS	VII
TABLES	IX
FIGURES	X
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 AIM AND SCOPE	1
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES	2
1.3 THESIS STRUCTURE	4
2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	5
2.1 INTRODUCTION TO SHETLAND – HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND	5
2.1.1 General history	5
2.1.2 Shetland dialect	7
2.1.3 Shetland dialect research	8
2.2 QUANTITATIVE STUDIES ON SHETLAND DIALECT	11
2.2.1 Sundkvist	11
2.2.2 Smith and Durham	12
2.2.3 Haugen	14
2.2.4 Velupillai	16
3. LINGUISTIC VARIABLES	17
3.1 TH	17
3.2 PERFECTIVE	19
4. METHODOLOGY AND DATA	21
4.1 DATA COLLECTION	21
4.1.1 Kist O Riches/Tobar an Dualchais	21
4.1.2 Sampling	23
4.2 DATA	25
4.2.1 Ethical concerns	25
4.2.2 Informants	26
4.2.3 Interviews	28
4.3 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	32
4.3.1 Auditory analysis	32
4.3.2 Chi-squared test	33

4.3.3	Classifying tokens	33
5.	RESULTS.....	35
5.1	TH	35
5.1.1	TH by gender and age category	39
5.2	PERFECTIVE	41
5.2.1	Perfective by gender and age category	44
6.	DISCUSSION.....	47
6.1	THE VARIABLES BY AGE.....	47
6.2	GENDER	49
6.3	AGE AND GENDER COMBINED	51
6.3.1	Male speakers	51
6.3.2	Female speakers.....	53
6.3.3	Summary of gender differences.....	54
6.4	CODE-SWITCHING	55
6.4.1	Interviewer background.....	57
6.4.2	Non-local interviews	59
6.5	AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	71
7.	CONCLUSION.....	73
APPENDIX A: ALL CLIPS IN THE DATASET GROUPED BY AGE AND GENDER		
76		
	REFERENCES	88

Tables

Table 4.1: <i>Table of informants</i>	27
Table 5.1: <i>Overall results for realisations of TH</i>	35
Table 5.2: <i>Numbers and percentages of TH by age group</i>	36
Table 5.3: <i>TH Numbers and percentage scores by gender</i>	38
Table 5.4: <i>Numbers and percentage scores for males by age group</i>	39
Table 5.5: <i>TH Numbers and percentage scores for females by age group</i>	40
Table 5.6: <i>Perfective – overall scores in numbers and percentages</i>	41
Table 5.7: <i>Perfective – scores and percentages by age</i>	41
Table 5.8: <i>Perfective scores and percentages by gender</i>	43
Table 5.9: <i>Numbers and percentage scores for males by age group</i>	44
Table 5.10: <i>Numbers and percentage scores for females by age group</i>	45
Table 6.1: <i>Numbers and percentages for vernacular realisations of TH and perfective</i>	47
Table 6.2: <i>Percentages of vernacular realisations by gender</i>	50
Table 6.3: <i>Numbers and percentages of local and non-local interviews</i>	58
Table 6.4: <i>Table of informants with non-local interviews</i>	59
Table 6.5: <i>TH numbers and percentages for males interviewed by non-locals</i>	61
Table 6.6: <i>TH numbers and percentages of perfective for female speakers interviewed by non-locals</i>	62
Table 6.7: <i>Numbers and percentages of perfective for male speakers interviewed by non-locals</i>	63
Table 6.8: <i>Numbers and percentages of perfective for female speakers interviewed by non-locals</i>	64
Table 6.9: <i>Table of informants interviewed by locals</i>	66
Table 6.10: <i>Numbers and percentages of TH by gender in local interviews</i>	66
Table 6.11: <i>TH numbers and percentages for non-local interviews by gender</i>	67
Table 6.12: <i>Perfective numbers and percentages for local interviews by gender</i>	69
Table 6.13: <i>Perfective numbers and percentages for non-local interviews by gender</i>	69

Figures

Figure 5.1: <i>TH percentage scores by age group</i>	36
Figure 5.2: <i>TH percentage scores by gender</i>	38
Figure 5.3: <i>Percentage scores for males by age group</i>	39
Figure 5.4: <i>TH percentage scores for females by age group</i>	40
Figure 5.5: <i>Perfective - percentage scores by age group</i>	42
Figure 5.6: <i>Perfective - percentage scores by age group</i>	44
Figure 5.7: <i>Percentage scores for males by age group</i>	45
Figure 5.8: <i>Percentage scores for females by age group</i>	46
Figure 6.1: <i>Percentages for vernacular variants of TH and perfective</i>	47
Figure 6.2: <i>Percentages of vernacular realisations by gender</i>	50
Figure 6.3: <i>Percentages of local and non-local interviews</i>	58
Figure 6.4: <i>TH numbers and percentages males interviewed by non-locals</i>	62
Figure 6.5: <i>Percentages of TH for female speakers</i>	63
Figure 6.6: <i>Percentages of perfective for male speakers interviewed by non-locals</i>	64
Figure 6.7: <i>Percentages of perfective for female speakers interviewed by non-locals</i>	65
Figure 6.8: <i>Percentages of TH by gender in local interviews</i>	67
Figure 6.9: <i>TH percentages for non-local interviews by gender</i>	68
Figure 6.10: <i>Perfective percentages for local interviews by gender</i>	69
Figure 6.11: <i>Perfective percentages for non-local interviews by gender</i>	70

1 Introduction

1.1 Aim and scope

This is a sociolinguistic study on the variation and change of pre-oil speakers from different parts of Shetland. Shetland has its own dialect of Scots, called variously *Shetlandic*, *Shetland dialect* or simply *Shetlan'* among locals (Velupillai 2019: 470). I will be using the term Shetland dialect throughout, in order to differentiate the dialect from the geographical area. Scots is classified variously as its own language, or as a variety of English spoken in Lowland Scotland and parts of Northern Ireland (Johnston 1997). Shetland dialect is categorised as a variety of Scots. Johnston (1997:47) places it in the category of Insular Scots along with Orcadian (the dialect spoken in Orkney), due to the two archipelagos' linguistic similarities and relative isolation from the rest of mainland Scotland. Previous research on Shetland dialect can be said to fall into two broad categories: Research on the dialect's history and origins, and research on the present state of the dialect and synchronic change. Three quantitative variationist studies have been conducted on Shetland dialect: Smith and Durham (2011) conducted two studies on speech patterns in Lerwick, and Haugen conducted a study on speech patterns in Scalloway (Haugen 2020). All of these studies used sociolinguistic interviews of three generations as data material. Their speech data is of present-day speakers, while this study is based on archival speech data from three generations of speakers born before the discovery of oil.

This study seeks to quantitatively investigate the usage of Shetland dialect in 21 speakers representing three generations, all born and raised before the discovery of oil in the archipelago. The oldest group of speakers were born between 1877–1898, the middle group were born between 1900–1910, and the youngest group were born between 1916–1932. They were interviewed between the 1950's and the 1970's. Some of the speakers were interviewed by local Shetlanders, while the vast majority were interviewed by reporters from the Scottish Mainland and the rest of the UK, who collected oral history material for the School of Scottish Studies.

I will look at two linguistic variables that are deemed to be unique to Shetland dialect, at least in a Scots context, in order to find out whether the frequency of these variables can tell us something about the prevalence of Shetland dialect in the archipelago, and how it has changed over time. I investigate two variables, one phonological and one morphosyntactic. The phonological variable is TH, or the realisation of words that are orthographically spelled

with <th>. For the purposes of my study, this variable will be restricted to voiced variants in word-initial position, such as *the* and *that*. I will discuss these variants and previous findings more in-depth in chapter 3.

My morphosyntactic variable is perfective. Perfective refers to the realisations of perfective constructions. In standard English, perfective constructions are formed using the auxiliary verb *to have*, while in Shetland dialect perfective constructions can be formed with *to be*. See example 1:

[1] I can't say 'at I'm heard any stories about dat (George Peterson, young group).

This feature is known as the *be*-perfect, and has been described by Millar (2007: 75) as “perhaps the most striking feature of Shetland dialect”. As was observed by Melchers, *be*-perfect can be used to form both present and past perfect, it can be used with verbs of motion and change, as well as with both transitive and intransitive verbs (Melchers 1992: 605). I will discuss research surrounding its origin, as well as describe ambiguous cases in chapter 3.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

RQ1: Will there be a difference in the rates of use of dialectal features between the three generations of speakers?

H1: The oldest speakers will have the highest rates of local forms, followed by the speakers in the middle group, and the youngest speakers will have the lowest rate of local forms and highest rate of Standard Scottish English forms.

RQ2: Will the use of local variants covary with gender?

H2: Males will have higher rates of local variants than females, and females will prefer variants that have social prestige.

RQ3: Will the speakers in my dataset have different rates of dialectal variants than the speakers in previous studies?

H3: Since the speakers in my dataset represent earlier linguistic generations, I predict that all my speakers will have higher rates of dialectal variants than the speakers in previous studies.

Initially, when interpreting my findings, I looked at age and gender separately. This mode of analysis was inspired by Haugen's (2020) discussion of her findings. When looking at the age factor in isolation, the trend would indicate that the major difference in realisation patterns is found in the older speakers, when compared to the two younger age groups. However, surprising patterns emerge when looking at the age trends for each gender category. Overall, this study finds that gender is an important sociolinguistic variable factor in patterns of change for the two variables. The male speakers are significantly more standardised in the middle group. This is true for both variables. Meanwhile, the female speakers have differing trends for each variable. TH-stopping was the majority variant for both the older and middle female speakers, and dropped dramatically in the youngest group. For the perfective variable, however, the standard variant *have* was in the majority for all age groups. The older female speakers used the two perfective variants interchangeably. For the subsequent age groups, however, the standard variant was in a clear majority. I attribute these trends and gender differences to socioeconomic changes that happened as a result of the two world wars, as well as an interwar period characterised by economic depression. I relate these trends in response to socioeconomic changes to similar trends found by Haugen (2020) and Smith and Durham (2011).

A common thread for all of the quantitative sociolinguistic studies on Shetland dialect is that speakers appear to respond to rapid socioeconomic change with an initial vernacularity, and a subsequent acrolectal reaction. The interwar period saw substantial portion of the male population on Shetland emigrate to mainland Scotland and other parts of the UK in order to find work. I speculate that this change could have lead to a greater sensitivity to outside varieties of English, both for the demographic who emigrated and for the community that remained. In the Second World War, however, an influx of outsiders brought about changes to the traditional Shetland way of life in a way that had not been seen previously. This change could have lead to a desire to preserve local identity in the face of rapid change and outsider influence. Haugen (2020) found a similar pattern. Her middle-aged group grew up in the midst of the oil boom, and that context is used to explain the increased use of local variants for this age group. These events had a different impact on female speakers, who did not display an increase in vernacular features, and lead the change towards standardisation. Further analysis also revealed that interviewer background could be an important factor in the patterns of realisation. This suggests that all age groups had access to different codes, and that code-switching was an unknown variable in my dataset.

1.3 Thesis structure

This chapter has outlined the aim and scope of my thesis, and briefly mentioned the data material, variables and academic landscape in which the study is situated. I have also presented the main findings of the thesis and compared it to that of previous research. The next chapter will give an overview of the theoretical background that will be relevant to understand my findings and the research I am modelling my study after. Chapter 3 will be presenting the linguistic variables I will be investigating, with its relevant variants as well as those I have chosen to exclude. I will also touch upon previous findings surrounding these variables and give an account of the debate surrounding their respective origins. In chapter 4, I will present my methodological framework. I will be giving an account of my data collection methods and discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the sample I ended up with. In the second half of the chapter, I will present the analytical framework I used to analyse the data. In chapter 5, I will present my results. The results will be broken down by linguistic variable, age, gender and the interaction between the factors age and gender. Chapter 6 will discuss my findings in light of my research questions, hypotheses and theoretical background, and will investigate additional factors and avenues for further research. Finally, the concluding chapter will give a summary of the thesis as a whole and reiterate the research gaps that still remain in Shetland dialect research.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction to Shetland – historical and linguistic background

In this chapter, I will present literature relevant to my research questions as well as provide the reader with general knowledge of the historical and linguistic background of Shetland. First, I will present an overview of Shetland's history. This is relevant in order to create an appropriate background to discuss my hypothesis and possible explanations for the results. Then I will present the Shetland dialect as well as previous research on the topic. Lastly, I will present three quantitative studies on the Shetland dialect that have shed light on my field of research and been of great influence to this thesis and choice of methodology. Since my research is closely modeled after Haugen (2020) and Smith and Durham (2011, 2012), my theoretical background is deliberately similarly structured to that of Haugen (2020).

2.1.1 General history

Shetland is an archipelago in the North Sea located north of the Scottish mainland. Despite being a Scottish territory and a part of the UK, Shetland is roughly geographically equidistant to Bergen in Norway, Aberdeen on the Scottish mainland, and Tórshavn in the Faeroe Islands.

Shetland was settled by Vikings in circa 800 A.D. (Sundkvist 2007: 3). Very little is known about the Picts, the population in Shetland prior to Viking settlement. The Vikings brought with them a contact variety of Old Norse known as Norn.

The exact lifespan of Norn is debated, but it is said to have been in use in Shetland up until the 18th century, when Lowland Scots took over as the main spoken language after the archipelago was ceded to Scotland from Denmark-Norway as part of a dowry (van Leyden 2004: 1, 15). The transfer to Scottish rule meant an increased influence from the Scottish mainland including linguistic and societal change. Gradually the Scots language supplanted Norn as the spoken in the archipelago.

For most of Shetland's history, the islands have been reliant on farming and fishing. This was true until the discovery of oil in the 1970's and 1980's. This may give the impression that Shetland was isolated from the rest of the world, and that the archipelago was static up until the discovery of oil. However, Shetland played a role in major historical

events, and they in turn had an impact on Shetland's societal and economic structures. In her 1995 PhD thesis, Black (1995) looks at the history of Shetland as it affected their three major industries: fishing, farming and knitting.

This next section will give a rough outline of social and economic developments in Shetland throughout the World Wars and the interwar period, in order to provide a historical backdrop for the society in which the three generations of speakers in my study grew up.

In pre-oil Shetland society, there was a clear gender divide in the workforce. Women mostly worked on land, with farming, knitting and hosiery as well as other domestic tasks, whereas men mainly worked in the fishing industry (Black 1995: 24).

The First World War demanded an increase in agricultural production. This incentive to increase agricultural production did not come with industrial innovation or mechanisation, since Shetland did not have heavy industries that could grow as a result of the war effort. Rather, the traditional industries of knitting, fishing and farming had to adapt to the circumstances of war. Since the male labour force was preoccupied with the war effort, the increased workload on the crofts fell to women, children and the elderly. The fishing industry itself was also hit heavily during the first world war and the industry saw large scale redundancies. The number of employed fishermen in Shetland fell from 10,218 in 1913 to 2365 in 1915. War was declared at the peak of herring season, and many fishermen were made redundant and conscripted to the army and the merchant navy. By 1918, 4332 men had served in the First World War, 3831 of whom were permanent residents of Shetland (Black 1995: 43-55). According to Black (1995: 72), the fishing industry was made redundant, but knitting grew in importance. The economic and historical changes that happened surrounding Shetland during the did contribute to substantial social change, but rather cemented the structures that were already in place. Men started migrating due to a crash in the fishing industry, while married women stayed behind to work the croft, and produce knitwear for the war effort (Black 1995: 109). One important development, however, was that Lerwick became an important port for neutral vessels and international trade increased, leading to increased communication and influence from mainland Scotland and elsewhere in Europe (Black 1995: 72).

The pressure put on the fishing industry in the First World War continued into the interwar period. Fisherman were forced to either work on land or move to look for work in mainland Scotland (Black 1995: 110), women however mitigated the worst effects of the financial crash due to the still growing knitting industry (Black 1995: 114). But the period

also saw women migrate to mainland Scotland, since economic depression meant that traditional avenues of employment for women were less fruitful. In 1921 it was reported that 1166 Shetland women in their 20s resided in Edinburgh. Some were later forced to return to a Shetland in order to look after elderly relatives (Black 1995: 28).

Overall, the interwar period was marked by depopulation. This was both a consequence of loss of life in the war effort and inter-war economic depression. As much as 7 percent of the economically active male population was killed during the First World War (Black 1995: 27)

The islands were even more influential in the Second World War, providing a strategically important staging post for ships, aircraft and manpower (Black 1995: 161-162). Roughly half of the male population in Shetland took part in the Second World War (Black 1995: 124). In 1941, women in Great Britain were directed to join the war, but because of long distances, this did not apply to married women in Shetland (Black 1995: 167). The Second World War brought the first major wave of outsider influence to the island. Ties to Norway were once again strengthened when Shetland played a major role in rescuing Norwegian refugees from occupation. Around 3600 Norwegians were estimated to have landed in Shetland. Many of these Norwegians would later take part in what would be known as Shetland bus operation. Ships would travel back and forth between Shetland and Norway exchanging weapons and supplies to Shetland and bringing refugees from Norway. Military servicemen from elsewhere in the UK entered Shetland society on a larger scale than in the previous war. The first cinemas were also set up, leading to an increased influence of outside popular culture (Black 1995: 196) The presence of outsiders may have strengthened feelings of local patriotism, since there was a revival in Shetland folk music and poetry in the post-war period (Black 1995: 202). However, the biggest cultural and societal shift in Shetland happened as a result of the discovery of oil.

The oil boom led to a relatively large increase in population compared to the previous decades (Velupillai 2019: 217). The population rose from 17,327 in 1971 to 22,522 in 1981 (according to census data from Shetland Government websites retrieved via a Wayback Machine capture from 05.08.2017).

2.1.2 Shetland dialect

The extent to which Norn influenced present day Shetland dialect is a matter of debate, but Norn place names and lexical items can still be found in the Shetland dialect. Shetland dialect

is categorised as a variety of Scots and placed in a sub-category of Scots known as Insular Scots. This sub-category is shared with the Orcadian dialect spoken on the Orkney Islands (Johnston 1997). In addition to Insular Scots, Johnston presents a typology of regional varieties of Scots including *Northern*, *Mid* and *Southern Scots* (Johnston 1997: 437). Scots has its own rules of phonology, morphology and syntax. It also has its own lexicon. It is thus a matter of debate whether Scots is a variety of English or a language unto itself (see Haugen 2020: 10).

Most research on Shetland dialect has focused on either the shift between Norn and Shetland Scots, or the decline of Shetland dialect in the face of Standard Scottish English. As such, linguists have been less concerned with the social changes in Shetland prior to the discovery of oil in the 1970s. In her Ph.D thesis, Black (1995) researched the social and economic impact of large historical events on life in the Shetland Islands. Her paper details social and economic developments from The First World War through to the discovery of oil. Shetland experienced dramatic shifts throughout the World Wars and the interwar period. Up until the 1970s, Shetland was mainly reliant on fishing and farming. As such, Shetlanders had strong ties to the other northern fishing communities, and it was common for Shetlanders to travel to the Faroe Islands and even as far as Greenland for fishing and whaling.

In the late 1970s, oil was discovered outside of Sullom Voe in Shetland, and this oil discovery led to a dramatic increase in population, as well as trade and communication with the Scottish mainland. This led to an increased influence of Standard Scottish English on the local population. This drastic linguistic change had an effect on the status of the Shetland dialect. But since change took place after all my speakers in my dataset had already established their speech patterns according to life-stage research (Chambers 1995: 188–93; Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 151).

2.1.3 Shetland dialect research

Research on Shetland dialect can be divided into three broad categories: research concerned with describing Norn, its features and demise. The second category of research are studies that give an overview and descriptions of dialect features that are found in present-day Shetland, and that may be remnants of Norn influence. Finally, the third broad category is studies that describe features of Shetland dialect in its own right.

Some of the earliest studies on Shetland dialect were conducted by Jakob Jakobsen (1897), when he wrote the influential work *Etymologi om det norrøne sprog på Shetland*, an

etymological dictionary of Shetland words with Norn origin. Other research that has focused on the remnants of Norn include Knooihuizen's (2009) study on language contact between Norn and Scots, and Melchers' (1992) and Pavlenko's (1997) studies on *be*-perfect. The Norn element of Scots has also been researched through examining Norn lexical items in Shetland dialect. Edit Bugge examined words and family names, and how family ties helped preserve lexical items from Norn (Bugge 2007, 2010).

A number of overview articles have been written describing the phonological and grammatical features of the dialect. These include two articles by Gunnel Melchers, one describing phonological features, and another describing grammatical features (Melchers 2004 a. 2004b). Some studies have focused on specific phonological features, such as Sundkvist's research on pulmonic ingressesives (Sundkvist 2012), and van Leydens research on prosodic features of Orkney and Shetland dialect (van Leyden 2004). Others have focused on grammatical features, such as Velupillai's research on gendered inanimates in the Shetland dialect (Velupillai. 2019), and Jamieson's research on dialect change through acceptability judgements (Jamieson. 2020). Edit Bugge researched lexicographic knowledge of dialect words (Bugge 2007).

Shetland is often described as a bidialectal (Melchers 2004b: 34) or diglossic (Velupillai 2019: 270) speech community. The two terms are more or less interchangeable and mean that speakers have access to two distinct codes of speech. In previous research on Shetland speech, a sharp distinction is drawn between Shetland dialect on the one hand and Standard Scottish English (SSE) on the other. Fergusson (1959) defines diglossia thusly:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety (Ferguson 1959: 336).

Melchers describes the bidialectal situation in Shetland as being one where Shetlanders have access to two distinct codes. The idea of the two codes being distinct is challenged by Sundkvist (2007,2011a,2011b) and Smith and Durham (2012). All three researchers describe a linguistic situation where speakers use features that are considered conservative Shetland varieties in patterns that do not clearly place them as either Shetland dialect speakers or SSE speakers. This leads then them to adopt Hazen's (2001) model of style-shifting continuum, where speakers may be categorised along a continuum going from monolectal on the one end and bidialectal on the other.

In her 1985 paper, Gunnel Melchers conducted an attitudinal study on pupils at the Anderson High School, where she sought to investigate local attitudes toward Shetland dialect. She found that even though few of the pupils reported using the dialect in their everyday life, they had overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward it. The study concluded that this shift in attitude toward the local dialect could be a result of wanting to preserve local identity in the face of outside influence, as well as rapid social and cultural change. Melchers observed that the term *knappin* ' was used to describe the use of Standard English between local Shetlanders. The term has slightly negative connotations as affected speech, and it implies that the speaker views English as more 'proper' than Shetland dialect (Melchers 1985: 98).

In researching the effect of Norn on Shetland Scots, Knooihuizen (2009) adapts Trudgill's three-step generational model of new dialect development. Such a process being generational means that each step roughly corresponds to a generation of speakers. This is called *levelling*, and it involves the gradual reduction of local dialectal features. Stage one involves the omission of marked features of a dialect in order to facilitate communication. In stage two, unmarked dialectal features are largely kept by second-generation immigrants and locals alike, whereas marked features are not passed on to the next generation. Stage three is the focusing stage, where "majority forms are selected, while minority features disappear from the mix" (Knooihuizen 2009: 486).

