

**“And what have you thought o’ what you are seen o’ Shetland so far?”**

A sociolinguistic study of language variation and change in Scalloway, Shetland

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## ABSTRACT – NORWEGIAN

Flere sociolingvistiske studier har de siste årene rettet søkelyset mot en vedvarende trend av dialektutjevning, en prosess hvor lokale dialektvarianter blir erstattet av mer globale eller standardiserte varianter (Williams og Kerswill 1999, Britain 2002). Når yngre mennesker benytter færre dialektvarianter enn eldre mennesker på et gitt tidspunkt kan dette tolkes som en indikasjon på en pågående språkendring over tid. Selv om shetlandsdialekten i stor grad skiller seg ut fra både standard engelsk og andre engelske dialekter, finnes det få sociolingvistiske studier fra øygruppen. Noe forskning er gjort i Lerwick, hvor Smith og Durham (2011, 2012) konkluderte med at bruken av dialektvarianter går ned jo yngre informantene er. Ifølge Sundkvist (e.g. 2011a) er også en lokal variant av skotsk standard engelsk (SSE) på vei til å etablere seg i Lerwick. Det virker derfor som om dialektutjevningsprosesser er til stede i Lerwick. Mer forskning er likevel nødvendig for å fastslå om og hvordan slike prosesser forekommer utenfor Lerwick.

Denne studien tar for seg språkbruk i Scalloway, en landsby vest for Lerwick. Den benytter seg av sociolingvistiske intervjuer med 20 informanter i tre aldersgrupper for å undersøke hvordan bruken av dialektvarianter samvarierer med de sosiale faktorene alder, kjønn og lokalitet. Studien undersøker både Skottland-utbredte og Shetland-spesifikke variabler: leksikalsk *ken* og *peerie*, morfosyntaktisk *yon* og perfektum med *be* og de fonetiske variablene L-vokalisering, TH og HOUSE-HOOSE variasjon. Hovedfunnene i studien er at de unge informantene bruker veldig få lokale varianter, mens den midterste aldersgruppa bruker signifikant flere dialektvarianter enn de eldste informantene. Utsagn i intervjuene tyder på at denne oppblomstringen av dialektvarianter kan være påvirket av holdningsendringer og et ønske om å markere shetlandsidentitet som følge av sosiodemografiske endringer.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**LAS** – Linguistic Atlas of Scotland

**LSS** – Linguistic Survey of Scotland

**NSD** – Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata

**SSE** – Scottish Standard English

**SVLR** – Scottish Vowel-Length Rule



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Aim and Scope

This is a sociolinguistic study of language variation and change in Scalloway, Shetland. A number of researchers (e.g. Trudgill 1974, Williams and Kerswill 1999, Britain 2002) have investigated patterns of language variation and change and dialect levelling in the UK over the past few decades. Dialect levelling is a process where marked, stigmatised or localised features are replaced by unmarked, less stereotyped or supralocal variants (Britain 2002: 35). Despite the large amount of recent studies of dialect levelling in the UK, newer sociolinguistic research on the language situation in Shetland is limited. Some sociolinguistic research has been done on language use in Lerwick (e.g. Smith and Durham 2011, 2012, Sundkvist 2011a), but major variationist sociolinguistic studies from other places in Shetland have overall been absent.

Previous linguistic studies in Shetland have focused on historic elements, such as the impact of Norn, a Norse language that was spoken in Shetland, Orkney and parts of Mainland Scotland in and after the Viking era. Jakobsen (1897, 1921) and Seim (see Torvanger 2016), for instance, gathered substantial material on the origin and use of the Norn language in Shetland. More recently, scholars have debated the origin, prevalence and demise of Norn (e.g. Rendboe 1984, 1987, B. Smith 1996). Other researchers have examined the impact of Norn on the Shetland dialect today. Van Leyden (2004), for instance, has researched the prosodic characteristics of Orkney and Shetland dialects, and discusses whether these have been influenced to a larger extent by the Norn substrate than by Scots. Knooihuizen (2009) compares the phonology of early Shetland to Norn and mainland Scots dialects, while Sundkvist (2012) has studied pulmonic ingressive speech in Shetland, which might also be a “potential Nordic relic feature” (2012: 187).

Apart from studies that focus on Norn and its impact on Shetland dialect today, other linguistic studies in Shetland have focused on ‘broad’ or distinct dialect areas, such as Whalsay or Foula. Cohen (1987), for instance, is an anthropological account of the Whalsay community, and includes some descriptions of the dialect. Bugge (2007, 2010) has also used informants from Whalsay when researching Shetlanders’ knowledge of Shetland dialect vocabulary and the role of family in transmission of vocabulary. Seim, on the other hand, focused on the isolated island of Foula when collecting Norn words and place names (Torvanger 2016). Although some recent studies have used informants or examples from

Scalloway or the Central Mainland (e.g. Graham 1979, Mather and Speitel 1986, Bugge 2007, 2010), I have not been able to find a sociolinguistic study that focuses primarily on this area.

This study will therefore focus on language use in Scalloway because of the lack of previous research, but also because of the distinct linguistic situation in Shetland. The linguistic variety spoken in Shetland and Orkney is called Insular Scots (Johnston 1997, Millar 2007). Insular Scots shares a number of features with varieties of Scots spoken on mainland Scotland, but with elements and traces of a Norn substratum that lead to a number of marked differences (Melchers 2004b: 34). Shetland dialect speakers themselves typically refer to the variety as either “Shetland” or “Shetland dialect”. This thesis will use the latter term in order to distinguish it from the place name.

Shetland is often characterised as a bidialectal (Melchers 2004b: 34, Melchers and Shaw 2011: 65,) or diglossic (Velupillai 2019: 270) language community, where speakers of Shetland dialect are also fluent speakers of Scottish Standard English (SSE) (Velupillai 2019: 270). SSE is often used by Shetland dialect speakers when speaking with outsiders, both from abroad and from the rest of Britain (Sundkvist 2011a: 166). As a non-native speaker myself, it is likely that Shetland dialect speakers would orient themselves toward a standard variety when speaking with me. This thesis will therefore focus on the English side of the bidialectal linguistic situation, and examine the presence and possible changes in the use of different types of dialect variables in speech to outsiders in Scalloway.

Many sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated an ongoing trend of dialect levelling in the UK, where the use of localised features declines among younger age groups and is replaced by supralocal features (Britain 2002: 35). These processes are occurring in many places in the UK, such as Norwich (Trudgill 1974), Milton Keynes (Williams and Kerswill 1999), Sheffield (Fatnes 2014) and Surrey (Ellingsæter 2014). Similar trends have also been observed in Shetland. Smith and Durham (2011) examined the use of a range of dialect variables among young, middle-aged and old speakers. They found that the youngest speakers used the lowest amount of dialect variants, which they interpret as a language-shift in progress (2011: 197). Additionally, the young speakers were quite diverse in their use of dialect variables: about half of them used a relatively large amount of dialect variants, while the other half used standard forms almost exclusively (2011: 215). Sundkvist (2011a) has focused on this use of standard features in his research on what he calls *Lerwick SSE*. Lerwick SSE is a local variety of SSE that is typically used to communicate with outsiders. According to Sundkvist, this variety has largely been ignored in previous research, but there is now “growing debate over to what extent, and if so in what way, Standard English is currently

gaining ground in Shetland, and whether there is (yet?) a monolingual English-speaking generation in Lerwick” (2011a: 179). Millar suggests similar trends when he states that the blending of SSE and features of the local dialect is a “relatively recent arrival to the Northern Isles” (Millar 2007: 16). These studies therefore point to a change in the linguistic landscape of Shetland. However, as they mainly focus on the language situation in Lerwick, more research is needed to see whether and how these processes manifest themselves in the rest of Shetland.

This study is therefore an apparent-time study of language variation and change in the Scalloway area. Scalloway is the second largest village in Shetland with around 900 inhabitants. This study uses sociolinguistic interviews with 20 speakers to examine whether language use in Scalloway covaries with social factors: primarily age, but effects of gender and locality will also be studied. These trends will then be compared to the aforementioned studies from Lerwick, to see if the trends from these studies can be observed in Scalloway. The informants, eight male speakers and 12 female speakers, are divided into three age groups. Some informants are born and have lived most of their lives in Scalloway, while others have spent various amounts of time on the British mainland or other places in Shetland. This study will therefore also look for possible effects of locality by comparing a local Scalloway group of informants with a non-local Scalloway group.

These issues will be examined by looking at seven dialect variables. These were studied in Smith and Durham (2011, 2012), and they are also mentioned in Sundkvist’s overview of Lerwick SSE (e.g. 2011a). The variables are therefore chosen for the sake of comparability, but also because they cover a wide range of linguistic phenomena. This thesis will look at two lexical variables, two morphosyntactic variables and three phonetic/phonological variables, half of which are found all over Scotland and half of which are specific to Shetland. The different features are presented in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1:** *List of features*

	<b>Shetland-specific</b>	<b>Scotland-wide</b>
<b>Lexical</b>	<i>Peerie</i>	<i>Ken</i>
<b>Morphosyntactic</b>	<i>Be</i> -perfect	<i>Yon</i>
<b>Phonetic/phonological</b>	TH	L-vocalisation HOUSE-HOOSE variation

The lexical Shetland-specific variable is *peerie*, using the local variant *peerie* instead of *little*, as in [1]. This is a stereotypical feature of Shetland dialect (Smith and Durham 2011: 206-7).

[1] I have another **peerie** boy, but he is just at last year of primary school (Murray)<sup>1</sup>

Using *ken* instead of *know*, both as a discourse marker and as a lexical verb (seen in [2] and [3], respectively), is a marked feature of Scots, as well as a widespread Scotticism in SSE.

[2] and then dad needed a hand back on the farm here in the lamming time **ken** April March April that kind of time (Malcolm)

[3] but if it was somebody you **kenned** really well (.)<sup>2</sup> or somebody younger than you you would say (..) du ehm and that's aa changed (Mary)

Another striking feature of Shetland dialect is the use of *be* instead of *have* to form the perfective aspect, as in [4] and [5].

[4] I'm **been** sorting that (.) some of that out, there is more, and it takes weeks and weeks to do it (Murray)

[5] We're **had** some beautiful days and we're **had** some really (.) we're **had** some horrible mist (Maisie)

The Scotland-wide morphosyntactic variable, *yon*, consists of the variants *yon* and *that* or *those* in distal demonstrative contexts, as exemplified in [6] and [7].

[6] I thought you cannot write **yon** to your teacher (Elena)

[7] I mean when I was *peerie* (.) then knitting was one of **yon** things that a lot of folk did (May)

The Shetland-specific phonetic variable that is examined in this study is TH, realising TH as either a plosive or Ø rather than a dental fricative, as in [8]. TH-stopping is described by Melchers as “categorical in Shetland accents, unless adapted to outsiders” (Melchers 2004a: 42).

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<sup>1</sup> Informants are given names that reflect their age groups: the young adults have names that begin with *A*, the middle-aged speakers have names that begin with *M*, and the older (or elderly) speakers have names that begin with *E*.

<sup>2</sup> Pauses or hesitations in the transcriptions are indicated by (.), (..) or (...) depending on the length of the pause. Omissions from transcriptions are indicated by [...].

[8] I think a lot of folk do not actually feel like /**dei**/ belong to /**də**/ community because /**dei**/ just (.) treat it as somewhaar /**dei**/ live (Mary)

Smith and Durham define the first Scotland-wide phonetic variable, L-vocalisation, as vocalisation of syllable-final /al, ol, ul/, as represented in [9]. This type of L-vocalisation is also evident in Scots and Shetland dialect orthography, such as writing *a'* instead of *all* and *ca'* instead of *call* (Smith and Durham 2011: 212-13).

[9] you know everyone sits in the same place everyone plays /**fitba:**/ in the same place ehm you walk down the same road to get to the shop (Angus)

The second Scotland-wide phonetic variable, HOUSE-HOOSE variation, varies between the local variant [u:] and the SSE variant [ʌʊ], as in [10].

[10] yeah I cannae mind (.) [hʌʊ] to make a hedgehog [**hu:s**] (Ashley)

This study therefore examines a range of different linguistic variables. Some of their variants are primarily associated with dialect speech and not with speech adapted to outsiders.

However, this study examines if and to what extent they are used when speaking to someone not native to Shetland, and if this use covaries with social factors such as age and gender. The research questions and hypotheses are outlined in section 1.2.

## 1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

The present study seeks to answer the four research questions below. Based on current sociolinguistic research on dialect levelling and previous linguistic research from Shetland, especially Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) and Sundkvist (2004, 2007, 2011a, 2011b), the following hypotheses are proposed.

**RQ1:** Do differences between the age groups indicate that the dialect features are subject to ongoing change? If so, are there any differences between the types of features: do Shetland-specific variables pattern in a different way from Scotland-wide variables? Are there any differences between lexical, morphosyntactic and phonetic/phonological variables?

**H1:** Use of all dialect features will decline with age.

**RQ2:** Do changes in the use of dialect features covary with gender?

**H2:** The younger female participants will use fewer dialect features and be leading speakers in the ongoing change. This is expected because previous sociolinguistic studies have found that women orient more to prestige or supralocal variants than male speakers (e.g. Trudgill 1974, Labov 1990, Chambers 1995)

**RQ3:** Are there any differences between the local Scalloway group and the non-local Scalloway group?

**H3:** The data will not show significant differences between the local Scalloway group and the non-local Scalloway group. Since all the dialect features are found across Shetland, it is expected that a decrease in use of dialect variants is occurring everywhere.

**RQ4:** Are there any similarities or differences between the Scalloway results and the Lerwick results?

**H4:** The variables in this study will show trends similar to the Lerwick studies, but to a less extreme extent. This is in line with Chambers and Trudgill's model of geographical diffusion, which states that linguistic phenomena tend to spread from one city or large town to the other before they spread to smaller places in between (1998: 166). Therefore, changes in Lerwick will likely spread rapidly to Scalloway due to their geographical proximity and population size.

The main findings of the present study are that overall, there are no statistically significant differences between female and male speakers. There are also no clear differences between the local and non-local Scalloway speakers. However, there are significant differences between the age groups for five of the seven variables. The distribution of local variants between the age groups in this study patterns somewhat differently from what was found in Lerwick. Both the Lerwick studies (Smith and Durham 2011, 2012) and the present study show that the speakers in the youngest age group use very few local dialect variants. However, while Smith and Durham (2011) overall present this as a gradual, chronological decline, the middle-aged Scalloway speakers use significantly more local forms than the older speakers for the majority of the variables. Statements made during the interviews indicate that



this revival of local variants among the middle-aged speakers may be influenced by attitudinal changes and a wish to express Shetland identity in the face of sociodemographic changes.

### **1.3 Thesis structure**

This chapter has presented the aim and scope of the present study and outlined the research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 2 provides the necessary theoretical background for conducting a variationist sociolinguistic study in Shetland. It outlines the present language situation in Shetland and introduces some older and newer sociolinguistic studies from Shetland that are relevant to this thesis. Chapter 3 consists of a description of the seven variables and their local and standard variants, as well as details about their variable contexts and various considerations that were made when analysing them.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology that was used when collecting, analysing and presenting the data. It describes the fieldwork process and the variationist sociolinguistic framework, and discusses decisions made about sampling, transcribing, coding and analysing the data, as well as how it has been tested for statistical significance. Chapter 5 presents the results of this analysis. It examines each variable independently, and presents the overall distribution of the variable, as well as the distribution according to age groups and gender. This chapter also compares the three non-local speakers to the local speakers in their age group in order to examine possible effects of locality. Finally, this chapter looks more closely at one individual speaker who was not born in Shetland, but nevertheless exhibited some interesting instances of local variants.

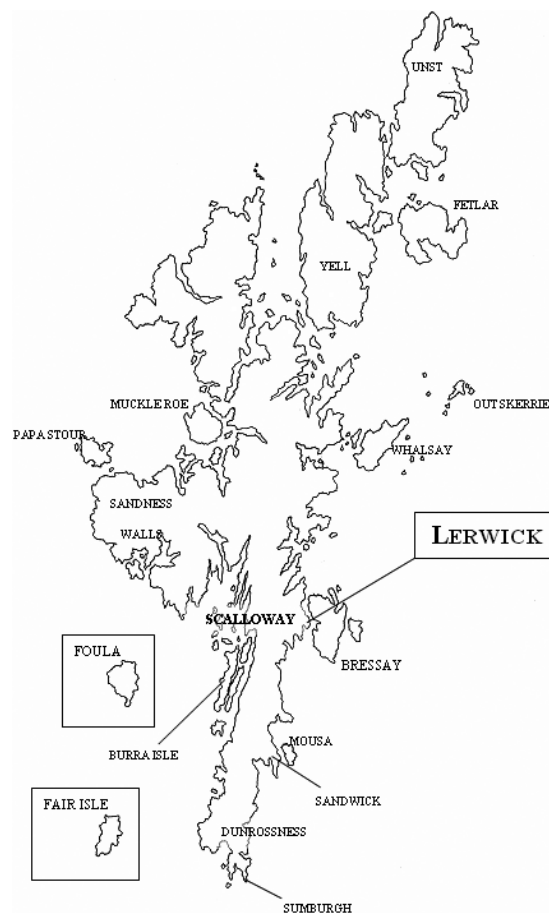
Chapter 6 discusses the findings of chapter 5 in relation to previous research, primarily Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) and Sundkvist (e.g. 2011a, 2011b). The results are also discussed in relation to the research questions and hypotheses outlined in section 1.2. Chapter 7 summarises and concludes the study, as well as discussing possibilities for further research.

## 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter clarifies the relevant theoretical background for this thesis. Section 2.1 describes the Shetland archipelago and the language situation there, as well as how it relates to the wider Scottish linguistic context. Section 2.2 presents previous research on the linguistic landscape in Shetland that has informed the present study.

### 2.1 The language situation in Shetland

Shetland is located in the North Sea, about halfway between Aberdeen, Bergen and Torshavn (Sundkvist 2011a: 167). It is an archipelago of about 100 islands, 15 of which are inhabited (see figure 2.1). The largest island is known as Mainland, where the main town or capital, Lerwick, is located on the east coast. About 23,000 inhabitants lived in Shetland at the time of the 2011 census (*Scotland's Census 2011*, accessed 30 April 2020), about 7,000 of whom live in Lerwick.



*Figure 2.1: Map of Shetland (Sundkvist 2007: 4)*

Scalloway is the second largest town in Shetland, with approximately 900 inhabitants according to the 2011 census (*Scotland's Census 2011*, accessed 30 April 2020). Newer figures suggest that around 1,200 people currently live in Scalloway (*Scalloway – information website for Scalloway, Shetland*, accessed 28 April 2020). The town has therefore undergone relatively large population growth during the last decade. Scalloway is situated on the west coast of Central Mainland, about nine kilometres west of Lerwick. Scalloway was the capital of Shetland until 1708. It was also a headquarters of the ‘Shetland bus’ operation during World War II, during which refugees were transported from Norway to Scalloway, and material and resources were transported back to Norway. Like large parts of Shetland, the town is dependent on agricultural and maritime industries, as well as oil and tourism since the end of the 20th century (*Scalloway – Information website for Scalloway, Shetland*, accessed 28 April 2020)

The linguistic varieties spoken in Shetland and Orkney are called Insular Scots, which Van Leyden characterises as “conservative varieties of Lowland Scots with a substantial Norn substratum” (2004: 16). Insular Scots is peripherally situated in the wider Scottish linguistic context, which includes Gaelic, Scots and English. Since Gaelic traditionally has been spoken north of the Highland line on mainland Scotland and in the Western Isles (Melchers and Shaw 2011: 62), it is beyond the scope of this thesis. The relationship between Scots and Scottish Standard English, however, affects the language situation of the Northern Isles. These two varieties are often described as extremes on a continuum that speakers in Lowland Scotland move along in different linguistic situations to different extents (Aitken 1979: 87). SSE is defined as Standard English spoken with a Scottish accent, with a few Scotticisms when it comes to grammar and lexicon. Scots, however, differs from Standard English in all linguistic aspects, and is sometimes considered a language in its own right, for example by the European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages (Melchers and Shaw 2011: 64).<sup>3</sup> As opposed to the primarily bidialectal speakers in the Northern Isles, the interplay between Scots and SSE in Lowland Scotland is characterised by more complexity and continuous variation, where “speakers have access to features from both linguistic systems and adapt their speech according to context and audience” (Melchers and Shaw 2011: 65). In his model of Scottish Speech, Aitken conceptualises this as having access to speech options that derive from historical Scots, options that have been imported later from Southern English, and options that have been common to both varieties from the start. Speakers then choose features from these

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<sup>3</sup> The debate about the characterisation and status of Scots is beyond the scope of this thesis.

different positions on the continuum to various extents in different speech situations, leading to “all sorts of intermediate positions” between the two extremes of the continuum (Aitken 1979: 85).

Scots encompasses a number of regional varieties. An influential typology is that of Johnston, which categorises four main dialect areas: Mid-Scots, spoken in the Central Belt between Glasgow and Edinburgh, as well as in counties Derry/Londonderry and Donegal; Southern Scots, spoken in the Scottish Borders; Northern Scots, spoken north of Perth and south of the Highland line; and Insular Scots, spoken in Shetland and Orkney (1997: 434). As mentioned, Insular Scots is characterised as a more conservative variety of Lowland Scots. A lot of linguistic variation exists both between and within Orkney and Shetland, but these varieties are typically grouped together because they “share more with each other than they do with any other Scots dialects, perhaps primarily because of their recent Scandinavian connections” (Millar 2007: 4-5). These connections date back to Viking settlements from the late 8th century until the Earldom of Orkney ceased to exist in the 15th century. The local variety of Old Norse that was spoken in the Northern Isles and parts of Caithness became known as Norn. The debates about both the substrate influence of and demise of Norn are beyond the scope of this study (but see Rendboe 1987, B. Smith 1996, Barnes 1998, Wiggen 2002 for some perspectives), but after Viking rule a gradual language shift towards Scots took place. Scholars generally agree that Norn died out in Shetland sometime in the second half of the 1700s (Melchers 2004a: 35). But, as is typical with language shifts towards a superstrate language, the new variety had a number of features that could be traced to the substrate influence of Norn, as does the Shetland dialect today (see for example Van Leyden 2004, Bugge 2007, Knooihuizen 2009, Sundkvist 2012). These influences set Insular Scots varieties apart from other varieties of Scots.

Shetland dialect is often conceptualised as a single entity, and little contemporary research has been done on regional differences. However, different linguistic areas are sometimes distinguished by researchers (Millar 2007: 4). In terms of vowel systems, Catford separates the varieties spoken on Yell and Unst from those spoken on Mainland and the Skerries, which again differ from Whalsay speech (Catford 1957: 116). *The linguistic atlas of Scotland* (LAS) (Mather and Speitel 1986) features ten speakers from various locations in Shetland, including one speaker from Hamnavoe on Central Mainland. In his work on the Norn element of the Shetland dialect, Jakobsen distinguished between nine dialect areas and a number of subdialects (Jakobsen 1921: XV-XVI). Regrettably, there is little focus on Central Mainland in Jakobsen’s work, and according to Melchers, this classification must be

approached with caution, since many of the dialect areas are not specified or described further. However, Melchers' own work confirms that there is still local dialectal variation on Shetland. For instance, the islands of Whalsay and the Out Skerries are often pointed out as 'deviant' or broad dialect areas, both by linguists and by Shetlanders themselves (Melchers 2004a: 40).

Scalloway is located in the Central Mainland region, which also includes Tingwall, Whiteness, Weisdale and the Trondra and Burra Islands (*Shetland Heritage*, Central Mainland, accessed 28 April 2020). As opposed to the Northern Isles, Whalsay, and the Out Skerries, Central Mainland is rarely commented on as a deviant or broad linguistic area. However, *The Shetland dictionary* (Graham 1979), compiled by John Graham, is an exception to this. Graham was born in Tingwall and lived in Lerwick, and compiled the dictionary based on words and expressions he heard in use (*Shetland Forwards*, John J Graham's Shetland Dictionary, accessed 28 April 2020). *The Shetland dictionary* is therefore in large part influenced by language use from Central Mainland, although there is not much description of what sets this variety apart from other regional varieties in Shetland.

