

Dubbing attitudes:

An Attitudinal Study of the Use of Accents in DreamWorks Animated Films
and their Norwegian Dubbed Versions

Solveig Hystad Hugaas



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Department of Foreign Languages
University of Bergen
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Abstract in Norwegian

Formålet med denne oppgaven har vært å undersøke bruken av engelske og norske uttalevarianter i et utvalg animasjonsfilmer fra selskapet DreamWorks. 12 filmer ble analysert med fokus på uttale/dialekt og et utvalg variabler knyttet til karaktertyper. Dette ble gjort for å undersøke potensielle systematiske korrelasjoner mellom muntlig språk og karaktertrekk, med en antagelse om at måten aksenter/dialekter blir brukt i animasjonsfilmer reflekterer bevisste valg, som igjen reflekterer språkholdninger i samfunnet. Et mål med oppgaven har vært å sammenligne måten språklig variasjon blir brukt i de engelsktalende og de norsktalende versjonene av filmene, og de norske dubbede versjonene av filmene ble derfor også analysert.

Denne studien er bygget på Rosina Lippi-Green sin studie fra 1997, som undersøkte bruken av ulike engelske uttalevarianter i animerte filmer fra Disney. Hun avslørte systematiske mønster for hvordan ulike uttalevarianter ble fremstilt, og argumenterte for at dette er med på å videreføre holdninger og stereotyper til barn som ser på disse filmene. I ettertid har hennes arbeid blitt videreført i flere masteroppgaver, og det er gjort lignende studier av blant annet barne-TV (Dobrow&Gidney 1998) og TV-serier for voksne (Dragojevic et.al.2016). Det er meg bekjent ikke gjennomført studier av denne typen hvor fokuset er på DreamWorks, ei heller studier hvor bruken av uttalevarianter i engelsktalende filmer blir sammenlignet med uttalevarianter i dubbede versjoner på norsk.

Basert på funn fra tidligere studier, var det ventet å finne systematiske korrelasjoner mellom karaktertrekk og uttalevarianter, samt bruk av lingvistiske stereotyper. Ettersom norske dialekter og dialektbruk står sterkt i det norske samfunnet, var det ventet å finne større variasjon i uttalevariantene i de dubbede versjonene, og mindre bruk av lingvistiske stereotyper, enn i originalversjonene.

Funnene viser at det er korrelasjoner mellom karaktertrekk og uttalevarianter i både de originale og de dubbede versjonene, og at forskjellene mellom originalen og dubbingen er mindre enn forventet. Faktisk viste det seg at det var større variasjon i bruken av uttalevarianter i de originale filmene enn i de norske dubbingene, hvor var klart mest bruk av østlandske dialekter. Det ble også funnet at utenlandske aksenter ble oversatt i dubbingen når den samsvarte med lingvistiske stereotyper, men i mindre grad når den utenlandske aksenten ble brukt ikke-stereotypisk.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and scope

This thesis is a study of language attitudes, which aims to investigate how language variation is treated in animated films produced by the American company DreamWorks. A selection of 12 films from DreamWorks are analysed with the purpose of discovering potential correlations between certain character traits and accents used. Both the original and the Norwegian dubbed version will be analysed, with the intention of discovering any potential similarities or differences between the two, regarding linguistic character building.

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study, focusing on language attitudes, using a societal treatment approach. Studies with this approach use data from the public domain, be it road signs, newspapers, or media and films, for studying language use in society. Language use in media is considered real language use, and the way different dialects and accents are treated can give information about existing attitudes towards these varieties. A study of language use in media expression thus allows the inference of language attitudes in the society. The media in general influence the way we see the world, and this has been found to be true also for children's entertainment (Graves 1993, Messenger Davies 2001, Graves 2008). The way linguistic groups are presented and represented in children's entertainment may therefore affect how children learn to view these groups, and the language attitudes reflected in these films are brought on to the younger generation.