Knooihuizen points to two other major factors in new dialect formation. These are, namely, *unmarking* and *interdialectal* development. Unmarking refers to the erosion of marked features in a dialect that occurs during the levelling process, and although Knooihuizen uses this model to describe the death of Norn in favour of Scots, it is also applicable to the influence of SSE on Scots. On the other hand, interdialectal development refers to the development of new features that incorporate aspects of both varieties.

An effect of the three-stage process in the Shetland dialect can be seen in the preference of stop realisation across the three generations. In Smith and Durham's 2011 study, they observed that TH-stopping could be realised as either a dental stop or an alveolar stop, and that younger speakers preferred the alveolar stop realisation, whereas the middle-aged and older speakers preferred the dental realization. Smith and Durham speculate that the dental realization could be a more traditional variant, and possibly a remnant of Norn.

Therefore, it may be that the use of alveolar stop is a compromise in the younger generation between a localized feature on the one hand, and a standardized feature on the other. Even with this age-based preference pattern, the fricative realization was still the majority variant in the youngest group. Though the alveolar stop may be seen as a compromise variant, it could also be seen as the final stage for the stop variant before it is levelled out completely.

Other sociolinguistic studies have shown patterns of dialect levelling in other parts of the UK. This term generally means a decline of local variants among younger age groups, losing ground to supralocal variants (Britain 2002: 35). This trend has also been observed in Shetland, such as in Smith and Durham's 2011 study. An example of dialect levelling that is possibly even more applicable to a Shetland context is the trends found in the industrial communities of Sauda and Årdal by the Norwegian sociolinguist Randi Neteland (2014). Another field of study in contemporary Shetland dialect is that of regional variation. Perhaps the most influential work in the field was produced by Mather and Speitel (1986). Their *linguistic Atlas of Scotland (LAS)* contains descriptions of phonological features of different varieties of Scots including descriptions of different regional varieties of Shetland dialect based on the speech of ten informants. Whalsay and Foula have been identified as particularly divergent varieties of Shetland dialect (Melchers 2004a: 40). Whalsay society was studied by the anthropologist Cohen in 1987 and also included some descriptions of the local variety of dialect. Foula, on the other hand, was the subject of a study by Seim (Torvanger 2016), which focused on Norn influence.

2.2 Quantitative studies on Shetland dialect

2.2.1 Sundkvist

Other studies on the linguistic situation in Shetland have focused on Shetland dialect and the Scots end of the dialectal continuum. Relatively few studies have looked at the standard Scottish English variety spoken in Shetland or treated it as a legitimate linguistic variety. In three research papers Peter Sundkvist has investigated SSE speech in Shetland (Sundkvist 2007, 2011a&b). All three studies give an overview of the features of Lerwick SSE, and how the variety differs from that of both mainland SSE and Shetland Scots.

Sundkvist's 2007 study is a description of the features of Lerwick SSE based on data he collected in 2004. A range of elicitation methods were used for this data, on which all of

Sundqvist's subsequent overview articles were also based. These include questionnaires and word lists of minimal pairs (Sundkvist 2011b: 170)-

He interviewed 13 speakers, all of whom had lived in Lerwick for the majority of their lives. The overview articles present Lerwick SSE on all levels of grammar, phonology and lexicon. Sundkvist finds that the Lerwick variety SSE for the most part displays the same features as SSE, although some local Shetland features occur.

The existence of Lerwick SSE challenges Melchers' view that the bidialectal Shetland is one where the two codes are clearly distinct, given that the Lerwick variety of SSE displays features that are not normally found in SSE, yet it is distinct from Shetland dialect. Features of Lerwick SSE that are distinct from the national SSE variety include palatalization of /d, g, n, ŋ/ and a modification to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR) (Sundkvist 2011b: 24).

2.2.2 Smith and Durham

Smith and Durham conducted two studies looking at linguistic change in Lerwick. The first study was conducted in 2011 and looked at the speech patterns of 30 speakers divided into three different age groups of Shetlanders, with two gender categories. For this study the interviews were conducted by three locals who were "well-embedded within the community structures" (Smith and Durham 2011: 205).

The age groups represented different life stages. The youngest group consisted of speakers who were 14–21 years old, the middle-aged speakers were between 45 and 55 years old and the oldest speakers were 70 and older. These three life stages coincided with different positions in society and in the workforce. The youngest speakers were either still in school or just started entering into the job market, the middle-aged speakers had been in the workforce for quite some time, and the oldest speakers had retired.

No other previous quantitative analysis had been conducted on the Shetland dialect. Previously, it had been claimed that all aspects of Shetland dialect were threatened, both on a phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical level Tait (2001: 11). Therefore, Smith and Durham analysed the frequency of six variables: two lexical variables (*peerie* and *ken*), two phonological variables (*TH-stopping* and *L-vocalisation*) and two morphosyntactic variables, which they called *be perfect* and *yon*. Half of these variables appear Scotland wide (*ken*, *l-vocalisation* and *yon*), while in the Scottish context, the other half are considered unique to Shetland (*TH-stopping*, *be-perfect* and *peerie*).

The local variant was in the majority for both lexical variables. The middle age group used local variants the most, followed by the older speakers, and then the youngest. The rates between the two variables were fairly similar.

Yon was the least frequent of the morphosyntactic variables, with marginable usage across all three age groups, whereas *be*-perfect was the majority variant for older and middle-aged speakers, but it was infrequent in the youngest age group. Overall *be*-perfect appeared to be more frequent than *yon* for all age groups.

Regarding phonological variables, L-vocalisation was more frequent than TH-stopping. TH-stopping showed a pattern of gradual decline, where the oldest group used the local variant the most, followed by the middle-aged group and finally the youngest group. L-vocalisation, on the other hand was the majority variant in the oldest group, increased in frequency in the middle-aged group, and decreased significantly in the youngest group. For two out of three categories of variables, the Scotland-wide variants were more frequent than the Shetland specific variants.

In their 2011 study, for most variables, the local realisation was the majority variant among the older and middle-aged speakers. However, the stop realisation decreased gradually across the age groups, with older speakers being the most frequent stop users, followed by the middle-aged speakers and then the younger speakers. Smith and Durham interpreted this trend as a decreasing influence of the Scandinavian substratum, and that the speakers who used the alveolar stop were simply using an available phoneme, rather than it being a sign of hyperdialectalism among some of the younger speakers (Smith and Durham 2011: 219). For most of the variables, Smith and Durham discovered a pattern in the young speaker group where one half of the younger speakers used local variants at rates similar to the middle-aged and older speakers, while the other half either used significantly fewer local variants or avoided them completely. The exception to this trend was TH-stopping, which was marginal among all young speakers. Smith and Durham speculated that younger speakers may have been bidialectal, meaning that they had access to both a local dialect and Standard Scottish English. The low numbers of local variants could perhaps be explained by the half of the young speakers choosing to use Standard Scottish English when speaking to an interviewer as a conscious choice, an instance of code-switching, rather than being a sign of dialect attrition or dialect death.

To investigate this, they conducted a follow-up study in 2012 that focused on the younger speakers. In the follow-up study, nine out of the ten informants from the previous

study took part. Smith and Durham had a different selection of variables for this study, with only four variables: *ken* vs. *know*, *be* perfect, *th-stopping* and *hoose* vs. *house*. They also changed the interview design, so that the most dialectal speakers were interviewed by a non-dialectal speaker in a formal setting, whereas the speakers who only used standard forms were interviewed by a dialectal peer in an informal high school setting (Smith and Durham 2012: 10). This was done in order to test if both groups of young speakers were bidialectal and if the change of interview design would affect the rates of vernacular variants.

Interesting results emerged from this change of interview design. For most of the variables, the dialectal speakers showed a significant decrease in dialectal forms, but not a total switch to SSE. The non-dialectal speakers, however, showed little increase in local forms, despite speaking to a dialectal peer with no outsiders present.

One deviation from this pattern was the one found for the TH variable. As with the 2011 study, there was no longer a clear distinction between the two groups of younger speakers, but all the speakers had some use of the local stop variant, making it the only local variant that the standard speakers used. Three of the dialectal speakers showed a significant shift of styles as a result of the change in interview design, whereas the remaining two did not. The same was true for the standard speakers. Three out of five speakers in this group showed a significant increase in the use of the stop variant, but the two remaining standard speakers showed little difference between the two interviews (Smith and Durham 2012: 19). Smith and Durham suggest that the reason for TH standing out as a variable could be a sign that TH-stopping is below the level of consciousness. It is possible that the speakers who normally use SSE features exclusively do not register TH-stopping as a local marked feature. The dialectal speakers used higher rates of Scottish-wide features compared to local ones when being interviewed by an outsider. The local variant *be*-perfect for instance, showed a substantial decline in use in the new interview setting (Smith and Durham 2012: 24). Smith and Durham argue that this could indicate that Scottish-wide features are viewed as more acceptable when speaking to outsiders than local features that are Shetland-specific.

2.2.3 Haugen

In 2020, Kaja Haugen conducted a study for her MA thesis in which she investigated all seven of the variables that Smith and Durham had used in their 2011 and 2012 studies. She conducted interviews on 20 speakers across three age groups. The study had both age and gender as non-linguistic factors. She wanted to see if the patterns of linguistic change found

in Lerwick by Smith and Dunham held true for Scalloway as well, or whether different patterns would emerge in a smaller town centre. She conducted a sociolinguistic interview where she asked her informants about topics of local interest such as the Shetland wool week, the rugby world cup and local questions of Scalloway, as well as more emotionally engaging questions about childhood memories and dramatic social events like World War Two. She used a network model in order to obtain informants where the researcher asks members of the community to recruit informants to the study. Among the informants were three speakers of non-local backgrounds. All non-local speakers were females. Two were in the young group and one was middle-aged. Haugen could find no significant difference between the three non-local speakers and the other informants. In order to explain the trends in her data set she uses different explanatory models such as changing attitudes to Shetland dialect in the 70s and 80s.

In her study, the middle group stood out as the most frequent users of dialectal variants for all variables, except for the morphosyntactic variable *yon*, where the older speakers were the most frequent users of the local variant. For most of her variables the standard variant was in the clear majority, with the one exception being the HOUSE–HOOSE variation. This variable was used by middle-aged speakers 65 percent of the time, making it the majority variable for that age group. All the variables that stand out in Haugen’s data set are Scotland-wide variables. In contrast to Smith & Durham’s 2011 study, there was no clear difference between Shetland-specific and Scotland-wide variables. As previously mentioned, the two variables that stood out as clear outliers are HOUSE-HOOSE variation and *yon* at both extremes of usage. *Yon* was hardly used by any of the age groups, whereas HOUSE-HOOSE variation was more frequent for all age groups than all the other local variants. She suggests that this increased dialectal usage in the middle-aged group could be affected by societal changes in Shetland and that the middle-aged group used local variants as an identity marker when growing up in a society with increasing outsider influence (Haugen 2020: 82).

In her analysis of the TH variable, Haugen operated with three variants: TH stopping, fricative and TH dropping. TH dropping refers to the dropping of TH in words, such as ‘*at*’ for ‘that’, and ‘*wi*’ for ‘with’. She mainly gives examples of the latter token, ‘*wi*’. She found that for the TH variable, the local variants were in the minority across all age groups. Compared to Smith and Durham’s 2011 study, where the older speakers were the most frequent stop users, and usage declined gradually from the middle group to the younger group, Haugen found that the middle speakers used the stop variant the most (23 percent of

realisations). In her study both the older and younger speakers had significantly fewer instances of TH stopping, at 5 percent and 1 percent, respectively (Haugen 2020: 56). TH dropping was marginal in all age groups. Her analysis of the variable *be*-perfect indicates similar patterns to that of TH, with the middle-aged group using the local variant the most. Since my study is only with concerned with these Shetland-specific variables, namely TH and perfective (described in previous literature as *be*-perfect), Haugen's findings for these variables will be further elaborated upon in chapter 3.

2.2.4 Velupillai

The only other study that quantitatively examines the speech patterns of pre-oil speakers on Shetlands is Viveka Velupillai's 2019 study, which uses oral history material from The Shetland Archives. She obtained data from 20 speakers, evenly divided between the genders. All speakers were older than 60, except for one who was 53 at time of recording. All interviews were conducted between 1979 and 1992, except for one which was conducted in 1960 (Velupillai 2019: 271). The study focused on the use of gendered inanimates in Shetland dialect. Gendered inanimates refers to the use of gendered pronouns for inanimate objects. The study compared the oral history material to contemporary interviews. This contemporary component, which constitutes a pilot sample, consists of 12 speakers divided into two age groups: 20 to 40 years old, and 60 years and older. The material is quite unique, in that it was collected in three different regions of Shetland, namely the north, the south and the island of Yell. She specifically sought to avoid the two extremes on the dialect continuum, one being the highly dialectal varieties of Whalsay and the other being the acrolectal Lerwick variety.

She concludes that factors that determine the use of gendered inanimates are both social and linguistic. She points to the acrolectal speech patterns emergent in the oral history material, and the seeming mismatch between that material and the contemporary pilot study. One linguistic factor that affects the rate of gendered inanimates is the use of dummy constructions. They produce higher rates of neuter forms than any other grammatical context (Velupillai 2019: 293–295).

3. Linguistic Variables

In this chapter, I will outline and give an overview of the linguistic variables I have chosen to analyse. I will look at previous research on the variables in the Shetland dialect, and briefly mention usage patterns for the variables beyond a Shetland context. As stated in my introduction, I have chosen to analyse two variables with variants that are considered to be Shetland specific. TH-stopping and *be*-perfect occupy two levels of linguistics, a phonological and morphosyntactic level, and analysis of the two can provide a picture of linguistic change in a highly vernacular Shetland dialect. Given that I am investigating vernacular speech, and selected data material with vernacularity as sampling criteria, I chose to exclude Scotland-wide features from my analysis. Smith and Durham (2012) suggests that, even for the young dialectal speakers in their study, Scotland-wide features are treated as acceptable enough to be used when speaking to an outsider. I wanted to focus my attention on features that could be sensitive to code-switching considerations. The final Shetland-specific variable mentioned in previous studies, is *peerie*, meaning ‘small’ or ‘little’. I chose not to analyse this variable, as it was infrequent in my dataset, and I do not believe it would add to the analysis in a meaningful way. When presenting my linguistic variables, I will start by giving an overview of the TH variable, and then move on to the perfective.

3.1 TH

TH in this context means words that are orthographically represented with <th>, such as *the*, *that*, *this*, etc. For the scope of this study, I will limit myself to voiced tokens that appear word-initially. This means that voiceless realisations and non-initial voiced realisations are excluded from my analysis, and tokens such as *think* and *bother* are not counted. This choice was made both as a consideration of resources and time, but also to be directly comparable to previous studies on this variable in Shetland dialect.

Voiced word-initial TH has the variants [ð] and [d], or an alveolar stop and a dental fricative realisation. In their 2011 study, Smith and Durham identified three variants of voiced TH: alveolar stop, dental stop and dental fricative. They suggested that the dental realisation [d̪] could be a more conservative variant influenced by Norn. When looking at the choice of stop realisation among their three age groups, they found that the older and middle-aged speakers preferred the dental realisation, and younger speakers preferred the alveolar realisation (2011: 214). Due to both time constraints and the quality of the audio material,

the acoustical spectrographic analysis needed to distinguish between alveolar and dental stops is difficult to achieve, and thus outside the scope of this study.

TH being realised as a stop is by no means unique to Shetland dialect. Stop realisations of TH have been thoroughly documented in Southern Irish English by scholars like Peters (2012, 2016) and Hickey (2004). Peters (2016: 97) also cites studies describing the variant outside of Anglophone Europe, such as in AAVE, Cajun English and Newfoundland and Labrador English (see Peters 2016: 97 for further examples and citations).

In a Scots and Scottish English context, however, TH-stopping appears to be restricted to Insular Scots. Melchers states that the feature is occasionally found in Orkney dialect, but is categorical in Shetland dialect (2004a: 47).

An ambiguous case, which could be interpreted as TH-stopping, is in the use of informal second-person pronouns in Shetland dialect. Shetland dialect has a formality distinction in second-person pronouns. The informal pronouns have distinct subject and object forms, *du* and *dee*, as well as possessive *dy* and *dine(s)* for your and yours respectively. Orkney has a similar formality distinction, albeit less prominent in present day Orcadian, but in Orcadian the informal pronouns have a fricative realisation (Melchers 2004b: 42). It is not clear whether the informal pronouns in Shetland dialect have Middle-English origin, and should be seen as a stop variant of the pronouns *thou*, *thee* etc, or whether it is a Norn substratum feature, meaning that it is a trace of Norn influence that has persisted despite the death of Norn. Thus, I have chosen not to analyse informal pronouns as an instance of TH-stopping.

TH-stopping in Shetland, on the other hand, is considered by some to be a Norn substratum feature. Knoohuizen (2009: 491) points to the lack of dental fricatives in Norn as evidence for the Norn origins of TH stopping. In the same article, he gives contradicting evidence from Hægstad's (1900) Hildna Ballad (sited by Knoohuizen 2009: 491), where <th>, denotes fricative realisations, at least in word-medial and word-final positions. Knoohuizen points out that the stop realisation could be influenced by L2 speakers of Dutch and Low German, as neither have dental fricatives in their phonological inventory, and there has historically been trade between Dutch, German and Shetland fishermen.

TH-stopping in Shetland dialect has been studied quantitatively in three studies to date: Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) and Haugen (2020). Smith and Durham conducted two studies: A study of three age groups in 2011, and a follow-up study focusing on the youngest age group. Both of these studies were based on sociolinguistic interview data of speakers in

Lerwick. As mentioned in the previous chapter, TH-stopping showed a gradual decline across age groups and was marginal for all speakers in the youngest group.

The follow-up study is mentioned, partly because it is one of three quantitative studies that are directly comparable to my own, but also because of the added dimension of code switching. The speakers in my data set are of a different generation to the speakers in the 2012 study, and some of the speakers are of an older generation than even the oldest generation of the 2011 study. It is of interest to see how the variable TH patterns with an even older demographic, to reflect upon how it has developed. It is the only study of Shetland dialect that discusses bidialectalism and intra-speaker variability. As for code-switching, we will see in the Methodology and Data chapter that the imbalance of local to non-local interviewer data does not allow for a side-by-side statistical comparison, but will still be mentioned in the Discussion chapter.

Using Smith and Durham's variables, Haugen (2020) conducted a quantitative study interviewing speakers from Scalloway, to see if this speech community patterned differently from the Lerwick speakers in Smith and Durham's studies.

For the TH variable, Haugen analysed three variants: fricative and stop realisations as well as TH-dropping, where the TH is not realised. She mainly gives examples of TH-dropping in unvoiced word-final contexts, as in /wɪ/ for the Standard English *with*, but it also occurs word-initially in *'at*, the local variant of standard English subordinator *that*. TH-dropping is also excluded from my analysis.

3.2 Perfective

The perfective variable has two variants, *have* and *be-perfect*. *Be-perfect* refers to the use of the verb to be instead of to have in perfect constructions. This feature is regarded as being unique to the Shetland dialect. The origin of this feature is debated (see Pavlenko: 1996 and Ljosland: 2015).

Be-perfect can be formed in both present and past tense, and with transitive and intransitive verbs (Melchers 1992: 605-606). Ljosland states that perfective constructions can be formed with *to be* in standard English and other varieties, in verbs of motion and resultative verbs. She uses an example from a poem by Rachel Melissa Robson: "The punishment of God *is come*" (my emphasis). The use of *to be* with transitive verbs is mostly found in the Shetland dialect (Ljosland 2015: 107). Melchers states that it is in fact unique to Orkney and Shetland (Melchers 2004b: 39).

The coding and analysis of the perfective variable is for the most part straightforward, as the two variants are distinct, however, there are ambiguous cases that are impossible to distinguish. The 's clitic in *she's been*, could be interpreted as either *has* or *is*. The same is true for the past tense form 've Therefore, these ambiguous cases have been excluded from analysis.

Similarly, Melchers points out (1992: 608) that the participle in Shetland dialect can be realised identically to the gerund form. She uses the example *pitten*, where the verb *to put* is interpreted as being in perfect participle form. It could also be interpreted as the progressive form *putting*, in which case the use of *to be* as an auxiliary verb would be standard. I also chose to exclude examples where the perfective is preceded by a modal verb, such as *can*, *may* or *must*.

In Smith and Durham's 2011 study, *be*-perfect was still a popular dialectal feature amongst the older and middle-aged group. Middle-aged speakers showed the highest rate of *be*-perfect constructions (62 percent of the perfect constructions), followed by the older speakers (54 percent), and then the younger speakers (25 percent) (2011: 209). *Be*-perfect was found to be significantly more common in present contexts than in past contexts.

In Haugen's 2020 data, the percentages of *be*-perfect are lower across all age groups than in previous research. In her research, the middle-aged group is the one that has the highest rate of *be* for *have*, at 27 percent. The oldest speakers use it 8 percent of the time, whereas the younger speakers only use it 3 percent of the time.

Interestingly, *be*-perfect is also the only variable that shows statistically significant variation according to gender. Female speakers only used the local variant 9 percent of the time, compared to males at 23 percent.

Haugen found instances of *be*-perfect with possessive constructions formed with *got*. She states that this has not been found in previous literature on Shetland dialect.

4. Methodology and data

This section will outline the methodological frameworks used to collect and analyse data for this study. I will outline previous research that is comparable to my own, providing an account of sociolinguistic methodology and quantitative variationist frameworks. The first section will outline the data collection process. This includes giving an overview of the archive material that I used in my data set and the sampling methods I used when collecting data. In the sampling section I will present my aim for data collection, and my rationale behind that aim. Section 2 will present the data I ended up collecting, ethical concerns that have arisen when collecting the data and I will also present my informants and interviewers. This section will also feature a discussion of strengths and weaknesses in the sample I collected. Finally, I will discuss analytical framework in section 3. This includes a discussion of auditory analysis, token selection criteria, and choice of statistical analysis test.

4.1 Data collection

4.1.1 Kist O Riches/Tobar an Dualchais

The data for my study was collected and accessed via the Kist O Riches/Tobar an Dualchais website. It is an archive of songs, poetry, oral history and informative speeches, recorded throughout all of Scotland. You can find recordings from the 50s through to the present day, and filter your searches by language, either English, Gaelic or Scots. In an older iteration of the website it was also possible to filter by category. This allowed me to filter results by the variety of language and speech style that I was looking to investigate. I started my data collection as a keyword search for Shetland filtered by Scots language in the story category. This was a way to ensure that I got speech that was as vernacular and free flowing as possible. At a later stage in my data collection I also allowed recordings in the information category, in order to access more speakers and data. The archive is a collaboration between The School of Scottish Studies (University of Edinburgh), The National Trust for Scotland's Canna Collection and BBC Radio nan Gàidheal (Tobar an Dualchais, Kist O Riches, accessed 19 May 2022). The data in my sample is from the School of Scottish Studies collection.

The rationale for the language filtering was to explore the Scots end of the bidialectal continuum, since most of the quantitative research to date has looked mainly at speech on the Scottish Standard English end of the spectrum.