Scalloway is situated relatively close to Lerwick, and the variety spoken there is often considered by Shetlanders themselves to be a quite acrolectal, unmarked variety that carries prestige (Smith and Durham 2011: 271). Even though Scalloway and Lerwick have been considered relatively separate by Shetland standards, it is likely that today the close proximity and population size of the two places will have a linguistic impact. This is in line with Chambers and Trudgill's gravity model of geographical diffusion. This model rests on an assumption that "the interaction of two centres will be a function of their populations and the distance between them, and that the influence of one on the other will be proportional to their relative population sizes" (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 178-79). Therefore, linguistic phenomena tend to spread from one city or large town to the other before they spread to smaller places in between. It is therefore likely that Shetland dialect spoken in Scalloway will somewhat resemble Shetland dialect spoken in Lerwick, because both towns are located relatively close together on Central Mainland and because they are by far the two largest population centres in Shetland.

In addition, Shetland dialect spoken in Scalloway is affected by the bidialectal or diglossic linguistic situation in Shetland. Ferguson defines diglossia as follows:

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)

Many of the elements of diglossia can be applied to the linguistic situation in Shetland, even though some questions can be raised when it comes to the lack of grammatical complexity of Shetland dialect. There is also a lack of a clear and stable codified written norm, as speakers rather orient toward some spoken variety of SSE. However, a clear functional divide between the two varieties and an awareness of this fact is prevalent among Shetland speakers, which is typical of a diglossic language situation (Velupillai 2019: 270). Other scholars prefer to characterise the situation in Shetland as bidialectal, where “there are two dialects in contact, normally an indigenous variety in parallel with a more standardised form” (Smith and Durham 2012: 66). Melchers (2004a: 37) also characterises Shetland as bidialectal, and the same term will be used in the present study. Regardless of the terminology, it is generally agreed that Shetland dialect speakers have conscious access to two rather distinct speech forms, Shetland dialect and something closer to SSE (Melchers 2004a: 37). Shetlanders are also quite aware of when it is appropriate to use the different varieties. While Shetland dialect is used with other Shetland dialect speakers and in informal situations, SSE is used with non-natives and in more formal situations such as at school or when speaking with authority figures (Sundkvist 2011a: 170).

Since this study is conducted by a researcher who is not from Shetland, it follows that it is concerned with the standard side of this bidialectal situation rather than with Shetland dialect. As is natural in variationist sociolinguistic studies, measures were taken to mitigate formality, such as network sampling and conducting the interviews in informal locations (see chapter 4). However, since Shetland dialect speakers are conscious of having two separate varieties and of the situations where it is appropriate to use them, it soon became clear that as long as a non-Shetlander was involved in the interview situation, broad Shetland dialect would not be used (Melchers 2004a: 37). This was also frequently commented on by the informants in this study. Therefore, the present study is concerned with to what extent certain dialect features are present in speech used to outsiders.

## **2.2 Previous linguistic research in Shetland**

### **2.2.1 Older studies**

In the late 1800s, the Faeroese scholar Jakob Jakobsen did extensive linguistic research in Shetland, which resulted in the dictionary *Etymologisk ordbog over det norrøne sprog på*

*Shetland* (1921), as well as a collection of place names (1901). Jakobsen focused on traces of the Norn substratum in the Shetland dialect. According to Bugge, Jakobsen's work was not intended as normative toward the contemporary Shetland dialect; rather, it was meant as antiquarian work to document remnants of Norn in the Shetland dialect (2007: 26). Even though Jakobsen focused primarily on lexis, his dictionary also contained detailed phonetic descriptions, including some regional variation (Sundkvist 2007: 2). Jakobsen's work was hugely influential, and led to increased interest in Norn research, especially among Scandinavian researchers, for instance by Seim (Torvanger 2016). It also led to debates about when and how Norn died out in the Northern Isles, which continues to be discussed today (see for example Rendboe 1984, B. Smith 1996, Barnes 1998, Wiggen 2002).

General research on Shetland dialect was undertaken in the *Linguistic survey of Scotland* (LSS), a research project at the University of Edinburgh in the mid-20th century which contained two large-scale dialectological studies. One of the projects focused on Gaelic, while the other focused on regional variation in the use of Scots and Scottish English. The latter resulted in *The linguistic atlas of Scotland* (LAS) (Mather and Speitel 1975-86). Some descriptions of regional variation in Shetland can be found in the LAS; for instance, the phonology section includes ten speakers from different localities in Shetland (1986: 1-13). Research on the modern Shetland dialect can also be found in Graham and Robertson (1991), although it is not a complete account of the dialect. Graham (1979) has also published a dictionary of the Shetland dialect, which can be accessed online through Shetland Forwards' web pages (*Shetland Forwards*, John J Graham's Shetland dictionary, accessed 22 November 2019). This dictionary does not require much previous linguistic knowledge, and its word lists and detailed spelling conventions encourage active use of the dialect (Bugge 2007: 29). However, Graham's dictionary is primarily based on his own encounters, and is therefore, as mentioned in section 2.1, most representative of the dialect of speakers from Central Mainland (Graham 1979: 32).

In the 1980s, Gunnel Melchers and her co-workers carried out several sociolinguistic field studies in Shetland. This project resulted in a number of publications, for instance studies of Scandinavian influence on lexis (Melchers 1986), studies of grammatical features such as *be*-perfect (Melchers 1987, 1992) and studies of attitudes toward Shetland dialect and SSE (Melchers 1985). In recent years, studies on various aspects of the Shetland dialect have been published. Van Leyden (2004) published a doctoral thesis on prosodic characteristics of both Shetland and Orkney dialect. Knooihuizen (2009) examined certain phonetic features in

comparison to Norn and mainland Scots, while Sundkvist (2012) has discussed Shetlanders' use of pulmonic ingressive speech.

### **2.2.2 Smith and Durham**

Even though not much recent sociolinguistic research has been done in Shetland, claims have been made for some time that the Shetland dialect is changing or even disappearing. Van Leyden, for instance, points to “an unprecedented levelling of the local varieties in recent years” (2004: 18). Tait claims that “the change which is taking place is not a gradual blending of one form of speech into another: it is the abrupt replacement of one language – phonology, morphology and syntax as well as vocabulary – by another” (2001: 11). Since no studies had carried out a diachronic analysis of linguistic change in recent generations, Jennifer Smith and Mercedes Durham decided to test these claims by “conducting a quantitative, sociolinguistic analysis of a number of linguistic variables across three generations of speakers in Shetland” (2011: 198). They examined the language use of 30 speakers from Lerwick, evenly divided in terms of age and gender. The generations – 17-21 year olds, 45-55 year olds, and speakers over 70 – represent different life-stages: the youngest speakers are relatively new to the work force, while the speakers in the middle age group are well established in the work place and the oldest speakers have been retired for some time. The sampling was done according to criteria of being born and raised in Lerwick, having parents and spouses who were born and raised in Shetland, and belonging to class 2-5 on the Registrar General's Social Class Index (2011: 205). While spending some time outside Shetland “is a reflection of the Lerwick demographic, where people do often spend at least some time away from the community”, Smith and Durham excluded speakers who had lived outside Shetland for more than one continuous year (2011: 205).

Data on language use was gathered through “standard sociolinguistic techniques” conducted by native Shetlanders, which yielded interviews between one and two hours with each speaker (Smith and Durham 2011: 205). Since Tait (2001) claims that all aspects of Shetland dialect are eroding, Smith and Durham looked at both lexical, morphosyntactic and phonetic variables, which are the same variables examined in the present study. They further chose both Shetland-specific and Scotland-wide variables, in order to examine a range of linguistic aspects (Smith and Durham 2011: 206). In addition to examining differences between age groups, Smith and Durham took variation between individual speakers into account, in order to see whether individuals showed “highly specific patterns of variable usage” (2011: 206).



The results show a decline in the use of dialect variants across all variables: the younger speakers use fewer local features and favour more standardised variants. Although there were some differences between the different variables (see chapter 3 below), Smith and Durham view the overall results as “indicative of rapid dialect attrition” (2011: 215). When examining individual speakers, they found that speakers in the oldest and middle age groups were homogenous in terms of rate and patterning of dialect variants. The youngest speakers, however, were more diverse: five of the ten speakers used a large number of local variants, while the other half almost exclusively used SSE variants (2011: 197). This pattern is clearest with lexical variables, but the trend is present in all variable types. This “abrupt change and extreme dialect levelling with some speakers ... but not with others” (2011: 215) is rather unexpected and cannot be explained by typical sociolinguistic explanatory factors such as gender, socio-cultural background, social networks or time spent outside Shetland (2011: 217). These results therefore point to a sudden and abrupt dialect shift rather than a gradual one, “with the replacement, at least with some speakers, of one variety by another in the space of one generation”, and with no semi-speakers, which are typical of gradual dialect shifts (2011: 215).

To examine this further, Smith and Durham conducted a follow-up study in 2012. The objective was to establish whether the youngest speakers’ language use was a sign of dialect death or bidialectalism. While the results of the first study may point to rapid dialect obsolescence, another possibility is that they are an indicator of bidialectalism, where the local variety exists and is used alongside a more standard norm (Smith and Durham 2012: 58). *Knapping*,<sup>4</sup> speaking English instead of Shetland dialect, is a widespread phenomenon in Shetland, and is said to be increasingly prevalent. Melchers, for instance, states that it is “difficult to find truly monolingual speakers of the traditional dialect today” (2004a: 37). The initial results might therefore “merely reflect differing code choice in the sociolinguistic setting” (Smith and Durham 2012: 58). To examine this possibility, Smith and Durham interviewed nine of the ten youngest speakers a second time, where the audience design was manipulated: those that used a high number of local variants in the first recordings were interviewed by an “outsider” in a formal setting, while those that mostly used standard variants were interviewed by a dialect-speaking peer (2012: 58). If the speakers were

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<sup>4</sup> The speakers in the present study expressed differences in both meaning and use of *knapping*, such as speaking ‘properly’ or speaking English inappropriately. Here, Smith and Durham’s definition of speaking SSE instead of Shetland dialect is used.

bidialectal, the dialect speakers of the first recordings would use fewer local variants, while the standard speakers' use of local variants would increase.

Smith and Durham looked at four variables, three of which were examined in the first study: *ken*, *be*-perfect and TH-stopping. The fourth variable they examined was HOUSE-HOOSE variation (2012: 61). The results showed that “the dialect speakers drop their rates of the nonstandard form as predicted; however, the standard speakers do not use higher rates of the local form, despite speaking to a highly dialectal peer” (2012: 68). This was the case with *ken*, *be*-perfect and HOUSE-HOOSE variation. TH-stopping, however, patterned somewhat differently: all the speakers had some use of the local variant, and there was “no clear-cut more-to-less hierarchy across the two recordings” (2012: 70). This led Smith and Durham to conclude that the dialect speakers have access to two distinct codes, while the standard speakers use one code. With the exception of one speaker, the dialect speakers do not show evidence of using two distinct forms in the different settings, but rather gradually move along a continuum of different styles (2012: 69).

Smith and Durham further wanted to examine what these results can tell us about bidialectalism. Are the speakers who switch between codes bidialectal, and what type of bidialectal competence do they show? According to Hazen, “no-one has seriously investigated whether humans are capable of maintaining two dialects in the same ways they can maintain two languages” (2001: 89). One important issue in bidialectalism research is whether the two codes are discrete systems, if speakers have “a continuum of styles and intimate mixing of different values of the variants” (Labov 1998: 140), or if different types of bidialectalism exist. Smith and Durham hypothesise that:

if constraints found in one dialect were evident in another, then this would be evidence for extreme style-shifting, rather than use of a separate, discrete system. We found maintenance of constraints across the four variables we analysed. For example, *ken* versus *know* showed the more-to-less hierarchy in verb versus discourse marker use in both first and second recordings, despite reduced rates. (Smith and Durham 2012: 79)

Therefore, even though the overall rates of use of the variables differed between the two audience designs, the constraints remained the same, which indicates that these bidialectal speakers do not possess two different grammars, but rather co-existent systems that “bleed together” in everyday use (Smith and Durham 2012: 80). This study therefore contributes important perspectives to bidialectalism research. The fact that only half of the speakers could be considered bidialectal is also further evidence of rapid dialect obsolescence in Lerwick.

### 2.2.3 Sundkvist

One researcher that has focused on the SSE side of the bidialectal situation in Lerwick is Peter Sundkvist. He has published several articles about a variety he calls Lerwick SSE (e.g. 2004, 2007, 2011a, 2011b). Previous researchers have described Shetland dialect and SSE as more or less clear-cut and distinct varieties. For instance, Melchers characterises Shetlanders' language use as an either-or choice rather than gradual movements along a continuum (2004b: 34), and Melchers and Shaw claim that Shetland dialect and SSE operate as discrete varieties (2011: 65). Sundkvist wishes to challenge this dichotomous view, since Shetlanders have access to different codes based on their age, whether they come from rural localities or Lerwick, and how much time they have spent outside Shetland (2011a: 170). Sundkvist wanted to examine these nuances further by focusing on the SSE use of bidialectal speakers. A judgement sample of 13 middle-aged, middle-class speakers who had lived most or all their life in Lerwick was obtained through a network model. According to Sundkvist, the sample focused on speakers who are "clearly bidialectal" (2011a: 171). This is important to bear in mind when comparing his results to this thesis and to Smith and Durham's work, which does not sample informants based on a specific type of linguistic competence.

Sundkvist's data on Lerwick SSE was collected through questionnaires, word lists, a minimal pairs test and a communication test, as well as recordings of informal interactions between the tests (2011a: 171). The results show that a "recognisable local Lerwick accent" exists, governed by shared norms for pronunciation (2011b: 24). This accent, Lerwick SSE, contains local features of the Shetland dialect, such as palatalization of /d, g, n, ŋ/ and a modified version of the Scottish Vowel-Length Rule (SVLR), which states that most vowels have long and short allophones in complementary distribution (Melchers, Shaw and Sundkvist 2019: 60). In Lerwick SSE, the SVLR only applies to /i, u, ai/, which are long before "a voiced fricative, voiced affricate, /r/, morpheme boundary, vowel, and, with some qualification, /b, g/" (Sundkvist 2011a: 176). Lerwick SSE also contains standard features found in SSE, such as the contrasts /ʌ/ and /kw/, which are absent in Shetland dialect (Sundkvist 2011a: 177). The variables examined in the present study are present in Lerwick SSE to different extents, but apart from the lexical variables and HOUSE-HOOSE variation, they are relatively rare (2011a: 172-78) (see chapter 3 in the present study for further specification).

According to Sundkvist, there is ongoing debate over the status of SSE in Shetland, and whether it may be gaining ground (Tait 2000, van Leyden 2004). Even though more

research is needed to assess this, Sundkvist suggests that Lerwick SSE may be useful because its mix of standardised and localised features offers increased comprehension while simultaneously displaying local identity (2011a: 179). Because of this usefulness and the existence of shared norms, Sundkvist suggests that Lerwick SSE may be gaining ground in Lerwick, especially in situations where Shetlanders are speaking to outsiders. Sundkvist's overviews of Lerwick SSE show that a few localised features are present in this variety. These are mostly phonological features (2007: 1) However, this might be affected by the fact that Sundkvist is mainly interested in phonetics and phonology. This thesis seeks to examine if and how local variants are present in speech to outsiders in Scalloway. These results will therefore also be compared to Sundkvist's accounts of Lerwick SSE. The next chapter will present and discuss the variables used to do so.

### 3. THE LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

This chapter presents and describes the linguistic variables examined in this thesis. It details the different variable contexts, as well as considerations concerning coding and analysis. Descriptions of how Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) coded and analysed the variables will also be discussed, as will Sundkvist's descriptions of the variables in Lerwick SSE (e.g. 2007, 2011a).

#### 3.1 *Peerie*

Smith and Durham list *small*, *little* and *tiny* as standard variants of *peerie*, as in [1] and [2] (2011: 206):

[1] imagine the classroom the size of this with twenty or thirty other **peerie** bairns (Malcolm)  
[2] it was quite a big change but because Shetland is so **peerie** and you kened most folk anyway it was not (.) was not too bad (Mary)

Graham and Robertson (1991: 41), Graham's dictionary (*Shetland Dictionary* s. v. "peerie", accessed 5 December 2019), and Sundkvist (2011a: 174) only list *small* as the standard variant. However, speakers in the present study have stated that *peerie* also varies with *young*, and it is possible that it also varies with *wee*. As an attempt to account for all possible variants while facilitating comparison, this study will include all five standard variants in the analysis but exclude *young* and *wee* when comparing the results to Smith and Durham's.

*Peerie* is the majority variant for all age groups in Smith and Durham's first study (2011: 209). The rates of use are somewhat higher in the middle age group than the oldest group. There is a decline in use of the local variant between these two groups and the youngest age group, and the differences between the age groups are statistically significant. When examining individual speakers, it becomes clear that *peerie* is the majority variant among all speakers in the older and middle age group. In the youngest group, the five dialect speakers use the local variant near-categorically. Two of the standard speakers exhibit some variation, while the others almost exclusively use standard variants (Smith and Durham 2011: 208). *Peerie* is frequently used in Lerwick SSE, and according to Sundkvist the variant is also reportedly acquired by incomers (2011a: 174). It therefore behaves somewhat differently than the other dialect variants, which are relatively rare in Lerwick SSE.

### 3.2 *Ken*

Using *ken*, or the -ed form *kent*, in variation with *know*, *knew* and *known* is common throughout Shetland and the rest of Scotland. It is used both as a discourse marker and a lexical verb, as in [3] and [4] (Smith and Durham 2011: 37). In the data collected for this thesis, both *you ken* and just *ken* were used as discourse markers, as in [5].

[3] so ehm most folk in Lerwick ehm either visited the harbour every day or **ken** what was going on in the harbour (Murray)

[4] you have been doing it ten years **you ken** (.) you need to move on (Ashley)

[5] fiddles were the most popular kind of things lot of fiddle music and then **ken** the more classical music (May)

As with *peerie*, *ken* is the majority variant for all three age groups, and the middle age group has a slightly higher rate of use than the oldest group in Smith and Durham's data. The differences among the age groups are statistically significant. Again, there are stark contrasts between the standard speakers and the dialect speakers in the youngest age group, who use the standard and the dialect variants near-categorically, respectively (Smith and Durham 2011: 208). In the follow-up study, the dialect speakers used *ken* less than in the first recording, and their rates dropped from over 90% to between 55% and 25%. The SSE speakers did not exhibit higher use of local variants when speaking to a Shetland peer (Smith and Durham 2012: 69).

Smith and Durham further examined whether the variable behaved differently as a discourse marker than as a lexical verb. In the first recordings, the discourse marker was realised as the local variant by the dialect speakers 100% of the time, while the rates of use were lower in verbal contexts. This difference is maintained and emphasised in the second recordings, where the rates of the local form are lower both in discourse marker and verbal contexts (Smith and Durham 2012: 72). Sundkvist does not go into detail about the use of *ken* in Lerwick SSE, but notes that it is "sometimes transferred" (2011a: 174-75).

### 3.3 Distant determiner *yon*

In Shetland dialect, *yon* is used in variation with *this* and *that* in "singular distal demonstrative contexts" (Smith and Durham 2011: 209), as in [6] and [7]:

[6] they actually live in **yon** yellow house just across (Mary)

[7] it is quite tiring when it just seems to go on and on and on and on and on like **yon** (May)

According to Melchers, *yon* is part of a three-dimensional system, where it is used to signal distance and remoteness. The nature of this remoteness is debated: Melchers suggests that *yon* signifies emotional distance and is therefore typically used with non-Shetland phenomena (Melchers 1998: 83). According to the Dictionary of the Scottish language, it denotes spatial and temporal distance (*Dictionary of the Scottish language* s. v. “yon”, accessed 3 January 2020). Graham and Robertson, on the other hand, suggest that it is rather used of things “near in time and space, while *that* is used of things past or more remote” (1991: 4-5). Because of these rather different perspectives, Smith and Durham include all singular distal demonstrative contexts in their studies, as well as looking at distal pronominal use (2011: 209). The same procedures are followed in the present study. However, in the data gathered for this thesis, *yon* was on rare occasions found in plural contexts, as in [8]. These occurrences will be treated in the same way as the additional variants of *peerie*: plural contexts will be included in the analysis but excluded when comparing with Smith and Durham’s results.

[8] I suppose that is one the the things that’s changed I mean when I was peerie (.) then knitting was one of **yon** things that a lot of folk did (May)

In Smith and Durham (2011), *yon* patterned differently from the other variables they examined. All age groups showed very low rates of the dialect variant. According to Smith and Durham, this is not surprising, given that *yon* has always been a marginal form in the English language (2011: 209). Furthermore, *yon* also appeared to be “holding its own”: the younger speakers had somewhat higher rates of the local form than the two older age groups. However, even though the difference is small, it is statistically significant (2011: 210). When examining individual speakers, Smith and Durham found that all but one of the speakers in the two oldest age groups use *yon* in variation with *that*, with rates of use ranging from 4-10%. Among the younger speakers, on the other hand, only four use the local variant to any extent. However, two young speakers have “extremely high” rates of *yon*, much higher than the speakers in the other age groups. The six remaining speakers show “near-categorical” use of *that* (2011: 210). The divide between dialect speakers and SSE speakers in the youngest age group is therefore apparent here as well. Smith and Durham then compared pronominal and determiner use of *yon*. They found higher use of the local variant in determiner contexts than in pronominal ones. These differences were found in each of the three age groups and were all statistically significant (2011: 212).

According to Sundkvist, *yon* signals both spatial and attitudinal significance. It expresses extra-distant meaning and is used to refer to objects which are more distant than *that*. Additionally, *yon* can signal a higher degree of emotional significance. Only a handful of tokens of *yon* were found in the Lerwick SSE data. These suggest attitudinal significance and involvement, as in “put yun away!” (Sundkvist 2011a: 173).

### 3.4 *Be*-perfect

Using *be* instead of *have* to form the perfective aspect, as in [9] and [10], is a striking structural feature in Shetland dialect. It is also a productive feature: according to Smith and Durham, it can be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs, in both past and present tense, and with a variety of different subjects (2011: 209).

[9] ehm I learned far far more since I **am** left school than I ever did when I was at school (Malcolm)

[10] it's been very mixed (.) we **are** had some beautiful days and we **are** had some really we **are** had some horrible mist (Maisie)

In their 2011 study, Smith and Durham found that the oldest and middle age groups have “fairly similar”<sup>5</sup> rates of use of the local variant: 62% and 54%, respectively (2011: 209). The younger speakers, on the other hand, have an overall use of 25% of the local variant. The difference between this group and the two older groups is statistically significant (2011: 209). Smith and Durham further found that *be*-perfect was used significantly more in present than in past contexts in all three age groups (2011). When examining the speakers individually, it became clear that in the two oldest age groups, all speakers use the local variant, even though the rates of use differ from 23% to 85%. In the youngest age group, only five speakers use the local variant, while the other five almost exclusively use the standard variant (2011: 210). Even though there is considerable variation in the use of the local variant among the young dialect speakers, the pattern of a clear divide between dialect speakers and SSE speakers in the youngest age group is apparent here as well.

In Smith and Durham's follow-up study, all dialect speakers significantly decreased their rate of the local variant in the second recordings. Two speakers even had zero rates of *be*-perfect. The SSE speakers continued to have virtually no local forms in the second recordings, following the same pattern as the other variables (2012: 70). When Smith and

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<sup>5</sup> Whether this difference is statistically significant or not is not reported.



Durham examined differences according to tense, they again found lower use of the local variant in past than in present contexts, even though the difference was much smaller in the second recordings (2012: 73). Sundkvist only found a handful of examples of *be*-perfect in his data on Lerwick SSE. All instances involved *hear*, such as “I’m heard it fae John” (2011a: 172).

In the present study, several instances were found where it could not be determined whether the perfective was formed with *be* or *have*, as in [11] and [12].

[11] yeah ehm I mean very often we have had a day that’s been (Maisie)

[12] so it’s grown an awful lot since then (Maggie)

These occurrences of the variable, which orthographically would have been contracted to ‘s, have been excluded from the analysis.

### 3.5 TH

TH-stopping, realising TH as a stop rather than a fricative, is a widespread Shetland dialect feature. This is attested in Shetland dialect orthography. In Graham’s *Shetland dictionary*, only one item beginning with <th-> is listed, *thoosan taes* (centipede) (*Shetland Dictionary*, s. v. “thoosan taes”, accessed 4 December 2019). The list of words in D, on the other hand, includes highly frequent items such as *dan* (then), *dat* (that), *dere* (there) and *dis* (this). TH-stopping is also commonly represented in phrases related to Shetland dialect, such as *de dialect* and *midder tongue*. This prominence in orthography indicates that TH-stopping is a rather widespread feature, at least one that Shetlanders themselves are aware of. This may indicate acceptance or lack of stigma among dialect speakers. Examples of the local variant in the dataset for this study are found in [13] and [14].