Previous studies on children's television and films have shown that producers often rely heavily on linguistic features for character building, and that 'non-standard' varieties of English often are associated with stereotypical representation of certain groups (Lippi-Green 1997, Dobrow & Gidney 1998). Inspired by several studies on Disney and Pixar Studios, this thesis intend to shed light on how DreamWorks production studio use language for character building, as this has not yet been done through such a study. DreamWorks films are chosen as they are based on original stories, which often include unconventional characters who rarely fit into the traditional fairy tale recipe so often applied in Disney films. The novelty of this thesis is the inclusion of the Norwegian dubbed versions, which allows for comparisons of language attitudes in two different languages. Assuming that linguistic features in a character's speech

contribute in the building of a character, it is reasonable to think that some parts of the characteristics will be changed when a language variety is translated into a different language. The choice of Norwegian dialect in the place of an English accent can thus reveal attitudes to varieties of both the Norwegian and the English language. Additionally, the differences or similarities between how accents and dialects are used in the two versions can give information about how the two versions might differ in their use of language to represent different groups of people.

The data consists of 12 animated DreamWorks films released between 2001 and 2019. All characters with a minimum of one completed utterance have been analysed, resulting in 272 characters. They have been analysed with a focus on variables that have been used in previous studies, such as their gender, how important their role is in the film, and whether they are good or bad. This study also includes the variables *age* and *the nature of the character*. The English accents have been placed in the following categories: *General American (GA)*, *Received Pronunciation (RP)*, *Social/Regional American English (Soc./Reg.Am.)*, *Social/Regional British English (Soc./Reg.Br.)*, *Other Native Englishes (other)* and *English with foreign accents (Foreign)*. The spoken language in the dubbed versions are placed in the following categories: *the Oslo dialect*, *other Eastern Norwegian dialects (Eastern)*, *the Bergen dialect*, *other Western Norwegian dialects (Western)*, *Other Norwegian dialects (Other)*, and *Norwegian with Foreign accents (Foreign)*. The accent analysis and considerations regarding the categories are further discussed in chapter 3: Data and method.

1.2 Research questions

My research questions have been inspired by previous studies on language attitudes, studies on accents in Disney and in Pixar, and observations made in the process of data selection. To answer RQ1, the study is designed to investigate and answer research questions 2-5. The research questions are presented below.

- RQ1.** Is language variation used as a way of building characters in a) the original films, and b) the dubbed version of the films, and what similarities and/or differences are there in the way language varieties are treated in the two versions?
- RQ2.** Are there systematic correlations between accent and character traits in the original version of the films?

RQ3. Are there systematic correlations between dialect/accent and character traits in the dubbed version of the films?

RQ4. Do the spoken varieties used reflect the geographical setting of the films?

RQ5. What are the similarities and/or differences in the way language variation is treated in the original versus the dubbed versions?

1.3 The structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 has given an introduction of the aim and scope of the thesis, a presentation of the research questions and hypotheses underlying the project, as well as the structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 gives an overview and discussion of the theoretical background for the topic of language attitudes in general, and accent use in television and films in particular. By defining central terms and presenting previous studies within the field, chapter 2 seeks to establish the framework within which the findings of this thesis will be discussed. Chapter 3 presents the method applied in this study, the selection of data, as well as the linguistic and non-linguistic variables. The findings will be presented and discussed in chapter 4, before a summary is made in chapter 5, culminating in a final conclusion.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Language, dialect, accent

Children learn to speak a language when they are surrounded by a language in use, and the sounds used in their social environment become part of their own language (Lippi-Green 2011). Languages differ in many ways, both grammatically, lexically and phonetically. Some languages are inevitably more similar than others, and some even to the extent that users of two languages can manage to communicate when they both use their own language. This is the case with Norwegian and Swedish, which are two different Nordic languages. Meanwhile, speakers of different Norwegian dialects sometimes have trouble understanding each other, even though they use varieties of the same language. From this, then, arises a need to define what constitutes a language, a dialect, and, as will be in focus of this thesis, an accent.