The reason for using the ‘Story’ filter was to ensure that the speech data I gathered was as natural as possible, as opposed to poetry or song, which may produce more affected speech. The telling of anecdotes and stories has a tendency to produce more natural, free flowing speech and minimising the effects of the Observer’s Paradox (Labov, 1972:113), or the tendency for speakers to alter their speech when they know they are being observed.

The data material consists of everything from local folklore, tall tales and family myths that have passed down through generations, and descriptions of local customs, cultural events and crafts.

Labov (2013:2) writes about personal narrative and how telling personal stories reduces the formality of speech, leading to more vernacular speech. He describes vernacular speech as:

“...the basis for historical continuity and regular linguistic change: it is the form of language that is inherited from parent to child over generations. The history of a language is the history of its vernacular” (Labov, 2013: 3).

Labov (2013: 4) points to three themes that are the most effective in eliciting natural, free flowing speech: The danger of death, sex and relationships, and moral indignation.

The material I have chosen to analyse is not linguistically, but rather ethnographically elicited material. The stories people had to tell were collected for their own sake. However, as many of the stories deal with supernatural elements, sightings of folkloric creatures and accidents at sea, these stories fit into the category of danger of death narratives. The material differs greatly from that of Haugen and Smith and Durham.

It would not appear that the speakers were ever engaged in a meta-linguistic discussion on Shetland speech patterns. That being said, in one particular instance, a local interviewer asked the speaker Rosabel Blance to repeat the same story in SSE and in Shetland dialect (See section 6.4). This could suggest a linguistic interest on the part of the interviewer. Velupillai found that in the oral archive material, speakers used fewer gendered inanimates than in the contemporary pilot study. This went against her expectations, given that one would suspect that older speech material would be more vernacular and dialectal, and thus produce more gendered inanimates. However, she also suggests that the lack of gendered inanimates in the older material could be a result of the speakers adapting their speech patterns to the interview situation.

This is interesting, because my findings suggest that interviewer background is an important non-linguistic factor in determining the rates of vernacular forms. In my material,

the speakers who were interviewed by locals displayed significantly higher rates of vernacular variants than the speakers who were interviewed by non-locals. Regardless of interview situation, my rates of dialectal variants are higher than those found in, for example, Haugen (2020). It could either be the case that my speech material is less acrolectal than that of Velupillai, or that the difference lies in the variables we have chosen to analyse.

The presence of TH stopping in local culture and dialectal identity also suggests an entirely different context than that of gendered inanimates, which Velupillai suggests has “remained under the radar of consciousness” (Velupillai 2019: 295)

4.1.2 Sampling

When sampling a population, a researcher has to decide on a sampling method that provides a representative sample of the population they choose to investigate. Given that this study aims to mirror the studies of Smith and Durham (2011) and Haugen (2020), similar sampling methods that were used in those studies could be applicable here. I chose to use the sampling method known as quota sampling or judgement sampling (Buchstaller and Khattab, 2013), where the researcher sets out a list of search criteria for the speaker sample and fills a quota for each of the non-linguistic factors they choose to investigate. My non-linguistic factors were age and gender. Judgement sampling requires that the researcher uses their own judgement when finding informants for their study. This approach could be criticised for introducing a selection bias into the sampling process, and that the sample of speakers may not be representative for the speech community they represent. In order to justify one’s selection, the researcher must have a clearly defined sampling universe, with inclusion and exclusion criteria.

In order to be included in my sample, all speakers had to be born in Shetland. Information on their birthplace was found on the archive website. If no geographical information was given, the speaker could not be included.

I knew that I was doing a study based on diachronic speech material, and that the archive was compiled to collect stories and preserve local culture and heritage, rather than being an archive designed for linguistic studies. Thus, I could expect the material to be skewed towards older speakers, who presumably remembered old stories, customs and folk tales. I had to define what Schilling calls my sampling universe, and assess the data that was available to me. It was clear from the outset that I wanted to study linguistic change in the vernacular speech of native Shetlanders. As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, there is some

regional variation in Shetland dialect. However, this is mainly present in different vowel realisations, and some consonantal features, but not in the variables I have chosen to analyse. In other words, a speaker of Shetland dialect is presumed to have the same number of variants for the variables I have chosen, regardless of their geographical background. Therefore, I deemed geographical variation to not be a relevant factor in my sampling criteria. Besides, the speakers were not evenly geographically distributed, so a geographical comparison was not possible for this study. More research needs to be done to determine whether there is significant dialectal variation within different geographical areas of Shetland with regard to TH and *be*-perfect.

I also sought to look for patterns of linguistic change. This meant that I would need to collect samples from speakers of different generations, under the assumption that the speakers represented the speech patterns that they grew up with. The speech of a 60 year old represents speech patterns of a 10 year old 50 years earlier. This hypothesis is known as the apparent time hypothesis. The apparent time hypothesis is challenged by the notion of age grading, or the effect that an individual's life stage has on their speech patterns.

An example of an age grading phenomenon is the pronunciation of the letter Z among Ontarian youths. Chambers saw that youth in Ontario had a typically American pronunciation of Z. He attributed this pronunciation to the influence of American television on that demographic. Milroy and Gordon argue that age grading has a more substantial effect on the speech of younger and adolescent speakers, and that age-grading has a larger impact on variables that involve a high level of social awareness (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 36-37). In Cedergren's study on ch-lenition in Panamanian Spanish, she investigates speech patterns among different age groups, with data-collection at two points in time. First, in 1969, and then in 1982. She found that the group in their 20's saw an increase in the innovative sh variant, but that the elder speakers also saw increased usage of the innovative sh variant. This tells us that, even for older speakers, it is possible to change speech patterns over time. These findings complicate the apparent-time hypothesis, yet it remains the most appropriate model for my particular dataset (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 38).

TH-stopping is a variant that is present in the minds of Shetland speakers. It is prominently represented in dialectal orthography and appears in songs, poetry and even in the names of local shops and businesses, as in the local pub known as Da Wheel in Lerwick. There is therefore a possibility that the TH-variable could be sensitive to age-grading effects given that the variable is such a clear and salient marker of local identity. However, the

dataset that was available to me, mainly consisted of speakers who were aged 50 to 80 years old at time of recording.

Some of the speakers were recorded at multiple points in time. For the sake of simplicity, and in keeping with the apparent-time hypothesis, I assumed that the patterns of one speaker would be stable across their lifetime. The fact that most of my speakers were middle-aged or older when they were recorded, would make this assumption even less problematic, as most of the speech pattern changes mentioned in literature, concern differences in speech from children and adolescents becoming adults (see Chambers 1995: 188–93; Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 151). This is an area in which my data collection methodology diverges from that of previous quantitative studies on Shetland. Both Smith and Durham (2011) and Haugen's (2020) data was recorded synchronically, so they could control for both life-stage differences and generational differences.

My aim from the outset was to include three age categories, two gender categories and four informants for each cell. Each cell represents a combination of two such non-linguistic factors. The choice of sample size was a compromise between representativeness on the one hand, and time and resource constraints on the other. For a study of this size, four speakers per cell was deemed to be acceptable. Larger sociolinguistic studies have been carried out with a similar number of speakers per cell (e.g. Peters 2012), and with Shetland being a small speech community, I could be even more confident that the sample I had chosen represented the speech community I was investigating.

I also knew that I wanted to have 30 tokens for each variable. 30 tokens has been suggested as the ideal number of tokens per variable (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 164)

With these considerations in mind, I could proceed to collect data. In the next subsection I will describe the data collection itself and the challenges data collection posed to the aims I had from the outset.

4.2 Data

4.2.1 Ethical concerns

As previously mentioned, my archive consists of interviews conducted between 1950 and 1980. Many of the informants were elderly at the time of recording. Consequently, many of the informants in my data sample have passed away. I have worked under the assumption that the speakers who feature in the Kist O Riches archive consented to their recordings being

available to the public and therefore could be used as data material for a research paper. No such consent form is the present at the website.

4.2.2 Informants

This section will outline the informants that make up my data set. There are two categories for gender: male and female, and three age groups; old, middle and young. In Vellupilai's 2019 study, she chose to include two age groups with a gap of 10 years between the two in order to avoid the inconsistent differentiation between speakers within each age group (Velupillai 2019: 271). For my dataset, however, a compromise was made between the desire to have three distinct age groups, and a consistent age gap between the three groups. I wanted to trace the linguistic developments in Shetland dialect as it relates to major historical events. The three main events that roughly coincide with the early life stages of each age group are: The First World War, the interwar period characterized by economic depression and migration, and The Second World War. Another important consideration was the direct comparability of this study to the other quantitative sociolinguistic studies on Shetland dialect, namely Smith and Durham (2011) and Haugen (2020) who both chose to include three age groups.

I attempted to achieve balance in the number of speakers for each age category and gender category. My aim was to have four speakers for each cell (e.g. older male, older female), however this aim was difficult to meet. I wanted to balance the concerns of age spread between each category. I also had to account for the audio quality of the recordings as well as the amount of available material for each speaker. One speaker in the older male category was excluded due to poor audio quality.

There was also a gender balance issue. Out of the speakers who qualified for my search criteria, only 11 were female, and one of the speakers had to be excluded since she was recorded along with her husband who produced the majority of the speech in the recordings where she featured.

I also had some difficulty with the age differences between each age group. My aim was to have three distinct generations of speakers to investigate linguistic change over time. For the male speakers it was easier to get a concrete age range. The youngest speaker in the older category was born 15 years before the oldest in the middle-aged category, and likewise, there is a 14 year age gap between the middle and young male speakers. For the female speakers however, the gaps are respectively 5 and 7 years.

The age range within each age category varies. In the older male group there is a gap of 14 years whereas for the middle-aged male group it is 2 years. This was a compromise I had to make in order to have significantly populated categories. All speakers are native Shetlanders who have lived most of their life in Shetland. The informants are mostly fishermen and crofters. No income or social class information was given on the archive web site, but Shetlanders of this era are often reported as being a socially homogenous group, so class was not considered as a relevant factor to investigate (e.g. Melchers 1985: 90). There is also an imbalance in the amount of speech produced by each speaker. Eight of the men have over 20+ minutes of material, whereas four the women only for female speakers have more than 20 minutes of speech meter of speech material. The rest of the speakers have under 15 minutes each.

Table 4.1: *Table of informants*

	Name	Year of Birth	Interviewer	Short bio
Older males	Tom Sinclair Recorded 1960	1877	Non-local	Born and raised in Maywick in the Bigton district of Shetland. He was a boat owner, fisherman and farmer.
	Andrew Hunter Recorded 1974	1888	Non-local	Born and raised in South Nesting, Shetland. He was a seaman.
	Brucie Henderson Recorded 1970,	1891	Local (and non-local)	Born and raised in Arisdale, Shetland. He was a well-known storyteller.
Older females	Robina Bruce Recorded 1954	1880	Non-local	Born and raised in Burravoe, Shetland.
	Catherine Mary Anderson Recorded 1973	1886	Non-local	Born and raised in Fetlar, Shetland, where she was a housewife.
	Maggie Wilson Recorded 1955	1890	Local	
	Phyllis Anderson Recorded 1975	1898	Non-local	Born and brought up in Shetland. She was a postmistress and crofter.
<u>Middle-aged males</u>	<u>Peter Frasier</u> <u>Recorded 1975</u>	1904	Non-local	Born in Walls and raised in Reawick, Shetland, where he was postmaster.
	Ertie Irvine Recorded 1960	1905	Non-local (and local)	Born in Yell and raised in Gulberwick, Shetland. He was a teacher.
	William Couper Recorded 1970	1905	Non-local	1905-1994 Born in Ladie in Delting, Shetland. He was a merchant seaman, then a builder.

	Robert Bairnson Recorded 1972	1906	Non-local and local	Born and raised in Dunrossness, where he was a crofter, postman, and curator of the Shetland Crofthouse Museum.
Middle-aged females	Laura Malcolmson Recorded 1973	1903	Non-local	Born and raised in Cunningsburgh, Shetland, where she worked as a housewife, gutter and knitter.
	Elisabeth Morrison Recorded 1974	1904	Non-local	Born and raised in Bigton, Shetland.
	Bertha Umphray Recorded 1958	1908	Non-local	Born and raised in Scalloway, Shetland, where she was a housewife.
	Rosabel Blance Recorded 1960	1909	Local	Born and brought up in Shetland. She was a crofter and knitter (hand and machine).
<u>Younger males</u>	<u>Bertie Deyell</u> <u>Recorded 1975</u>	1920	Non-local	Born and raised in Semblister, Sandsting, Shetland. He was a crofter and registrar.
	George Morrison Recorded 1970	1921	Non-local	Born and raised in Cova, Weisdale, Shetland, where he was a farmer.
	George Peterson recorded 1960	1932	Local and non-local	Born in Lerwick, most associated with Papa Stour. He is a retired teacher, writer and musician.
	Thomas Robertson Recorded 1974	1932	Non-local	Born and raised in Quam, Delting, Shetland.
Younger females	Margaret Tait Recorded 1960	1916	Non-local	Born in Lerwick and raised in Sandwick.
	Margaret Umphray Recorded 1958	1933	Non-local	Born in Yell and raised in Scalloway, Shetland, where she was a housewife.

4.2.3 Interviews

The interviews that make up my data material were conducted by different interviewers and were recorded between 1955 and 1975. They belong to the archives of The School of Scottish Studies. A background for the interviews is not given on the archive's website. There is, however, reason to believe that they were conducted in order to preserve an oral history tradition, as well as local cultures and customs, given that this is the stated aim of the archive's website. The interviews were conducted in an informal setting where the informants take up the majority of the speaking time.

Two of the interviewers in my dataset are local Shetlanders. They are Tom Anderson and John J. Graham. It is clear from their interviews that they have background knowledge of the island and many of the topics that are being discussed. As such, the informants appear to be at ease when they speak to them, and they occasionally share short anecdotes.

The other five interviewers are Alan J. Bruford, Elizabeth Sinclair, Peter R. Cooke, Iain Callum Maclean and Professor Alexander Fenton. Neither of these five interviewers are native Shetlanders. However, all five appear to be experienced in collecting oral history and local stories.

A complete list of interviewers and those interviewed is provided here:

<u>Interviewed by Tom Anderson (local)</u>
Rosabel Blance
Brucie Henderson
George Peterson
<u>Interviewed by John Graham (local)</u>
Maggie Wilson
<u>Interviewed by Alan J. Bruford</u>
Andrew Hunter
Peter Fraser
Laura Malcolmson
Bertie Deyell
William Couper
George Morrison
Thomas Robertson
Catherine Mary Anderson
Phyllis Anderson
<u>Interviewed by Elisabeth Sinclair</u>
Tom Sinclair
Ertie Irvine
Margaret Tait
<u>Interviewed by Prof. Alexander Fenton</u>
Bertha Umphray
Margaret Umphray
<u>Interviewed by Peter R. Cooke</u>
Elisabeth Morrison
<u>Interviewed by Calum Iain Maclean</u>
Robina Bruce

Tom Anderson was a local storyteller, fiddler, teacher and preservationist of local fiddle traditions. In 1977 he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Sterling, and has been described by the Scottish Traditional Music Hall of Fame as ‘the most prominent personality in the entire history of Shetland fiddling’ (‘Scottish Traditional Music Hall of Fame’ n.d. accessed 19 May 2022)

John Graham was known to promote the usage of Shetland dialect, both through his own research, lexicographic work on *The Shetland dictionary* (1979) and during his time as headmaster at Anderson High School in 1980, where he advocated for the use of Shetland dialect, even in certain teaching situations (Melchers 1985).

Alan J. Bruford was a collector of stories, music and culture all across Scotland, but was perhaps best known for his collecting and archiving of Gaelic stories and songs in the Highlands. His work with The School of Scottish Studies led him to co-found the journal *Tocher* to present the work of researchers at The School of Scottish Studies (Tobar an Dualchais, Alan James Bruford, accessed 20 May 2022).

Peter Cooke was an ethnomusicologist whose work included the preservation of local music tradition from both Scotland and Eastern Africa. Some of his contributions to the archive were recordings of local folk music and traditional reels, but he also conducted interviews where speakers described local customs and traditions (Tobar an Dualchais, Peter Cooke, accessed 20 May 2022).

In short, all non-local speakers were experienced ethnographers who showed an interest in local customs and culture to the extent that all speakers appear to be relaxed and at ease when speaking to them. This degree of informality, context taken into consideration, is an interesting achievement.

Most of the speakers were crofters and farmers. Many grew up away from the larger town centres of Lerwick and Scalloway, and one would suspect that particularly the older generation of speakers would have had little exposure to outsiders, let alone outsiders with recording equipment. One would also suspect that there would be a noticeable difference in the way in which the speakers approached an outsider like Bruford to the way they approached locals with some standing and renown in Shetland, like Anderson or Graham. Once the style and language criteria were determined, the available speakers in the data pool were categorised by gender and date of birth, and a balanced sample was attempted. The sampling method chosen for this data was judgement or quota sampling, where the researcher has certain sampling criteria and categories, and a quota of speakers to fill in each cell. The

social variables I chose to focus on were age and gender. Geographic variation within Shetland and class variation are outside of the scope of this study. Since speakers were recorded at different points in time, their date of birth was used to determine which age category they belonged to, rather than their age at time of recording. This gives us an indication of the historical influence of the dialect, rather than focusing on the different life stages of individual speakers.

Speakers who did not have a date of birth listed were excluded. Some speakers also were excluded for poor audio quality. The speakers were divided into three age groups: speakers born between 1877 and 1900, speakers born between 1900 and 1910, and speakers born between 1920 and 1932.

Given that my material consists of archival data in the form of oral history recordings, I had no control over the interviews or the way in which they were conducted. This means that it has been impossible to control the amount of speech data that each speaker produced, the questions being asked, the interview setting, or generally elicit a consistent amount of data for each variable.

Due to limitations of time and workload, my aim was to sample four speakers for each gender category and age group, giving me a sample size of 24 speakers in total. My data set turned out to have several limitations compared to my original aim. Firstly, the amount of available data for each speaker varies substantially. One speaker, Brucie Henderson, has several hours worth of recorded material, whereas some speakers have under ten minutes each. Secondly, two speakers in the older age group were excluded due to poor audio quality, leaving me with only three speakers in the older male group. In order to mitigate the data imbalance problem, I aimed for 30 tokens per variable for each speaker. This threshold for token collection was also used by Haugen (2020), making our respective studies more directly comparable.

At the start of my transcription process, I transcribed entire recordings as orthophonically detailed and dialectal as possible, but once the variables and variants had been determined, I opted to only transcribe the sentences that contained relevant variables. I started by looking for the TH variable first, then focusing on the perfective variable, given the high frequency of TH words. If the TH-quota was filled in a single audio clip, I only looked for perfect constructions in subsequent clips, and transcribed the relevant passages. As could be expected, the perfective construction was far less frequent than the TH variable. The aim of 30 tokens was only met by five out of 21 speakers.

There is also an imbalance in gender category. Out of the 44 speakers who fit my search criteria, only 11 (or 25 percent) were female. My two youngest female speakers were born in 1916 and 1933, respectively, requiring me to alter the age range of my youngest age group, and leaving me with only two speakers in said group.

My aim with the age groups was to compare three generations of speakers and their speech patterns. For male speakers, the age ranges were more straightforward than with the female speakers, but it still presented some challenges. The oldest age group is the group with the biggest internal age difference, with 14 years separating the youngest and oldest speakers (1877–1891). The middle male group has a smaller age range, with only two years between the oldest and youngest speaker (1904–1906). In the youngest male group, the age gap was bigger, with twelve years between the oldest and youngest speakers (1920–1932). The current sample of males was an attempt to balance the factors of age, amount of available material per speaker and age difference between each age group. It gave me an age difference of about 15 years between the youngest member of an older age group and the oldest member of a younger age group (1891–1904 and 1906–1920).

For the female speakers, however, a similar age stratification was more difficult to achieve. There is an 18-year age range for the group born in the late 1800's (1880–1898), a six year age range in the middle group (1900–1906) and a 17 year age range in the youngest group (1916–1933). As for age differences between groups, five years separate the youngest speaker in the oldest age group and the oldest speaker in the middle group (1898–1903) and seven years separate the youngest speaker in the middle group and oldest speaker in the younger group (1909–1916).

4.3 Analytical framework

4.3.1 Auditory analysis

The technique used for auditory analysis was repeated listening. This method is common for sociolinguistic studies of this kind and was also used in Haugen's study (2020:). It is a technique where the researcher listens to an audio clip repeatedly, and then transcribes the relevant passage. This method relies on a degree of subjectivity, as it is the researcher's own ears and judgement that decide the classification of the variable. For the variables in this study, the analysis was fairly straightforward. I am concerned with a consonantal feature and a grammatical feature, and the variants of each variable can be clearly distinguished,

provided that the audio quality is good. If I were to investigate changes in vowel quality, it could have required acoustical analysis by Praat or similar spectrographic software.

For the transcription, I strove to represent the speech in the relevant passages as accurately as possible. My goal was not to conform 100 percent to Scots orthographic conventions, but rather to represent the speech material as orthophonically as possible. This was done to ease the counting and coding process. However, I have put less emphasis on being accurate in transcribing family names, names of objects, and other items that were ultimately irrelevant to my study. On occasions where I was uncertain as to the realisation of the relevant variable I consulted with a native speaker.

4.3.2 Chi-squared test

The chi-squared test is a statistical test of significance between two groups, or whether it is a result of coincidence. Calculations of actual observations are compared to assumed expected values. Other statistical tests are used on other data, whereas a T-test is used to find the median between two variables, which in turn presupposes normal distribution. With my three age categories and two gender categories, these are tested individually against two assumed independent variables: TH and perfective. The goal is to determine whether there is a difference between the two gender categories and the three age categories. For the result to be significant the test needs to produce a p-value of 0.05 or lower. That would mean that there is a 95 percent chance that the difference between the categories is not due to random chance.

A chi-squared test was used in both Haugen (2020) and Smith and Durham (2011, 2012). My choice of statistical significance test is partly done to mirror this previous research, and the fact that data is categorical data with two variables and two variants for each variable. In order to perform a chi-squared test a minimum of five tokens per variable is required (Gries 2013: 323).

4.3.3 Classifying tokens

For the perfective variable, I chose to include all perfective inflectional forms of the verbs *to be* and *to have*. This includes past and present perfective (*have, has, had, am, are, is, was, were*), as well as all forms of number and person inflections. Clitic forms *'ve* and *'d* were also included for the *have* variant. For the verb *to be* all past and present perfective inflectional forms were included except clitic forms of *to be* in the case third person singular, because in those cases it is ambiguous whether the verb in question is *to have* or *to be*. I also chose to

exclude variants of perfective, which were preceded by a modal verb, as these appear not to allow a *be*-perfect realisation.