[13] he wants to carry on /MI/ /ðə/ farm and /dat/ would be nice for me (Murray)

[14] it is good fun interacting /MI/ /də/ bairns (May)

Smith and Durham only focused on the voiced variant in their studies. Although they mainly made a binary distinction between stops and fricatives, they found “a cline of variants” in their data, some being closer to stops and others closer to fricatives (2011: 213). The original goal of the present study was to replicate this binary distinction. However, during the coding process, some TH-dropping was found, as in [15]. Since several speakers had equal or higher

amounts of TH-dropping than TH-stopping, this variant was included in the analysis. The TH variable therefore varies between the standard variant /ð/ and the local variants /d/ and Ø.

[15] so /də/ only thing I could do at /ðə/ time was to (.) I started of /**MI**/ fifteen acres (Murray)

Smith and Durham's data showed that the use of stops was highest among the speakers in the oldest age group, followed by the middle and then the youngest age group, with statistically significant differences between all three age groups (old compared to middle  $p < .01$ , young compared to old and middle  $p < .001$ ). Smith and Durham also note that in all three age groups, the use of stop variants is surprisingly low, given accounts of their prominence in Shetland dialect (2011: 213). When taking a closer look at the youngest speakers, Smith and Durham found that the variable patterned differently than the other variables, which exhibit a more clear-cut distinction between the dialect speakers and the SSE speakers. Three of the young SSE speakers almost exclusively use fricatives. Otherwise, there is gradient stratification, suggesting intra- rather than inter-speaker variation (Smith and Durham 2011: 219).

When looking at different realisations of the variable, Smith and Durham found that the speakers in the oldest and middle age group showed a hierarchy of using the dental fricative the most, followed by the dental stop and then the alveolar stop (2011: 214). Another pattern was found in the youngest age group, where the speakers used dental fricatives the most, followed by alveolar stops and then dental stops (Smith and Durham 2011: 214). According to Smith and Durham, a possible reason for this difference may be the decline of Scandinavian substrate influence. Melchers has stated that Shetland speech is typically articulated in a fronted manner, for instance by preferring dental over alveolar stops, which she suggests is due to Scandinavian influence (2004b: 45). Consequently, the decline of dental stops may be interpreted as declining influence of the Norn substratum. Therefore:

the use of the alveolar stop in the younger speakers is not interpreted as intensification of dialect forms but simply that the younger speakers are turning to an already available phoneme in their phonological inventory as the influence of Scandinavian features wane. (Smith and Durham 2011: 219)

In the follow-up study, TH-stopping continued to pattern differently from the other variables in similar ways to the first recordings. All speakers showed some use of the local variant, including the SSE speakers, and there was no clear-cut hierarchy between the dialect speakers and the SSE speakers (Smith and Durham 2012: 70). Smith and Durham also looked at

differences in TH-stopping between content and function words. They found that in both the first and the second recordings, stops were more common in function words than in content words (2012: 75).

According to Sundkvist, there is relatively little TH-stopping in Lerwick SSE, and the stops are mostly in contrast with the fricatives (2007: 17). Some stopping is “variably displayed” in voiced contexts, but it is far from being the norm in the accent (Sundkvist 2010: 103).

### 3.6 L-vocalisation

This thesis is concerned with the Scots process of L-vocalisation, where syllable-final /al, ol, ul/ is vocalised (Smith and Durham 2011: 212). This type of L-vocalisation is visible in Shetland dialect orthography, for instance in Shetland dialect poetry, as in [16], and in dialect columns in local magazines, such as in [17]. Examples of L-vocalisation in the data from the present study is presented in [18] and [19].

[16] noo, weet sand / is **aa** de bruk o maettir (Watt 2019: 28-29)

‘now wet sand is all / that remains of matter’<sup>6</sup>

[17] ir suddenly stappit **foo** wi sensations and connections (Eunson 2019: 37)

[18] it boiled the fish and melted the side of the tank and they /a:/ ended up on the carpet (May)

[19] he is /**ka:ŋ**/ my ringlets pigtails (Elena)

L-vocalisation is no longer productive in Scots, and this variation is restricted to a small lexical set. Smith and Durham only include “those lexical items that were shown to vary”, such as *ball*, *all* and *call* (2011: 213). For the sake of comparability, the same procedure will be followed in this study. A list of lexical items that varied in this data set can be found in appendix A. It should be noted that this list includes one case of L-vocalisation that is not syllable-final, *salt*. Although it differs from the typical vocalisation pattern, Sundkvist mentions it when listing examples of L-vocalisation in traditional Shetland dialect (2011b: 24). It is also found in Shetland dialect poetry, as in [20].

[20] An here, / de **saat-shilled** steps / whaar I fan de selkie last year (Watt 2019: 32-33)

‘And here, the salt-bitten steps / where I found the seal last year’

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<sup>6</sup> All Standard English renditions of Watt’s poetry are the poet’s own

Smith and Durham's study showed that the older and middle age group had relatively high rates of L-vocalisation at above 50%, and that the rates of use were in fact somewhat higher among the speakers in the middle age group. They found a statistically significant decline between these groups and the youngest speakers, who overall used vocalised forms approximately 40% of the time (2011: 213). When examining the ten youngest speakers individually, Smith and Durham found that the five dialect speakers all had relatively high rates of use, between 60% and 90%. The five SSE speakers, on the other hand, rarely used the local variant, all exhibiting rates of use of less than 10% (2011: 214).

In his overviews of Lerwick SSE (2007, 2011a, 2011b), Sundkvist does not mention L-vocalisation. Even though there is some variation in articulation, there is always "some degree of tongue body raising towards the velum" (2007: 17). /l/ is dark in all positions, as opposed to Shetland dialect, where it is traditionally clear. Furthermore, /l/ does not undergo palatalization in Lerwick SSE, which is common in Shetland dialect (2011a: 178-79).

### **3.7 HOUSE-HOOSE variation**

Variation between [ʌu] and [u:] in the HOUSE and HOOSE lexical sets was only examined in Smith and Durham's follow-up study in 2012. The variable, which they call the HOOSE variable, was included because of lack of data for analysing L-vocalisation in the second recordings (2012: 81). The local, monophthongal variant is stereotypical in Scots varieties, but also in varieties in the north of England. Variation between the variants is lexically conditioned to items that belong to the OUT class and have orthographical <ow> and <ou>, such as in [21] and [22] (Smith and Durham 2012: 62).

[21] so I have moved to the /**tu:n nu:**/ but I am no a /**tu:ni**/ (Ashley)

[22] but if you wanted further education that you had to go into Lerwick and then maybe /**su:θ**/ to a college or to university (Malcolm)

When analysing the HOOSE variable in Smith and Durham's first recordings, a pattern similar to the other variables emerges: the young dialect speakers have high rates at above 80% of the local variant. The SSE speakers, on the other hand, all use it less than 20% of the time, most of them well under 10% (Smith and Durham 2012: 63). The same pattern emerged when the speakers were interviewed a second time, even though the dialect speakers used higher rates of the standard variant when speaking to an outsider (Smith and Durham 2012: 69). To examine the effect of lexical item on variation, Smith and Durham looked closer at the lexical

items that appeared more than 30 times across the bidialectal recordings: *south*, *house*, *down*, *now*, *town*, *out*, *about* and *how*. The remaining items were grouped as ‘other’ (Smith and Durham 2012: 73). Apart from *south*, they found a relatively orderly shift from local to standard variants, with a decrease in the local variant across all items from the first recordings to the second (Smith and Durham 2012: 73). *South* was categorically pronounced with a monophthong in both recordings. Smith and Durham attribute this to a local connotation of the word, meaning “not Shetland” or anywhere on the British mainland. Smith and Durham suggest that this item is iconic in Shetlanders’ speech, and that the local variant is therefore retained when speaking to an outsider in the second recordings (2012: 80). The meanings and significance of *south* was also evident in the recordings in the present study, as in [23] and [24].

[23] Angus: I dinnae ken if dad said but ehm he has another son ehm me and [name’s] middle brother ehm who lives in Inverness

KH: oh he did not say Inverness he just said down south

Angus: /dʌʊn sʌuθ/ yeah [laughter] anywhere /dʌʊn sʌuθ/ [laughter]

[24] KH: and you would have come to that reunion as well then (.) or

Errol: ehm no ehm

Elena: no no he is

KH: I see is it just (.) no plus ones

Elena: he is a /su:θ mu:θər/ [laughter]

Errol: [laughter] yeah if you if you come from (..) /su:θ/ ehm in Shetland then ehm you are (.) tabbed as a /su:θ mu:θər/ and ehm you were not included but it was some things that you could ehm actually gone along to

Sundkvist lists both [ʌu] and [u:] in his accounts of Lerwick SSE (see for instance 2011a: 175). This suggests variation, but Sundkvist does not go into detail about how or under what conditions.

### 3.8 Summary

This chapter has given an account of the seven variables examined in this study – *peerie*, *ken*, *be*-perfect, *yon*, TH, L-vocalisation and HOUSE-HOOSE variation. The chapter has detailed how they patterned in Smith and Durham’s studies, and Sundkvist’s outline of them in Lerwick SSE. The chapter has also presented some considerations that will be taken into account in the

analysis of this study, such as how to deal with variation that goes beyond Smith and Durham's definitions, and how to exclude ambiguous perfective contexts. Chapter 4 will outline the methodological framework used in the gathering, coding and analysis of the data.

## **4. METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 Data collection**

This chapter outlines the approach to gathering and analysing data used in variationist sociolinguistic studies, as well as considerations that have been taken into account when conducting such a study. The variationist sociolinguistic framework is originally based on the studies of William Labov, who conducted pioneering work in examining how linguistic behaviour covaries with social characteristics (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 23). In order to do so, speakers with different social characteristics are interviewed in ways designed to elicit free and continuous speech that is as close to the vernacular (see section 4.1.4) as possible (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 49). Section 4.1 describes and discusses the methodological framework used for sampling and collecting this type of data, as well as a presentation of the informants who have kindly agreed to participate in this study. Section 4.2 will describe the procedures for analysing this data, as well as token classifications for each variable.

#### **4.1.1 Fieldwork**

The data used in this study was gathered over the course of two weeks during a field trip to Scalloway in September 2019. Before this, the project was reported to and approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The approval letter, information sheet and consent form can be found in appendix B. Before each interview, the participants were informed about the purpose of the project and given an information sheet to read. After being given the opportunity to ask questions, the participants signed the consent form. The participants could withdraw from the study at any point without giving a reason, at which point all recorded data and information about the speaker would be deleted. None of the participants chose to withdraw from the study.

An important consideration throughout sociolinguistic studies is the balance between information and clarity on the one hand, and the focus on natural language use on the other. Since informing the participants about the exact variables and social characteristics under examination would likely make them more aware of how they were talking, the information given before the interview was rather general. The participants were told that the focus of the project was to examine language use in Scalloway and to learn about the community, and were given the opportunity to ask more specific questions after the interview.

### 4.1.2 Sampling

The sampling method chosen for this study is called quota sampling. When following this sample technique, the researcher determines the relevant types of speakers they want to study beforehand, based on the social characteristics they want to examine. Each of these quotas are then filled with speakers who fit the relevant criteria (Schilling 2013: 35). Quota sampling is not as statistically representative as random sampling, where all the speakers in the population have an equal chance of being selected to participate. Although desirable, true random sampling is difficult to achieve, and can be quite time consuming (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 25). Since quota sampling has proven effective for revealing sociolinguistic patterns, random sampling was neither practically conceivable nor particularly desirable in this study.

Because quota sampling relies on the judgement of the researcher, it is often called judgement sampling. This sampling method therefore needs a “defensible theoretical framework” to guide the rationale and motivation of the researcher (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30). The initial goal of this study was to replicate Smith and Durham’s sampling criteria as closely as possible: being born and raised locally, having parents and spouses born in Shetland, belonging to class 2-5 on the Registrar General’s Social Class Index, and not having spent more than one continuous year outside Shetland (2011: 205). However, due to the time limitations of the study and the differences in population size between Scalloway and Lerwick, some adjustments had to be made. Even distributions between gender and the three age groups were aimed for. Smith and Durham worked with five speakers in each cell (2012: 205). However, other similar studies and master theses have uncovered patterns of socially conditioned language use and language change with between six and two informants in a cell (e.g. Peters 2012, af Geijerstam 2018). The number of speakers in each cell in the present study varies from two to five speakers.

Smith and Durham’s age groups range from 17-21, 45-55 and 70+. The rationale behind this is a life-stage model, where speakers are classified based on what life stage their age places them in, since “age has significance because the individual’s place in society, the community, and the family changes through time” (Eckert 1997: 155). Rather than viewing age as a continuous variable, Smith and Durham follow Eckert in classifying speakers based on whether they are new to the workplace, established in the “linguistic marketplace”, or have been retired for some time (2011: 205). Although the age ranges in the present study are not identical to Smith and Durham’s, the life stages are fairly similar: the youngest speakers range from 20 to 33, the middle group of speakers from 51 to 69, and the oldest group from 72 to 84. These differences must be borne in mind when interpreting the results of the present



study, and when comparing them to the results of Smith and Durham's studies. The class variable is mirrored as closely as possible in the sampling criteria of this study. As the Registrar General's Social Class Index is no longer used by the British government, this has been replaced by The National Statistics Socio-economic classification (*Office for National Statistics*, The National Statistics Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC), accessed 20 January 2020). The highest class in this conceptualisation, which closely matches the highest class in Smith and Durham's index, is excluded in the present study as well.<sup>7</sup>

Another difference in sampling criteria to be aware of is related to Smith and Durham's 'born and raised' criterion. As they go on to say, migration is "a reflection of the Lerwick community, where people do often spend at least some time away from the community" (2011: 205). This is also the case in Scalloway: not only do people frequently have to go to the Scottish mainland for employment and education, they also have to commute or board in Lerwick to finish secondary school. The latter is a context with a high degree of linguistic contact, as people from all over the Shetland Islands interact at the Anderson High School in Lerwick.

Due to practical reasons such as time constraints and the small population size of Scalloway, I was willing to compromise on the 'born and raised' criterion in order to gather data from a larger number of speakers. Additionally, I spoke to several people in the Scalloway community who questioned the idea of being 'born and raised' in a Shetland context. The high degree of mobility – as well as more technical matters, like being born in Lerwick or Aberdeen due to medical reasons – seemed to make the idea of being 'born and raised' problematic for many in the Scalloway speech community. This is naturally not solely a Shetland phenomenon, but in line with Trudgill's problematisation of the notion of the ideal and pure native speaker. In his study of social differentiation of English in Norwich, he questions the notion of a stable and fixed native speaker in urban contexts, since these communities are more heterogeneous and socially and geographically mobile (Trudgill 1974: 20). Trudgill also argues that in reality, completely isolated and pure varieties or speech communities have never really existed, and that varieties that have originally been conceptualised as such – like the Shetland dialect – are getting harder and harder to locate and study (Trudgill 2011: 236). The speakers in the present study therefore have a variety of geographical ties to Scalloway, in line with Trudgill's conceptualisation of localness, and in order to include the perspectives of the speech community. This further allowed me to

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<sup>7</sup> Social class and ethnicity are not explored further in this study due to the relative homogeneity of these characteristics in Shetland (Smith and Durham 2011: 204).

examine possible differences between those who had lived most of their lives in Scalloway and those who had not. Information about the geographical history of the speakers can be found in table 4.1. in section 4.1.3.

Before the fieldwork started, I contacted organisations and people who might know of interested participants. These included Shetland Forwards, an organisation dedicated to promoting Shetland dialect, the local colleges of the University of the Highlands and Islands, and researchers working in Shetland or with Shetland dialect. The initial contacts made during this process proved invaluable for the rest of the fieldwork. To fill each cell in the quota sample, participants were recruited by network sampling, where the researcher utilises social networks to recruit potential participants (Schilling 2013: 35). This was done by asking participants if they knew of other speakers who fit the relevant criteria that might be interested in participating in an interview. This recruitment method typically makes speakers more likely to participate, as they are introduced to the study through someone they know. Finally, a few participants were approached directly in locations such as cafés, shops, hotels, museums, and churches.

Network sampling is beneficial in studies such as this, where the researcher has limited access to and experience with the community beforehand. In this way, the researcher does not need to approach the community as a complete outsider, which is a less time-consuming and more successful way into the data gathering process (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 32). A potential risk of using network sampling is that people with certain characteristics may be overrepresented. For instance, I might have been referred to speakers who are interested in language or Shetland dialect, or who possess other types of characteristics that make them willing to participate. Measures such as pursuing different networks and contacting people without being referred were taken to try and moderate this effect. However, this is a characteristic of network sampling that must be borne in mind when interpreting the results.

According to Milroy and Gordon, quota sampling filled using network recruitment is appropriate for most cases of sociolinguistic work, and it has become “the consensus in the field” (2003: 33). In the sampling process, representativeness was attempted. However, these types of studies are necessarily affected by practical restrictions and the goodwill of the participants. I was therefore content with settling for a sample that was not perfectly balanced. I prioritised interviewing one informant too many in a cell rather than turning down speakers who were referred to me. On other occasions, practical matters beyond the researcher’s

control led to a quota not being filled in an ideal way, which must be considered when interpreting the results.

### **4.1.3 The informants**

The data gathered for this study is based on interviews with 20 informants from the Scalloway area that have been recorded, transcribed and analysed. The informants, their gender, age, and whether they are local or non-local Scalloway speakers are presented in Table 4.1. A version of the table with full information about where the speakers were born and how long they have lived in Scalloway and elsewhere can be found in appendix C. The informants have been given pseudonyms in a way that reflects their gender and age: the speakers in the youngest age group (or young adults) have been given names that begin with A, the names in the middle age group begin with M, and the elderly speakers in the oldest age group have been given names that begin with E. One speaker in the sample, Errol, is not born in Shetland. He was interviewed because he and his wife, Elena, preferred to be interviewed together. Even though he is not born in Shetland, and therefore excluded in the analysis of differences between age groups, genders and locality, Errol showed some interesting instances of use of Shetland dialect variants. These will be presented in section 5.9.

In addition to the sampling criteria discussed above, some facts about the informants need to be considered when interpreting the results. Since 12 speakers in the sample are female and eight are male, females are slightly overrepresented. When determining whether a speaker can be considered local to Scalloway, Trudgill's criterion has been followed. Trudgill considers the whole speech community important when investigating linguistic variation. The most representative thing would therefore be to interview the whole speech community, "irrespective of their origin". In his influential study of Norwich English, Trudgill for practical reasons considered a speaker to be local if they have not moved to the speech community in the last ten years (1974: 25).

*Table 4.1: List of informants*

<b>Age group</b>	<b>Speaker #</b>	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Local/non-local</b>
<b>Young females</b>	1	Alice	20	Non-local
	2	Anna	29	Non-local
	3	Ashley	32	Local
<b>Middle-aged females</b>	4	Mary	51	Local
	5	May	55	Local
	6	Maggie	64	Local
	7	Maisie	67	Non-local
	8	Mackenzie	69	Local
<b>Older females</b>	9	Eliza	72	Local
	10	Emma	78	Local
	11	Ella	78	Local
	12	Elena	70	Local
<b>Young males</b>	13	Allister	25	Local
	14	Angus	33	Local
<b>Middle-aged males</b>	15	Malcolm	59	Local
	16	Murray	61	Local
	17	Marcus	66	Local
<b>Older males</b>	18	Eric	77	Local
	19	Ewan	77	Local
	20	Errol	84	-

The same procedure was followed in this study, leading to one primary group of local Scalloway speakers and one smaller group of three non-local Scalloway speakers. These

groups, however, are rather heterogeneous. The local group, for instance, ranges from speakers like Angus, who was not born in Scalloway but has lived there since age 10 apart from university education on the Scottish mainland, to speakers like Eric, who was born and brought up in Scalloway but has spent several years on the Scottish mainland and 36 years in England. However, as discussed in 4.1.2, this is not an uncommon characteristic of the Shetland community. It was therefore decided that it was important to include these types of speakers in the sample. Furthermore, it was the speakers that had spent considerable time on the mainland, such as Eric and Eliza, who were most often mentioned as potential informants and ‘true’ or ‘pure’ Scalloway inhabitants. This suggests that these speakers are not perceived, at least by the people who recommended them, as less proper Scalloway inhabitants because of time spent on the mainland.

#### **4.1.4 The sociolinguistic interview**

Sociolinguistic interviews are widely used for gathering data for variationist sociolinguistic studies. This interview style was pioneered by William Labov, who often used the technique in combination with elicitation methods such as word lists and minimal pair lists in order to gather speech data from contexts with varying degrees of formality (Labov 1972b: 79-85). Labov frequently used sociolinguistic interviews to examine synchronic variation according to age as a way to study language changes in process. This rests on the assumption that differences across generations at one point in time can be interpreted as ongoing language change, since speakers of different ages represent a linguistic variety at different points in time (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 35). This is called *the apparent-time hypothesis*, and is also a basic hypothesis of both Smith and Durham (2011) and the present study. A number of studies have compared the results of apparent-time studies to similar real-time studies. These have found that apparent-time studies often are able to say something about language change over time (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 37-8). Since Labov’s first sociolinguistic studies, the sociolinguistic interview has been adapted and modified by researchers to fit a variety of linguistic situations. Sociolinguistic interviews are conversational interviews designed to combine the benefits of observation and elicitation methods while minimising the disadvantages of both. The goal of these interviews is to elicit a large amount of speech while steering the speakers’ attention away from *how* they say things and over to *what* they say (Schilling 2013: 92-93). By doing so, it is thought that the speech data can be as free, continuous and natural as possible.

Sociolinguistic interviews are typically loosely structured around interview guides consisting of questions about topics such as family, school, work and hobbies (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 59). The questions in a sociolinguistic interview guide are usually balanced between topics of general interests and topics that are particular to the community in question. The interview guide created for this study was based on one of Labov's general sociolinguistic interview guides that had been subsequently adapted by Tagliamonte (2006). This guide was then expanded and adapted with questions about Scalloway and the local community, as well as current local events such as the Shetland Wool Week festival, the Rugby World Cup and the recent by-election to the Scottish parliament. The interview guide can be found in appendix D. Additionally, basic demographic questions were asked at the beginning of the interview, in order to check the sound levels and connect this information to the audio files. While the interview guide served as a basis for possible questions, each sociolinguistic interview is unique, since an important part of this methodological framework is to encourage the speaker to talk for as long as they want about their interests in order to elicit free and continuous speech (Schilling 2013: 93).

According to Labov, the major benefit of the sociolinguistic interview is that it elicits vernacular speech. His *vernacular principle* states “that the style which is most regular in its structure and in its relation to the evolution of language is the vernacular, in which the minimum attention is paid to speech” (1972a: 112). Sociolinguistic interviews are therefore designed to minimize the attention speakers pay to their own speech. This poses a challenge known as *the observer's paradox*, because it is difficult to observe how people talk when they are not being observed (1972a: 113). It is therefore important to minimize observer effects throughout the interview. This is typically done by conducting interviews in locations such as people's homes or cafés, and by using unobtrusive sound equipment. This leads to a trade-off between sound quality and attention paid to speech, but for the purposes of the present study the sound quality was more than good enough. According to Labov, one can also minimise observer effects by leading the content of the interview toward topics the speakers are interested and emotionally invested in (Labov 1972a: 114). This will typically make speakers pay more attention to content and their emotional reactions than to their speech. Labov is an advocate of the ‘danger of death’ question, where the speaker is asked if they have ever been in a situation where they thought they might die and encouraged to tell what happened. Although this question has proved successful, it has also “frequently backfired” (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 65). It requires a confidential tone between interviewer and interviewee, careful contextualisation, and detailed knowledge of the community and cultural norms. Personally, I

found most success when I avoided the danger of death question, and instead focused on emotionally engaging topics such as childhood memories, or more dramatic events such as the Shetland Bus operation and stories of storms and shipwrecks.

The sociolinguistic interview has also frequently been modified in order to minimise observer effects by downplaying the unequal distribution of power between the interviewer and the interviewee. One way of doing this is for the interviewer to take the position of a learner, which lowers their authority (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 62). As both a young student and an outsider to the community, this technique was fruitful and easy for me to utilise. However, it is worth noting that the status as an MA student may have the opposite effect, especially for speakers who have not attended higher education. Observer effects can be minimised further by modifying the interview situation, for instance by conducting group interviews, or even recording speakers with no interviewer present. According to Milroy and Gordon, this can break up the formal dynamic of the interview and make it more informal and conversational (2003: 66-68). I would personally have liked to make more use of group interviews, but this proved difficult because of practical concerns. However, Elena and Errol were interviewed together, as were Ella and Ewan. Both couples were married and were interviewed in their own homes.