In the words of Rosina Lippi-Green, “a dialect is perhaps nothing more than a language that gets no respect” (2011:46). That is, dialects are varieties of a language, which differ in pronunciation, grammar, lexicon and semantics, but they are not separate languages, because they have the same “literary histories, distinct orthographies, and/or geo-political boundaries” (Lippi-Green 2011:46). A language has its own set of morphological, semantical, syntactical and lexical features, and is also linked to a geographical area which often corresponds to a country. It can also have bonds to a group of people across country borders, such as languages of indigenous peoples. Concerning accent, the differences are related to phonology. Lippi-Green argues that “*accent* can only be understood and defined if there is something to compare it with” (2011:46, original emphasis), and explains how the term accent is used when features from the native language of a speaker is heard when they speak a language which is non-native to them, such as when traces of Norwegian intonation sometimes can be heard when a Norwegian speaks English. This is referred to as an L2 accent, but the term applied in this thesis will be *foreign accent*. However, Lippi-Green also underlines that there is such a thing as an L1 accent, which is the result of linguistic choices, and “structured variation in language” (ibid.).

Our L1 accent consists of many unconscious, but also conscious, linguistic choices, and it continually develops and changes as we use language to signal our “social and personal identity” (Dobrow and Gidney 1998:107). Variation within a language can be linked to a dialect or an accent, but can also be realised as differences in style, and serves to communicate who

we are, where we come from, and who we want to identify ourselves with; our ingroup. Which features we apply may change according to context, and according to the social roles we want to fit into. This implies an awareness of how different ways of speaking will evoke different reactions in our social environment, which leads us to the field of language attitudes. The highly relevant terms ‘attitudes’ and ‘language attitudes’ are further explained in section 2.2 below.

This section has established what is meant by the terms ‘language’, ‘dialect’ and ‘accent’. A language is constituted by its linguistic qualities but also by its geographical, political or social connections. Two dialects from the same language can differ in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammatical features, and can thus be very different from each other but still be considered two varieties of the same language. An accent, however, mainly differs in terms of pronunciation. There are both L1 and L2 accents, and both are highly relevant for the purpose of this study.

2.2 Language attitudes

2.2.1 What is an attitude?

Language attitudes, with which this thesis is concerned, is closely related to the more general term *attitudes*. *Attitudes* is a central term in the field of social psychology, as attitudes permeates our daily lives, and all people have attitudes towards some elements in their life. It is, however, a challenging term to define. An early definition of attitudes states that attitudes are affect, or feelings, connected to our image of something (Thurstone 1931, in Garrett 2010:19). The affective element of attitudes may be positive or negative, but it is nonetheless an emotional reaction to something in the surrounding environment. Elaborating this definition of attitudes, Allport (1954, in Garrett 2010) adds that attitudes also evoke cognitive reactions, meaning that our attitudes may affect not only our feelings but also our thoughts. In addition to the affective and cognitive aspect of attitudes, Allport points to a behavioural element, and argues that our attitudes can make us behave in a certain way towards a person or an object (:19). There is some disagreement on whether or not these three components are always in line with each other. Some argue that we may have attitudes towards someone or something at the affective level, which do not lead to a change in behaviour, because we are aware, at the cognitive level, that our attitudes are not socially accepted. For this reason, Garrett points to how we should be careful to equate behaviour with attitude (2010:23), underlining that our behaviour not necessarily corresponds to our inner psychological reaction. According to Garrett, research suggests that cognition and affect are often aligned, while the third component, behaviour, is where “the controversy lies” (2010:25). However, according to Festinger’s (1957) theory of

cognitive dissonance, we prefer to have all three components aligned, although we in some cases must alter our behaviour so that it does not correspond to the other two (in Garrett 2010:24.)

Oppenheim uses the word *construct* to define attitudes. He agrees that an attitude is “an inner component of mental life”, but adds that attitudes are expressed through beliefs, opinions, anger, satisfaction or other emotions, as well as verbal statements or reactions, and “various other aspects of behaviour” (1982, in Garrett 2010:19). As an inner construct, attitudes can not be directly apprehended, but as Oppenheim underlines, attitudes can be observed if and when they are expressed through words or a change in behaviour.