In the case of the TH-variable, only word-initial voiced tokens were counted. My variants were either the vernacular [d] or the standard [ð]. This means that all unvoiced realisations of <th> (e.g. *think*) as well as voiced realisations that appear word medially (e.g. *brother*) and word finally (e.g. *breathe*) were excluded and are beyond the scope of this study. The reason for this scope limitation was twofold. On the one hand it was a question of a time and workload constraint, and on the other hand it was done to mirror previous research (Smith and Durham 2011, 2012 and Haugen 2020) on Shetland dialect as closely as possible in order to make a direct comparison between my own study and previous studies. More research is needed to determine whether the patterns we may find for the voiced TH variant applies to unvoiced and voiced non-initial contexts.

5. Results

In this chapter, I will present and describe the quantified data for each variable with all its variants. TH, with the variants stop and fricative, and perfective with its variants *be*-perfect and *have*. I will examine the results for each variable and how they covary with the factors age and gender. I will also be comparing my results to those in previous studies. The results will be presented in tables and charts. I will compare my results to those found in previous quantitative studies on Shetland dialect. First, I will examine the variable TH and then the perfective variable.

5.1 TH

As stated in H1 and H2 in chapter 1, for the TH variable I wanted to investigate whether there was any difference in the use of TH variant for my three different age groups. As mentioned in the previous chapter, only word-initial voiced realisations were counted. The realisations were categorised as either fricative or stop and transcribed as <th> or <d>, respectively. First, let us look at the overall results, as presented in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: *Overall results for realisations of TH*

Variants	n	%
Stop	404	64 %
Fricative	226	36 %
Total	630	100 %

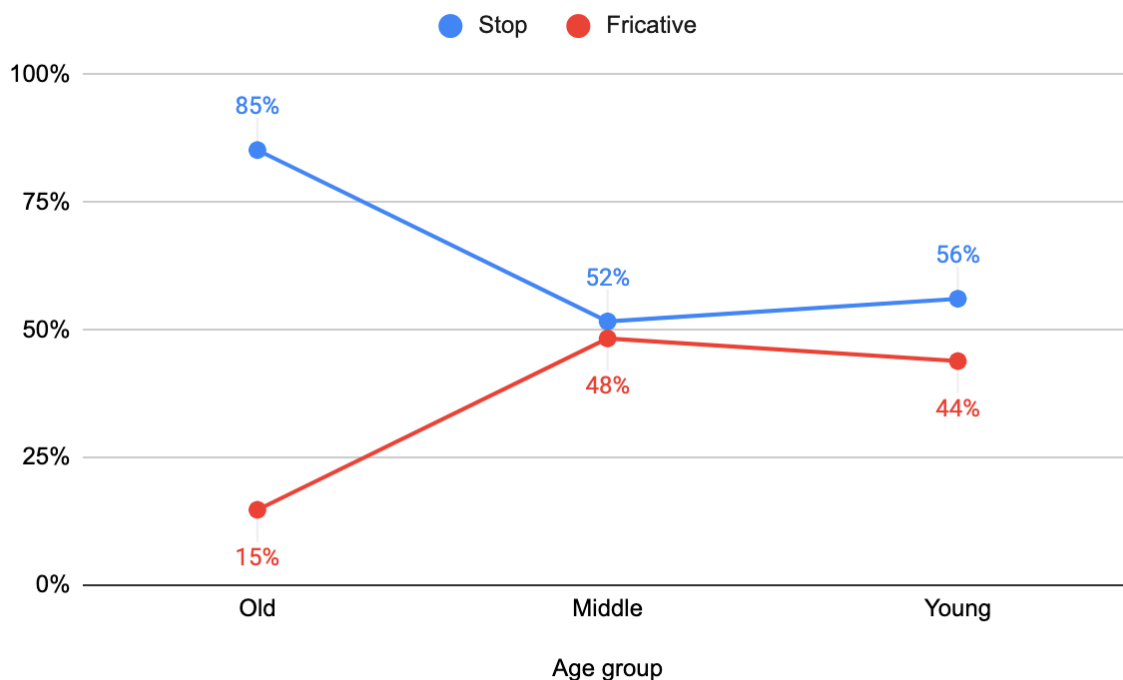


Figure 5.1 TH percentage scores by age group

As we can see in figure 5.1, the local variant is the most frequent overall. The stop realisation has 404 tokens, which account for 64 percent of all TH realisations. The standard variant only has 226 tokens or 36 percent of all realisations of TH. This is dramatically different from the results found in Haugen (2020:55), where, even with two local variants ([d] and [Ø], or TH-stopping and -dropping), they only account for 16 percent of TH instances, with the vast majority (84 percent) being standard or fricative realisations.

Given that TH-stopping is described as categorical in the Shetland dialect (Melchers 2004, 47) and that my data set was largely filtered by Scots speakers, this is perhaps to be expected, however, the difference in speech patterns between speakers in 2020 and speakers recorded in the 1950s, 60s and 70s is nonetheless noteworthy. Smith and Durham (2011: 213–214) did not display overall results for their variables, but their results will be discussed later in this chapter. Table 5.2 and figure 5.1 show the realisation data by age group.

Table 5.2: Numbers and percentages of TH by age group

Age group	Stop n	Stop %	Fricative n	Fricative %	Total n
Old	179	85 %	31	15 %	210
Middle	124	52 %	116	48 %	240

Young	101	56 %	79	44 %	180
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From table 5.2 and figure 5.1, we see that the stop realisation is the majority variant in all three age groups. The young speakers had 101 tokens of the stop variant, and used it 56 percent of the time, whereas the middle group used it 52 percent of the time, with 124 tokens. The older group used the local variant substantially more frequently with 179 tokens, corresponding to 85 percent stop usage. As for fricative realisations, they were used 44 percent of the time with 79 tokens in the youngest group, 48 percent of the time with 116 tokens in the middle group and only 15 percent of the time and with 31 tokens in the oldest group.

The older speakers are the ones who favour the local variant the most with the standard variant in a small minority, whereas the middle and younger speakers have fairly similar rates, using the local variant a little over half of the time. It is perhaps not surprising that the differences between the younger and middle speakers is not statistically significant ($p=0.4$). However, both the differences between young and old and middle and old are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

When we compare these results to previous quantitative studies on Shetland dialect, the data in the present study diverges in interesting ways. In Smith and Durham's first study (2011: 213), the stop showed a gradual decline. The older speakers were the most frequent users of the stop realisation, followed by the middle-aged speakers and then the young speakers. For all age groups in Smith and Durham's study, however, the fricative realisation, or the standard variant was in the majority. The difference between age groups was reported as statistically significant. The difference between the old in middle age groups had a p-value of $p < .01$, and the difference between the young speakers and the two oldest age groups had a p-value of $p < .001$.

In Haugen's (2020: 56) study, three variants of TH were analysed, but TH-dropping was infrequent in all three age groups and no clear pattern could be discerned. For TH-stopping and fricatives, however, there were clear differences between the age groups. The middle-aged group were the most frequent stop users at 26 percent of TH instances, followed by older speakers at 5 percent and finally the youngest age group at 2 percent. We see, then, that in Haugen's data the fricative realisation was the most frequent in all age groups, but surprisingly, the older speakers had similar rates of the local variant as the younger speakers.

She reported the difference between all three age groups as statistically significant at $p < .01$ (2020: 214).

Next, we can look at the differences in realisation by gender, as displayed in table 5.3 and figure 5.2.

Table 5.3: *TH Numbers and percentage scores by gender*

Gender	Stop n	Stop %	Fricative n	Fricative %	Total n
Male	220	67 %	110	33 %	330
Female	184	61 %	116	39 %	300

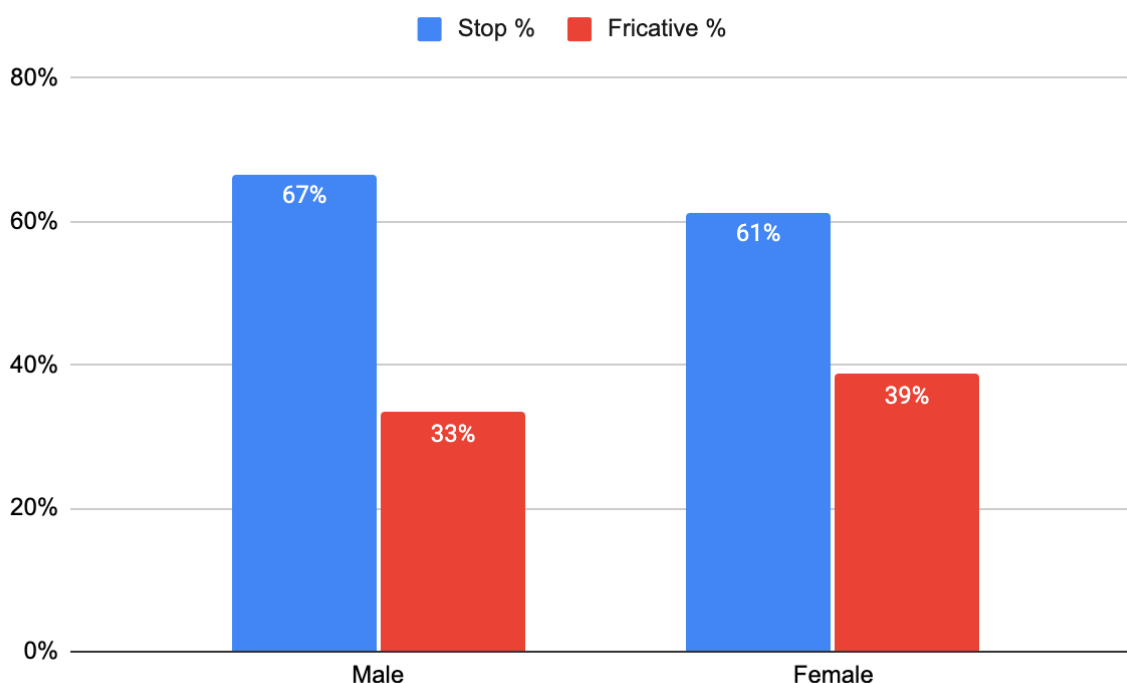


Figure 5.2: *TH percentage scores by gender*

As we see from table 5.3 and figure 5.2, the stop variant is in the majority for both gender categories. There are 220 tokens of stop realisations for the male speakers, corresponding to 67 percent of instances. For the female speakers the rates are fairly similar. There are 184 tokens of the local variant, which account for 61 percent of all instances. The numbers for fricative realisations are 110 tokens for the male speakers, or 33 percent of instances, and 116 fricative tokens for the female speakers, or 39 percent of TH instances. The differences in usage patterns between genders is not statistically significant ($p=0.16$).

In Haugen’s data (2020: 57–58), she could find no significant difference between genders ($p = 0.133121$). However, in her case it was the standard variant that was in the clear majority for both gender categories. The two non-standard variants combined made up 15 percent of female TH realisations and 17 percent of male TH realisations. The remaining 85 percent and 83 percent of realisations were fricative.

5.1.1 TH by gender and age category

Now that we have looked at TH realisations by gender and age as a whole, we can see which patterns emerge when we further break down the data for each category by age group. First let us look at the male speakers as presented in table 5.4 and figure 5.3 below.

Table 5.4: Numbers and percentage scores for males by age group

Males	Stop n	Stop %	Fricative n	Fricative %	Tot n
Older males	76	84.4%	14	15.6%	90
Middle males	51	42.5%	69	57.5%	120
Young males	93	77.5%	27	22.5%	120

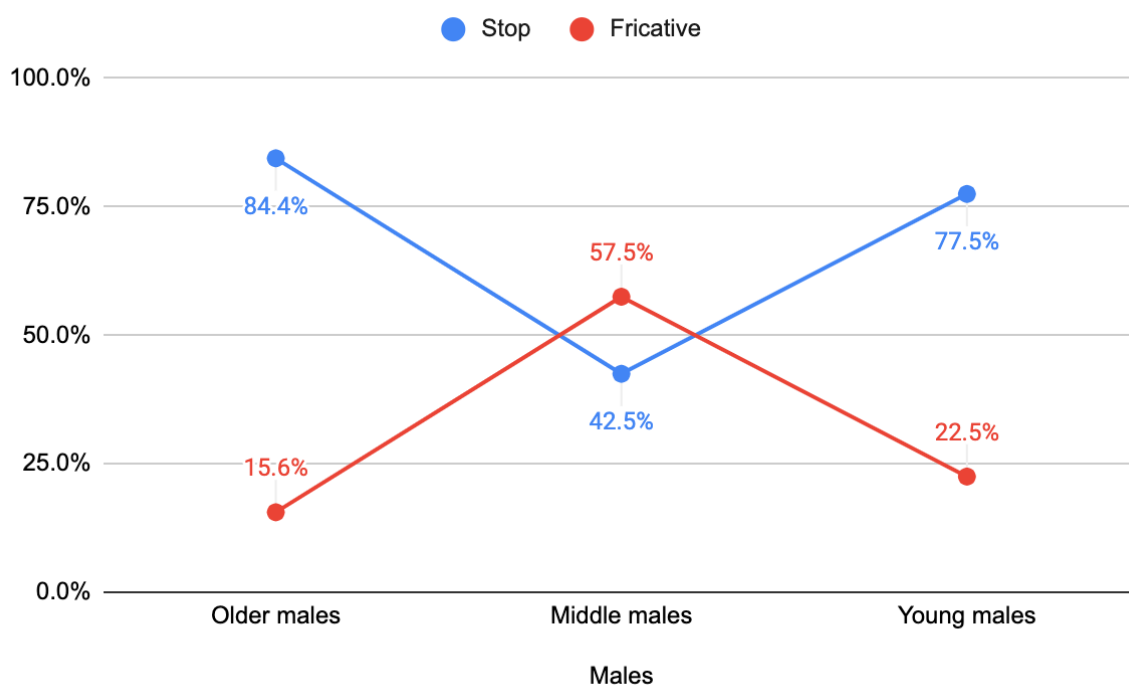


Figure 5.3: Percentage scores for males by age group

We see that for the male speakers, the older and younger age groups have similar rates of stop and fricative usage. The stop variant is the majority variant for both of these age groups. The older speakers have 76 realisations of the stop variant, corresponding to 84.5 percent of the TH instances, whereas the younger speakers have 93 stop realisations, corresponding to 77.5 percent of all TH realisations. For the middle group, however, it is the fricative realisation which is dominant with 69 realisations corresponding to 57.5 percent.

The difference between the old and middle groups is significant with a p-value of $p > 0,001$ as is the difference between the middle and young males ($p < 0.01$).

Now we move on to the female speakers and their rates of TH realisations by age group as shown in table 5.5 and figure 5.4 below.

Table 5.5: TH Numbers and percentage scores for females by age group

Females	Stop n	Stop %	Fricative n	Fricative %	Tot n
Older females	103	86%	17	14%	120
Middle females	73	61%	47	39%	120
Young females	8	13%	52	87%	60

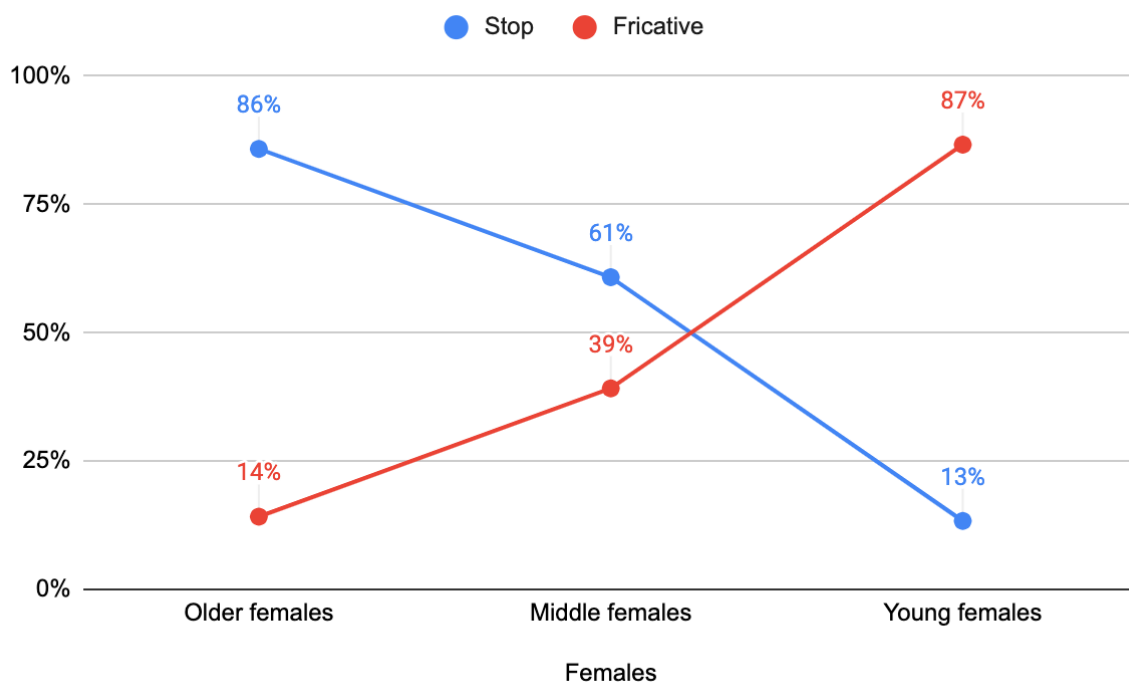


Figure 5.4: TH percentage scores for females by age group

Here too, we see that the older speakers are the ones who favour the stop variant the most, with 103 instances corresponding to 86 percent of TH realisations. However, TH-stopping shows a dramatic decline in the middle and younger age groups. The middle speakers produce 73 instances of TH-stopping corresponding to 61 percent of the TH realisations, whereas the young females only use the stop variant 13 percent.

The difference between all age groups of female speakers is significant. All of the chi-squared tests between age groups produced a p-value which was smaller than 0.001.

5.2 Perfective

For the perfective variable, I sought to investigate the frequency of the non-standard *be*-perfect construction versus the standard variant, *have*, and to see if there was any difference between the age groups or genders. First, I will present the overall results for each variant of the perfective variable. The results are presented in table 5.6.

Table 5.6: *Perfective – overall scores in numbers and percentages*

Variants	n	%
Be	212	47 %
Have	237	53 %
Total	449	100 %

As can be seen in table 5.6, *have* is the majority variant overall, with 237 tokens corresponding to 53 percent of all perfective instances. The non-standard variant *be*-perfect is slightly less frequent overall with 212 tokens corresponding to 47 percent of all instances.

Now, the scores and percentages for each age group will be presented in table 5.7 and figure 5.5.

Table 5.7: *Perfective – scores and percentages by age*

Age group	BE n	Be %	Have n	Have %	Total
Old	101	67 %	50	33 %	151
Middle	40	35 %	75	65 %	115

Young	71	39 %	112	61 %	183
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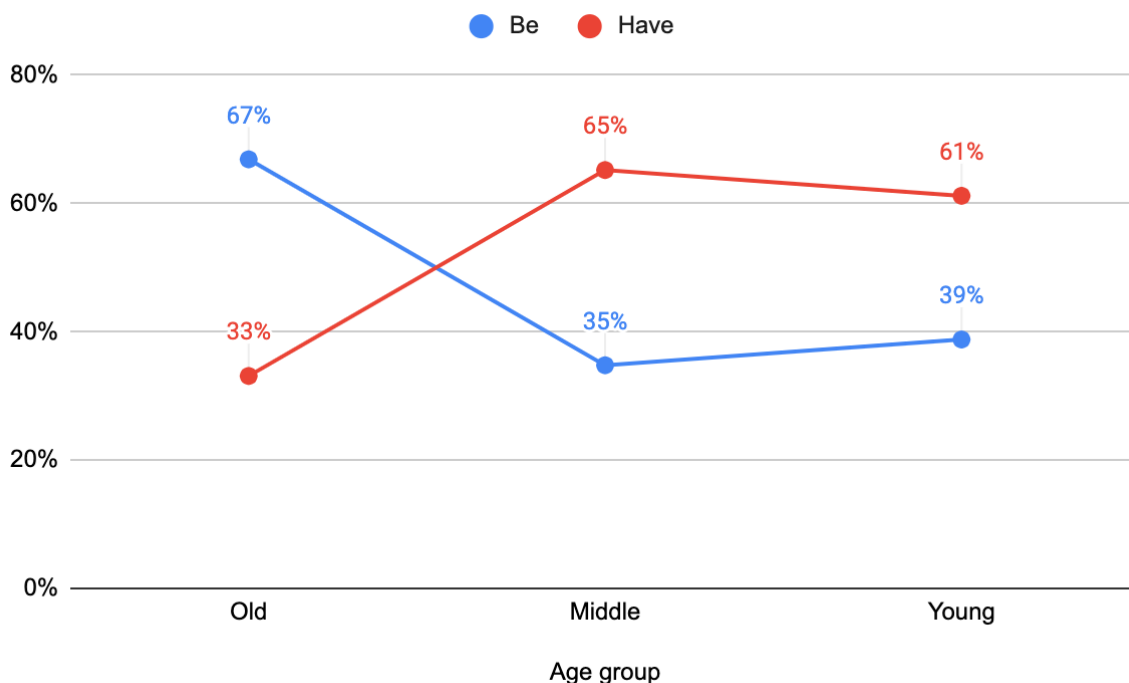


Figure 5.5: Perfective - percentage scores by age group

As is evident in table 5.7 and figure 5.5, the results for the perfective variable show a different pattern than for TH. The old speakers are the only group for whom the non-standard variant is most frequent. They produced 101 tokens of *be*-perfect, which corresponds to 65 percent of all instances. For the two other groups, however, the standard variant was the most frequent. With this variable, the middle group showed a greater preference for the standard variant, with 75 tokens of *have* corresponding to 65 percent of all instances for the variable. Again, the rates were fairly similar for the youngest group with 61 percent of all perfective instances being *have*.

Performing a chi-squared test on the data testing two and two age groups against one another, we find that the difference between the middle and younger age groups is not significant ($p = 0.45$). The difference between young and old and middle and old, however, is significant ($p < 0.001$).

In Haugen's (2020: 52–53) study, the standard variant was in the clear majority for all age groups, however, the middle-age group were the most frequent *be*-perfect users with 27

percent of all perfective tokens. For both her older and younger age groups, the non-standard variant was marginal, with three and eight percent of instances, respectively. She could not perform a chi-square test with the youngest speaker group, because the numbers of the local variant were too low to perform one, but the difference between the middle and older group in her study was statistically significant ($p = 0.01$).

Haugen (2020: 51–52) mentions *be*-perfect in *have got*-constructions as a new phenomenon, given that it is not mentioned in previous literature in either descriptions of the dialect or in previous quantitative research. She suggested it may be part of a linguistic change. I have also found some instances of *have got* with *be*-perfect in my data set, as presented below in [1]–[3]:

[1] but dey were gotten escapit... (Laura Malcolmson, middle aged)

[2] dey were gotten word about a gale, so dey were gotten aa dis gear fixed... (Catherine Mary Anderson, older group)

[3] den he asked how many you were gotten, he wouldna tell you da number... (Peter Fraser, middle group)

This could possibly suggest that the phenomenon is older than Haugen expected, though more research is needed to determine the age of the *have got*-construction, its usage pattern and frequency over time.