In addition to the observer's paradox, one disadvantage of the sociolinguistic interview is that it is time consuming. This often leads to a smaller sample than in elicitation studies. However, the researcher is typically able to obtain a larger number of tokens per speaker, especially for phonetic variables. Sociolinguistic interviews have also been criticised for their inherent power asymmetries. It is important to acknowledge that even though researchers do their best to relinquish power and control, the situation will always inherently be imbalanced (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 106). Finally, researchers have questioned the notion of and the focus on the vernacular. It is difficult to say whether a single, genuine vernacular exists, and equally difficult to say whether it has been observed in the speech of a given speaker at a given time (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 104). The present study treats the vernacular as an ideal to be approached rather than a single and stable observable phenomenon, and measures have been taken in order to facilitate as free, continuous and natural speech as possible.

In spite of these limitations, sociolinguistic interviews are useful for collecting large amounts of relatively natural speech data while maintaining some control and involvement by the researcher. Additionally, this method was useful in this study because it facilitated comparison with Smith and Durham's data; they collected their data using "standard sociolinguistic techniques" (2011: 205). Overall, eight hours of data were recorded from the

20 speakers. The interviews were recorded on a Zoom H2n handheld recorder, with a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz. The length of the interviews varied from approximately 15 to 60 minutes, but the majority were between 25 and 40 minutes long. According to Milroy and Gordon, the ideal number of tokens per variable in small samples is between 10 and 30 (2003: 164). This number can typically be reached in an interview that is around 20-30 minutes long (2003: 58). The number of tokens will depend on variable type: phonological variables occur more frequently than syntactic variables, which require more data (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 58). On some occasions, less than ten tokens of the morphosyntactic or lexical variables were collected for certain informants. In these cases, low *Ns* should be kept in mind when interpreting the results. On rare occasions, no tokens for one of the lexical variables were recorded. This is the case for Ashley for the *peerie* variable, and for Ewan when it comes to *ken*. In these cases, these speakers are excluded from the analysis of the relevant variable. Although regrettable, this is a potential risk when conducting sociolinguistic interviews – especially when studying these kinds of lexical variables – and a compromise one makes in order to gather as free and continuous speech as possible.

## **4.2 Data analysis**

The following section will present the methods used for analysing the collected data. After the data collection, the interviews were transcribed orthographically and analysed auditorially. The procedures used for statistical analysis are also outlined in this section, as well as token classifications for all seven variables.

### **4.2.1 Transcription and auditory analysis**

After the interviews were transcribed orthographically, they were analysed auditorially. Variables were identified and variants were classified through repeated listening. As opposed to acoustic analysis, where technological instruments are used, auditory analysis relies heavily on the researcher's judgements (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 144-45). Reliability is therefore an important issue in auditory analysis. However, according to Milroy and Gordon, this problem is greater with continuous variables than with discrete ones, as with all the variables in this study (2003: 151). The coding of both the lexical and the morphosyntactic variables was straightforward, as were the consonantal variations of L-vocalisation and TH and the distinction between monophthong and diphthong in HOUSE. However, in cases where there



was uncertainty about tokens, my supervisor listened to the relevant extracts, and ambiguous or inaudible tokens were excluded from the analysis.

#### **4.2.2 Statistical analysis**

To determine whether the results of the analysis are statistically significant, i.e. whether the results are significant in the whole population and not due to random fluctuation, the chi-square test of significance was used. This is a commonly used significance test, and it is also used by Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) in their studies of language use in Lerwick. The significance level used in the present study is  $p < .01$ , which means that if the calculated p-value is lower than this, there is a 99% chance that for instance the effect of age on the use of L-vocalisation found in the data is actually present in the Scalloway community, and not due to chance (Grønmo 2016: 347). The chi-square tests in the present study should be interpreted as supplementary, and not definitive evidence of the reliability of the results.

The chi-square test requires five tokens of each variant in order to calculate significance. For most of the variables, there were too few local tokens in the youngest age group to include it in the chi-square test. In these cases, only the difference between the middle and the oldest age group is tested. Although this is regrettable, it is interesting to note that the youngest speakers use very few local variants throughout.

#### **4.2.3 Token classification**

Prior to identifying and counting the tokens in the data, it is important to specify the exact environments for each variable. This is in accordance with Labov's *principle of accountability*, which states that all occurrences of a variable should be counted, and that their relevant environments should be specified (Labov 1972b: 72). This section will provide a description of the token classifications for each of the variables. Since comparison with Smith and Durham's results is an important part of this study, mirroring their reported token classifications as closely as possible has been prioritised.

##### **4.2.3.1 Token classification for lexical variables**

Tokens for the variable *peerie* also include the standard variants *small*, *little* and *tiny* (Smith and Durham 2011: 206). The variants *young* and *wee* are also included, but they are excluded when comparing my results to Smith and Durham's. The analysis of the variable *ken* includes both past and present contexts of the variable. Both uses as lexical verbs and as discourse

markers are analysed. Two local forms emerged as discourse markers: *you ken* and *ken*. Both forms are included in the analysis.

Occasionally for both of the lexical variables, speakers would start by using the local variants and then stop themselves and explain using the SSE variant, as in [1]:

[1] when we were **peerie** (.) so **small** (Elena)

In these instances, both tokens are counted. In other cases, speakers would use the local lexical variants when quoting dialect speakers or listing examples of dialect expressions, as in [2] and [3]. In these cases, the tokens are included, but noted as quoted.

[2] he always used to say du man nae do **yon peerie** lass [laughter] that meant you must not do **that little** girl (Elena)

[3] to **know** is **ken** ehm here in Burra we said **ken** (Eliza)

#### 4.2.3.2 Token classification for morphosyntactic variables

Smith and Durham include “all singular distal demonstrative contexts” in their analysis of *yon*, and they analyse both pronominal and determiner use (2011: 209). In this study, a few tokens of plural use of *yon* were found in the data. These are included in the analysis but left out when comparing the results of this study to Smith and Durham (2011).

All perfective contexts, both past and present, are included in the analysis of *be*-perfect (Smith and Durham 2011: 220). Instances where it is not possible to establish whether *is* or *has* has been used – corresponding to orthographic contractions such as *it’s* and *he’s* – have been excluded from the analysis.

#### 4.2.3.3 Token classification for phonetic/phonological variables

L-vocalisation is defined as vocalisation of syllable-final /al, ol, ul/. Only the items that exhibited variation in the data are included in the analysis (Smith and Durham 2011: 212-13). A list of these items can be found in appendix A. As mentioned, this list includes one instance of non-syllable-final vocalisation, *salt*. The variable is treated as binary, and a distinction is made between vocalisation and /l/ realisations.

For TH, all instances where voiced TH was dropped, realised as the voiced dental fricative or a voiced stop were counted. Both content and function words were included. Even though there were a number of realisations, including dental and alveolar stops, the variable is

treated as having the variants /ð, d/ and Ø. Since there were far more tokens of the TH-variable than the other variables, only the first 30 tokens have been analysed.

Tokens for HOUSE-HOOSE variation include items in the OUT-subset in words that have orthographic <ou> or <ow>. Although the realisations of this variable varied as well, especially in terms of diphthongal realisations, this variable is treated as binary, where the diphthong [ʌu] is the SSE variant and the monophthong [u:] is the local dialect variant (Smith and Durham 2012: 62).

## 5. RESULTS

This chapter will present and describe the quantified data for each of the variables: *peerie*, *ken*, *yon*, *be*-perfect, TH, L-vocalisation and HOUSE-HOOSE variation. The aim of this chapter is to examine whether the use of local variants covaries with social factors, primarily age and gender. To check for possible effects of locality, the non-local speakers will be compared to the local speakers in their age group in section 5.8. The speech of Errol, who was not born in Shetland but nevertheless used some interesting local features, will be presented in section 5.9. Since this is an apparent-time study, differences between age groups can be interpreted as possible language change in progress (see 4.1.4). The result for age groups and genders will be presented in tables and line charts. Where possible, the differences between these groups will be tested for statistical significance using the chi-square test of significance. The results presented in this chapter will be discussed in relation to previous studies and the research questions in chapter 6.

### 5.1 *Peerie*

The main focus in the analysis of *peerie* is to examine whether younger speakers favour the standard variants *small*, *little*, *tiny*, *young* and *wee* over the local dialect variant *peerie*, and if there is significant variation between male and female speakers. Table 5.1 presents the overall scores for all informants.

*Table 5.1: Peerie – overall results*

Variants	n	%
<i>Peerie</i>	20	11
<i>Little</i> <sup>8</sup>	158	89
<b>Total</b>	178	100

Of the 178 tokens for the *peerie* variable, the standard variants are in the majority. The speakers used the standard variants 89% of the time, in 158 instances, and the local variant the remaining 11% or 20 instances. This number seems low when compared to Sundkvist's general comments about Lerwick SSE, where *peerie* is frequently used and even reportedly acquired by non-native speakers (2011a: 174). Table 5.2 and figure 5.1 present how this use varies between age groups in table and line chart form, respectively.

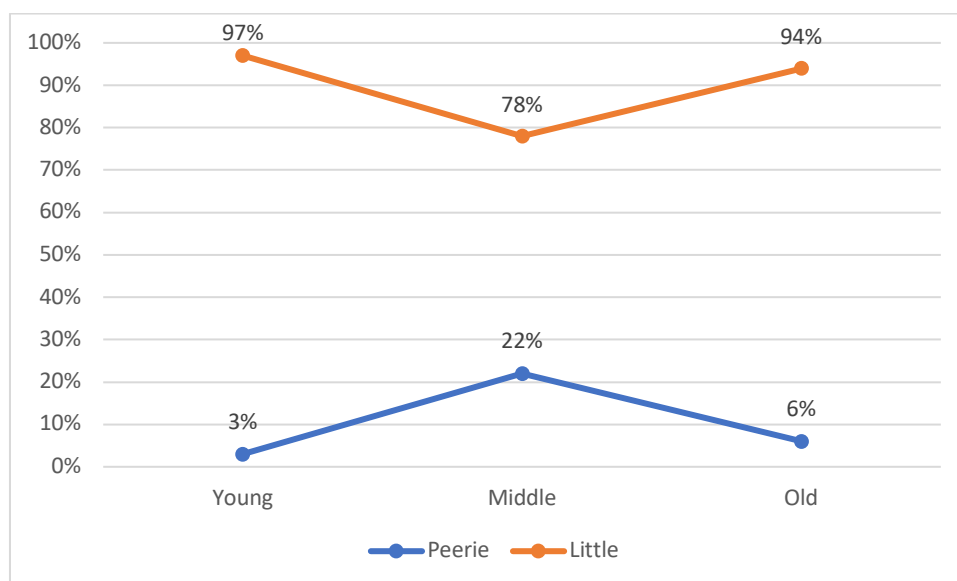
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<sup>8</sup> The heading *little* includes all standard variants: *little*, *small*, *tiny*, *young* and *wee*.

**Table 5.2:** *Peerie* – number and percentage scores by age group

Age group	<i>Peerie</i>		<i>Little</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Young	1	3	29	97	30
Middle	14	22	49	78	63
Old	5	6	80	94	85

Old/middle age group:  $\chi^2 = 8.6333$ ,  $p < .01$



**Figure 5.1:** *Peerie* – percentage scores by age group

It is evident from table 5.2 and figure 5.1 that speakers in the middle age group use the local variant the most, and realise the variable as *peerie* 14 times, or 22% of the time. In the youngest age group only one token is realised as the local variant, which corresponds to 3% of the instances. The speakers in the oldest age group similarly use very few local tokens, and use the local variant five times, corresponding to 6% of the time. Therefore, the youngest speakers, as expected, use the local variant very little, since only one speaker uses *peerie* one time. Furthermore, this group only has slightly fewer local tokens than the oldest speakers, who also use the local variant very little.

The chi-square test for *peerie* tests the difference between the middle and older age group, since the youngest speakers use too few tokens of the local variant to include them in the test. However, the difference between the middle age group and the oldest age group is statistically significant at  $p < .01$ . The fact that the speakers in the middle age group use the local variant significantly more than the older speakers is interesting, and something which is the case for all variables except *yon*. This is the opposite of what one would expect if a

change to more standard variants was in progress, and in many cases the opposite tendency of what Smith and Durham found in Lerwick (2011: 197). This tendency is discussed further in section 6.1.

In Smith and Durham (2011), *peerie* was the majority variant for all three age groups. Smith and Durham only included the standard variants *small*, *little* and *tiny* in their studies. In order to facilitate comparison, table 5.3 shows the distribution of *peerie* in the present study when only these three standard variants are included.

**Table 5.3:** *Peerie – number and percentages by age group when excluding young and wee*

Age group	<i>Peerie</i>		<i>Small, little, tiny</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Young	1	5	18	95	19
Middle	14	34	27	66	41
Old	5	9	50	91	55

Old/middle age group:  $x^2 = 9.2892$ ,  $p < .01$

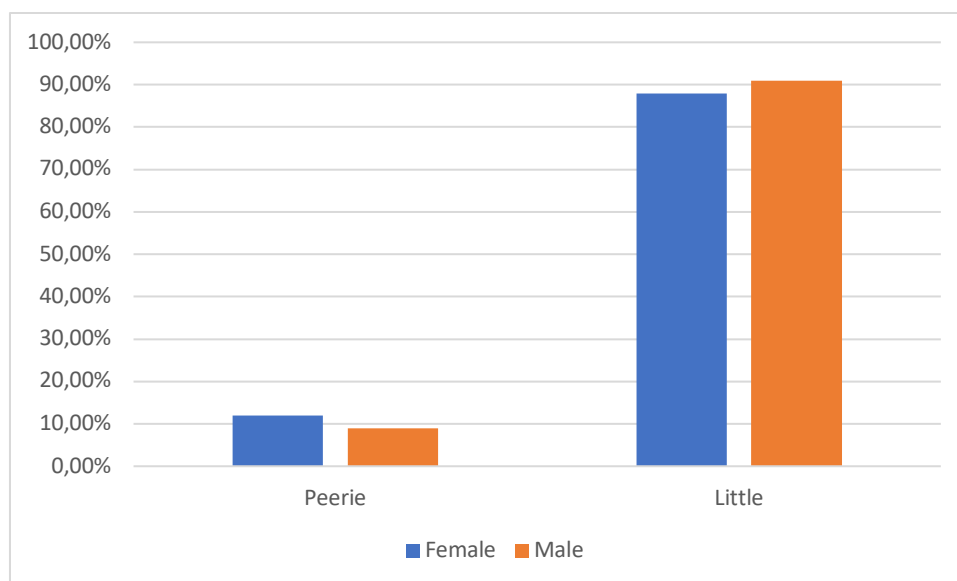
Table 5.3 shows that when only the standard variants mentioned in Smith and Durham (2011) are included, the differences between the age groups remain. The speakers in the youngest age group hardly use the local variant at all, and the speakers in the middle age group use the local variant significantly more than the speakers in the oldest age group. However, when excluding tokens of *young* and *wee*, the local variants account for a higher percentage of the realisation of the variable: from 3% to 5% among the youngest speakers, from 22% to 34% in the middle age group, and from 6% to 9% among the older speakers.

In Smith and Durham's data, *peerie* shows the same pattern as in the present study: the youngest speakers use the local variant the least, followed by the oldest speakers, while the middle age group uses the most local realisations. The differences between all three age groups in Smith and Durham's data were statistically significant (2011: 207). Table 5.4 and figure 5.2 show the realisations of *peerie* for male and female speakers.

**Table 5.4:** *Peerie – number and percentage scores by gender*

Gender	<i>Peerie</i>		<i>Little</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Female	15	12	106	88	121
Male	5	9	52	91	57

$x^2 = 0.5104$ ,  $p = .474944$



**Figure 5.2:** Peerie – percentage scores by gender

Table 5.4 and figure 5.2 show that female speakers use the local variant 15 times, or 12% of the time. This is slightly more than male speakers, who have five tokens of the local variant and therefore use *peerie* 9% of the time. However, this difference is not statistically significant, and can therefore be interpreted as random fluctuation. This is a recurring pattern: all except one variable showed differences between male and female speakers that were not significant. This seems to be in line with previous studies from Scotland (Melchers 2004a: 36, Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie 2007) where gender rarely accounts for significant sociolinguistic variation.

## 5.2 Ken

The main interest when examining the *ken* variable is whether younger speakers use the standard variant *know* more than they use the local variant *ken*. Possible differences between male and female speakers are also examined. Table 5.5 presents the overall results of all speakers' realisations of the variable.

**Table 5.5:** Ken – overall results

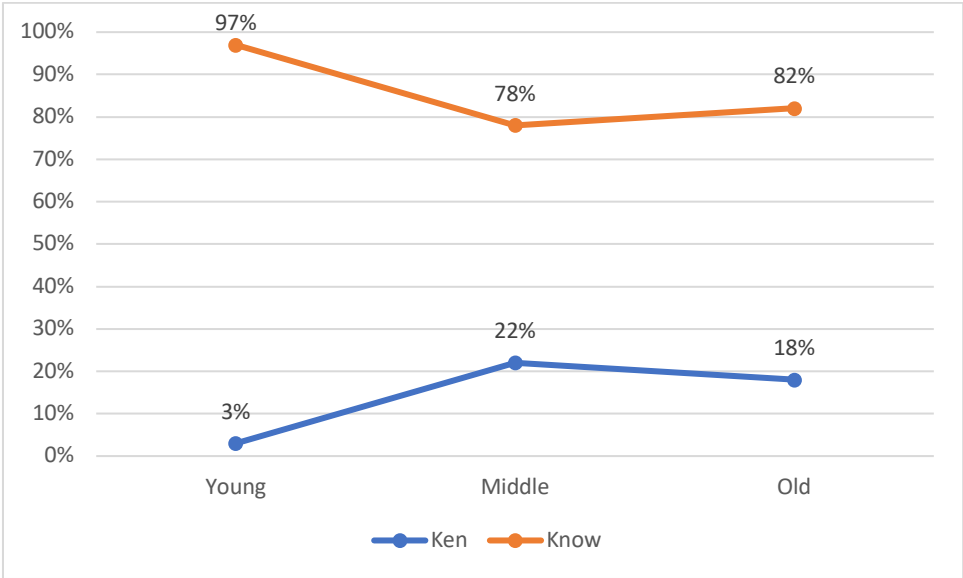
Variants	n	%
<i>Ken</i>	63	15
<i>Know</i>	348	85
<b>Total</b>	411	100

Table 5.5 shows that of the 411 tokens of *ken*, the vast majority – 348 instances, or 85% – are realised as *know*. The remaining 63 instances are realised as the local variant *ken*. This corresponds to 15% of the total number of realisations. Sundkvist reports that *ken* is “sometimes transferred into Lerwick SSE” (2011a: 175), which does not allow for much comparison of the overall results. Table 5.6 and figure 5.3 break these results down to examine differences between the three age groups.

**Table 5.6:** Ken – number and percentage scores by age group

Age group	<i>Ken</i>		<i>Know</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Young	4	3	119	97	123
Middle	39	22	139	78	178
Old	20	18	90	82	110

Old/middle age group:  $\chi^2 = 0.5801$ ,  $p = .446255$



**Figure 5.3:** Ken – percentage scores by age group

It is evident from table 5.6 and figure 5.3 that *ken* patterns in the same way as the other lexical variable: the speakers in the middle age group use the highest amount of the local variant, and realise it as *ken* 39 times, or 22% of the time. The older speakers use the local variant slightly less: 20 times or 18% of the time. However, the younger speakers use *ken* only 4 times, corresponding to 3% of the time, and strongly favour the standard variant. Consequently, for this variable as well, there are too few tokens of the local variant in the youngest age group to perform the chi-square test. Therefore, only the middle and the oldest age groups are



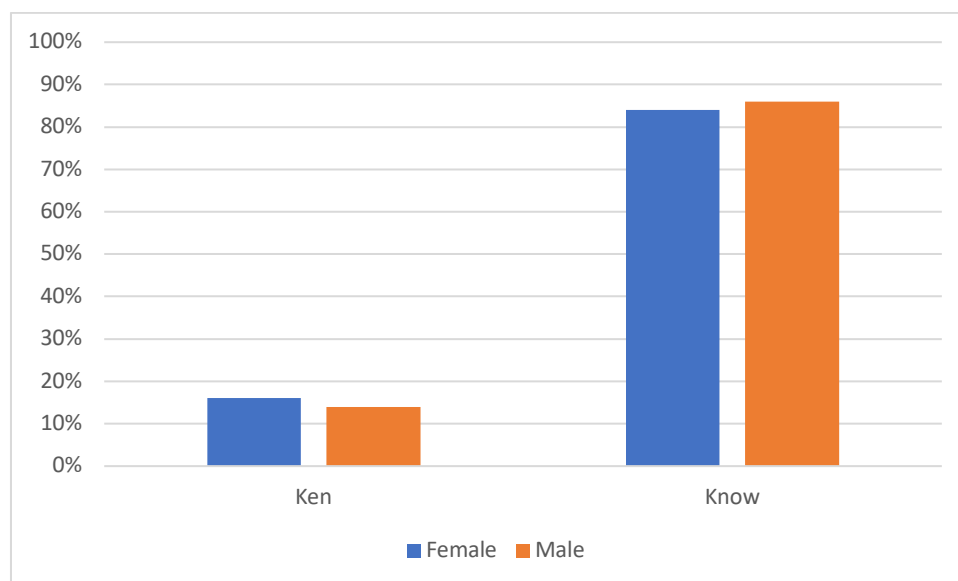
included. The difference between these two groups is not statistically significant ( $p = .446255$ ).

In Smith and Durham (2011: 207), *ken* patterned the same way as in this study. Although the local variant was used much more frequently, and was the majority variant for all age groups, it was the speakers in the middle age group who used the most local variants, followed closely by the speakers in the oldest age group. The speakers in the youngest age group used the lowest amount of the local variant, and the difference between all three age groups in Smith and Durham’s study was statistically significant. Table 5.7 and figure 5.4 present differences in the use of *ken* according to gender.

**Table 5.7:** Ken – number and percentage scores by gender

Gender	<i>Ken</i>		<i>Know</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
<b>Female</b>	40	16	211	84	251
<b>Male</b>	23	14	137	86	160

$\chi^2 = 0.1835, p = .668373$



**Figure 5.4:** Ken – percentage scores by gender

Table 5.7 and figure 5.4 show that female speakers use the local variant slightly more often than male speakers. The female speakers realise the variable as *ken* in 40 instances, or 16% of the time, while male speakers use it 20 times, or 14% of the total tokens. As with *peerie*, this small difference between female and male speakers in the use of *ken* is not statistically significant ( $p = .668373$ ).

### 5.3 *Yon*

When analysing the Scotland-wide morphosyntactic variable, *yon*, the main focus is whether the dialect variant *yon* is being replaced by the standard variants *that* and *those* in the speech of younger members of the Scalloway speech community. Possible gender differences are also examined. Table 5.8 presents the overall results for the variable.

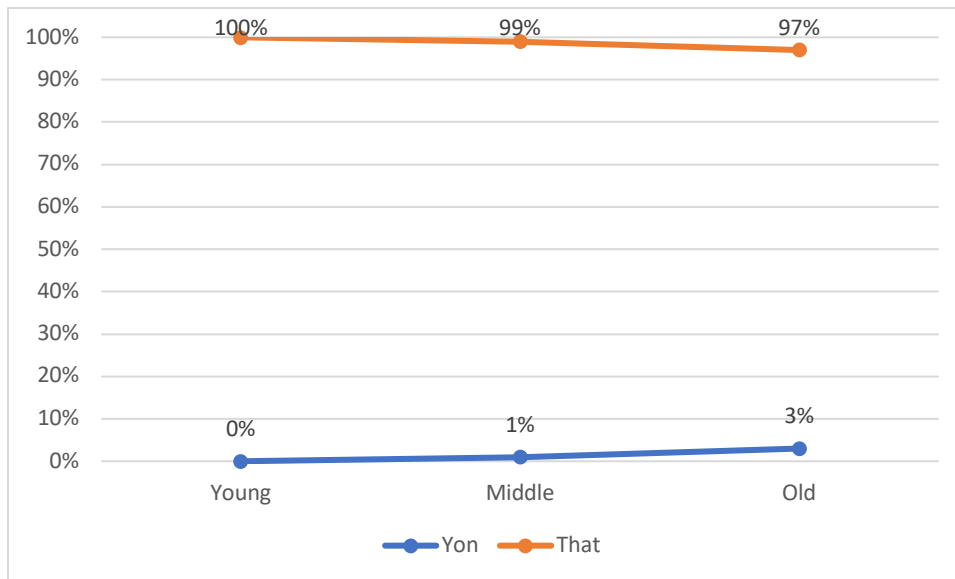
**Table 5.8:** *Yon – overall results*

<b>Variants</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b><i>Yon</i></b>	12	2
<b><i>That, those</i></b>	781	98
<b>Total</b>	793	100

Table 5.8 shows that of the 793 total tokens, the variable is realised as *yon* in 12 instances, or 2% of the time. In the overwhelming majority of cases, 98%, *that* and *those* are used. These figures are similar to Sundkvist’s accounts of the use of the variable in Lerwick SSE, where only a handful of tokens of *yon* was found (2011a: 173). Table 5.9 and figure 5.5 present the distribution of the use of *yon* according to age group.