In Smith and Durham’s study (2011: 209–210), the perfective variable patterned differently to the other variables. The local variant was the majority variant for the older and middle speakers. For the older speakers the *be* variant was preferred 54 percent of the time, whereas for the middle age group as many as 62 percent of instances were of the local variant. The younger speakers favoured the standard, with 75 percent of perfective instances being *have*. The difference between the young group and the old and middle groups was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) (Smith and Durham 2011: 209).

Finally, I will move on to usage patterns by gender. Numbers and percentages will be presented in table 5.8 and figure 5.6 below.

Table 5.8: *Perfective scores and percentages by gender*

Gender	BE n	BE %	Have n	Have %	Total n
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Male	154	66 %	78	34 %	232
Female	58	41 %	84	59 %	142

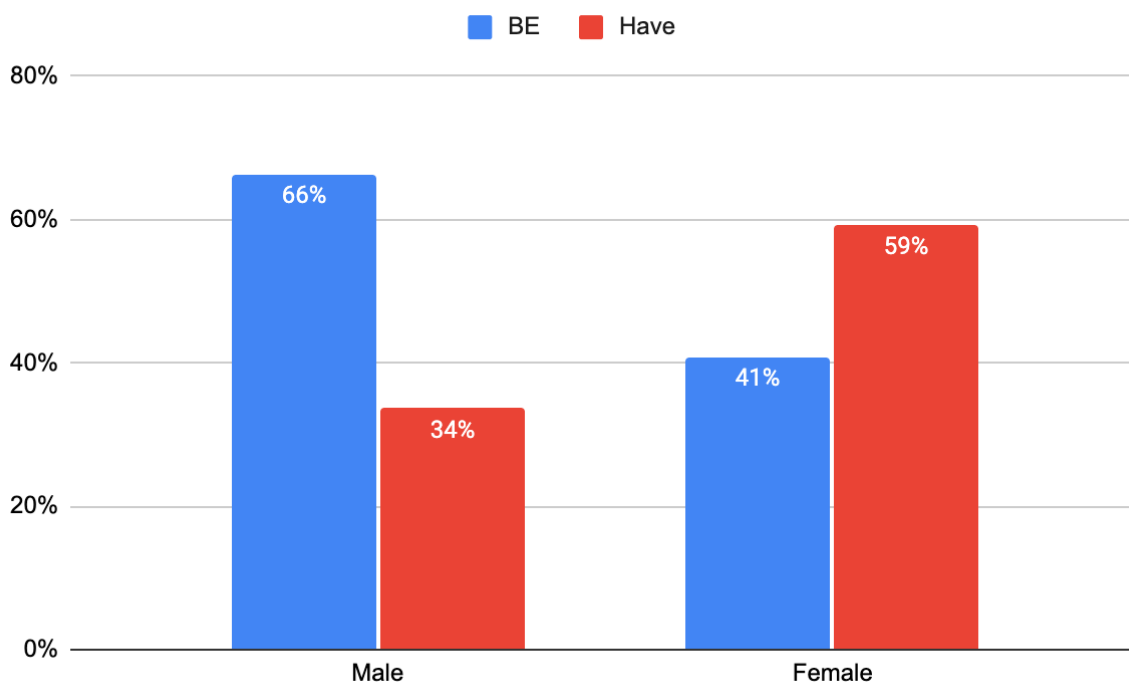


Figure 5.6: *Perfective - percentage scores by age group*

It is clear from table 5.8 and figure 5.6 that there is a major difference between the male and female speakers. The men have 154 tokens of *be*-perfect, corresponding to 66 percent of perfective instances, whereas the women have 58 tokens, or 41 percent *be*-perfect realisations. The difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

5.2.1 Perfective by gender and age category

For the perfective variable I will also break down the gender data by age category. Starting with the male speakers as shown in table 5.9 and figure 5.7, and subsequently the females in table 5.10 and figure 5.8.

Table 5.9: *Numbers and percentage scores for males by age group*

Males	Be n	Be %	Have n	Have %	Tot n
Older males	64	84%	12	16%	76

Middle males	25	37%	42	63%	67
Young males	65	73%	24	27%	89

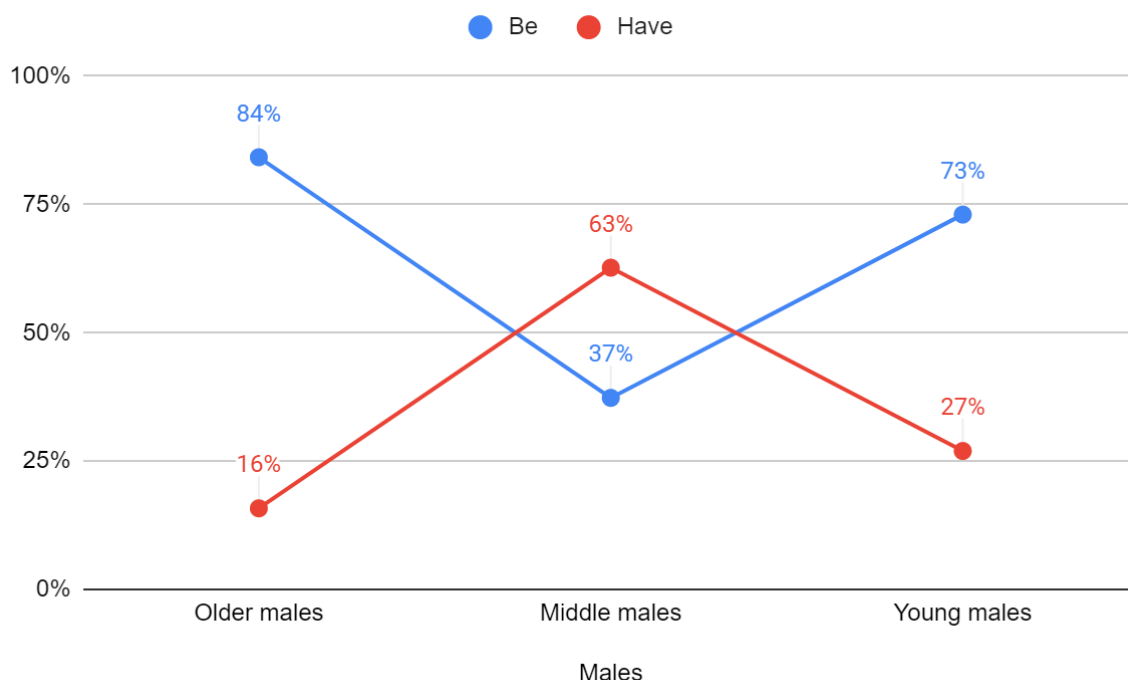


Figure 5.7: *Percentage scores for males by age group*

The data shows that the older males use the local *be*-perfect variant the most, with 84 percent of instances (64 tokens). The middle males have substantially fewer instances of the local variant, with 25 tokens corresponding to 37 percent of instances. The younger speakers, however, favour the local variant with 65 tokens of *be*-perfect using it 73 percent of the time. For the male speakers *be*-perfect patterns similarly to the TH variable as discussed in section 5.1.1. The local variant is favoured by the older and younger groups, while the standard variant is favoured by the middle group.

The difference between the old and middle groups is significant and old versus young males is not significant, with p-values of <0.01 and $p = 0.0831543$, respectively, although the difference between old and young speakers is close to being significant. However, the difference between the middle and young males is significant ($p > 0.001$).

Table 5.10: *Numbers and percentage scores for females by age group*

	Be n	Be %	Have n	Have %	Tot n
--	------	------	--------	--------	-------

Older females	37	49%	38	51%	75
Middle females	15	31%	33	69%	48
Young females	6	32%	13	68%	19

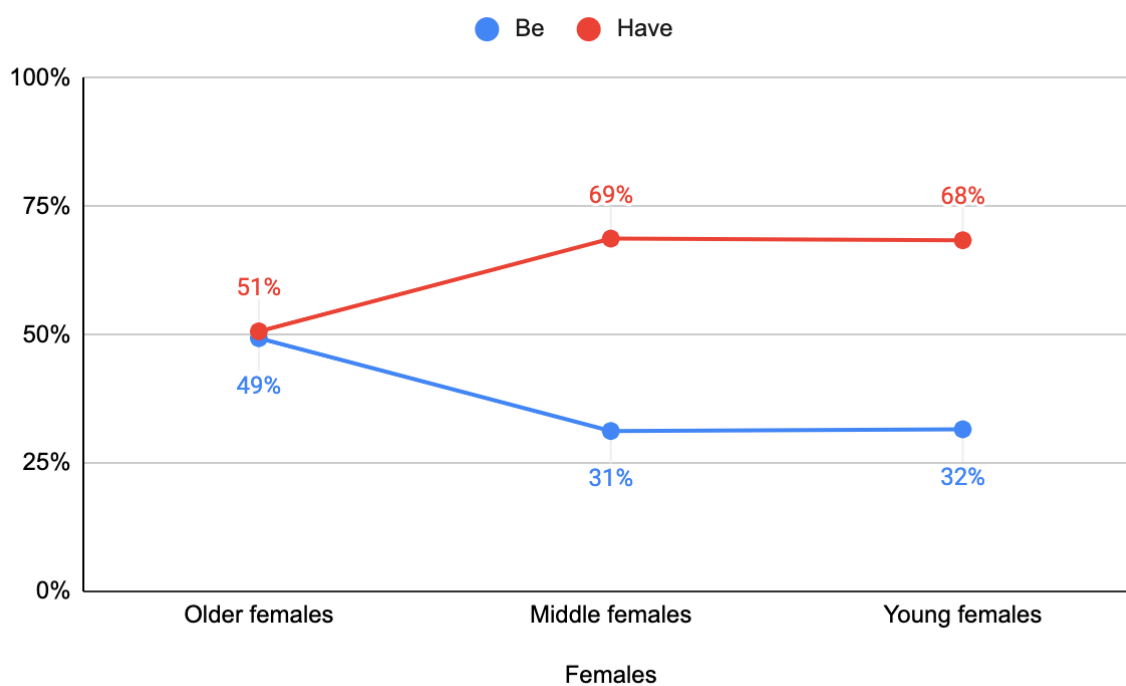


Figure 5.8: *Percentage scores for females by age group*

Moving on to the female speakers, the data shows that the standard variant is in the majority for all age groups. Older females have 37 *be*-perfect tokens corresponding to 49 percent of instances. The middle and young groups have even fewer instances of *be*-perfect, with 15 and 6 tokens respectively, corresponding to 31 and 32 percent. None of the groups were significantly different from each other. The difference between old versus middle has a p-value of $p=0.16$, old versus young has a p-value of $p = 0.32655$, and middle versus young has a p-value of $p=0.9$.

6. Discussion

This chapter will discuss the findings as they relate to the research questions stated in chapter 1. The research questions are presented below. This study seeks to investigate patterns of variation and change in the Shetland dialect, in three different generations of dialect speakers who grew up in pre-oil Shetland. To restate my research questions, they are as follows:

Research Question 1: Will there be a difference in the rates of use of dialectal features between the three generations of speakers?

Research Question 2: Will the use of local variants covary with gender?

Research Question 3: Will the speakers in my dataset have different rates of dialectal variants than the speakers in previous studies?

In this chapter I will begin by discussing age as a factor for both variables regardless of gender. Moving on from the isolated apparent-time factor I will discuss gender as a factor, disregarding age trends. Then I will discuss gender in conjunction with apparent-time and how the historical events in Shetland may have influenced the speech patterns of each gender differently. Finally, I will discuss the unknown variable of interviewer background and how it may have influenced the speakers, and how this relates to the sociolinguistic phenomenon known as code-switching.

6.1 The variables by age

In this section I will discuss the factor of age as it relates to the linguistic variables I have chosen to analyse. I will view the realisation patterns of both gender categories as a whole. Later in the discussion chapter, I will break down the trends for each variable by age and gender to see how the speech patterns are affected by gender. I will begin by looking at the rate of vernacular usage for each variable by age, as illustrated in table and figure 6.1.

Table 6.1: *Numbers and percentages for vernacular realisations of TH and perceptive*

	TH n	TH %	BE n	BE %
Old	179	85 %	101	67 %

Middle	124	52 %	40	35 %
Young	101	56 %	71	39 %

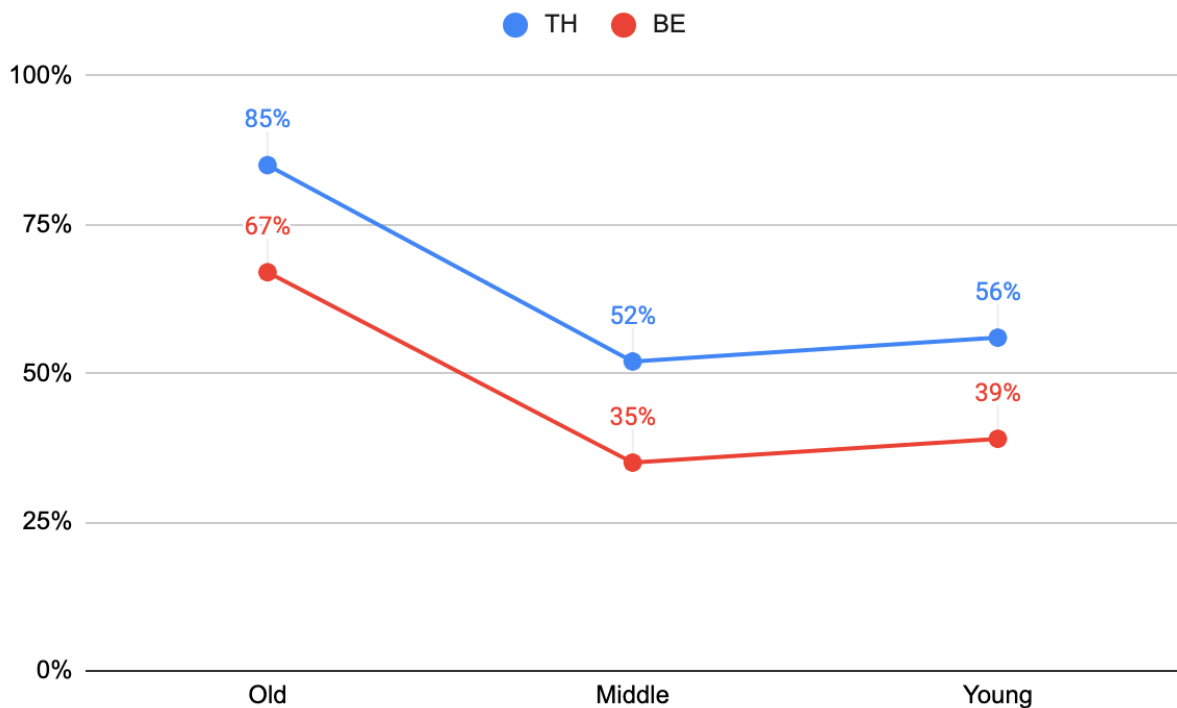


Figure 6.1: Percentages for vernacular variants of TH and perfective

As is evident from table and figure 6.1, the older speakers are the ones who favour local variants the most. This is true for both variables. An interesting finding for both variables is that the middle and younger speakers have similar rates of local variants. We see that 85 percent of older speakers prefer the local variant of TH, while the middle and younger speakers make use of the stop realisation 52 and 56 percent of the time, respectively. The same pattern is found for the *be*-perfect variable, which I have noted as “BE” in the figure above. 67 percent of older speakers use the local variant, while the middle and younger groups use it 35 and 39 percent of the time. It is interesting to note that the local variant of *be*-perfect is less frequent than the local variant of TH. *Be*-perfect seems to be a more linguistically marked feature. It is more popular in the older generation, but still not as prevalent in Shetland dialect speech as TH-stopping. More research would be needed to thoroughly map the use of the *be*-perfect construction in Shetland dialect from a diachronic perspective. It is possible that the construction was always marked and that older generations could use the standard variant without it being regarded as *knappin*’.

For my H1, as stated in chapter 1, I stated an expectation that the use of local forms would steadily decline in younger generations. That would confirm be expected based on the findings from Smith and Durham (2011: 213). In their study there is a gradual decline in occurrences of local variants of TH-stopping. However, in Haugen's study, the middle-aged group were the ones who used local variants the most. In that study, instances of the local variant of *be*-perfect amounted to 27 percent, while the local variant of TH occurred 28 percent of the time. Haugen suggests that the reason for the increase in local variants in the middle group is a positive attitude towards the Shetland dialect and the use of dialect in different contexts (2020: 69).

My data shows that the older speakers are significantly more dialectal than my two younger generations ($p < 0.001$ for both variables). However, all three of my age groups are older than those studied in the previous quantitative studies. Even though all my speakers use more local forms than those in previous studies, with more recent speech material, there is a clear trend that the dialectal features were losing popularity. All the speakers in my dataset came of age before the oil boom in the 70's and 80's, so this trend could require a different explanatory model. As I will argue later, the impact of the two world wars, as well as the economic depression of the interwar period, may have affected the speech patterns of the three age groups. It is possible that the different expectations and roles placed on men and women during this period in history may account for some of the difference in speech trends.

Figure 6.1 could give the impression that the middle group and the younger group have similar patterns and that the linguistic divide is to be found between the oldest group and the two younger groups. As we will see later, however, this does not show the full picture. Gender and age differences combined show different trends.

6.2 Gender

Next, I will discuss the factor of gender as it relates to occurrences of local variants of TH and perfective. There have been few sociolinguistic studies of Shetland dialect with gender as a factor in. Smith and Durham do not analyse gender as a factor. Haugen looked at gender differences for all her variables and found the difference in use of TH to be negligible. For *be*-perfect, however, there was a significant difference between genders. This was the only variable in her study to show gender differences in usage patterns. She notes that previous studies on Scots and Scottish English could not find any significant difference between

genders. So far it appears that gender differences have been seen as a less important factor for language change in a Scottish context (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007: 235).

Looking at the genders overall, I found that in my dataset there was also a significant difference between genders in the usage of perfective, and that the gender difference in TH realisation was insignificant.

Table 6.2: Percentages of vernacular realisations by gender

	TH	BE
Male	67 %	66 %
Female	61 %	41 %

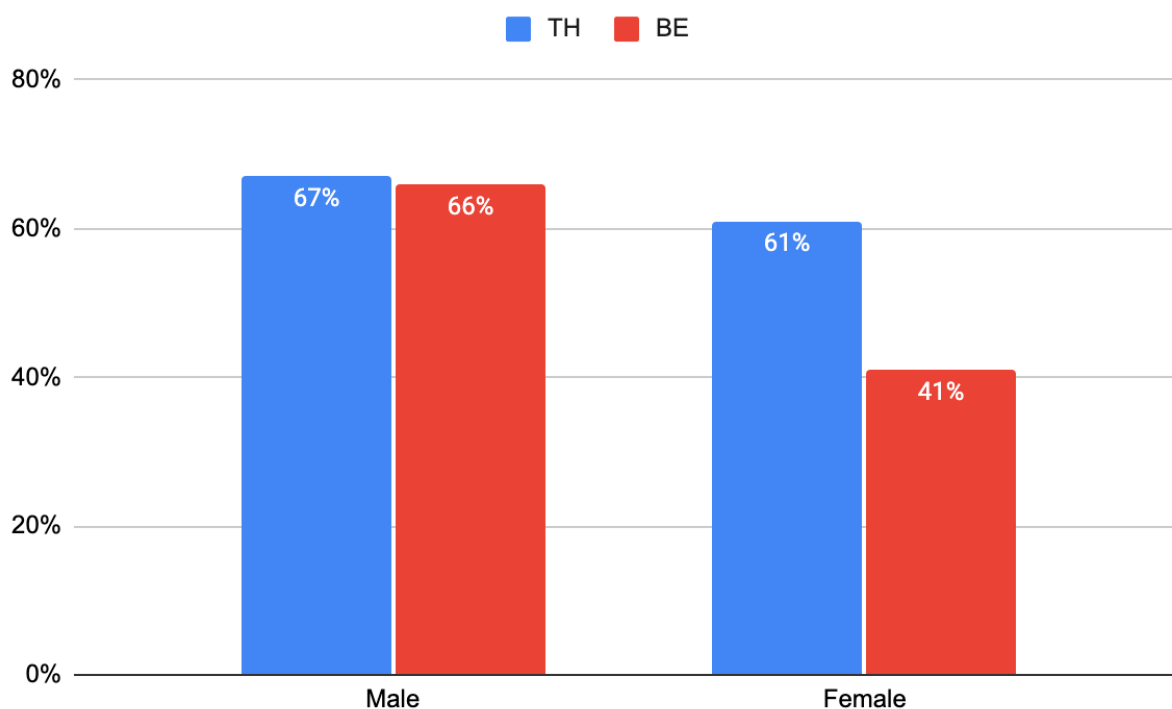


Figure 6.2: Percentages of vernacular realisations by gender

Male speakers used *be-perfect* 61 percent of the time, while *be-perfect* was in the minority for the female speakers, at 41 percent. The lack of a gender difference in the TH variable is perhaps to be expected if we compare our results with that of Haugen. The same is true for the *be-perfect* variable, which is the only variable in Haugen’s data set that has a significant gender difference (Haugen 2020: 78).

Haugen does not speculate as to the reason for this particular gender difference. However, it could be the case that women are leading the change in the pattern of *be*-perfect usage. *Be*-perfect could be an example of a feature that is so marked that it would lead to a decrease in popularity in both gender categories.

TH-stopping, despite being a marked local feature which appears infrequently in later studies, could be a marker of local identity which is deemed to have higher prestige. Therefore, it could be seen by Shetland women to be an acceptable expression of local identity, whereas *be*-perfect could interfere with communication, and would therefore be avoided by female speakers to a larger extent (Labov 1990: 213). This could also be supported by Smith and Durham's assertion that *be*-perfect is a more marked local feature that dialectal speakers avoid when speaking to outsiders (Smith and Durham 2012). The female pattern of perfective usage will be discussed further in section 6.3.2.

6.3 Age and gender combined

After having looked at age and gender as separate factors, combining the two factors gives a more nuanced picture of the linguistic development over the three generations I have studied. As is clear from the data shown in Chapter 5, certain patterns emerge. It would appear that an interplay between the factors of age and gender is responsible for the speech patterns that my data reveals. To examine these factors, I will start by looking at the patterns for each variable, firstly among male speakers, and then female speakers.

6.3.1 Male speakers

When looking at the male speakers by age category it was revealed that the middle speakers were the most standard. For the TH variable the middle speakers had a majority of fricative realisations, with 57.5 percent of their TH realisations being fricative. The older and younger speakers show a preference for the stop variant. The older speakers used it 84.4 percent of the time and the younger speakers used it 77.5 percent of the time.

A similar pattern was found with the perfective variable. Again, the middle male group leads the change in a more standardised direction, using the *have* variant 63 percent of the time. The older and younger speakers are significantly more vernacular, with 84 percent and 73 percent of perfective instances being the *be*-perfect variant.