**Table 5.9:** *Yon – number and percentage scores by age group*

<b>Age group</b>	<b><i>Yon</i></b>		<b><i>That, those</i></b>		<b>Total</b>
	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	
<b>Young</b>	0	0	174	100	174
<b>Middle</b>	4	1	365	99	369
<b>Old</b>	7	3	242	97	249



**Figure 5.5:** Yon – percentage scores by age group

It is evident from table 5.9 and figure 5.5 that *yon* is a marginal variant in all three age groups. The youngest speakers have no tokens of the local variant, and use the standard variants 100% of the time. The youngest speakers therefore have the lowest amount of local variants, which is a pattern that is similar to the lexical variables. However, the speakers in the middle age group use the local variant in four instances, or 1% of the time, while the older speakers have seven instances of *yon*, which corresponds to 3% of the realisations. In other words, the two oldest age groups show the opposite pattern for *yon* than they do for *peerie* and *ken*, where the oldest speakers use more local variants than the speakers in the middle age group. However, this difference is rather small, and there are too few tokens of the local variant to test whether it is statistically significant.

*Yon* patterned somewhat differently from the other variables in Smith and Durham (2011) as well. Smith and Durham only included singular distal contexts in their analysis. Table 5.10 shows the distribution of *yon* in the present study when plural contexts are excluded.

**Table 5.10:** Yon – number and percentages by age group when excluding plural contexts

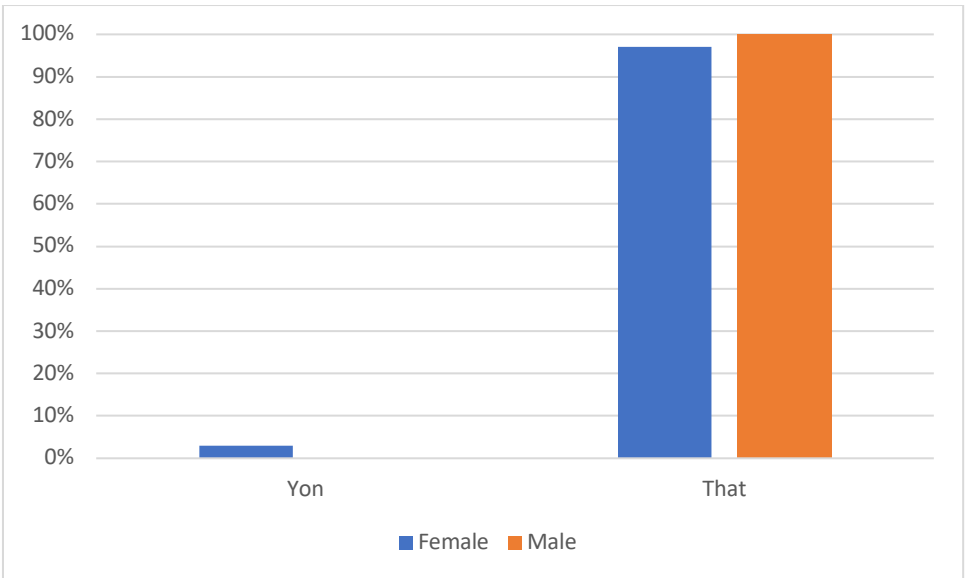
Age group	<i>Yon</i>		<i>That</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
<b>Young</b>	0	0	161	100	161
<b>Middle</b>	2	1	358	99	360
<b>Old</b>	5	2	219	98	224

It is evident from table 5.10 that although the local tokens account for a slightly smaller percentage of the realisation of the variable when plural contexts are excluded, the distribution is quite similar to table 5.10 above. Of the four plural instances of *yon*, two have been excluded from the speech of the middle age group, and two have been excluded from the speech of the oldest age group.

In Smith and Durham, the local variant was marginal in all age groups. However, this is not surprising, as *yon* has been a marginal variant throughout the history of the English language (Smith and Durham 2011: 209). Interestingly, it was the youngest speakers in Smith and Durham’s study who favoured *yon* over *that* the most, and the difference between this group and the two oldest age groups was statistically significant at  $p < .05$ . *Yon* therefore appeared to be “holding its own” throughout the generations in Lerwick (2011: 206). The use of the variable among female and male speakers in the present study is presented in table 5.11 and figure 5.6.

**Table 5.11:** *Yon – number and percentage scores by gender*

Gender	<i>Yon</i>		<i>That, those</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
<b>Female</b>	12	3	463	97	475
<b>Male</b>	0	0	318	100	318



**Figure 5.6:** *Yon – percentage scores by gender*

Table 5.11 and figure 5.6 show that female speakers use the local variant *yon* in 12 instances, corresponding to 3% of the time. The male speakers, on the other hand, have no instances of the local variant, and use *that* or *those* 100% of the time. Because of the lack of tokens of *yon* among male speakers, this difference cannot be tested using the chi-square test. Nevertheless, although this difference is small and the female speakers have very few tokens of the local variant, it is interesting that they use more local variants than male speakers, and that male speakers have no tokens of the local variant. This is the opposite pattern to what one would expect in variationist sociolinguistic studies (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 101). It is also the opposite of what was proposed in H2, which will be discussed further in section 6.2.

**5.4 *Be*-perfect**

For the Shetland-specific morphosyntactic variable *be*-perfect, the main focus of analysis is whether younger speakers favour forming the perfective aspect by using the standard variant *have* over the local variant *be*. The overall use of local and standard variants is presented in table 5.12.

*Table 5.12: Be-perfect – overall results*

<b>Variants</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b><i>Be</i></b>	49	13
<b><i>Have</i></b>	316	87
<b>Total</b>	365	100

Of the total 365 tokens of the variable, the perfective aspect is formed with *be* 49 times, which corresponds to 13% of the total use of the variable. *Have* is therefore used in the majority of cases, and is used in 316 instances, which is the remaining 87% of the total tokens. In Lerwick SSE, Sundkvist found “only a handful of examples” of perfective *be* (2011a: 172). This indicates that the local variant is used more in Scalloway speech than in Lerwick speech, which will be discussed further in 6.4.

As mentioned in section 3.4, *be*-perfect is a productive feature in Shetland dialect, and can “appear with transitive and intransitive verbs, present and past tense, and with a variety of subject types” (Smith and Durham 2011: 209). In the present study, *be* was in some occasions used in the standard possessive construction *have/has got*. In four instances, *be* was used in possessive contexts by three speakers, presented in [1] to [4] below:

[1] yeah but there is a bit of truth to that in its own way because Edinburgh is **is got** so many  
(.) students and tourists (Angus)

[2] that's all ended up okay because I **am got** my house back on (Malcolm)

[3] but if they are knitting something and they **are got** a problem with it they can come and  
get it fixed (May)

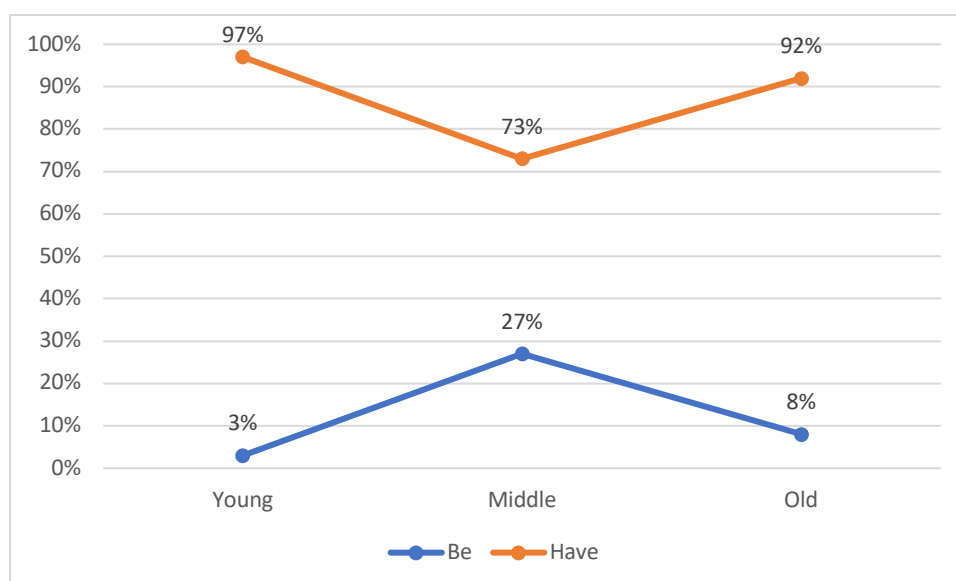
[4] the school I teach in has the most pupils and so again you **are still got** this kind of  
egalitarianism (May)

The use of *be* in possessive contexts like these is not mentioned in Smith and Durham (2011) or in Sundkvist's accounts of Lerwick SSE (e.g. 2011a). Nor is it, to my knowledge, mentioned in other grammatical accounts of the Shetland dialect (e.g. Graham and Robertson 1991, Melchers 2004b). The reason for this neglect might be that possessive *have got* is a relatively new feature in the British Isles. According to Buchstaller and Mearns, this construction developed a stative possessive function in the late 16th century, and it has become increasingly frequent through the last century (2018: 223). It is therefore possible that the use of *be* in possessive *have got*-constructions in the present study is a relatively new feature in Scalloway, and it may be part of a change in progress. However, there are few occurrences in the data, and the present study has not sought to deliberately elicit this possessive construction. Therefore, more research is needed to further understand these interesting occurrences. Table 5.13 and figure 5.7 present the use of the *be*-perfect variable according to age group.

*Table 5.13: Be-perfect – number and percentage scores by age group*

Age group	<i>Be</i>		<i>Have</i>		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Young	3	3	109	97	112
Middle	37	27	98	73	135
Old	9	8	109	92	118

Old/middle age group:  $\chi^2 = 16.5605$ ,  $p < .01$



**Figure 5.7:** *Be*-perfect – percentage scores by age group

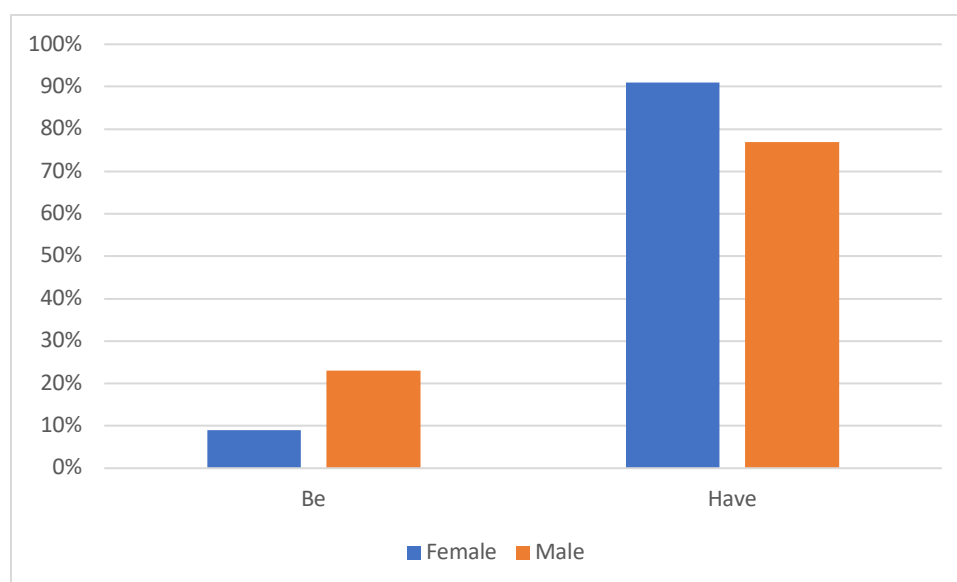
Table 5.13 and figure 5.7 show a familiar pattern: the youngest speakers use very few local variants – only three instances of *be*-perfect were found, which corresponds to 3% of the tokens. The oldest speakers use the local variant 8% of the time, with nine tokens of *be*-perfect. Again, it is the speakers in the middle age group who have the highest rate of use of the local variant. These speakers use the local variant in 37 instances, or 27% of the time. The chi-square test, which again excludes the youngest age group due to the low number of local tokens, shows that the difference between the middle and the oldest age group is statistically significant ( $p < .01$ ).

In Lerwick, Smith and Durham (2011: 210) found that the youngest speakers use the local variant the least. For this group, the standard variant is the majority variant, while the speakers in the middle and older age group have perfective *be* as their majority variant. Although the difference between these two groups is small, Smith and Durham’s older speakers use the local variant more than the speakers in the middle age group. The difference between these two older groups on the one hand and the youngest speakers on the other is statistically significant at  $p < .001$ . Table 5.14 and figure 5.8 examine differences in the use of *be*-perfect according to gender.

**Table 5.14:** *Be-perfect* – number and percentage scores by gender

Gender	<i>Be</i>		<i>Have</i>		Total
	n	%	n	%	n
Female	20	9	216	91	236
Male	29	23	100	77	129

$\chi^2 = 14.078, p < .01$



**Figure 5.8:** *Be-perfect* – percentage scores by gender

Table 5.14 and figure 5.8 show that the female speakers have 20 tokens of *be*-perfect, which corresponds to 9% of the instances. The male speakers, on the other hand, have 29 tokens of the local variant, and use it 23% of the time. This difference is statistically significant at  $p < .01$ . *Be*-perfect is therefore the only variable that shows statistically significant differences in variation according to gender. This will be discussed further in 6.2.

## 5.5 TH

The initial focus when analysing the TH variable was to see whether younger speakers favour voiced fricative realisations over voiced plosive realisations to a larger degree than the older speakers. However, during the coding process, some instances of TH-dropping were identified. TH-dropping primarily occurred in the word *with*, but also in *that*, and rarely in *then* and *the*, as in [5], [6] and [7], respectively.

[5] everything fae just like bus tours /wɪ/ cruise liner passengers /at/ are coming in (Ashley)

[6] so we had /ðat/ one in [place] and /en/ when /ðɪs/ (Angus)



[7] so /ðə/ people /ðat/ /ðat/ live here are some of /ə/ same people /ðat/ (Marcus)

Since several of the speakers had similar or higher rates of TH-dropping than TH-stopping, this variant was included in the analysis, and the TH variable was coded as having the two local variants /d/ and /Ø/, and the standard variant /ð/. As mentioned in section 4.2.3.3, 30 tokens for each speaker have been analysed. Table 5.15 shows the overall distribution of the variable.

**Table 5.15:** TH – overall results

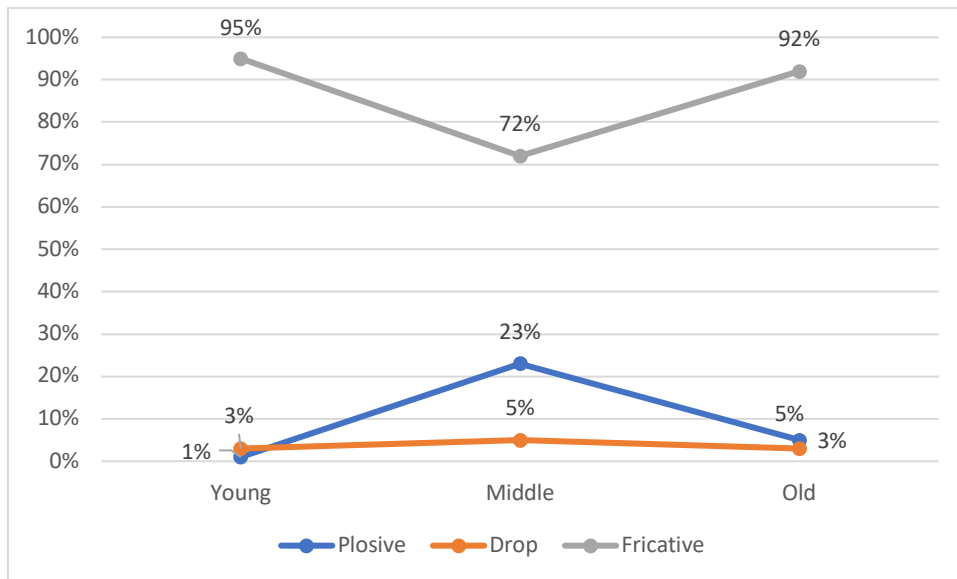
<b>Variants</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Plosive</b>	66	12
<b>Dropped</b>	23	4
<b>Fricative</b>	481	84
<b>Total</b>	570	100

As table 5.15 shows, there were 66 instances of plosive TH-realizations in the data, which corresponds to 12% of the realizations of the variable. In 4% of the instances, or 23 tokens, TH was dropped. The remaining 481 instances, 84%, were realized as fricatives. This seems similar to Sundkvist’s general statements about TH-realisation in Lerwick SSE, where stops are mainly in contrast with fricatives (2007: 17). However, stopping is “variably displayed” but far from being the norm in voiced contexts (2010: 103). Table 5.16 and figure 5.9 show the distribution of the TH variable in the three different age groups.

**Table 5.16:** TH – number and percentage scores by age group

<b>Age group</b>	<b>Plosive</b>		<b>Dropped</b>		<b>Fricative</b>		<b>Total</b>
	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>
<b>Young</b>	2	1	5	3	143	95	150
<b>Middle</b>	56	23	12	5	172	72	240
<b>Old</b>	8	5	6	3	166	92	180

Old/middle age group:  $\chi^2 = 30.1504$ ,  $p < .01$



**Figure 5.9:** TH – percentage scores by age group

It is evident from table 5.16 and figure 5.9 that the TH variable patterns similarly to the majority of the previous variables. TH-dropping is marginal in all age groups. Five instances of dropping occurred among the younger speakers, which correspond to 3% of the variation. The speakers in the middle age group have 12 instances of TH-dropping, and use the variant 5% of the time. There are six instances of TH-dropping in the oldest age group, which corresponds to 3% of the variation in the age group. When it comes to TH-stopping, there are only two occurrences of plosive realisations in the youngest age group, or 1% of the instances. The middle age group, on the other hand, has 56 tokens of plosive TH-realisation. TH-stopping therefore accounts for 23% of the realisation among the middle-aged speakers. There are eight instances of plosive realisations in the oldest age group, which corresponds to 5% of the variation. The remaining tokens, 143 for the young speakers, 172 for the middle-aged speakers and 166 for the old speakers, are realised as fricatives. These age groups therefore use the standard variant 95%, 72% and 92% of the time, respectively.

Both non-standard realisations of the TH variable follow the same pattern as the majority of the previous variables, although this is the case to a larger extent with TH-stopping than with TH-dropping: the speakers in the middle age group use the local variants the most, and both the younger speakers and the older speakers have very few tokens of the local variants. When testing the significance between all three variants, the difference between the middle and the oldest age group is statistically significant at  $p < .01$ . In order to include the young speakers, the two non-standard variants were tested together against the standard

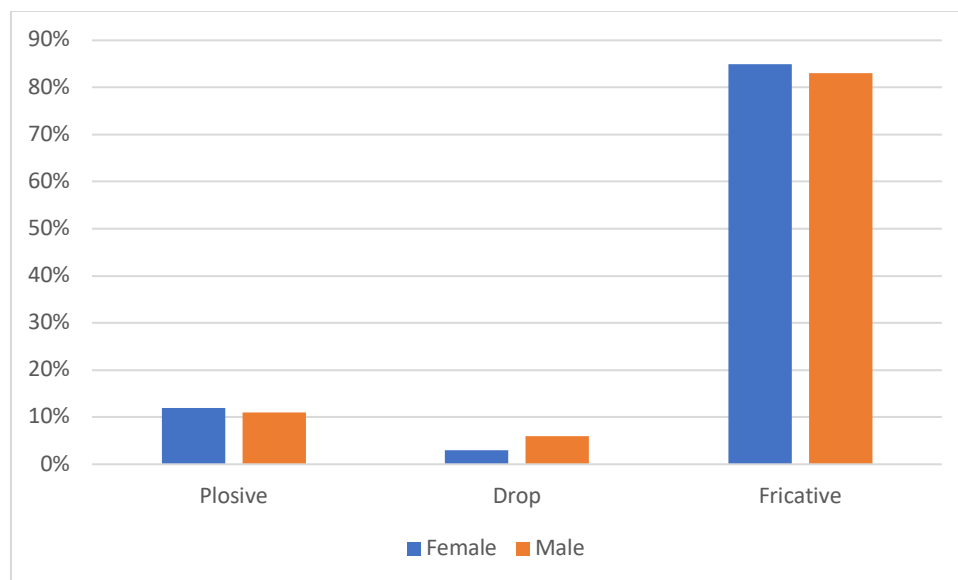
variant. In this case the differences between all three age groups were statistically significant at  $p < .01$  ( $\chi^2 = 51.5005$ ).

In Smith and Durham (2011), TH-stopping patterned somewhat differently. The older speakers used the local variant the most, and there was a gradual decline to the middle age group and the youngest age group. The difference between Smith and Durham's two oldest age groups was reported as statistically significant at  $p < .01$ , and the difference between the young speakers and the two oldest age groups was statistically significant at  $p < .001$ . This gradual decline in use of the local variant of TH-stopping in Lerwick is therefore different to the pattern in Scalloway, where the speakers in the middle age group use the highest number of local variants. Table 5.17 and figure 5.10 show the realisation of voiced TH according to gender.

*Table 5.17: TH – number and percentage scores by gender*

Gender	Plosive		Dropped		Fricative		Total n
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Female	43	12	10	3	307	85	360
Male	23	11	13	6	174	83	210

$\chi^2 = 4.033$ ,  $p = .133121$



*Figure 5.10: TH – percentage scores by gender*

It is evident from table 5.17 and figure 5.10 that the female speakers have 43 occurrences of plosive TH-realizations, and 10 occurrences of TH-dropping. These instances correspond to 12% and 3%, respectively. The remaining 85%, 307 tokens, are realised as fricatives. The

male speakers, on the other hand, have marginally fewer realisations of TH-stopping, 23 instances, or 11%. However, they exhibit slightly more TH-dropping: 13 occurrences, or 6%. The remaining 83%, 174 instances, are realised as the voiced dental fricative. These differences are not statistically significant ( $p = .133121$ ).

## 5.6 L-vocalisation

The main focus of analysis for L-vocalisation is whether younger speakers prefer lateral L over L-vocalisation in the items that exhibit historical Scots L-vocalisation (see appendix A). The overall realisations of the variable are presented in table 5.18.

**Table 5.18:** *L-vocalisation – overall results*

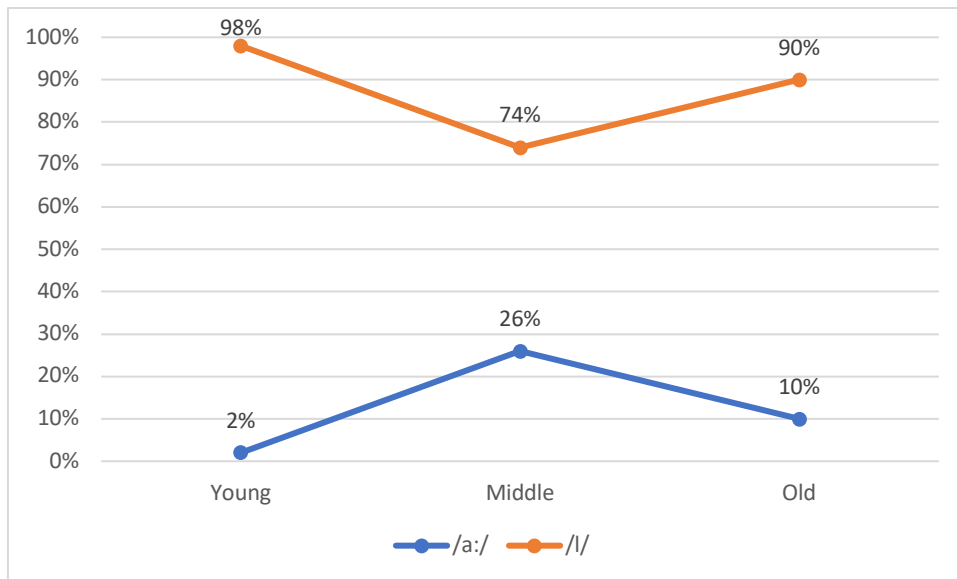
<b>Variants</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
/a:/, /u:/	91	16
/l/	488	84
<b>Total</b>	579	100

It is clear from table 5.18 that of the 579 total tokens of the variable, L is vocalised in 91 instances, or 16% of the time. The remaining 488 instances, 84% of the occurrences, are realised as the standard variant. According to Sundkvist, there is “always some degree of tongue body raising” (2007: 17) in Lerwick SSE. Therefore, L-vocalisation seems to be much more common in Scalloway than in Lerwick, where it appears to be absent in speech to outsiders. Table 5.19 and figure 5.11 show the use of L-vocalisation among the age groups.