The question that arises is why the middle male group is so much more standardised than the two other age groups. The males in the middle group were born between 1904 and

1906. This group of speakers were in their twenties during the inter-war period. A possible explanation for the preference for standard variants in this group could be the structural and cultural changes that happened in the period between the two world wars. In the interwar period, the economic crash of the 1930's led to changes in the fishing industry. The Scottish fleet was mechanised and reduced, leading Shetland fishermen to abandon fishing. Some started working on land, while a substantial amount of the male population moved to mainland Britain. The population in Shetland decreased in the years between 1911 and 1931. In 1921, it was estimated that 17.9 percent of those born in Shetland lived elsewhere in Scotland. This number increased to 18.7 percent ten years later (Black 1995: 116). Though it is not known if the speakers in the middle group lived outside of Shetland during this period, it is reasonable to speculate that the depopulation in Shetland during this time period may have affected the speech patterns of the male speakers in this group. The people who emigrated from Shetland likely altered their speech to communicate with people from the Scottish mainland, and the people who stayed behind may have increased their awareness of Standard Scottish English and code-switching etiquette. The generation that followed however, may have felt a need to preserve and encourage the use of local dialect in face of rapid societal changes, leading to the increase in vernacular speech for the youngest group in the dataset.

A similar explanation was given by Haugen (2020), when she found that her middle-aged group used vernacular forms at higher rates than her other two age groups. Her middle-aged group came of age in the period following the oil boom in the 1970's and 80's, and this group saw the Shetland dialect increase in popularity and renown. In previous generations, Shetland dialect was discouraged outside of the home and Standard Scottish English was strictly enforced as the language in schools, while in the 1980's, language policies changed, and use of local dialect was encouraged in certain teaching situations (Melchers 1985: 98).

In Melchers' (1985) she interviewed pupils at the Anderson High School. These pupils reported positive attitudes towards the Shetland dialect, and commented on the change in language policy in schools. The pupils in Melchers' study are of the same generation as the middle-aged speakers in Haugen's study. Haugen speculates that the increase in vernacular speech in her age group could be a result of these speakers being encouraged to use dialect throughout their childhood and adolescence, and that the dialect was viewed as an important identity marker in a society where standard Scottish English gained influence (Haugen 2020: 74).

6.3.2 Female speakers

Viewing the female speakers overall, the two variables show different patterns. For the TH variable there is a sharp decrease in stop realisations across the age groups. The older group used the stop variant 86 percent of the time, whereas in the middle group the rates of stop usage had dropped to 61 percent. For the youngest group the drop was even more dramatic. The young female group used the stop variant only 13 percent of the time. This is a case where TH-stopping has fallen out of favour quite rapidly for female speakers. While it is in the majority for both the older and middle female groups, it is clear that the drop signalled a sociolinguistic change. Though Haugen does not break down her gender results by age group, her research shows that TH continues to be a variable where gender differences are insignificant. It is interesting that despite dropping in popularity for young female speakers, TH-stopping showed a resurgence in popularity for young male speakers. As is known based on later data, this trend was not to last.

For the perfective variable, *be*-perfect was in the minority for all age groups. The differences between age groups were not statistically significant. However, there is a pattern where the middle and younger speakers are slightly more standardized than the older female speakers. The older female group used the *be*-perfect variant 49 percent of the time, while the middle and young groups used the variant 31 and 32 percent of the time, respectively.

For both of these variables, women are moving in a more standardised direction than men. The perfective variable is interesting in that the standard variant was in the majority for all female speakers, whereas TH-stopping changed status from being the majority variant to becoming a minority variant. It is evident that for all the age groups the *be*-perfect is a linguistically marked feature which could be viewed as having negative prestige for women. Sociolinguistic scholars have made different observations on patterns of linguistic change for women. A common thread in sociolinguistic scholarship on gender is that women use fewer stigmatised forms than men (Tagliamonte 2011: 32). They could be stigmatised because they stand in opposition to a standard variant which carries a form of prestige, whether that be a regional variant, supralocal variant or a variant that carries prestige on a national level. In his study of Tyneside English, Dominic Watt (2002), found that women led the change towards the use of supralocal forms and moving away from both local variants and national standards. Watt suspected that this may be a combination of the supralocal variant having positive prestige and functioning as an identity marker for northern English. That way female

speakers got to express linguistic identity while avoiding local variants that were too linguistically marked.

In a Shetland context, TH-stopping may have been seen as an acceptable marker of local identity for female speakers, while use of *be*-perfect may have had negative prestige. The example from Watt (2002) is not completely analogous however, given that both of my variables are seen as Shetland-specific, and previous research that include Scotland-wide variables have not found evidence to support the claim that women in Shetland use Scotland-wide features as a compromise between markedness and identity.

It could be also theorised that the gender shift in the perfective variable is due to an interplay of linguistic and social factors. Switching between *be*-perfect and *have*-perfect is a more noticeable change than switching between two allophones of the same phoneme, as in the case of TH-stopping, the assumption being that it is easier to avoid a marked morpho-syntactic feature than avoiding a phonological one. The research of Smith and Durham (2012) supports the assumption that *be*-perfect is more marked than TH-stopping. The dialect-speaking youths in their sample showed a substantial drop in rates of *be*-perfect when interviewed by an outsider.

6.3.3 Summary of gender differences

In summary, the gender groups show different trends for each of the variables. For the male speakers, the middle group uses significantly more standard variants for both variables. I have suggested that this could be a result affected by societal changes in the interwar period. For the female speakers, TH-stopping showed a slower decline than *be*-perfect. The TH development appears to have been led by middle male speakers, whereas women led the change towards preference for *have*-perfect. *Be*-perfect appears to be more linguistically marked as a feature that carries low prestige.

For the TH variable, the difference between old male and female speakers is not statistically significant ($p=0.77$). However, the difference between middle and young males and females is statistically significant ($P=0.004$ for the middle group and $p<0.001$ for the young group).

For the perfective variable, the difference between the middle group of male and female speakers is not significant ($p=0.5$). For the old and young speakers however, the gender difference is significant ($p<0.001$ for both age groups).

6.4 Code-switching

My dataset consists of interviews of local Shetlanders, conducted for the most part by ethnographers. Because the interviews are informal in nature, and speech flows freely, it is easy to assume that the speech produced by the speakers would be vernacular regardless of interview background. However, previous studies on dialect and vernacular varieties have found that code switching is common when speaking to outsiders (Cowie 1978, Smith and Durham 2012). Four out of 21 speakers were interviewed by a native speaker. The rest of the speakers were interviewed by non-natives.

Additionally, there is evidence in my dataset that at least two of my speakers had access to two different codes they could switch between. This suggests that the speakers may have been aware of the difference between Shetland dialect and SSE, and the contexts in which they are appropriate. I will present excerpts where two speakers switch between codes within interviews. The speakers in question are Rosabel Blance and Ertie Irvine. Rosabel Blance is interviewed by the local interviewer Tom Anderson, and Ertie Irvine is interviewed by non-local Elisabeth Sinclair.

Below is an excerpt from an interview with Rosabel Blance conducted by local fiddle player, Tom Anderson. For the interview, Anderson had Blance tell a story in both English and Shetland dialect.

Rosabel Blance (in dialect): You're maybe heard da story aboot Shoopiltie. Shoopiltie was a water demon, or kelpie, an waast fae Tangwick here, dere a hole i da ground right oota da cliffs, rocks, an it's like a funnel, da green sides an a curn-like hole at da bottom right down tae da sea.

Rosabel Blance (in English): Well, Shoopiltie was a water demon, or some sort of water kelpie, and west from Tangwick there's a round hole in the ground. A slot of grass ending in a sort of churn-like hole down to the sea.

It is difficult to measure the vernacularity of speech, but the differences in speech styles and speech patterns become clear when looking at a side-by-side comparison of the same story told in two different codes. The dialect version of the story uses more words than the English version (51 words in Shetland dialect compared to 39 words in Scottish Standard English).

There is a clear-cut difference between the two codes, in that the excerpt in dialect exclusively has TH-stopping, and the English version only contains fricative realisations of

TH. There is one instance of *be*-perfect in the excerpt, but no instances of *have*-perfect in the English version.

The Shetland dialect version also has a more detailed description of the hole in the ground. The language is more informal in general, addressing the listener directly “you’re maybe heard da story...”, and using filler words and synonyms. This kind of hedging might suggest that the speaker was uncertain about the details of the story she was about to tell, but the fact that the English version of the story is told first, suggests that the use of those kinds of embellishments was a conscious decision.

One of the reasons I suspected that my data material was more dialectal than that found in previous research was that that the older speakers were not exposed to outsiders to the extent that they had to adapt their speech to outsiders. Even though this excerpt is from a middle-aged speaker, we cannot rule out the possibility that the older speakers also had access to both Shetland dialect and SSE, but still chose to speak their local dialect. If this is the case, it is possible that the interviewers who were non-local were experienced enough to allow speakers to ease into their vernacular variety and forget the presence of an outsider with a recording device. This, however, is purely speculation, and more data from different interview situations would be needed in order to attempt to tease apart the factors involved in code switching for this demographic.

Another possible instance of code switching is found for the speaker Ertie Irvine (middle group). Irvine is interviewed by the non-local Elizabeth Sinclair, and three out of five stories are re-tellings of children's stories about the ‘Simple Simon’ type character Johnny Raggie. The other two are descriptions of the mythical creature the *neugie*, and descriptions of local farming rituals. The Johnny Raggie stories are highly vernacular, whereas the two descriptions are far more standardised.

Compare the different codes found within an excerpt from the clip called *A fool gives yarn to a bird to have it woven; in a rage, he lifts a stone and finds treasure*. TH is marked in **bold** type, and perfective is underscored. The different excerpts are time stamped:

00:56 An whin he cam tae **da** muckle stane, here wis aa **da** yarn aroond- rode roond an roond **da** stane, but after **da** time o rain an aplowsin it wis been, hit wis aa just in a felted lump roond.

Gloss: And when he came to **the** big boulder, here, all **the** yarn was spun around and around **the** rock, but after all the rain there had been, it was all just in a felted lump around.

What follows is a regular interview between Elisabeth Sinclair and Ertie Irvine about the story he just told, and how this story and other stories like it were told in his family for generations:

1:48 And **they** had told **them** to **their**, **their** children, so **that** both my father and mother knew **the** stories.

2:32 Oh, I've told it so often, yes.

It is easy to see that the speech produced from 1:48 and onwards is leaning towards SSE, whereas the prior excerpt is on the Shetland dialect side of the dialect continuum. The SSE portion of the clip uses fricative realisations of TH and *have*-perfectives, while the story told in dialect uses TH-stopping and *be*-perfect.

It is likely that the language in the children's stories did not reflect Irvine's day-to-day speech pattern, but due to little speech data, it is not possible to know whether the code switching was caused by stylistic change or the interviewer's background. For this speaker, all instances of TH were found in the descriptive clips, while all instances of perfective were found in the children's stories.

These examples illustrate that code switching is an unknown variable in my dataset, and that there is a possibility that all of my speakers have access to different codes. If this is the case, it is interesting that this number of local features is still being used by all three age groups, regardless of interview environment.

6.4.1 Interviewer background

If interviewer background was crucial for determining the extent of code switching, we would suspect that the four speakers who were interviewed by locals would be distinctly more dialectal than the rest of the speakers. A seminal study on code switching is the study performed by Ellen Douglas Cowie (1978: 40–45). Cowie investigated the speech pattern of speakers in Articlave in Northern Ireland in two interview situations with different experimental conditions. Experiment one consisted of interviews with 10 adult participants, divided into 5 groups of two speakers in each group, interviewed by a local. In the second experiment the informants were asked to meet up one at a time and were interviewed by an English outsider. She found that for the first experiment the speakers used dialectal features at a higher rate than in the second experiment. In the second experiment, rates of dialectal features increased as the interview with the outsider progressed.

When we compare the speech of the four speakers who were interviewed by locals to the speech of the remaining 17 speakers who were interviewed by non-locals, we do find that there is in fact a difference in speech patterns. To illustrate this, the numbers and percentages for all local and non-local variants are presented below, in table 6.3 and figure 6.3

Table 6.3: *Numbers and percentages of local and non-local interviews*

Interviewer	Vernacular n	Vernacular %	Standard n	Standard %	Total n
Local	167	83 %	34	17 %	201
Non-local	331	43 %	432	57 %	763

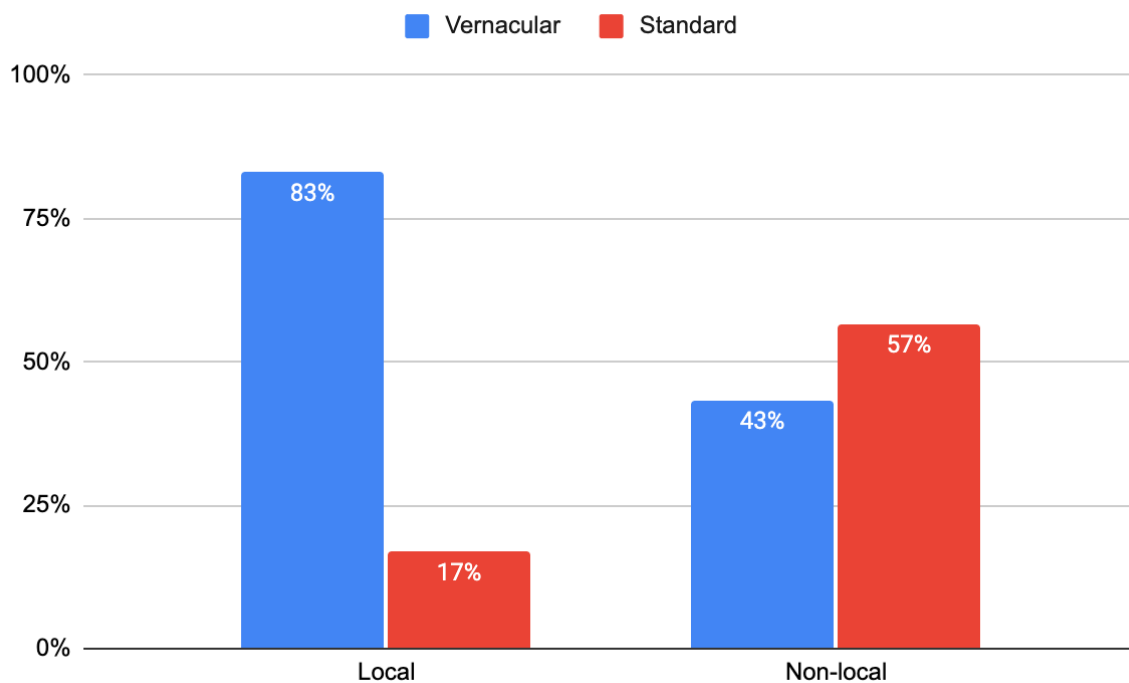


Figure 6.3: *Percentages of local and non-local interviews*

The figure and table above would suggest that there is quite a difference in speech pattern in the two interview conditions. The speakers interviewed by local interviewers produced non-standard variants 83 percent of the time, whereas the speakers who were interviewed by non-locals, used standard variants a majority of the time, at 53 percent. However, it is important to bear in mind that the number of tokens for each group is imbalanced. The non-local group is substantially larger than the local group. The non-local group produced 763 tokens overall,

while the local group produced only 201. When a chi-square test was performed, the difference between the groups was significant, with a p-value of less than 0.01.

6.4.2 Non-local interviews

Now, we investigate the group interviewed by non-locals separately, to see how their speech patterns change when local interviewers are excluded as a factor. In order to illustrate the distribution patterns for the informants interviewed by non-local interviewers, they will be presented by age and gender category. This is to illustrate the range within each age and gender cell. Older speakers are presented with green, middle speakers are yellow and younger speakers are blue. Male speakers appear before female speakers.

Table 6.4: *Table of informants with non-local interviews*

Informant	YOB	Stop	Fric	TH total	BE-perf	Have	Perf total
Tom Sinclair Recorded 1960	1877	22	8	30	11	5	16
Andrew Hunter Recorded 1974	1888	25	5	30	27	3	30
		Tot Stop	Tot Fric	Tot TH	Tot Be	Tot Have	Tot Perf
		47	13	60	38	8	46
Robina Bruce Recorded 1954	1880	30	0	30	7	0	7
Catherine Mary Anderson Recorded 1973	1886	23	7	30	27	3	30
Phyllis Anderson Recorded 1975	1898	25	5	30	1	10	11
		Tot Stop	Tot Fric	Tot TH	Tot Be	Tot Have	Tot Perf
		78	12	90	35	13	48

<u>Peter Frasier Recorded 1975</u>	1904	25	5	30	2	25	27
Ertie Irvine Recorded 1960	1905	6	24	30	6	24	30
William Couper Recorded 1970	1905	19	11	30	7	0	7
Robert Bairnson Recorded 1972	1906	0	30	30	0	11	11
		Tot Stop	Tot Fric	Tot TH	Tot Be	Tot Have	Tot Perf
		50	70	120	15	60	75
Laura Malcolmson Recorded 1973	1903	24	6	30	10	13	23
Elisabeth Morrison	1904	4	26	30	2	3	5
Bertha Umphray Recorded 1958	1908	17	13	30	2	8	10
		Tot Stop	Tot Fric	Tot TH	Tot BE	Tot Have	Tot Perf
		45	45	90	14	24	38
Bertie Deyell Recorded 1975	1920	23	7	30	12	8	20
George Morrison Recorded 1970	1921	13	17	30	13	15	28
Thomas Robertson	1932	29	1	30	11	0	11
		Tot Stop	Tot Fric	Tot TH	Tot BE	Tot Have	Tot Perf

		65	25	90	36	23	59
Margaret Tait Recorded 1960	1916	2	28	30	0	13	13
Margaret Umphray	1933	6	24	30	6	0	6
		Tot Stop	Tot Fric	Tot TH	Tot BE	Tot Have	Tot Perf
		8	52	60	6	13	19

We see that for both gender categories, the vernacular stop variant is in a clear majority among older speakers. Perfective is more varied in distribution and realisation patterns. Andrew Hunter and Catherine Mary Anderson are clear outliers, in that they use *be*-perfect substantially more than all other speakers in their age group.

Moving on to the middle group, distribution of both variables is spread. Three out of the seven speakers are a lot less vernacular in their TH realisations. There appears to be no correlation between vernacularity in TH realisations and perfective preference. Laura Malcomson shows a clear preference for TH-stopping, but is equally divided between *be*-perfect and *have*.

In the youngest group there is a clear gender divide, where the two young women use almost no stop realisations at all, two out of three men show a clear preference for the stop realisation. George Morrison is an outlier among the young men, in that he does not show a clear preference for either TH realisation.

It is hard to say anything conclusive about the *be*-perfect variant, because of differing rates of perfective realisations. By looking at the numbers, no clear pattern could be discerned for the perfective variable in this speaker group as a whole.

Looking at the trends for each variable for the speakers interviewed by non-locals, we can show patterns of change more clearly. We start with the TH realisation for the male speakers. When we exclude the local interviews, there is a pattern of change is similar to the one presented in chapter 5.

Table 6.5: TH numbers and percentages for males interviewed by non-locals

Males	Stop n	Stop %	Fricative n	Fricative %	Total
Old males	47	78 %	13	22 %	60
Middle males	50	42 %	70	58 %	120

Young males	65	72 %	25	28 %	90
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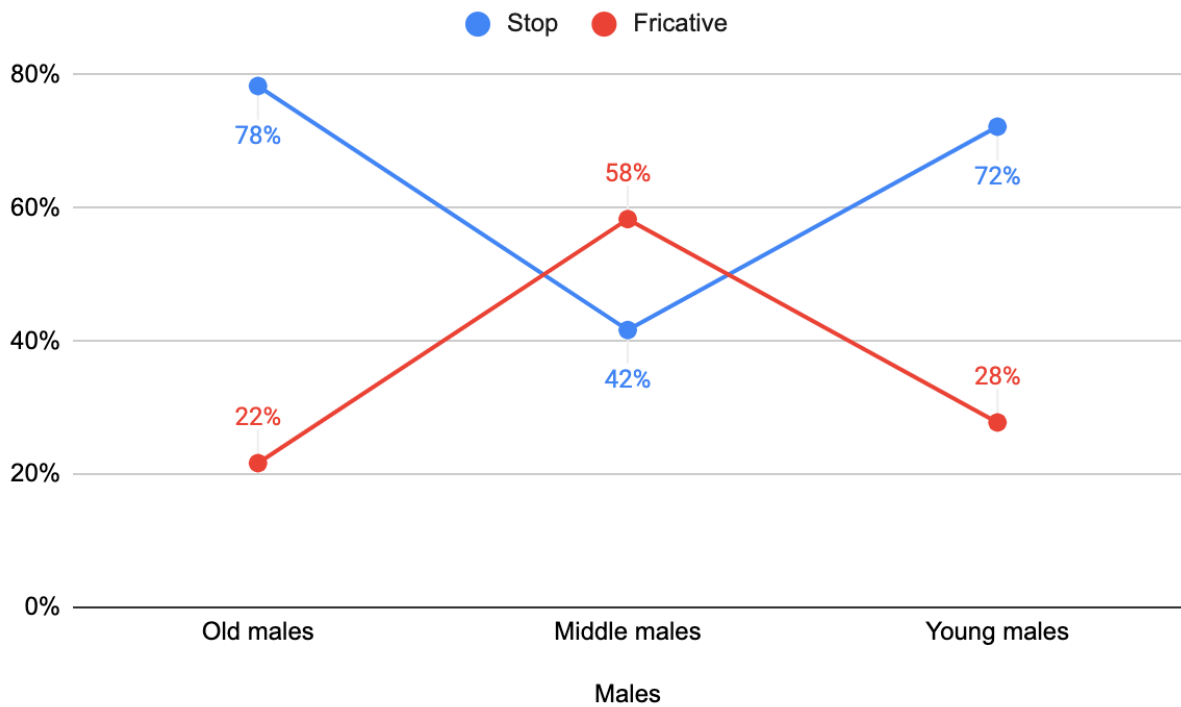


Figure 6.4: TH numbers and percentages males interviewed by non-locals

If we focus on rates of stop realisation for each age group, we find that the older speakers use slightly fewer stop variants (78 percent). The middle speakers use slightly more fricative realisations when local interviews are left out (58 percent). Finally, the young speakers are slightly but not noticeably less vernacular in TH realisations (72 percent). For the male speakers the exclusion of non-local interviews appears to have little effect on the realisation pattern for TH.

For the female speakers, the non-local interviews had a similar TH realisation pattern as the one we saw earlier, but it is interesting to note that old and young females are the exact opposite of each other, in that the old speakers use stop realisations at the same rate that the young speakers use fricatives. The middle group is divided 50-50.