**Table 5.19:** *L-vocalisation – number and percentage scores by age group*

<b>Age group</b>	<b>/a:/, /u:/</b>		<b>/l/</b>		<b>Total</b>
	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	
<b>Young</b>	2	2	110	98	112
<b>Middle</b>	69	26	193	74	262
<b>Old</b>	20	10	185	90	205

Old/middle age group:  $\chi^2 = 20.495$ ,  $p < .01$



**Figure 5.11:** *L-vocalisation – percentage scores by age group*

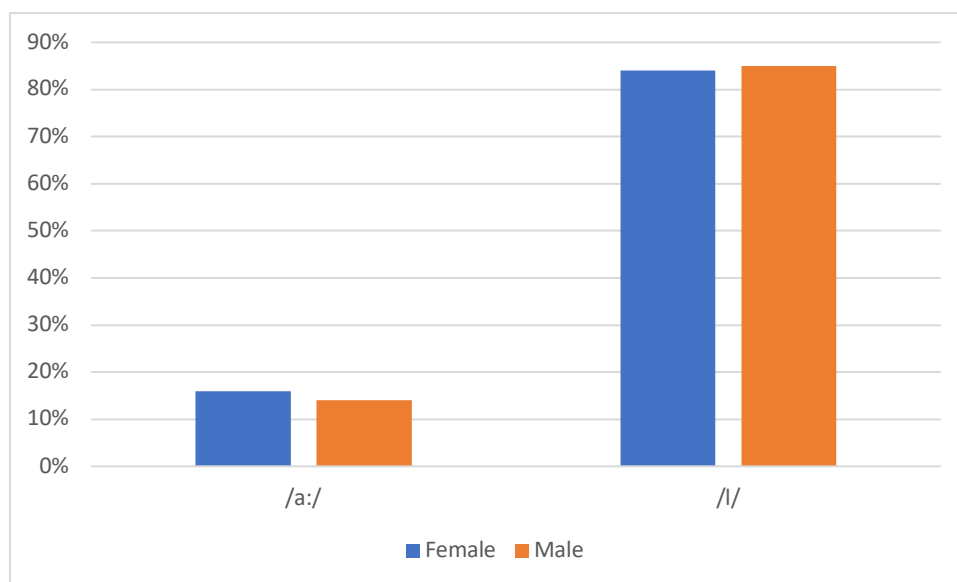
It is evident from table 5.19 and figure 5.11 that L-vocalisation patterns in a similar way to the majority of the variables. The youngest speakers only use the local variant in two instances, or 2% of the time. The speakers in the oldest age group use the second-lowest number of the local variants, and have 20 tokens of L-vocalisation, which corresponds to 10% of the time. Again, it is the speakers in the middle age group who have the highest rate of L-vocalisation. This group vocalises L 69 times, or 26% of the time. The chi-square test, which again only tests the difference between the middle and the oldest age group due to the low number of local variants among the youngest speakers, shows that this difference is statistically significant at  $p < .01$ .

In Smith and Durham (2011: 213), L-vocalisation patterned in a similar way, even though all three age groups had a higher number of vocalised variants than in the present study. The youngest speakers use the local variant the least, followed by the oldest speakers and then the speakers in the middle age group, who have the highest number of L-vocalised tokens. Smith and Durham report both the difference between the middle age group and the oldest age group and between the youngest speakers and the two groups of older speakers as statistically significant (2011: 213). Table 5.20 and figure 5.12 show the use of the vocalised variant according to gender.

**Table 5.20:** *L-vocalisation – number and percentage scores by gender*

Gender	/a:/, /u:/		/l/		Total
	n	%	n	%	n
Female	61	16	314	84	375
Male	30	15	174	85	204

$\chi^2 = 0.243, p = .622064$



**Figure 5.12:** *L-vocalisation – percentage scores by gender*

Table 5.20 and figure 5.12 show that the female speakers use the local variant 61 times, which correspond to 16% of the variable occurrences. The male speakers have 30 tokens of the local variant, and use it 15% of the time. This difference between the male and female speakers is not statistically significant ( $p = .622064$ ).

### 5.7 HOOSE-HOUSE variation

The main focus when analysing HOOSE-HOUSE variation is whether younger speakers favour the SSE diphthongal realisation [ʌu] over the local monophthong [u:]. Table 5.21 presents the overall standard and local realisations of the variable.

**Table 5.21:** *HOOSE-HOUSE variation – overall results*

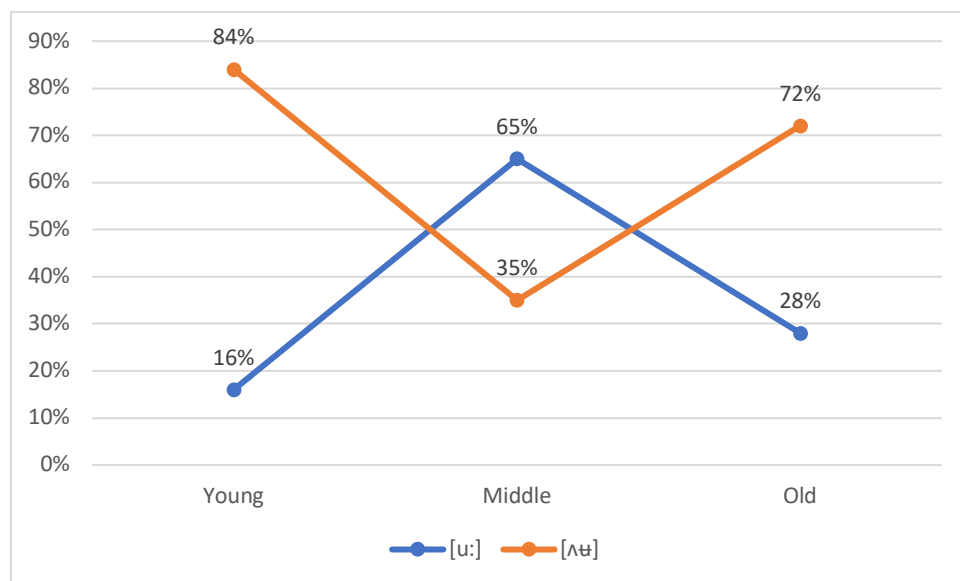
Variants	n	%
[u:]	397	36
[ʌu]	704	64
<b>Total</b>	<b>1101</b>	<b>100</b>

As can be seen in table 5.21, of the 1101 total tokens, the local variant is used 397 times, or 36% of the time. The standard SSE variant occurs 704 times in the data, or 64% of the time. HOOSE-HOUSE variation is therefore the variable where the local variant is used the most. In Sundkvist's accounts of Lerwick SSE, both variants are listed as common (2011a: 175). Even though this is not elaborated on there, the fact that both variants are listed indicates that the local variant is rather frequent in Lerwick SSE as well. Table 5.22 and figure 5.13 present the realisation of the variable among the different age groups.

**Table 5.22:** *HOOSE-HOOSE variation – number and percentage scores by age group*

Age group	[u:]		[ʌʊ]		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Young	34	16	185	84	219
Middle	299	65	163	35	462
Old	116	28	304	72	420

$\chi^2 = 197.5896, p < 0.00001$



**Figure 5.13:** *HOOSE-HOOSE variation – percentage scores by age group*

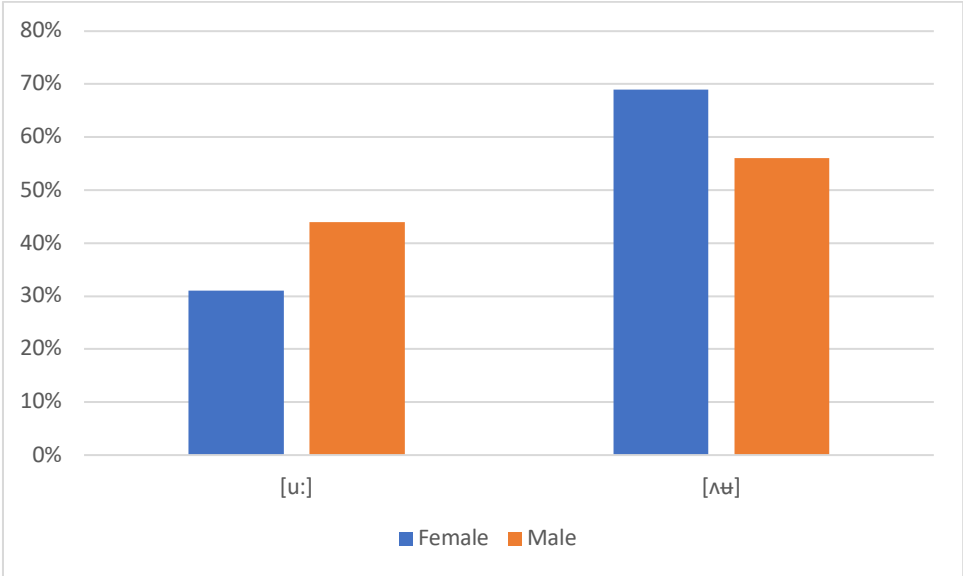
Table 5.22 and figure 5.13 show that the youngest speakers use the lowest number of local variants: 34 tokens or 16% of the variable occurrences. They are followed by the oldest age group, who have 116 tokens of [u:]. This corresponds to a realisation of the local variant of 28%. Again, the speakers in the middle age group use the highest number of the local variant at 299 tokens, or 65%. This is the only time a local variant is the majority variant for an age group in the present study. For this variable, the chi-square test includes all three age groups, and the differences between them are statistically significant at  $p < .01$ .

Smith and Durham found that the use of the [u:] variant declines with age: the oldest speakers used the highest amount of the local variant, closely followed by the speakers in the middle age group. There is a stark difference between these two groups, where the local variant is the majority variant, and the youngest speakers, for whom it is a minority variant (2012: 63). Table 5.23 and figure 5.14 show the distribution of the HOOSE-HOUSE variable according to gender.

**Table 5.23:** HOOSE-HOOSE variation – number and percentage scores by gender

Gender	[u:]		[ʌu]		Total n
	n	%	n	%	
Female	220	31	480	69	700
Male	177	44	224	56	401

$\chi^2 = 0.8701, p = .350926$



**Figure 5.14:** HOOSE-HOOSE variation – percentage scores by gender

Table 5.23 and figure 5.14 show that the female speakers use the local variant 220 times, which corresponds to 31% of the time. The male speakers use vocalised tokens 177 times, or in 44% of the instances. However, this difference is not statistically significant ( $p = .350926$ ).



## 5.8 Locality

In order to examine possible effects of place and history of residence, this section will compare the speakers who have been classified as non-local – Alice, Anna and Maisie – with the other speakers in their age group. When determining whether or not a speaker is local to Scalloway, Trudgill’s criterion in his study of Norwich English, where he excluded speakers who had moved into the speech community in the past ten years, is used (1974: 25). Table 5.24 compares Alice and Anna’s rates and percentages of local forms to the other, local young speakers.

*Table 5.24: Non-local young speakers compared to local young speakers*

	Alice and Anna (local forms)				Other young speakers (local forms)			
	n		%		n		%	
<i>Peerie</i>	0		0		1		4	
<i>Ken</i>	0		0		4		4	
<i>Be-perfect</i>	0		0		3		4	
<i>Yon</i>	0		0		0		0	
TH-stopping / drop	1	2	2	3	1	3	1	3
L-vocalisation	1		4		1		1	
HOUSE-HOOSE variation	12		18		22		15	

According to table 5.24, the non-local and the local young speakers have fairly similar rates of local forms. This is not unexpected, since the youngest age group overall use very few local tokens. While Alice and Anna have zero tokens of the lexical variables and of *be-perfect*, the other young speakers have some, but few tokens, and use the local variants 4% of the time. All the young speakers have zero instances the local variant of *yon*, and rather similar rates of use of TH. However, Alice and Anna use the local variants of L-vocalisation and HOUSE-HOOSE variation more than the local young speakers, 4% compared to 1% for L-vocalisation and 18% compared to 15% for HOUSE-HOOSE variation. However, these differences are small, and the non-local young speakers do not differ markedly from the rest of the young speakers. Table 5.25 compares Maisie to the local middle-aged speakers.

*Table 5.25: Non-local middle-aged speakers compared to local middle-aged speakers*

	Maisie (local forms)		Other middle-aged speakers (local forms)				
	n	%	n	%			
<i>Peerie</i>	0	0	14	25			
<i>Ken</i>	9	47	30	19			
<i>Be-perfect</i>	4	17	33	30			
<i>Yon</i>	0	0	4	1			
TH-stopping / drop	1	0	55	12	26	6	
L-vocalisation	2		7		67		29
HOUSE-HOOSE variation	19		45		280		67

Table 5.25 shows that there are several instances where Maisie deviates from the rest of the middle-aged speakers. While Maisie has zero instances of the local variant of *peerie*, the local speakers use the local variant 25% of the time. On the other hand, Maisie uses a higher number of local variants for *ken* than the local Scalloway speakers. Maisie uses the local variant 47% of the time, while the other middle-aged speakers use it only 19% of the time. However, the opposite is the case for *be-perfect*, where the local speakers use the local variant 30% of the time, while Maisie uses it 17% of the time. Both groups have very limited use of *yon*, and Maisie does not use it at all, but the local middle-aged speakers use a higher proportion of local variants for all three phonetic variables. The local middle-aged speakers use TH-stopping 12% of the time, and TH-dropping in 6% of the variable instances. Maisie, on the other hand, uses TH-stopping 3% of the time, and has no instances of TH-dropping. While Maisie uses the local variants of L-vocalisation and HOUSE-HOOSE variation 7% and 45% of the time, respectively, the rest of the middle-aged speakers use these local variants 29% and 67% of the time.

For the middle-aged speakers, it is difficult to say with data from only one non-local speaker if these differences can be ascribed to locality. This is made more unclear by the fact that Maisie uses the local variant for *ken* more than the local middle-aged speakers, as opposed to the majority of the variables, where the local speakers have higher amounts of local variants. Therefore, more data would be needed to examine this further. However, the differences between the three non-local speakers mirror the overall relationship between these age groups, since Maisie uses more local variants than Alice and Anna. This will be discussed further in section 6.3.

## 5.9 Errol

This section singles out the features of one individual speaker, Errol. As mentioned, Errol grew up on mainland Scotland, but moved to Scalloway in his twenties. Since then, he has spent time on mainland Scotland and other places in Shetland, before he moved back to Scalloway in 1994. Since he is not a native Shetland speaker, his language use was not included in comparisons of age, gender and locality. However, he is included as an individual speaker since he exhibited some interesting uses of local variants. Table 5.26 is an overview of the number of local and standard tokens for all variables in Errol’s speech.

*Table 5.26: Errol – overall results*

	Local variant		Standard variant			
	n	%	n	%		
<i>Peerie</i>	0	0	5	100		
<i>Ken</i>	2	5	41	95		
<i>Be-perfect</i>	3	30	7	70		
<i>Yon</i>	1	4	23	96		
TH-stopping / drop	0	1	0	3	29	97
L-vocalisation	3		19		13	81
HOUSE-HOOSE variation	11		44		14	56

Table 5.26 shows that Errol uses a majority of standard variants, and that the local variant he uses the most is [u:] in HOUSE-HOOSE variation. This pattern is similar to the native Shetland speakers in the data. The use of local tokens for the Scotland-wide variables – *ken*, *yon*, L-vocalisation and HOUSE-HOOSE variation – is expected, since they are used to varying degrees all over Scotland. Errol uses *ken* as a discourse marker, both with and without a preceding pronoun, as in [8] and [9], respectively.

[8] Errol: I can mind fae when I was looking out her her grandmother out in the back yard (.)  
like I dinnae **ken** (.) it was tatties or

Elena: we aye had tatties yeah

[9] It was either too windy or the wet stopped your your (.) tennis racket **ken** they just snapped

The one token of *yon* in Errol’s speech occurs when talking about how the local community has changed since he first moved to Scalloway, presented in [10]:

[10] You walk along the main street and you do not see anybody that resembles the (.) father or parents you know the (.) whereas before when I first came that was easy you know **yon** must be a son of so and so's

Even though *yon* is a Scotland-wide variable, it is interesting to note that the local token occurs when he is talking about Scalloway, since *yon* is traditionally used in Shetland dialect with references that are emotionally close to the speaker (see section 3.3).

Errol uses some local variants of the Scotland-wide phonetic variables as well. Interestingly, he has vocalisation in *aabody*, and often uses [u:] in *south* when talking about the rest of Britain, as in [11] and [23] in chapter 3, partly repeated here as [12].

[11] Sometimes it was cancelled and **aabody** would take their way back home

[12] if you come from (..) /su:θ/ ehm in Shetland then you are tabbed as a /su:θ mu:θər/ and ehm you were not included

Although these are Scotland-wide variants, it is interesting to note that Errol is the only speaker who uses *aabody*. Using monophthongs when using the word *south* to refer to the British mainland highlights the non-Shetland nature or otherness of the reference (see section 3.7). By adopting this particular use of [u:], it seems that Errol is identifying with his speech community in a way that is reflected in his linguistic behaviour. Errol also has one token of TH-dropping. This occurs in *with*, and can be seen in [13].

[13] my (.) aunt and uncle stayed on one side of the valley /wɪ/ (.) ehm in Scalloway

Since TH-dropping occurs in *with* in the rest of Scotland as well (*Dictionary of the Scottish language*, s. v. “with”, accessed 29 April 2020), this is not particularly surprising. However, Errol also uses some local variants of the Shetland-specific variable *be*-perfect. He uses the local variant three times, as seen in [14], [15] and [16]:

[14] I'm no really **got** terribly involved you know

[15] And now they are reverting to tram cars so you **are got** bus service going out to the airport ehm and you have also got it seems to be duplication

[16] if we **were left** for Norway we'd come back and the weeds were so high

As these instances show, Errol also uses perfective *be* in past contexts, as in [16]. According to Smith and Durham (2011: 211), *be* is more likely to be used in present tense than in past

tense contexts. This pattern was statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ) for all the age groups in their study. Therefore, the fact that Errol uses *be*-perfect at all, and that he uses it in past contexts, is surprising. [15] is also an interesting token, where Errol has adopted perfective *be* and extended it to possessive *have got*, like some of the native Shetlanders (see section 5.4). Errol's use of both possessive and perfective *be* in a past context might be due to the salience of this marked feature. *Be*-perfect is something an incomer would notice, and perhaps pick up as a way of claiming local identity. In sum, Errol uses both *be*-perfect and some of the Scotland-wide variables – for instance using *yon* when talking about the local community and using a monophthong in *south* when referring to the British mainland – in a way that is similar to the usage of the Shetland-speakers in the data. This would suggest that although he is not 'born and bred' in Shetland, he has adapted certain local features of his speech community.

## 6. DISCUSSION

This chapter seeks to discuss the results presented in chapter 5 in relation to relevant theories of language variation and change. It will also answer the research questions of the present study and discuss the findings in relation to the proposed hypotheses. The research questions presented in chapter 1 are repeated below, and they will be discussed in turn in section 6.1 to 6.4.

**RQ1:** Do differences between the age groups indicate that the dialect features are subject to ongoing change? If so, are there any differences between the types of features: do Shetland-specific variables pattern in a different way from Scotland-wide variables? Are there any differences between lexical, morphosyntactic and phonetic/phonological variables?

**RQ2:** Do changes in the use of dialect features covary with gender?

**RQ3:** Are there any differences between the local Scalloway group and the non-local Scalloway group?

**RQ4:** Are there any similarities or differences between the Scalloway results and the Lerwick results?

### 6.1 Age and apparent-time

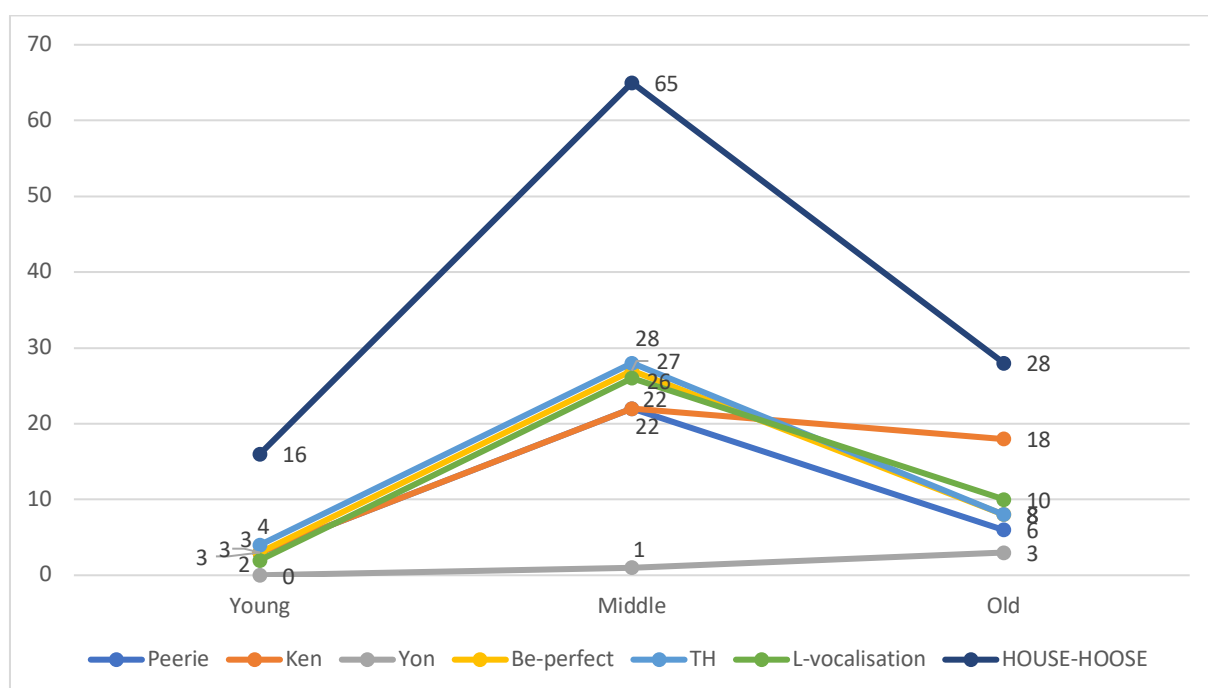
This section discusses the main focus of the present study: the realisations of the seven variables in three different age groups: young speakers, aged 20-33; middle-aged speakers, aged 51-69; and old speakers, aged 72-84. It was hypothesised in H1 that the use of all types of dialect variants will decline with age. Such a gradual decline – where the older speakers use the most dialect variants, followed by the middle-aged speakers and then the young speakers – would be an apparent-time indicator of a language change in progress where standard variants are increasingly favoured. Table 6.1 and figure 6.1 summarise the overall percentage of local variants according to age group.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> For TH, both local variants are included. An asterisk (\*) indicates a result significant at  $p < .01$  when comparing the old and middle-aged speakers. A double asterisk (\*\*) indicates significant results at  $p < .01$  when comparing all age groups.

**Table 6.1:** Percentage of local forms according to age group, all variables

	Young	Middle	Old
<i>Peerie</i> *	3	22	6
<i>Ken</i>	3	22	18
<i>Yon</i>	0	1	3
<i>Be-perfect</i> *	3	27	8
TH**	4	28	8
L-vocalisation*	2	26	10
HOUSE-HOOSE variation**	16	65	28



**Figure 6.1:** Percentage of local forms according to age group, all variables

As summarised in table 6.1 and figure 6.1, there is an overall tendency for both young and old speakers to use very few Shetland dialect variants. The middle-aged speakers, on the other hand, use a larger number of local variants, usually somewhere between 20% and 30% of the time. With the exception of *yon* – where there are too few local tokens to test the differences statistically – and *ken*, the differences between the middle and the old age group are statistically significant. For TH and HOUSE-HOOSE variation, where there are enough local tokens in the youngest age group to include it in the chi-square test, the differences between all three age groups are statistically significant.

According to Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2017: 59), language change often develops in an S-curve, following “a pattern with a slow initial spread, a rapid middle-stage and a slower final phase”. This developmental trend is likely due to the frequency of contact

between users of the new form and the old form in the different stages. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg divide this S-curve into five stages of language change, which offer a good rule-of-thumb scale for comparing changes that have reached different stages: the incipient stage, where there new form is used less than 15% of the time, a new and vigorous stage (usage between 16% and 35%), a mid-range stage (usage between 36% and 65%), nearing completion (usage between 66% and 85%) and the completed stage, where the new form is used over 85% of the time (2017: 61). The incipient and completed stages are considered categorical use of a new or an old variant, respectively. The three remaining stages, where a new form is used between 16% and 85% of the time, are considered variable use. According to this framework, only the middle group in the present study shows variable use for the majority of the variables. For *ken*, both the middle and the old group vary, and for HOUSE-HOOSE variation all age groups show variable use of the local variant. Apart from this, the youngest and oldest speakers show categorical use, while the middle group shows variable use of all variables. Although more research would be needed to examine this further, it is interesting that the middle age group stands out by using more local variants, and that the age groups both above and below them use the standard variants categorically. This indicates that although use of dialect variants seems to be dying out over the long term, there may have been a revival in use of local forms in the middle age group.

The overall pattern in the Scalloway data follows this trend, and there are no clear indicators that certain types of variables (Shetland-specific vs. Scotland-wide variables, lexical vs. morphosyntactic vs. phonetic variables) stand out. HOUSE-HOOSE variation is the only variable where all age groups show variable use of the local variant, ranging from 16% in the youngest group to 65% in the middle group. HOUSE-HOOSE variation is also the only variable where the local variant is the majority variant for the middle age group. The fact that this local variant is so widespread may indicate that it functions as an emblematic feature of local identity. The [u:] variant is restricted to a small lexical set, and since it is a Scotland-wide variable, it is likely familiar to outsiders. Therefore, this would be a relatively unproblematic emblematic feature, since it would not lead to a great number of communication breakdowns. If this is the case, this would be contrary to previous reports of Shetland dialect, where both *peerie* (Smith and Durham 2011: 207) and TH-stopping (Melchers 2004a: 42) have been mentioned as important Shetland dialect markers. Another variable that patterns differently is *yon*. This variable is marginal among all age groups, and the oldest age group actually has a higher number of local variants than the middle group. Finally, *ken* is the only testable variable where the difference between the middle and the old



age group is not statistically significant. It is interesting that all the variables that stand out are Scotland-wide variables. However, these deviate from the main pattern in different ways, and more research is needed to examine whether and how different types of variables pattern differently in Scalloway.

Concerning the second part of H1 – that the younger speakers are the less dialect variants they will use – the Scalloway results are both expected and unexpected. The fact that the youngest speakers overall use very few local variants is in line with H1. However, the fact that the middle-aged speakers use a significantly higher number of local variants is not in line with the gradual decline of local forms across all three age groups that would be expected of a language change in progress. It is also not expected when comparing these results to Smith and Durham (2011). There, the changes between the age groups are presented as a gradual decline, even though for some variables the middle group had the highest amount of local variants (see section 6.4). Sundkvist, who deliberately sampled bilingual middle-aged, middle-class speakers, also found very few local variants in speech to outsiders (2011a).

The unexpected revival of local variants in the middle age group in the present study could possibly indicate that a different language shift is in place in Scalloway than in Lerwick. However, there are few obvious explanations of why this would be the case. Another possibility is that the age-related pattern in the present study has to do with attitudes and differences between speech to insiders and outsiders in Shetland. As mentioned in section 2.1, Shetland is regarded as a bidialectal speech community, where dialect speakers use Shetland dialect with insiders and in informal situations, and a more standard variety with outsiders and in formal situations. Since the interviewer in the present study is not a native Shetland dialect speaker, this study is by necessity focused on more standard speech to outsiders, as opposed to Smith and Durham's studies in Lerwick. Because the present study does not include attitudinal elements, the following discussion is purely speculative. However, there were some statements made during the interviews that indicate that the age-related differences may be influenced by attitudinal change. The absence of local forms in the youngest age group can be interpreted in the context of a general language change toward more standard forms in line with findings from Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) and other studies of dialect levelling in Scotland (e.g. Romaine 1978, Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie 2007, af Geijerstam 2018).

Another term that may fit this process is Hickey's notion of *supraregionalisation*, a process where a variety loses specific local features and becomes less regionally bound (2010: 1). In a process of supraregionalisation, speakers adopt features of a non-regional variety,

such as Scottish Standard English (Hickey 2010: 5). This seems to be the case in the Scalloway speech community, especially among the youngest speakers. However, a change in attitudes regarding the use of Shetland dialect may explain some of the differences between the middle and the older age group.

Not many attitudinal studies have been carried out in a Shetland context, and the few that exist (e.g. Melchers 1985, Bugge 2007) have focused on the Scandinavian elements of Shetland dialect. However, Melchers (1985), which presents data from an attitudinal questionnaire given to students at the Anderson High School in 1983, offers some helpful insights into the general language situation in Shetland. According to Melchers, the questionnaire reveals “an overwhelmingly positive attitude to the local dialect,” both among native Shetlanders and among incomers (1985: 90). These students are closest in age to the middle age group, and their positive attitudes seem in line with this age group’s high use of local dialect variants. However, the pupils who are the most positive toward Shetland dialect report having parents who use Shetland dialect a lot, and parents who do not use less dialect when speaking to their children (1985: 94). These speakers therefore do not seem more positive toward Shetland dialect than the speakers in the generation above them. However, Melchers’ study also describes an ongoing change in attitudes toward Shetland dialect and appropriateness in Shetland schools.

Melchers quotes a teacher instruction from the former headmaster of Anderson High School, John J. Graham, where he states that “dialect should not be condemned but regarded as a valid form of speech appropriate to certain situations. If a clearly defined policy of bilingualism is cultivated by the school, pupils should automatically know when to use dialect and when St[andard] E[nglish]” (Melchers 1985: 97). Older informants of Melchers’ experienced a very different language policy when they were at school, and report strict rules and never being allowed to use dialect in the classroom (1985: 98). However, even though the formal views on language learning had changed at the Anderson in the 1980s, the pupils in the study had mixed views about the actual instruction. On one hand, 60% of the pupils said that it was common to speak to teachers in broad Shetland dialect, and around 50% reported that teachers did not react to this. However, old attitudes also seemed to live on, and pupils reported that there were still strict rules, and one informant wrote “I think it is the teachers who are killing the dialect” (1985: 98).

It therefore seems that when the speakers in the middle age group in the present study were young, a change was underway where Shetland dialect was beginning to be regarded as more appropriate in certain situations, as opposed to hardly being used in instruction in

schools. However, it also seems like this change happened slowly, as change in attitudes to language often does (Garrett 2010: 29-30), and not something that had reached all teachers. Furthermore, this attitudinal change seemed to be toward a bidialectal speech policy, where it would likely not be considered appropriate to use dialect with outside speakers.

Another radical change that the middle-aged speakers experienced when they were young was the start of oil activity in Shetland in the 1970s. This led to an influx of non-Shetland workers: between 1973 and 1982, as many as 6000 workers were employed at Sullom Voe oil terminal (Smith and Durham 2011: 201). Many speakers in Scalloway talked about this as something that drastically changed Shetland, as in [1], [2] and [3]:

[1] but there were very little else going on in Shetland at that time until the oil ehm started in the seventies and then more and more folk came to Shetland and so (.) the (.) the culture got more and more diluted (Murray)

[2] Mackenzie: but it had not did not change an awful lot in that time (.) changed more in recent years maybe since the oil started coming to to Shetland mhm

KH: did you see that in just more people moving in or

Mackenzie: yes yes there is a lot more people now (.) I mean when we were young you knew everybody in the village you knew where everybody stayed and you knew how many was in their household but now (.) you do not [laughter] you do not know so many now

[3] it was about seventy-five I think they started on building Sullom Voe terminal and we stayed in Voe which is (.) about maybe ten miles from Sullom Voe (.) so it all of a sudden there are all these people came piling in and it was really a very exciting time (.) because there was just so much going on (.) because the (.) people had money to spend so the (.) pubs opened restaurants opened (.) entertainment at the weekend (Marcus)

Velupillai connects this profound sociodemographic change to a language shift towards more Standard English variants (2019: 270). However, it is also possible that such changes could lead to a revived interest in and identification with Shetland society, culture and dialect. This was the case in Labov's study of language use in Martha's Vineyard (1963). Labov studied a shift in the first elements in the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ among several social groups in Martha's Vineyard. Through lexical questionnaires, questions about value judgements, a reading test and casual observations, he found that a centralisation of the first elements of the diphthongs "appear[s] to show a regular increase in successive age levels, reaching a peak in the 31 to 45 group" (1963: 291). A possible explanation for this rise in use of traditional

variants may be the changing social and economic character of the speech community. When Labov conducted his study, the economic situation had become difficult for the native islanders, and they found themselves increasingly dependent on the influx of summer tourism. According to Labov:

This gradual transition to dependency on, and outright ownership by the summer people has produced reactions varying from a fiercely defensive contempt for outsiders to enthusiastic plans for furthering the tourist economy. A study of the data shows that high centralization of /ai/ and /au/ is closely correlated with expressions of strong resistance to the incursions of the summer people. (1963: 297)

The people who used centralised diphthongs the most were therefore the people who were the most negative to the summer tourism, and who were the most positive to Martha's Vineyard (1963: 306). The middle-aged people in the study, who used the most centralised variants, were according to Labov the people who had suffered the most by the recent socioeconomic changes. When faced with these changes, these speakers appear to have looked to past generations as a reference and adopted and exaggerated these language features as a way to express identity and positive affiliations toward their community (1963: 307). This leads Labov to conclude that "it is apparent that the immediate meaning of this phonetic feature is 'Vineyarder'. When a man says [rɛɪt] or [hæʊs], he is unconsciously establishing the fact that he belongs to the island: that he is one of the natives to whom the island really belongs" (1963: 304). It may be that similar processes have occurred in Scalloway, where the speakers who grew up during the oil boom have looked to older dialect variants as a way of expressing Shetland identity.

These attitudinal changes are reflected in comments from several Scalloway speakers in the present study. While the younger speakers rarely wanted to speak about Shetland dialect and language attitudes, the speakers in the middle and older age group frequently brought this up, both during and after the interview. Some of the older speakers appreciated the functional divide between Shetland dialect and English, as Eric does in [4] when asked if he liked his teachers at school:

[4] Eric: the relationship was excellent (.) first class they were all local teachers (.) all Shetland speakers

KH: so would they speak Shetland at school

Eric: never no (.) when I was brought up you were never allowed to speak the dialect you had to speak your best English (.) for which I thank them great deal now (.) because in my when I

was younger we had to speak English [laughter] well in inverted commas our best attempts at school but ehm the teachers that did not mean that they did not respect the dialect in fact the teachers were very very interested in dialect (.) but we so we did Shetland poetry and Shetland literature as a separate subject (.) and then we learned different there were (.) poetry drama ehm poetry festivals music festivals and so on where we (.) had to go and do local (..) dialect stuff (.) so yeah there was ehm as far as the dialect goes they kept the two in two different compartments and I to this this day I still think that was the best way to do it

Eric has spent considerable time in England, and used very few local variants in his interview. However, he was frequently talked about as a broad Shetland dialect speaker by other members of the community, and I also had the privilege of hearing him speak Shetland dialect to other Shetlanders. Based on the attitudes he expresses in his interview, it seems that the absence of local forms is a result of speaking to an outsider, a setting where he finds it appropriate to speak more standard. Many of the middle-aged speakers, on the other hand, expressed disappointment over not being taught more dialect at school, and were glad that their children were taught more dialect in school than they were, such as Mary, Malcolm and Murray in [5], [6] and [7], respectively:

[5] yeah and actually we were not allowed to speak dialect at school we had to speak English ehm which is all changed (.) now they can speak dialect at school (Mary)

[6] we were always telled to speak (.) our best English you were not really allowed to speak Shetland (.) okay (.) when my bairns gied to school they were teached Shetland (.) they were teached Shetland history (.) we were not allowed to speak Shetland we were not allowed to ehm and and we did not learn any Shetland history so (Malcolm)

[7] language policy is really not terribly well developed to my mind (.) ehm and when I was at school then you were punished for speaking Shetland ehm and so it had nae respect and nae credibility and (.) so it is kind of ironic ehm that there's been far more interest in it the last maybe twa year fae outside folk coming to (.) study it ehm because ehm a lot of the old vocabulary is (.) gone out of use because there apart fae the fishermen and the folk who work on the land everybody else is doing things wi' computers and what have you and so it is ehm there no real Shetland vocabulary for that kind of stuff so what seems to be left is accent and some grammatical features ehm which is interesting and intriguing but (Murray)

Additionally, May, who is herself a high school teacher, said after her interview that she did not use Shetland dialect when she was at school, but that she uses it with her pupils today. It

therefore seems like these middle-aged speakers are more concerned with using dialect when they want, instead of with notions of whether or not it is appropriate to use dialect with a certain speaker. Of course, the speakers in the middle group also likely use more local variants when talking to insiders. However, the fact that they use significantly more local variants when speaking to an outsider than their older counterparts is interesting, and a complex picture that may be affected by both attitudinal and sociodemographic changes.

Since the middle-aged speakers express favourable attitudes towards using Shetland dialect, and the generation below them apparently are more exposed to Shetland dialect in school, one would expect the younger speakers to use even more local features than the middle-aged speakers. However, as presented in chapter 5, the young speakers in Scalloway hardly use any local features when speaking to outsiders. Since the youngest speakers rarely brought up language attitudes in the interviews, it is difficult to know how attitudes play into this pattern. However, one interesting remark occurred after Allister's interview. While talking about his mother, Mary, as a potential speaker to interview, he said that she would be an interesting person to talk to because "she cannot do what I am doing right now, which is called knapping", and that she therefore would use more dialect features than him. This indicates that Allister uses more dialect features when speaking to insiders (he was, in fact, referred to me as a "dialect speaker"), but also that he views knapping as an ability that it is appropriate to use in certain situations. More research is needed to examine how attitudes to Shetland dialect affect the use of local variants, and how this interacts with the general move toward more standard variants observed in Lerwick (Smith and Durham 2011, 2012) and among the younger speakers in the present study. However, there are some indicators in the data that the apparent revival in local forms in the middle group may be affected by both attitudinal changes to speech to outsiders, and by a wish to express Shetland identity in the face of radical socioeconomic changes.

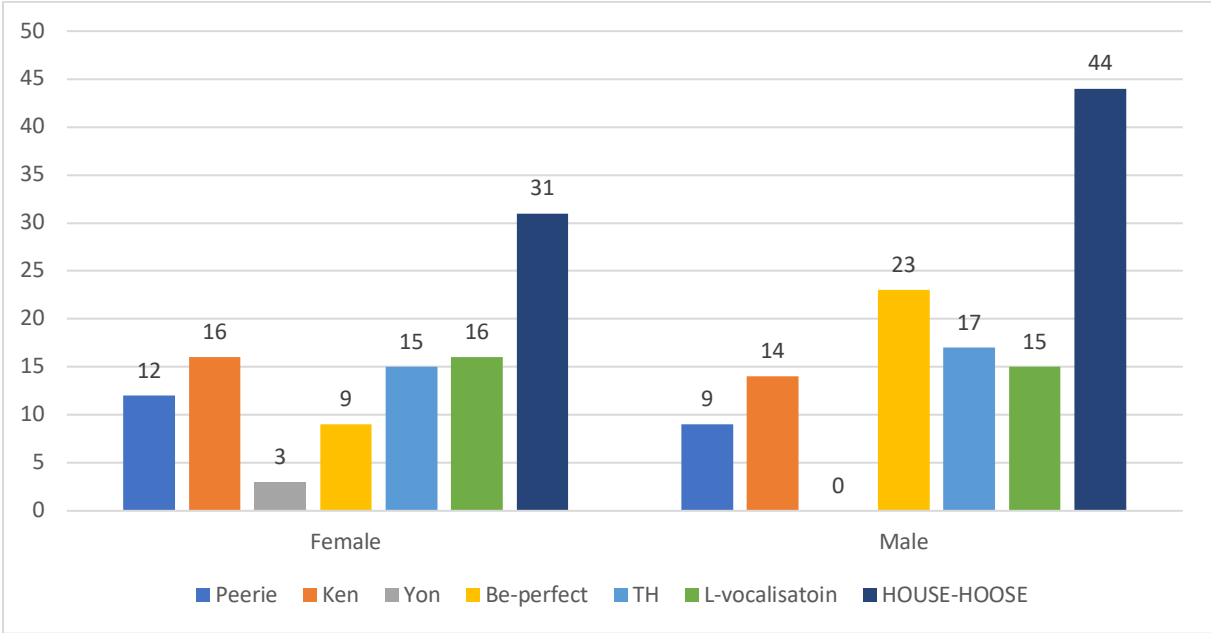
## **6.2 Gender**

A number of classic variationist sociolinguistic studies have found that gender is an important social factor when explaining linguistic variation and change. Labov's early studies led him to conclude (1990) that women more often than men orient themselves toward prestige or standard norms. Although the relationships between gender, language use and other social factors are complex, this trend has been found in other sociolinguistic studies as well, at least when including supralocal norms as a point of orientation. The spread of the glottal stop, for instance, has been found to be led by women in places like Cardiff (Mees 1987), Coleraine

(Kingsmore 1995), and New Zealand (Holmes 1997). Therefore, the present study hypothesised in H2 that the female speakers in Scalloway, especially the younger females, would use fewer Shetland dialect variants than the male speakers. However, there were almost never significant differences between male and female speakers in the data from Scalloway. Table 6.2 and figure 6.2 summarise the overall percentage of local variants for male and female speakers.<sup>10</sup>

**Table 6.2:** Percentage of local forms according to gender, all variables

	Female speakers	Male speakers
<i>Peerie</i>	12	9
<i>Ken</i>	16	14
<i>Yon</i>	3	0
<i>Be-perfect*</i>	9	23
TH	15	17
L-vocalisation	16	15
HOUSE-HOOSE variation	31	44



**Figure 6.2:** Percentage of local forms according to gender, all variables

As can be seen from table 6.2 and figure 6.2, the female and male speakers in Scalloway overall use fairly similar amounts of local variants. An exception is HOUSE-HOOSE variation, where the male speakers use the local variant 44% of the time, while the female speakers use

<sup>10</sup> For TH, both local variants are included. An asterisk (\*) indicates a result significant at  $p < .01$ .

it 31% of the time. This would be in line with H2. However, this difference is not statistically significant. The only variable where the difference between male and female speakers is statistically significant is *be*-perfect, where male speakers also use significantly more local variants. However, *yon* patterns in a way that is contrary to H2, since the female speakers use the local token 3% of the time while the male speakers have zero local tokens of the variable. Even though this cannot be tested statistically and the local tokens are very few, it is interesting that *yon* continues to pattern differently from the other variables, which was also the case in Smith and Durham (2011: 209).

Overall, however, gender does not account for much sociolinguistic variation in the present study. Even though this is contrary to what is hypothesised in H2, it is not unusual in a Scottish context. According to Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie (2007: 235), who examine language change in Glasgow by looking at a range of Scots and Scottish Standard English variables, differences according to gender are “generally rare for these variables”. Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) include a balanced sample in order to examine possible gender differences. However, they do not report any differences between their male and female speakers, and note that gender differences cannot explain the split in their youngest age group between dialect speakers and SSE speakers (2011: 217). More research would be needed to understand exactly why *ken* and *yon* pattern differently from the other variables in terms of gender. However, the overall lack of statistical gender differences can be understood in a wider Scottish sociolinguistic context.

### **6.3 Local vs non-local speakers**

As mentioned in section 2.1, not much extensive research has been done on dialectal variation in Shetland. Therefore, since all the variables in the present study are used all over Shetland, it was hypothesised in H3 that there would not be significant differences between the local and few non-local speakers. As expected, it was largely the case that the non-local speakers patterned the same way as the local Scalloway speakers. Among the young speakers, non-locals Anna and Alice overall used local variants (or lack thereof) in similar ways to the local young speakers. The last non-local speaker, Maisie, deviates somewhat from the local middle-aged speakers. However, as mentioned in 5.8, it is difficult to say whether the differences between Maisie and the other middle-aged speakers are based on locality or other factors, and more research would be needed to examine this further. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the difference between Maisie and the two young non-local speakers largely mirrors the difference between these age groups as a whole: Maisie uses more local variants than Anna



and Alice. Additionally, Maisie expressed similar attitudes to Shetland dialect as many of the other middle-aged speakers, as in [8]:

[8] when I started first we were very much it was a case of speaking English ehm by the time I came back there was I would say ehm there was there was starting to be a thing about encouraging some dialect [...] then I was teaching nursery kids three to five year olds and by then it was very much a case of ehm (...) I was I would have spoken dialect to any of them that would have understood it I mean lots of them (.) looked at me blankly if if I was but some of them did understand dialect so that's what you would do so (.) it is funny the kind (.) of you ken how that sort of changed over the years (Maisie)

Overall, more research is needed to determine if and how locality influences language use in Scalloway. However, both Maisie's attitudes and the fact that she uses more local variants than Anna and Alice in a way that mirrors the relationships between these age groups overall indicate that in some respects the non-local speakers in this study behave in the same way as the local speakers do.

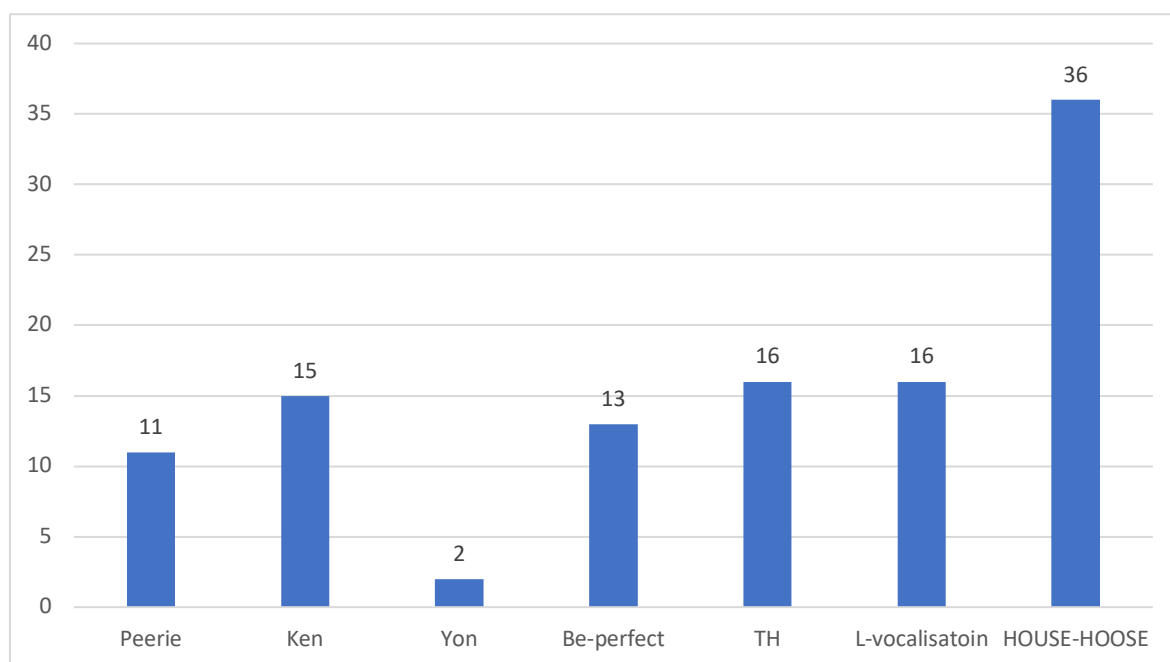
**6.4 Comparison with the Lerwick studies**

It was hypothesised in H4 that the variables in this study would pattern in a similar way to the Lerwick studies, but perhaps to a less extreme extent, based on Trudgill and Chamber's model of geographical diffusion (1998: 166). This section will compare the results of the present study to Sundkvist's general accounts of Lerwick SSE (e.g. 2011a) and to Smith and Durham's findings related to age (2011, 2012). Table 6.3 and figure 6.3 summarise the overall use of the local variants for all speakers.<sup>11</sup>

*Table 6.3: Percentage of local variants for all speakers, all variables*

	<b>Local variant</b>
<i>Peerie</i>	11
<i>Ken</i>	15
<i>Yon</i>	2
<i>Be-perfect</i>	13
TH	16
L-vocalisation	16
HOUSE-HOOSE variation	36

<sup>11</sup> For TH, both local variants are included.