Table 6.6: TH numbers and percentages of perfective for female speakers interviewed by non-locals

	Stop	Stop %	Fricative	Fricative %	Total
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Old females	78	87 %	12	13 %	90
Middle females	45	50 %	45	50 %	90
Young females	8	13 %	52	87 %	60

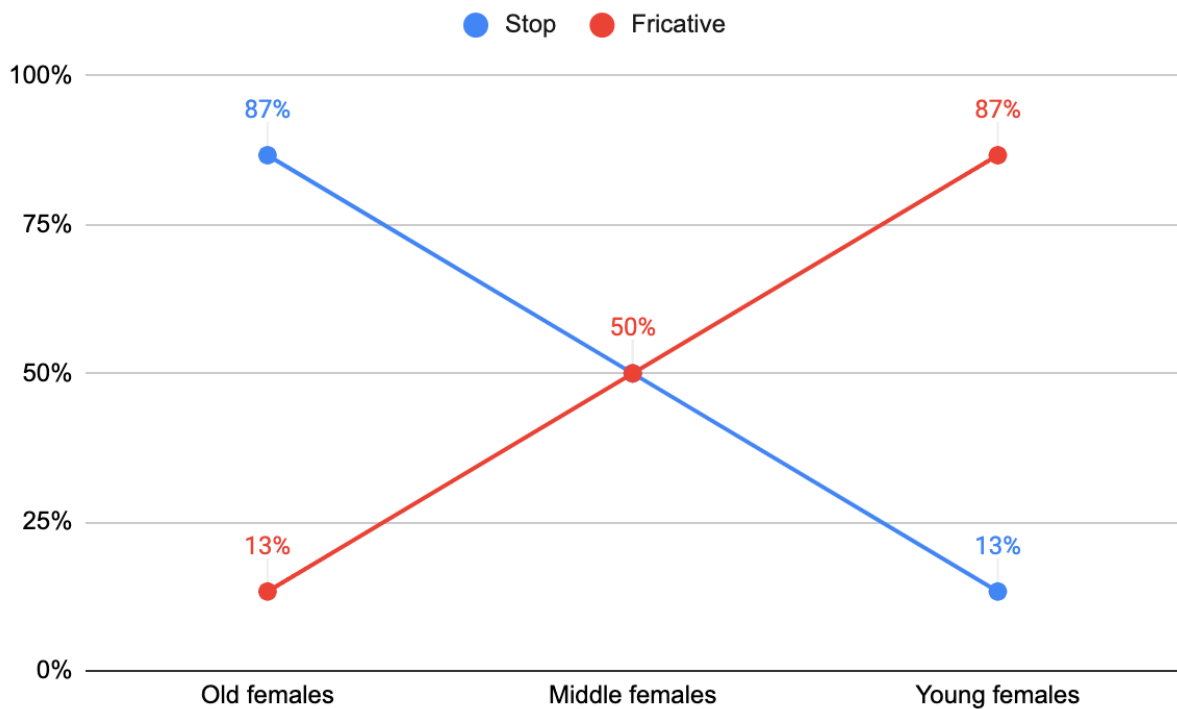


Figure 6.5: Percentages of TH for female speakers

The old group still uses the stop realisation the majority of the time (87 percent), and there is a sharp decline in the middle and younger groups. The middle group has the largest decrease in stop realisations when leaving out local interviews (50 percent), whereas the young speakers have exactly the same rate (13 percent). This is to be expected, as no younger female speakers were interviewed by locals.

When we look at the perfective variable, however, there is a bigger difference between the two interview groups. First let us look at the perfective figures for the male speakers.

Table 6.7: Numbers and percentages of perfective for male speakers interviewed by non-locals

	Be n	Be %	Have	Have %	Total
Old men	38	83 %	8	17 %	46

Middle men	15	20 %	60	80 %	75
Young men	36	61 %	23	39 %	59

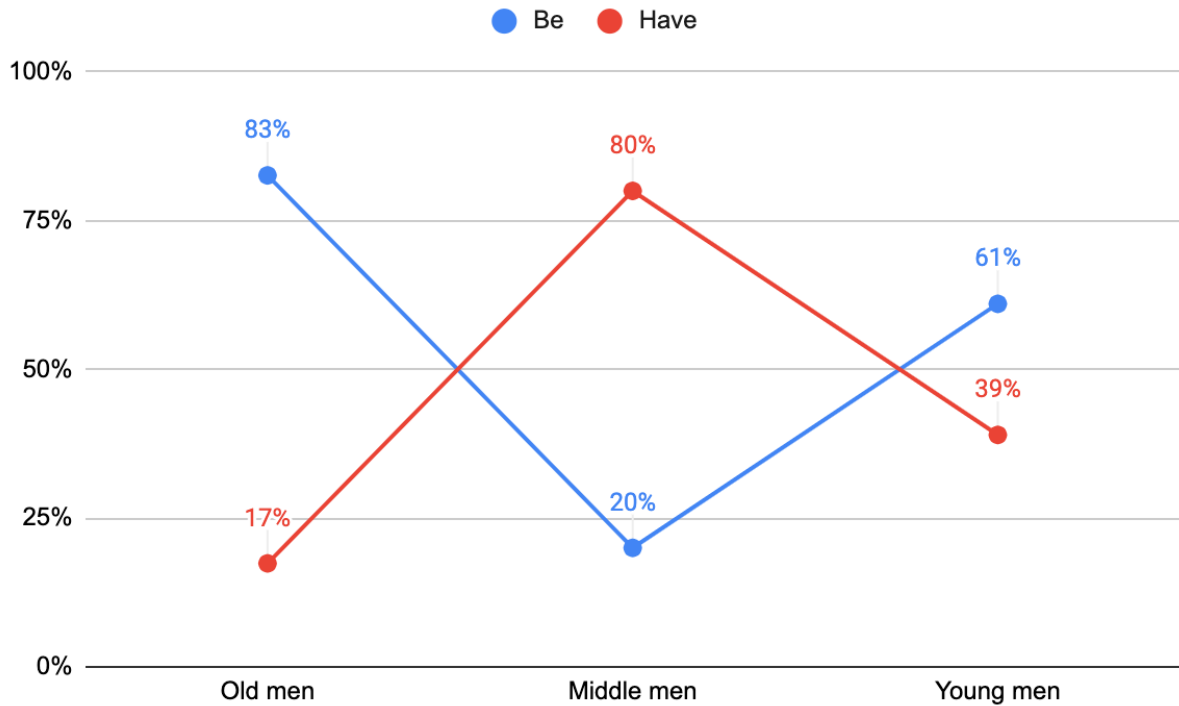


Figure 6.6: Percentages of perfective for male speakers interviewed by non-locals

We see that for the old males, there is a clear preference for the *be*-perfect variant (83 percent). The middle group, however, is less vernacular when the local interviews are left out (20 percent). Finally, the young males use the *be*-perfect 61 percent of the time. The female perfective realisation pattern is where we see the most dramatic difference between non-local interviews and the data where the local interviews are included.

Table 6.8: Numbers and percentages of perfective for female speakers interviewed by non-locals

	Be n	Be %	Have	Have %	Total
Old women	35	73 %	13	27 %	48
Middle women	14	37 %	24	63 %	38

Young women	6	32 %	13	68 %	19
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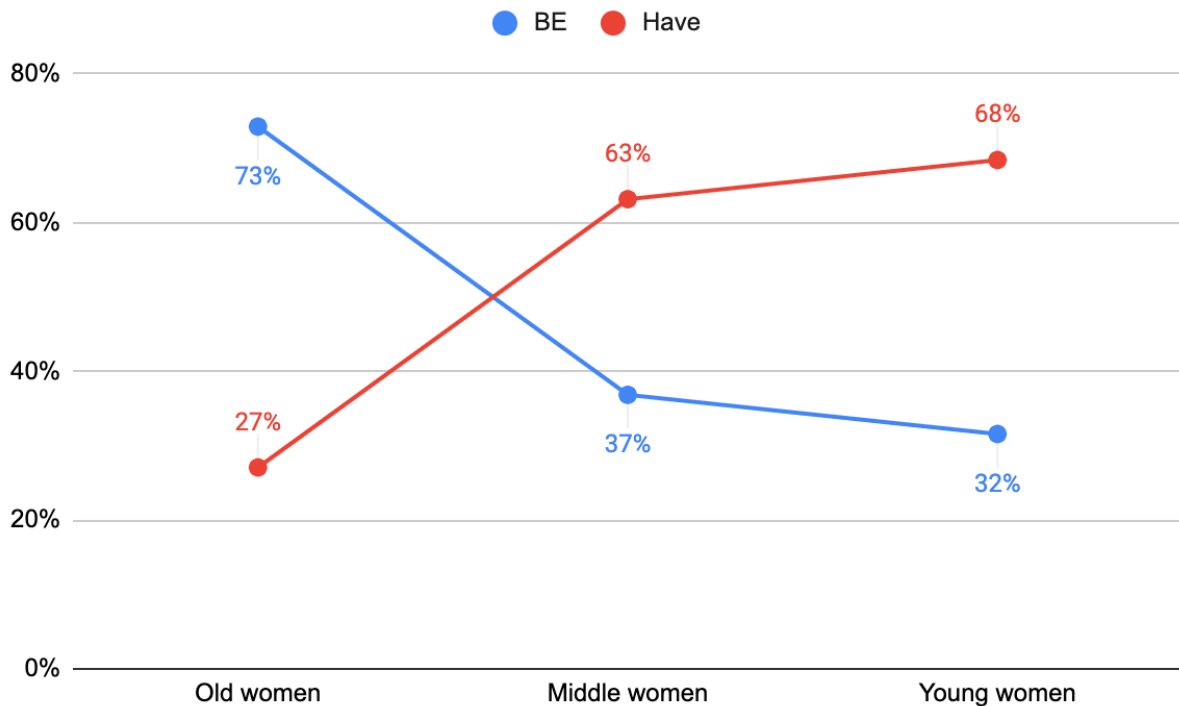


Figure 6.7: Percentages of perfective for female speakers interviewed by non-locals

Surprisingly, the local interviews appear to be skewing the perfective in a more standard direction. The older females show the strongest preference for *be* perfect with 73 percent. When local interviews were included, the older females used *be*-perfect 49 percent of the time. For the middle group, the exclusion of local interviews has less of an impact. All the female speakers in the middle group show a preference for the *have* variant (63 percent for non-local interviews and 69 percent for all speakers). As previously stated, there were no local interviews in the young female group.

It is clear that the perfective variable is most affected by interview situation. Given that rates of perfective are spread among gender categories and age groups, it is more difficult to draw conclusions on speech patterns and trends based on this data. We have seen that each informant has a great impact on the dataset, and more data would be needed to investigate this variable further.

Looking at the speakers interviewed by locals, it is clear that they represent outliers in the dataset. All four speakers interviewed by locals are presented in the table below.

Table 6.9: *Table of informants interviewed by locals*

Informant	YOB	Stop	Fric	TH total	BE-perf	Have	Perf total
Brucie Henderson	1891	29	1	30	26	4	30
Maggie Wilson Recorded 1955	1890	25	5	30	1	10	11
Rosabel Blance Recorded 1960	1909	28	2	30	1	9	10
George Peterson recorded 1960	1932	28	2	30	29	1	30

As is evident from the table of local interviews, these four speakers display a preference for the stop variant. Further, Brucie Henderson and George Peterson appear to favour the *be*-perfect variant, while Maggie Wilson and Rosabel Blance hardly use it at all. However, it is important to note that the male and female speakers here have wildly differing rates of perfective in total, and I would be cautious to draw conclusions on their perfective preference with such differing rates.

If we break down the results for the local interviews by variable and gender, it is easier to see the patterns that appear. I will start by looking at the TH variable among the male speakers.

Table 6.10: *Numbers and percentages of TH by gender in local interviews*

	Stop	Stop %	Fricative	Fricative %	TH total
Males	57	95 %	3	5 %	60
Females	53	88 %	7	12 %	60

The table above shows that both the male and female speakers make use of the stop realisation almost exclusively. The males have 57 stop realisations, corresponding to 95 percent of realisations. Meanwhile, the female speakers have 53 stop realisations, corresponding to 88 percent. Given the low number of tokens for fricative realisations in the male group, it is not possible to do a chi-squared test for significance between the two groups.

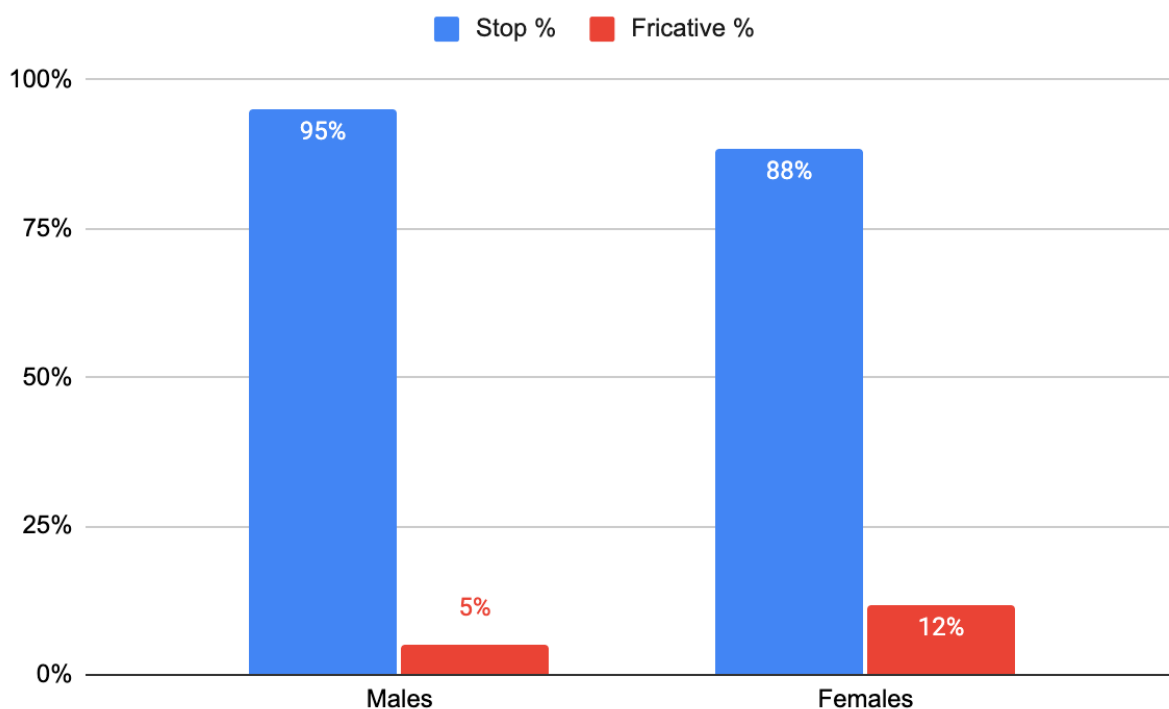


Figure 6.8: *Percentages of TH by gender in local interviews*

In the non-local interviews, however, realisation patterns between the two variants are more evenly distributed.

Table 6.11: *TH numbers and percentages for non-local interviews by gender*

	Stop	Stop %	Fricative	Fricative %	TH total
Non-local males	162	60 %	108	40 %	270
Non-local females	131	55 %	109	45 %	240

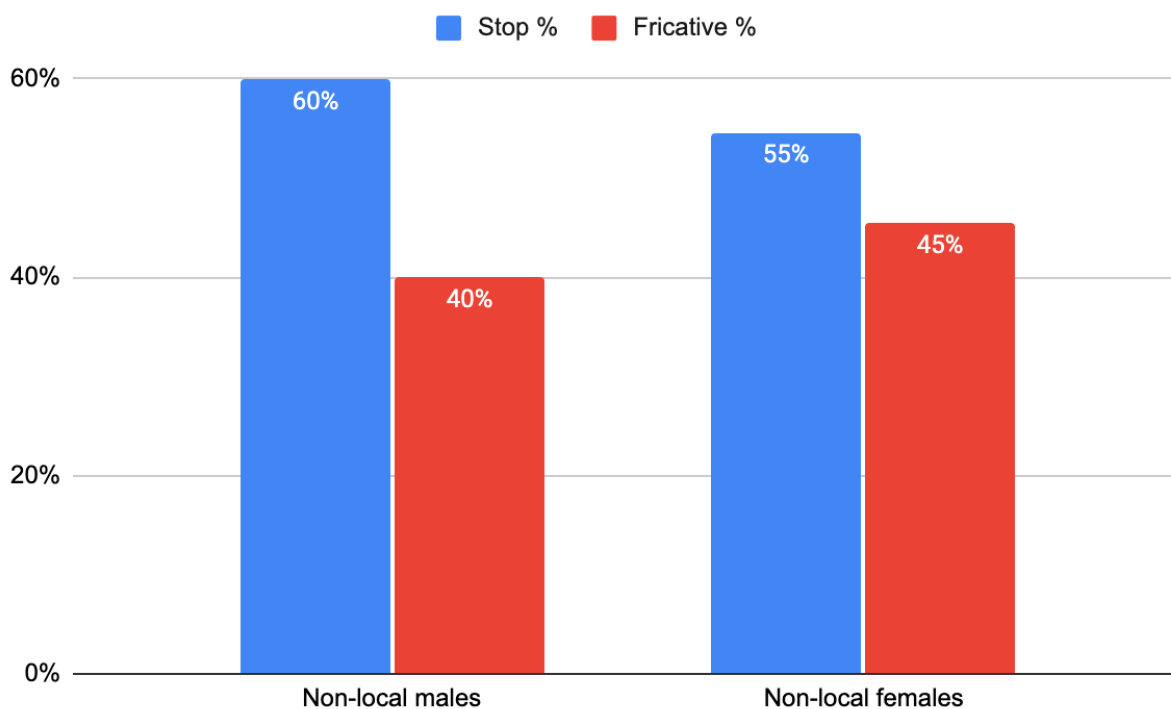


Figure 6.9: *TH percentages for non-local interviews by gender*

Looking at the non-local interviews, we see that both gender categories prefer the stop variant. Male speakers use stops most frequently, with 162 tokens corresponding to 60 percent of instances. The females have slightly lower rates of the stop variant, with 131 tokens corresponding to 55 percent of instances. When we perform a chi-square test, we find that the differences between genders is not significant ($p=0.2169$).

Comparing local and non-local interviews, we see that the local interviews show considerably higher rates of stop realisations, with 95 percent compared to 60 percent. For the females there is also considerable difference in realisation rate, with the local interviews producing 88 percent stop realisations compared to the non-local interviews at 55 percent. The males in the local interviews produce too few fricative tokens to statistically test the difference between interview situations. However, it is possible to perform a significance test for the female speakers. Here, the difference is significant ($p < 0.01$).

Now, we move on to the perfective variable to see how the local interviews differ from non-locals. Once again, we will compare male and female speakers. We will start with looking at the local interviews.

Table 6.12: *Perfective numbers and percentages for local interviews by gender*

	Be n	Be %	Have n	Have %	Perfective total
Males	55	92 %	5	8 %	60
Females	2	10 %	19	90 %	21

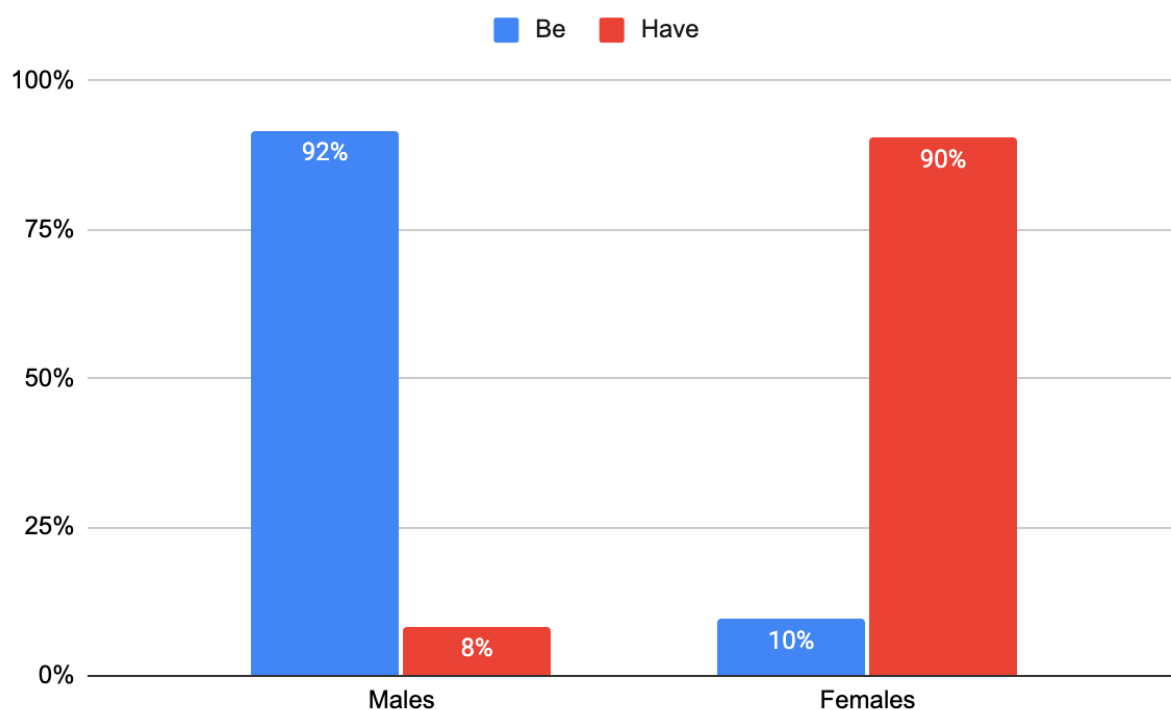


Figure 6.10: *Perfective percentages for local interviews by gender*

For the local interviews we see a clear gender divide. The male speakers produce 55 tokens of *be*, amounting to 92 percent of perfective variant, whereas the females have two tokens of *be*-perfect corresponding to only 10 percent of perfective realisations. Due to low numbers of *be*-perfect realisations for the female speakers it is not possible to perform a chi-square test between genders.