**Figure 6.3:** Percentage of local variants for all speakers, all variables

Since they focus on speech to outsiders, Sundkvist’s overview articles of Lerwick SSE are more comparable to the present study than Smith and Durham (2011), where the interviews were conducted by local Shetland speakers. However, Sundkvist’s are overview articles, and do not provide extensive detail about the different variables. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that Sundkvist specifically sampled middle-class, middle-aged speakers who were “clearly bidialectal” (2011a: 170-71). It is evident from table 6.3 that in Scalloway, the majority of local variants are used between 10% and 20% of the time. There are two exceptions to this: *yon*, where the local variant is only used in 2% of the instances, and HOUSE-HOOSE variation, where the local variant is used 36% of the time.

In Lerwick SSE, the lexical variables in the present study are the most common. Sundkvist notes that *ken* is sometimes transferred into Lerwick SSE, and that *peerie* is frequently used, and also reportedly acquired by incomers (2011a: 174-75). In Scalloway, *peerie* is used 11% of the time, which appears to be lower than in Lerwick, where it is frequently used. *Ken* is used 15% of the time in Scalloway, which may be similar to its use in Lerwick, although this is difficult to determine based on the information provided by Sundkvist. Both morphosyntactic variants in the present study are only found in a handful of instances in Lerwick SSE. In the Scalloway data, there are only a handful of tokens of *yon*,

but *be*-perfect is used in 13% of the instances. This local variant therefore appears to be used more in Scalloway than in Lerwick SSE.

The phonetic/phonological variables in the present study are found to varying extents in Lerwick SSE. For TH, stopping is variably found in voiced contexts, but overall there is relatively little TH-stopping in Lerwick SSE, and it is far from being the norm (2011a: 177). This is also the case in Scalloway, where the local variants in voiced contexts are used 16% of the time. L-vocalisation, on the other hand, is not mentioned in Sundkvist's accounts of Lerwick SSE, where there is always some degree of tongue body raising in L-realisation (2007: 17). L-vocalisation therefore seems more common in Scalloway, where the local variant is used 16% of the time. Lastly, for HOUSE-HOOSE variation, both variants are listed in Sundkvist's vowel inventory of Lerwick SSE (2011a: 175). This indicates that both variants are rather common, which is also the case in Scalloway, where [u:] is by far the most frequently used local variant. Although it is difficult to provide exact comparisons based on the level of detail in Sundkvist's overview articles, it seems that most of the variables pattern in similar ways in Scalloway and Lerwick SSE. The exceptions are *peerie*, which seems to be more common in Lerwick than in Scalloway, and *be*-perfect and L-vocalisation, which seem to be more widespread in Scalloway than in Lerwick.

The results of the present study have frequently been compared to and related to Smith and Durham's studies in Lerwick (2011, 2012). Overall, Smith and Durham primarily focus on the social category of age, and their main findings are that the use of local forms declines with age across all variables, and that the youngest speakers in their study can be divided into a dialect-speaking group and an SSE-speaking group. Both these findings are interpreted as signs of dialect obsolescence in Lerwick (2011: 197). Even though the local variants of *peerie*, *ken* and L-vocalisation are used significantly more in the middle age group than in the oldest age group in Lerwick (2011: 207-213), Smith and Durham primarily focus on the differences between the two oldest age groups as a whole compared to the youngest age group. The decline in use of local features in Lerwick is apparent in Scalloway as well, and a striking but expected similarity between the two places. However, the fact that the speakers in the middle age group consistently use more local features than the older speakers is a pattern that differs from the overall pattern in Lerwick. As mentioned in 6.1, this may be an indicator of a different type or speed of change in Scalloway. However, certain statements in the interviews indicate that different attitudes toward using Shetland dialect to outsiders may play into this complex picture, although more research is needed to unpack this.

## 7. CONCLUSION

This study has examined the sociolinguistic variation of seven Shetland dialect variables according to age, gender and locality. The study has focused on four research questions, presented in section 1.2. Below, concluding remarks will be provided for each research question.

For the majority of variables, the middle age group uses significantly more local forms than the older speakers, while the youngest speakers use very few dialect variants. The exceptions are *yon*, where there are too few tokens to test differences, and *ken*, where the difference is not significant. Where there are enough tokens to include the youngest speakers in the chi-square test, the differences between all three age groups are statistically significant. Statements made by the middle-aged speakers in the interviews indicate that the apparent revival of local forms in this group may be influenced by attitudinal changes in the face of new educational policies and oil-related sociodemographic changes, as well a wish to mark Shetland identity.

For all variables except *be*-perfect, the female and male speakers do not show statistically significant differences in language use. However, *yon* patterns differently here as well, since all 12 tokens of the local variant are used by female speakers. Even though the lack of gender differences goes against H2, it is not surprising in a Scottish context, where gender rarely accounts for significant sociolinguistics variation (Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie 2007: 235).

There were not many striking differences between the three non-local speakers, Alice, Anna and Maisie, and the local Scalloway speakers. Similarly to the local young speakers, Alice and Anna use very few local forms. Maisie patterns somewhat differently from the local middle-aged speakers, but more research is needed to examine whether this is influenced by locality. However, the fact that the three non-local speakers pattern similarly with respect to age as all speakers do overall, and the fact that Maisie expresses similar attitudinal opinions as the other middle-aged speakers, indicates that in some ways the non-local speakers behave in similar ways to the local speakers.

The majority of the variables in the present study seem to be used in similar ways in Scalloway as in Lerwick SSE (Sundkvist 2011a). The exceptions are *peerie*, which appears to be more common in Lerwick than in Scalloway, and *be*-perfect and L-vocalisation, which are more widespread in Scalloway than in Lerwick. Concerning Smith and Durham's studies in Lerwick (2011, 2012), the lack of local forms among the young speakers is a striking

similarity between the two places. However, the apparent revival in local forms among middle-aged speakers in Scalloway is not as clear of a pattern in Lerwick, and may be due to attitudinal factors and differences between speech to insiders and to outsiders.

### 7.1 Further research

Because of the natural practical and temporal limitations of writing a master's thesis, the variables in this study would benefit from being studied on a larger scale, collecting data both from a larger sample and by a variety of data collection techniques. Because of the relative homogeneity of Shetland society, class and ethnicity were not included as variables in the present study. However, these social factors could also be examined in a larger study, and it would be interesting to see whether these traditionally important social variables still do not affect linguistic variation in Shetland to a large extent. Since little research has been done on regional variation in Shetland, it would also be interesting to conduct similar sociolinguistic studies in places other than Lerwick and Scalloway.

An interesting finding in Smith and Durham (2011, 2012) was that the speakers in the youngest age group could be divided into a dialect-speaking half and an SSE-speaking half. Looking more closely at individual variation in Scalloway is another interesting possibility for further study. While the youngest speakers in Scalloway were rather homogeneous, the speakers in the middle age group patterned in more interesting ways. For instance, Mary realises TH as stops in 28 of her 30 tokens, far more than any other speaker. The speaker with the second highest number of stops is Malcolm, who have 16 tokens of stops out of 30 total, while three of the speakers in the group – Marcus, Mackenzie and Maggie – have zero tokens of TH-stopping. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine if similar patterns of individual variation may be found in the middle group in Scalloway as in the youngest group in Smith and Durham's studies in Lerwick.

The present study is focused on the influence of social characteristics on variation. However, Smith and Durham found that linguistic constraints also influenced variation in Lerwick. For instance, they found that the local variant of *be*-perfect was significantly more likely to be used in the present tense than in the past tense (2011: 211), and that *yon* was significantly more common in determiner contexts than in pronominal contexts (2011: 212). It would be interesting to examine if similar linguistic constraints can be observed in Scalloway, and how they interact with different social variables.

Finally, as discussed in 6.1, further research is needed to examine the differences between use of dialect variables in speech to insiders versus speech to outsiders. It would also

be fruitful to conduct more attitudinal studies in Shetland, and examine attitudes toward Shetland dialect, dialect teaching, the oil boom, and knapping. Data on these topics would help inform the results of the present study and bring more clarity to the complex relationship between age, attitudes and speech in Scalloway.

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## APPENDIX A

### List of items that vary, L-vocalisation

/a:/

- All
- Already
- Alright
- Always
- Call
- Called
- Calling
- Fallen
- Football
- Hall
- Netball
- Salt
- Small
- Smaller
- Wall
- Walls

/u:/

- Full
- Pulling

## APPENDIX B

### Documents from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data

#### Approval letter

Meldeskjema for behandling av personopplysninger

21.06.2019, 18:22



#### **NSD sin vurdering**

##### **Prosjekttittel**

Language variation and change in Scalloway

##### **Referansenummer**

942278

##### **Registrert**

19.06.2019 av Kaja Haugen - Kaja.Haugen@student.uib.no

##### **Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon**

Universitetet i Bergen / Det humanistiske fakultet / Institutt for fremmedspråk

##### **Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)**

Kevin McCafferty, Kevin.McCafferty@uib.no, tlf: 55583150

##### **Type prosjekt**

Studentprosjekt, masterstudium

##### **Kontaktinformasjon, student**

Kaja Haugen, kaja.haugen@student.uib.no, tlf: 45417972

##### **Prosjektperiode**

01.08.2019 - 15.06.2020

##### **Status**

21.06.2019 - Vurdert

##### **Vurdering (1)**

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###### **21.06.2019 - Vurdert**

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, so long as it is carried out in accordance with what is documented in the Notification Form and attachments, dated 21.06.2019, as well as in correspondence with NSD. Everything is in place for the

processing to begin.

#### NOTIFY CHANGES

If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the information registered in the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

#### TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION

The project will be processing general categories of personal data until 15.06.2020.

#### LEGAL BASIS

The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn. The legal basis for processing personal data is therefore consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a).

#### PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
- storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

#### THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data.

NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects about the processing of their personal data will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.

We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

#### FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

**FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT**

NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the project!

Contact person at NSD: Kajsa Amundsen  
Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)

**Information letter and consent form**

## **Are you interested in taking part in the research project "Language Variation and Change in Scalloway"?**

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to examine language variation and change in Scalloway. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

**Purpose of the project**

This project is a master's thesis project at the department of foreign languages at the University of Bergen. The project is going to examine language use in Scalloway. I will interview people in different age groups, and examine how different groups in Scalloway use language. The interviews are about life in Scalloway and everyday topics in order to record informal language use.

**Who is responsible for the research project?**

The University of Bergen is the institution responsible for the project.

**Why are you being asked to participate?**

This study asks young people, middle-aged people and seniors who live in Scalloway to participate. You are asked to participate because you fit these criteria. This study also uses network recruitment methods, which means that someone who has participated in the study may have suggested you.

**What does participation involve for you?**

If you choose to participate in the project, this will involve an interview, either alone with the researcher or in groups. It will take approximately 30-45 minutes. The interview includes questions about your daily life, topics that interest you, and Scalloway. The purpose of the interview is to record your everyday language use. The audio of the interview will be recorded and transcribed.

### **Participation is voluntary**

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you choose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be deleted. There will be no negative consequences for you if you choose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

### **Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data**

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- Your name and contact details will be replaced with a code. The list of names, contact details and codes will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data.
- In the transcriptions, your name and information that could indirectly identify you, such as combinations of occupation, place of birth, etc., will be removed or replaced.
- The full transcriptions will not be published in the MA thesis, only short passages that illustrate specific language use.

### **What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?**

The project is scheduled to end June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020. After the end of the project, the transcribed data will be anonymised and these and the sound recordings will be permanently archived in The Norwegian Centre for Research Data's archives. The data will be accessible for research projects about language variation and change.

### **Your rights**

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

### **What gives us the right to process your personal data?**

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with The University of Bergen, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

### **Where can I find out more?**

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- The University of Bergen via Professor Kevin McCafferty (supervisor), by email: [kevin.mccafferty@uib.no](mailto:kevin.mccafferty@uib.no)
- Kaja Haugen (student), by email: [kaja.haugen@student.uib.no](mailto:kaja.haugen@student.uib.no)

- Our Data Protection Officer: Janecke Helene Veim, by email: [personvernombud@uib.no](mailto:personvernombud@uib.no)
- NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS, by email: [personverntjenester@nsd.no](mailto:personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone: +47 55 58 21 17.

Yours sincerely,

Kevin McCafferty, Project Leader

Kaja Haugen, Student

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## Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project “Language Variation and Change in Scalloway” and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in an interview
- for my personal data to be stored after the end of the project for follow-up studies

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

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(Signed by participant, date)



## APPENDIX C

**Table 4.1. List of informants – extended version**

<b>Age group</b>	<b>Speaker #</b>	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Local/non-local</b>
<b>Young females</b>	1	Alice	20	- Born and raised in Sandwick - Currently studies in Edinburgh - Works in Scalloway	Non-local
	2	Anna	29	- Born in Whiteness - Lived in Aith, Bixter - Lived in Scalloway since 2017	Non-local
	3	Ashley	32	- Born in Burra - In Scalloway from age 12 to 2016 (excluding university education) - Currently lives in Lerwick	Local
<b>Middle-aged females</b>	4	Mary	51	- Born in Scalloway - Lived there all her life except 2 years in Edinburgh and 10 in Lerwick	Local
	5	May	55	- Born in Lerwick - Edinburgh for university education - Lived in Scalloway since 1987	Local
	6	Maggie	64	- Born in Scalloway, lived until university education - Lived in London, Aberdeen and abroad - Lived in Scalloway since 1989	Local
	7	Maisie	67	- Born in Orkney, moved to Shetland at age 5 - Lived in Gruting, Edinburgh and Sullom - Lived in Scalloway since 2012	Non-local
	8	Mackenzie	69	- Born in Scalloway, lived until early 20s - Lived on Scottish mainland for 2 years and in Sandwick for a few years - Lived in Scalloway since 1979	Local
<b>Older females</b>	9	Eliza	72	- Born in Burra - In Scalloway from age 2-18 - Over 20 years on Scottish Mainland - Currently lives in Hamnavoe	Local
	10	Emma	78	- Lived in Scalloway all her life except 2 years in England	Local

	11	Ella	78	- Born in Voe - In Lerwick for secondary school and Edinburgh for university education - Lived in Scalloway since 1964	Local
	12	Elena	70	- Born in Scalloway - Spent a few years on the Scottish mainland and in Levenwick - Lived in Scalloway since 1985	Local
<b>Young males</b>	13	Allister	25	- Lived in Scalloway all his life	Local
	14	Angus	33	- Born in Whiteness - Lived in Scalloway since age 10 (excluding university education in Glasgow)	Local
<b>Middle-aged males</b>	15	Malcolm	59	- In Tingwall valley all his life except one year in Lerwick	Local
	16	Murray	61	- Born in Lerwick - A few years in Edinburgh (university education) and Whiteness - Lived in Scalloway since 1995	Local
	17	Marcus	66	- Born in Bixter - In Tingwall and Voe for a few years - Lived in Scalloway since 1990	Local
<b>Older males</b>	18	Eric	77	- Born in Scalloway, lived until 20s - University education in Aberdeen and Glasgow - In England for 36 years - Lived in Scalloway since 2003	Local
	19	Ewan	77	- Born in Scalloway - Lived there all his life except 4 years in Lerwick	Local
	20	Errol	84	- Born in Edinburgh - Lived in Scalloway in his 20s and since 1985 - Also lived in Dyce and Levenwick	-

## APPENDIX D

### Interview guide

#### 1. Background information, sound level test

- Can you start by telling me your name?
- What year where you born?
- Where you born in Scalloway?
- How long have you lived here?
- Where else have you lived? For how long?

#### 2. Daily life

- Maybe you could start by telling me how your day's been so far? What have you been doing?

##### 2.1. Residence, family

- Do you live in the centre of Scalloway?
- What do you think of the neighbourhood?
  - What kind of people live there/here?
  - Why did you decide to move there/here/keep living here?
- Do you have any family here?
  - Were parents/spouse born in Scalloway (too)?
  - Do you live with them? What do they do?

##### 2.2. Work, studies

- Do you work/go to school in Scalloway?
- How is it? Do you enjoy it?
- What do/did your parents do? Your spouse?
- Work: have you been working as/at XX long?
  - What does a typical day at work look like?
  - Do you enjoy it? Why/why not?
- Not working in Scalloway: how is the commute?
  - Do you often spend time in Lerwick/other place after work?
  - What do you usually do there?
  - Any places to recommend in Lerwick?
- School: do you attend the University in Lerwick? The Marine Center?
  - What do you study?
  - Do you enjoy it? Why/why not?
  - What is a typical day like?
  - Do you spend a lot of time in Lerwick after your classes? What do you like to do there?

##### 2.3. Social life

- Do people around here get together a lot?

- Is this the kind of neighbourhood/community where people talk to each other?
- Do you feel like you know your neighbours well enough to just walk in?
- Are there a lot of places to gather or hang out here? Where do people meet outside of their homes?
- What are some of the things people do with neighbours and friends?
- What do you like most about your neighbourhood/community?
- Do you think the neighbourhood/community could be closer? How?

#### 2.4. Hobbies, activities

- What else do you like to do in your spare time? Do you have any hobbies?
  - What do you normally do?
  - How did you start?
  - Why do you enjoy it?
- Traditional hobbies: are you interested in local history/language/traditional music/genealogy/local crafts/knitting? Do you know anyone here that has those kind of hobbies?
  - History/genealogy:
    - Have you found anything interesting?
    - Can you tell me how you work?
    - Are there groups for people interested in this? How often do you meet? What do you do when you meet?
  - Language (for the people who have been recruited through Shetland Forwards *if* they bring up language)
    - I know that you are interested in language and the Shetland dialect, could you tell me a little bit about why?
    - Could you talk to me about the language situation in Shetland?
    - How would you describe the language situation in Scalloway?
    - Do you think it has changed in any way? How?
    - Work with Shetland ForWirds, could you tell me a bit about the work you do there? How often do you meet? Activities?
  - Knitting:
    - Wool Week soon?
    - What happens then?
    - Do you usually participate? What do you look forward to?

#### 2.5. Television, music, literature, sports

- Do you follow any sports?
  - Are there any local football/rugby/etc/ teams in Scalloway/Shetland?
- Did you use to play any sports when you were a kid?
  - How was it?
  - Were there any dramatic games or tournaments that you particularly remember?
- Football:

- Do you support/follow any other Scottish or other British teams?
- What do you think of their chances this season?
- Rugby:
  - Are you excited about the Rugby World Cup?
  - What do you think of Scotland's chances?
  - Do you follow any local/regional clubs as well?
- Do you watch a lot of television/listen to music/read books?
  - What kinds do you like?
  - Have you watched/read/listened to anything you liked lately? What did you like about it? How about something you really didn't like?
  - Do you ever go to Mareel (music, cinema, arts)? What's the best thing you've seen there lately?

### 3. Childhood

#### 3.1. School

- Did you go to school in Scalloway?
  - How was it, can you tell me about it?
  - What is your best/worst memory of school?
- Are there several primary schools here?
  - Any differences between them?
  - Do you remember any rivalry?
- What sort of clothes would people wear?
  - Haircuts?
  - Jewellery?
- Did you have any teachers that you remember/that you liked/that were really unfair?
  - How were they?
  - What would your teachers yell at a kid for?
  - Did your teachers use corporal punishment at all?
    - Did your teachers use the tawse? Did you ever get it?
  - Do you remember any troublemakers? What did they do?
  - Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?
- Did you go to secondary school in Scalloway, or did you have to go to one in Lerwick?
  - Are there pupils there from all over Shetland?
  - Were there any differences between school in Scalloway and Lerwick?
- How many years of school did you get a chance to finish/Did you continue school after secondary school?
  - What did you study?
  - How was it?
- What was the first job you had when you left school?
  - How old were you when you first started working?
  - Were you excited to spend your money on anything in particular?

### 3.2. Games

- What kind of games did you use to play in school? How do you play that?
- Do you remember any rhymes or songs that you used to sing? Did you play any clapping games?
- Did you use to tell ghost stories? Do you remember any?

### 3.3. Memories, stories

- What other things did you use to do when you were little?
- Did you play any sports?
- Do you have any brothers or sisters?
  - How was it being the youngest/oldest/in the middle?
  - Do you feel that your brothers or sisters got away with things that you never did/did you get away with things that they didn't?
    - What kinds of things?
  - Were you close to your brothers or sisters growing up, or did you fight a lot?
- Did you have any pets?
- What kind of food did your parents use to make?

### 3.4. Travels

- Have you had any opportunities to travel?
- Do you remember travelling anywhere interesting in other parts of Shetland when you were little?
  - Where did you go? What did you see there? Did anything interesting happen?
  - Did you go with your family? Did you get along when you were on vacation?
- How about outside Shetland?
- (if not born:) Do you remember when you moved to Scalloway?

## 4. Scalloway

### 4.1. About the town

- So you've lived in Scalloway most of your life, do you think Scalloway is a good place to live? Why/why not?

### 4.2. Things to do

- What do you usually do here? Any activities/courses?
- What kind of places to do you like to go to? What do you typically do there?
- Places to shop/shop groceries?
- Places to eat – do you go out to eat a lot? What do you recommend there?

### 4.3. Traditions/events

- What about other events? Heard that you have a fire festival?
  - When is that?

- What happens during the festival?
- Do you often participate? What do you do?
- Do you remember any particularly fun festivals?
- Other traditions/events: are there any other festivals/events like that?
  - When is that?
  - What happens then?
  - Do you usually participate? How?

#### 4.4. Places in town:

- I notice that there are a lot of buildings that stand out here, can you tell me about some of the ones we see from here?
- Castle
  - When was it built?
  - Why? What was it used for?
  - Is it open to visitors? Have you been there?
- Museum
  - Do you go there a lot, or is it mostly tourists?
  - What kind of exhibits do they have there?
- Slipway
  - The slipway, that's quite old, right?
  - Has it always looked like that, or renovated?
  - (can segue to WWII here if fitting)
- Marine center
  - What do they do there?
  - Is it new? What was there before?
- Public hall
  - What kind of activities do they have there?
  - What kind of events did they use to have there when you were a kid?
  - By-election, has there been any events there related to that?

#### 4.5. Nature: weather

- The nature around here is so beautiful, are there any scenic or breath-taking places around here?
  - What are they like? Do you go there a lot?
- How is the weather here normally this time of year?
  - Are there many storms? What is the worst storm you've ever been in?
    - What was it like?
    - Did it do much damage?
  - Has the weather changed over the years? Do you think you're getting more storms now than you used to?
  - What about shipwrecks? Do you know anyone who's ever been in one?
  - Do you know/remember any shipwreck stories
  - Possible DoD here: What about you – have you ever been in a situation where you thought, "This is it. I might die"

- What was that like? Could you tell me about it

#### 4.6. Industry: oil, fishing, tourism

- Fishing
  - (if nature) So it sounds like maritime industries are important, is there a lot of fishing industry in Scalloway?
  - Has it been important in the community for a long time?
  - Do you enjoy eating seafood? Any good local recipes?
  - Boat Week in August – what happens then?
- Oil: heard that there is a lot of oil industry and activity in Shetland, is that the case in Scalloway as well?
  - Do a lot of people here work in oil? Do you know anyone?
  - How/when did the oil activity here start?
  - Do you think it has had a big impact on Scalloway/Shetland?
- Tourism: what about tourism – do a lot of tourists come to Scalloway?
  - Do they come mostly during the summer? What do they typically do and see here?
  - What do people who live here think about the tourism?

#### 4.7. History: local historical events, changes

- WWII: Do you remember/having heard your parents/grandparents telling any stories from the war?
  - Seems like Shetland and Scalloway was a very strategically important place?
- Shetland bus
  - I can't help noticing all the traces and memories of the Shetland bus – place/road names, the slipway, the monument
  - Obviously heard a lot about the Shetland Bus at school and from my grandparents, talked about the way Scalloway welcomed the Norwegians into their society
  - But I realise that I actually know very few details about the operations. Have you heard any stories from your parents/grandparents about the Shetland Bus? And how it affected the Scalloway community?
  - Did you learn about it in school as well?
  - Remembered with gratitude in Norway, nice to see it remembered here as well
- Other local historical events
  - Did anything really big happen around here that you remember?
  - Like a big fire/a house burn down?
  - When? Do you remember where you were when this happened?
  - How did that affect the community?
  - If Vikings/Norn come up: be mindful but curious
    - Are people around here interested in the historical Scandinavian connections?



- Do you remember any people coming here to research Norn? What was that like?
  - Have your parents/grandparents told you about Norn words/expressions?
- Has Scalloway changed in any way since you were a kid?
  - How? Are there any new buildings, or buildings that used to be here that are gone now?
  - What do you think about these changes?

## 5. Ending

- Any recommendations for what I should do with the rest of my time here?
- Possible other informants: do you know anyone who might want to be interviewed as well? I am particularly looking for...
- Opportunity to ask questions
- Thank you for your time and your stories, they were a great help