Table 6.13: *Perfective numbers and percentages for non-local interviews by gender*

	Be n	Be %	Have n	Have %	Total
Males	89	49 %	91	51 %	180

Females	55	52 %	50	48 %	105
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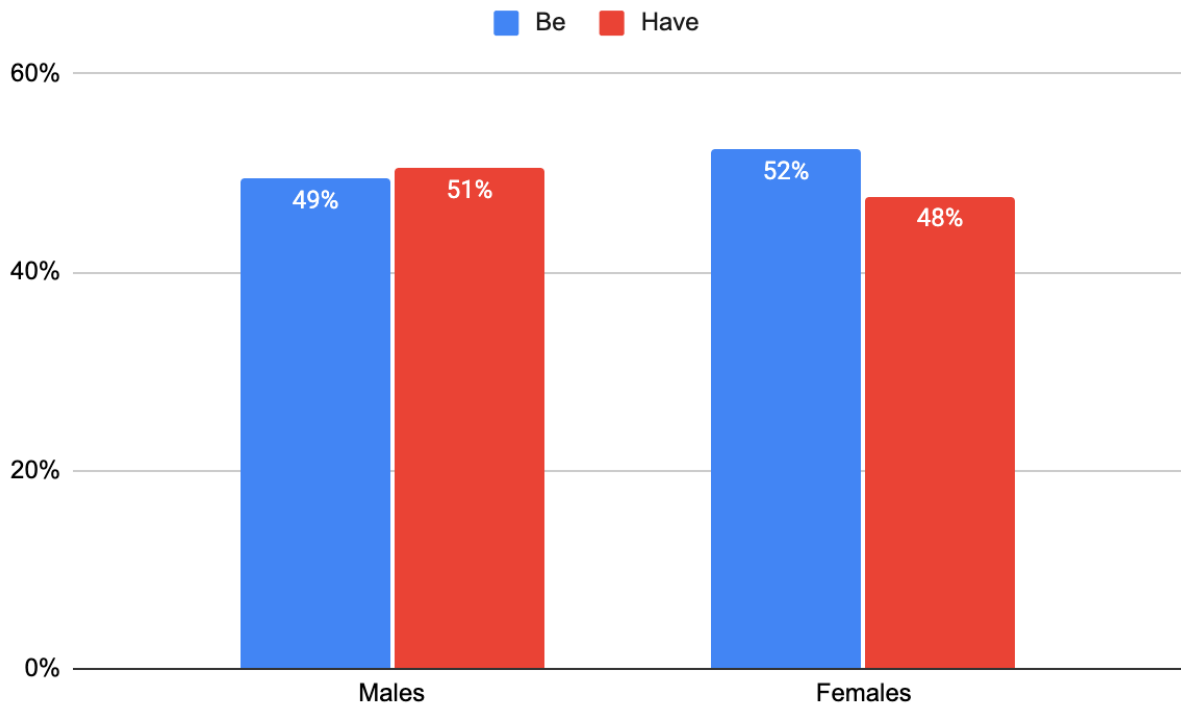


Figure 6.11: *Perfective percentages for non-local interviews by gender*

Looking at the non-local interviews, gender differences are much smaller. Male speakers produce 89 tokens of *be*-perfect, or 49 percent of their perfective realisations, whereas the females produce 55 tokens of *be*-perfect corresponding to 52 percent of perfective instances. It is interesting that the female rates of *be*-perfect are slightly higher than the male rate. As expected, differences between genders are not significant for this group ($p=0.6324$). Comparing local and non-local interviews, it is not possible to perform a chi-square test between the two groups of female speakers. The difference between male speakers is highly significant ($p < 0.01$).

It is clear that the non-local interviews have had a profound effect on the perfective variable. Going back to the results from chapter 5, there was a significant difference in the perfective variable between genders. Now that we have separated local and non-local interviews, it would appear that the gender difference is due to the female speakers in the local interviews who hardly produce any *be*-perfect tokens at all. Realisation patterns appear to be governed by an interplay between age, gender and code switching.

The three major historical shifts in Shetland prior to the discovery of oil had a profound impact on Shetland society and life for Shetlanders in general. It is reasonable to assume that these changes may have brought increased awareness of SSE. During the First World War, when men were conscripted into the merchant Navy, the women stayed behind and worked on the crofts as well as knitting. In this first socio-economic shock, women had less exposure to outside influence, so it is possible that the patterns we see for the TH-variable in the female groups could be a reflection of a lesser need to adapt one's speech. As mentioned in section 2.1.1, in the inter-war period many unmarried women migrated to mainland Scotland as a result of the depression. This could have lead women in this time period to become increasingly aware of prestige variants, as the women who returned came back with new experiences and expectations from outsiders to adapt their speech. For the female speakers, this pattern appears to have persisted in the Second World War, when single women, to a larger extent, could join the war effort and job opportunities increased. Black (1995) mentions that there were positions for women in the military that required that they lose their dialect in order to communicate with military service people. This is perhaps the first time dialectal code-switching expectations were made explicit and this could contribute to an explanation as to the steady rise in standard variants for female speakers.

6.5 Avenues for further research

This study has examined age and gender differences regarding the use of two linguistic variables. Though it seeks to provide a picture of the linguistic changes that took place in Shetland in an era before the discovery of oil and large-scale SSE influence, more research is needed to fill in the gaps of knowledge regarding the speech patterns of Shetlanders born in the pre-war period. This study also uncovers some code-switching effects across three generations of Shetland speakers born before the Second World War. More data is necessary to thoroughly examine the effect of code-switching on different generations of Shetlanders. Quantitatively, the question of code-switching has only been studied in one previous research paper, namely Smith and Durham (2012). This study focused on adolescent speakers, and it would be of interest to examine patterns of code switching in older generations of Shetlanders as well. More research could also be done on regional differences on Shetland, and if and when regional variation levelled out in the archipelago. I have reason

to suspect that Shetland had more pronounced regional differences in previous generations. Jakobsen identified several different sub-dialects and nine main dialect areas (1921:15-16). This suggests that Shetland was at least quite dialectally diverse. The variables I chose to focus on, and the means by which I analysed the speech data, did not allow me to distinguish between different vowel realisations. More advanced acoustical analysis could shed light on such dialectal variations and uncover further patterns of change. The constraints used in Smith and Durhams' studies would be interesting to research on older speakers. I do not know if the verb tense affects the rate of *be*-perfect for pre-oil Shetland dialect speakers, nor do I know if there is a pattern among my speakers towards the alveolar realisation of TH-stopping, as was found in Smith and Durham (2011). It would be interesting to examine how the different variants of TH-stopping pattern among pre-oil speakers and if there is any gender difference in their preference of TH-stopping variant. One feature that was not examined by either Smith and Durham or Haugen is the Shetland use of *hit* for the third person singular pronoun 'it'. I found multiple instances of this variant in my data set, but it was outside the scope of this study. Nonetheless this could be an interesting feature to examine in order to see if pronouns display different distribution patterns than the other features that have been previously researched.

7. Conclusion

This has been a sociolinguistic study on three generations of Shetland speakers. Very few quantitative studies have been conducted on the Shetland dialect. The quantitative studies that have been conducted thus far have been based on synchronic speech material, whereas my research is based on archival material of oral history. I have investigated the speech patterns of contributors to the Kist O Riches archive using two variables that were specific to Shetland dialect, as an indicator of sociolinguistic change. The variables I have investigated are the TH variable and perfective variable. The previous quantitative studies of Shetland dialect have examined a larger range of linguistic variables. These studies have examined variables that both were considered to be unique to Shetland dialect, and variables that are found across Scotland, and in Scots-speaking communities. I chose to focus on two Shetland-specific variables because I wanted to investigate highly vernacular Shetland dialect material and look at two of the most distinct features of Shetland dialect. The three generations I have investigated provide a picture of sociolinguistic changes that have taken place in Shetland during the start and middle of the 20th century. I have modelled my research on studies conducted in 2011, 2012 and 2020.

As my speech data is considerably older than that of those studies, I suspected that it would be more vernacular, based on reversing the trends of the aforementioned studies. However, this was not a factor I could control for. The only way I could target more vernacular data was through a language filter option on the archival website. In the data found through the oral history archive, there is an imbalance in the amount of male and female speakers, as well as between the age groups. This limits the extent to which I could generalise the findings for each generation and gender category. It was difficult to maintain a sufficient age gap between age categories. This was also more difficult for the female group, than for the male speakers. The boundaries between age groups were a compromise between reasonable age stratification for each gender category and the amount of available speech material for each speaker and age group. Even with these limitations in mind, other sociolinguistic studies have been successfully conducted with similar amounts of data and speakers for each cell. Given that the results between age groups and gender categories proved to be statistically significant, I have reason to believe that the results can say something about sociolinguistic changes in Shetland and the factors that have affected these changes.

The speakers were interviewed by locals and non-locals. Though the speech data was informal and relaxed in the non-local interviews, and all speakers showed higher rates of local variants than those found in previous research, there was a significant difference between the speakers interviewed by locals and those interviewed by non-locals. I have attributed these differences to code-switching, a phenomenon where a speaker has access to two codes which they glide between as they adapt to social situations in order to accommodate outsiders and facilitate communication. Code-switching is seen explicitly in this study in a few examples where a speaker makes a conscious decision to switch between Shetland dialect and Standard Scottish English. This was presented in two excerpts in Chapter 6 where Rosabel Blanc and Ertie Irvine demonstrated a clear distinction between the two codes of speech. The switching is particularly clear for the *be*-perfect variant, which appears in the Shetland dialect excerpts, but is absent from the excerpts in Standard Scottish English. This complicated my analysis of the age groups, as it was possible that all speakers had access to two distinct codes and were affected by their environment to shift between the two. As such, code-switching is ultimately an unknown variable in my data set, and the interviewer background factor should be considered with caution.

When Velupillai compared archival material from the 60's and 80's to newer material in her pilot study, she found that the use of gendered inanimates, a feature which is regarded as Shetland-specific in a UK setting, was less prominent in the older material than in the contemporary material. Velupillai suggests that the older speakers having higher rates of standard features could be due to the speakers adapting to the formality of the interview setting, despite being interviewed by a local speaker (Velupillai 2019). Other contemporary studies showed extensive dialect levelling, which was attributed to the major socioeconomic shift brought about by the discovery of oil in the 1970's and 80's. There is reason to believe, based on Velupillai's study, that gendered inanimates might pattern differently than the variables I chose to analyse. There is also the caveat that participants in the Shetland Archive could simply have adapted their speech to the formal interview setting, rather than it being representative of day-to-day usage of gendered inanimates for this demographic.

My findings show that female speakers in pre-oil Shetland may have been leading the change towards Standard Scottish English, but that this change was more pronounced in the local realisation of the perfective variable. The local variant *be*-perfect was a minority variant for all my female speaker groups, whereas the older and younger generations of males appeared to have favoured the local variant. The middle male group stood out as being less vernacular than the two other age groups. This pattern is found in both variables.

Both gender categories had significantly higher rates of TH-stopping when interviewed by locals, and there was a gender difference in the realisation of *be*-perfect when interviewed by locals. Women had almost no tokens of the *be*-perfect variant.

The difference in the preference of standard variants for the middle male group could be due to socio-economic changes in the interwar period, when a large percentage of the male population emigrated to mainland Scotland in order to find work. The speakers who grew up in this era may have had heightened awareness of code-switching as a result of dialect changes experienced around them. The subsequent shock of the Second World War with increased outsider influence may have caused the youngest generation to use higher numbers of local features as a way of signalling local identity. Similar speech pattern trends have been found directly following the oil-boom, where the middle-aged speakers of Haugen (2020) and Smith and Durham (2011) showed higher rates of local variants.

For the female speakers, I speculate that the world wars may have made these speakers hyperaware of prestige variants, as they went from performing domestic tasks to gradually taking up regular employment in the Second World War. It is possible that *be*-perfect is seen as a more marked variant than TH-stopping, and thus easier to avoid. More research would be needed to uncover code-switching patterns amongst female speakers in pre-oil Shetland, and how patterns may vary for other linguistic variables. A larger study of pre-oil Shetland speech that analyses both Shetland-specific and Scotland-wide features could provide an even more complete picture of the shift from Shetland-dialect to Standard Scottish English. It is known that the dialect is losing ground, but the rate at which the change has occurred is not known for all variables. It could yet be that the oil-boom was not the sole driving force of change towards SSE, but that this change started at an even earlier point in time.

Appendix A: All clips in the dataset grouped by age and gender

This is an overview of all the clips I used for each speaker in the dataset. The speakers are sorted by age and gender and the clips are presented in alphabetical order. In each age group, males appear before females.

Males 1877–1900

Tom Sinclair

A laird who shot straying sheep was faced down by a Shetland crofter; his gun, still loaded, caused an accident at home

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35836?l=en>

A Norwegian man is mistaken for a seal and stabbed. .

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35687?l=en>

A poor woman turns up at her house after her own funeral while her belongings are being sold off.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35810?l=en>

Betty Mouat survived drifting alone in a sloop to Norway and other narrow escapes.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35589?l=en>

Excisemen outwitted by a shebeen keeper

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35886?l=en>

The captain of a whaler tries unsuccessfully to find out who spoiled a polar bear hide

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35820?l=en>

Three Shetland brothers evade the press gang and join a whaler

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35893?l=en>

Andrew Hunter

A dream about tea; a Finn's journey

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/102109?l=en>

A fiddler who stopped to play for the trows was away from home for longer than he realised

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77073?l=en>

A long journey home for a Shetland man caught by the press gang

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77078?l=en>

A man fetching potatoes disappeared and potatoes were later seen growing in a bog

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77069?l=en>

A man's shadow scared him all the way home and he wouldn't go out again at night

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77022?l=en>

A Shetland mother helped her two sons to escape the press gang by boat

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77075?l=en>

A strong man escaped the press gang and was never recaptured

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77076?l=en>

An attempt to get the luck back into a milk churn ended in disaster

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77017?l=en>

Halloween divination; an instance when it came true

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84003?l=en>

How an Aswick man was cheated out of his lands by the laird

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77231?l=en>

How the Bruces murdered and cheated their way to the Nesting lands

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77080?l=en>

On the way to a neighbour's haunted croft, a child saw a host of little folk

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77023?l=en>

Parish nicknames were common in Shetland

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/81824?l=en>

Tall tales told by Shetland men

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84404?l=en>

Trows carried a cad through the township at night

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77013?l=en>

Two supernatural stories with Norway connections.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84403?l=en>

Brucie Henderson

A boatload of people were robbed and perhaps murdered

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/94764?l=en>

A drink made with bursteen; how to make sowens
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/94765?l=en>

An underground hiding place from the press gang discovered
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/94767?l=en>

A witch brought about the death at sea of a young man; the drowned crew haunted the land until they found rest
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/94769?l=en>

Brucie Henderson considers it a great loss that people nowadays [1976] are no longer interested in genealogy
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/52439?l=en>

Brucie Henderson's work as a ploughman during WWI
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/52437?l=en>

Christmas and other celebrations better in the past; Old and New Christmas
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/52440?l=en>

The origin and history of the Harrison or Henderson family in Shetland; the church at Baliasta; anecdote about a minister:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/65262?l=en>

Watermills and milling protocol
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/52438?l=en>

Females 1880–1900

Robina Bruce

Auspicious days and states of the tide for entering into activities in Shetland:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/32826?l=en>

Belief in trows on Yell; brief summary of a story about trow music
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/32819?l=en>

Cutting heather for fodder on Yell:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/31499?l=en>

Grasses used for making rope and thatch in Yell:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/31518?l=en>

Shetland Halloween divining and a prank:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/32825?l=en>

Shetland superstitions about fishing; sea terms.
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/32824?l=en>

Yell wedding party perished
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/32821?l=en>

Catherine Mary Anderson

A best man eloped with his friend's intended:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/78521?l=en>

A drunk man scared the crew of a boat with his talk:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/78524?l=en>

A fairy who is milking a man's cow is deceived into revealing herself:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67557?l=en>

A fiddler was rewarded for playing at a dead woman's wedding, but lost everything when he told what he had seen:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67552?l=en>

A man married a seal girl but she found her skin and escaped:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67524?l=en>

A midwife who delivered a fairy child was able to see the fairy world, until a fairy blinded her:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67551?l=en>

A shipwreck on Fetlar
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/78520?l=en>

A stranded seal hunter was rescued by a seal in exchange for its son's skin:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67556?l=en>

A vision saved a fishing boat crew from the storm:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/78527?l=en>

A witch's attempt to attack a fisherman in the form of a seal
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67506?l=en>

A witch took the form of a seal to sink a fishing boat but came off worse:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/78526?l=en>

A witch took the profit from another woman's milk
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67530?l=en>

Fishermen survive a desperate trip to Fetlar and back:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/28291?l=en>
The devil waited for two boys going off on a boat but the Lord's name made him disappear
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/67536?l=en>

Maggie Wilson

Bible and crib survive house burning:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/27437?l=en>

Herbal and folk remedies for illnesses of cattle and humans
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/27363?l=en>

Minister saves girl thief from Devil:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/27440?l=en>

Spanish taught Fair Isle knitting:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/27417?l=en>

Phyllis Anderson

A fisherman drove robbers off with his new walking stick:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/82898?l=en>

An ancient brooch; hiding from the press gang:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/82894?l=en>

Killing an eagle; a lingering survivor of Napoleonic times:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/82897?l=en>

Press gang stories:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/82896?l=en>

Shetland crofters saw treasure buried and dug up again:
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/82893?l=en>

Two shetland Shipwrecks
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/82892?l=en>

Males 1900–1910

Peter Frasier

A theological argument followed by an apparition:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84458?l=en>

Belief in hill folk; machinations of the Reawick lairds.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84463?l=en>

Fishing superstitions in Shetland:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84464?l=en>

Fish processing in Skeld; a failed strike by the fish gutters:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84462?l=en>

Floating shops; anecdotes about dealings with merchants:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84461?l=en>

Rational explanations for haunted mills and cattle

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84460?l=en>

Smuggling brandy from the Faroes; a shipwreck survivor

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84478?l=en>

Strange apparitions with logical explanations

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84459?l=en>

Ertie Ervine

A fool gives yarn to a bird to have it woven; in a rage, he lifts a stone and finds treasure:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73956?l=en>

A fool goes to the butcher's, receiving many thrashings on the way; his mother takes pity on him for his troubles:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73927?l=en>

A fool sells a cow for a handful of spit, kills the minister, and is saved by his mother's quick wit:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73954?l=en>

A neugle was caught and used to plough at Tingwall

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35378?l=en>

Shetland farming rituals to keep sheep from straying and the plough from breaking

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35415?l=en>

William Couper

A Shetland man plunges through a ship's deck, and shoots two eagles with one shot:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39626?l=en>

A Shetland man stayed on the sea bottom to escape a hail shower:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39654?l=en>

Tall tale: a Shetland man encounters a trow and loses a hand in a shipwreck:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39621?l=en>

Tall tale of a lost calf emerging from the side of a giant turnip:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39653?l=en>

Robert Bairnson

Carting seaweed; reaping grain crops.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/101923?l=en>

Fishing for white fish, herring and saithe

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/101926?l=en>

Footwear- clogs and rivlins:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/101927?l=en>

Planting kale; types of basket; pack saddles

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/101921?l=en>

Processing corn; growing kale; storing potatoes

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/101922?l=en>

The crofting year; men's and women's work.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/101925?l=en>

Females 1900–1910

Laura Malcomson

A customs man adopts a disguise but the smugglers are warned by a fellow officer, who tips the other into the sea

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/30878?l=en>

A sheep thief turned kidnapper was caught and executed

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/102005?l=en>

Girls used to lure customs men away from a wreck

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/29334?l=en>

How Cunningsburgh women chased the excisemen

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/29333?l=en>

Killholter's crime spree and execution

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/30884?l=en>

Shetlanders captured by French warships

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/102004?l=en>

Two instances of Shetlanders hearing fairy music

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/64957?l=en>

Elisabeth Morrison

A Shetland man sees a phantom funeral before his own death

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/36831?l=en>

Last man to be buried in St Ninian's Isle churchyard

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/36729?l=en>

Power of Uri Geller on television starts clock in Shetland.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/36728?l=en>

Bertha Umphray

A Shetland childrens's game with a live fish:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35067?l=en>

Christmas Eve pranks in Scalloway

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/34990?l=en>

Grim marks of the Gallow Hill in Scalloway; a giant's footprint.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35070?l=en>

Shetland watch-night church services interrupted by pranksters throwing in hens and ducks

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/34991?l=en>

Tall tales told to gullible servicemen stationed in Shetland

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35069?l=en>

The island of Langa was divided by divine intervention

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/34965?l=en>

Watery end for a Shetland sheep thief after he is cursed by his victim

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/34941?l=en>

Rosabel Blance

Water horses that haunted the Eshaness area.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/79859?l=en>

A wig stretcher carved by Johnny Notions, a Shetland inventor.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/79855?l=en>

Stories about the Cheyne family and Tangwick Haa; Sir Walter Scott's visit; smuggling.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/79856?l=en>

Males 1910–1933

Bertie Deyell

A witch thwarted by her neighbours

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84420?l=en>

A young woman defied an unscrupulous factor

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/86289?l=en>

Examples of spells used successfully against trows and witches

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84417?l=en>

The thief of the Neean ended up in Lerwick tolbooth:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84426?l=en>

George Morrison

A Shetland landlord tries to use an illicit still as an excuse to evict his tenants

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39605?l=en>

A Shetland man escaped the press gang by fleeing to an islet in the middle of a loch

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39618?l=en>

A well-known Shetland storyteller sailed a fish to New York

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39597?l=en>

A wind so strong it blew the horns off buffalo

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39601?l=en>

Other Shetland crofters were cleared to make way for those evicted from Kergord

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39615?l=en>

Tall tales: a Shetland crack shot massacres starlings

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39602?l=en>

The clearances of Upper Weisdale and how Johnny 'Barny' Hunter got his nickname when he was evicted and lived in a barn.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/39582?l=en>

George Peterson

A drowned man's sweetheart had a premonition of his death

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77234?l=en>

A fiddler visited the trows and was gone for a hundred years; others learned a tune from him before he crumbled to dust

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77252?l=en>

A seal hunter was saved by a giant seal in exchange for its pup's life

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77249?l=en>

A Shetland laird's men evict tenants and throw a child in a cradle onto the midden.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/37501?l=en>

A theological argument followed by an apparition

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/84458?l=en>

A witch destroys a Spanish Armada ship by summoning the wind

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/36051?l=en>

A woman experiences a premonition when her sweetheart is drowned:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/36416?l=en>

A woman experiences a premonition when her sweetheart is drowned

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/36416?l=en>

How a witch saved the Papa Stour folk from pirates by raising a hurricane

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77247?l=en>

Mysterious cries heralded the death of Papa Stour seamen

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/77233?l=en>

The Papa Stour Sword Dance; the fate of a slave trader.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/37510?l=en>

Voices heard crying out on Papa Stour were premonition of war death

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/36858?l=en>

Thomas Robertson

A cock's crow protected a croft house

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/72025?l=en>

A man disappeared for a hundred years after inviting a spirit to his wedding

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/72071?l=en>

A pedlar saw people stealing sheep and saved others who were wrongly accused

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/72069?l=en>

A woman's dreams stopped after she acted on them
<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/72027?l=en>

Females 1910–1933

Maragaret Tait

At Shetland weddings, an oatcake was broken over the bride's head and the guests scrambled for the pieces

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35377?l=en>

Fishing customs and superstitions; turning a boat clockwise; taboo words:

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73517?l=en>

Gates and cars were targeted at Halloween

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73484?l=en>

Halloween custom of divining a husband; a Johnsmas ritual involving flowers.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73460?l=en>

In the old days, when there were stories of seals transforming into humans, people wouldn't harm seals.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73580?l=en>

Measuring a scroo to find a husband.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73486?l=en>

Shetland wedding traditions- contract night; a bag of bread claimed in secret by uninvited neighbours

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73458?l=en>

Shetland wedding traditions- shots fired, brooms carried to clear away spirits; procession; prolonged celebrations.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73438?l=en>

Sugar lumps were given to people visiting the house of a newborn.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/73413?l=en>

Telling the future by throwing sickles.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35413?l=en>

Maragaret Umphray

A Shetland children's home-made plaything.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35066?l=en>

Description of a Mid Yell wedding with dancing over two nights

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/34967?l=en>

Fisherman's lucky jersey and other Shetland fishing superstitions; sea words for taboo terms

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/33825?l=en>

Halloween kale casting and fortune-telling in Mid Yell

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/34989?l=en>

Nicknames for people from various Shetland parishes.

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/35065?l=en>

The word 'minister' brings bad luck on fishing trip; other Shetland fishing superstitions

<https://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/track/33826?l=en>

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