Within this framework, then, *attitudes* are understood as inner constructs, which relate our thoughts and feelings towards something or someone. They are sometimes observable through our behaviour, but a person’s behaviour is not always in line with their attitudes. Including parts of Allport’s definition, attitudes are learned, and they come from attitudes existing in the social environment. Stated beliefs, reactions and other behavioural manifestations of attitudes is thus observed in the course of the continuing socialisation process. Children observe and adopt attitudes from parents or friends, block institutions such as the school or religious societies, or from first-hand experiences in social interaction. Especially relevant for this thesis is how attitudes also may be learned from the media. The media’s role in the shaping and enhancement of attitudes will be further discussed later in this chapter.

2.2.2 *Language attitudes*

Language attitudes are attitudes towards different levels of language, and they surround us in our daily lives. According to Garrett (2010), we hold attitudes to whole languages, varieties of languages, or accents, but also words, grammar features, punctuation, and even the use of certain phonemes. Language attitudes are important for our communicative competence, as they to a large degree influence our language choices in communicative settings. We may use or avoid certain words on the basis of the connotations they carry, e.g. in order to seem more or less professional, or to demonstrate our belonging to a group. We may also avoid the use of a certain variety, because of the associations we know they evoke, or we may change our language to be more similar to, or different from, the language of those we communicate with, cf. *the communication accommodation theory*.¹ However, language attitudes not only influence

¹ For further elaboration of the communication accommodation theory, see Garrett 2010, chapter 7.

our own linguistic choices, they also influence our evaluation of other speakers. Hence, language attitudes can be both “input” and “output” in social action, “as a cycle of influence between social cognition and language variation” (Garrett 2010:22).

Our attitudes towards language and language varieties evoke reactions in us, which are often transferred to an evaluation of the speaker. Dobrow and Gidney explain how “we use linguistic assessments of others to make such additional judgements as whether individuals are educated or unlettered, intelligent or stupid, rude or friendly. Depending on our appraisals, we may also treat them unequally, in ways both trivial and consequential” (1998:107). Thus, they argue that the way people speak plays an important part in how people are perceived, which in turn may lead to a change in behaviour towards them. Language attitudes are not always noticeable, but are perhaps most prominent when negative, and especially when resulting in negative behaviour towards others. Lippi-Green points to how there is still to be found much discrimination based on language, and she claims it to be “the last backdoor to discrimination”, as this type of discrimination, she argues, is so widely accepted (2011:75).

2.2.3 *Stereotypes*

Highly relevant to this thesis is a concept closely related to attitudes; stereotypes. We express our identity and group membership through our language, and accordingly language variation can lead us to make assumptions about others and their social group memberships. These assumptions are often stereotypical (Garrett 2010:33). Lippi-Green asserts that stereotyping is a way of making a system of categories in our brain, and “a tool humans use to cope with the complexity of the world” (2011:104). However, social categorisation often include an element of inaccuracy, as we tend to exaggerate the similarity between members of a group, which Garrett claims is the basis for stereotyping. Related to language attitudes, then, stereotypes may lead us to the understanding that all those who use a certain language variety share a set of characteristics, which may be positive or negative, but either way are limiting (Lippi-Green 2011).

According to Garrett, stereotypes function on three different levels (2010:33). On the individual level, they help us by bringing order to our understanding of the complex social world around us. At the intergroup level, stereotypes have a “social differentiation function”, which allows us to “preserve and enhance” differences between our ingroup and outgroups. They allow us to view our ingroup in a certain favourable way, when compared to other groups, with whom we do not identify ourselves. At the ideological level, stereotypes “serve a social explanatory function”, which justifies social systems where some groups are more valued than

others. In this way, “stereotypes ... play a role in maintaining inequalities which advantage some and disadvantage others” (Garrett 2010:33). Linguists agree that all varieties of languages are equally functional, however they do not all enjoy the same popularity (Lippi-Green 2011). This is evident in the way people are discriminated on the basis of their speech, and is further enhanced through the way language varieties are treated in a society, which to a large degree can be explained through the existence and maintenance of linguistic stereotypes.

The dominant set of language attitudes and language related stereotypes existing in a society constitute, while being influenced by, the society’s language ideology. Garrett explains the concept of ideology as “a patterned but naturalised set of assumptions and values about how the world works, a set which is associated with a particular social or cultural group” (2010:34), and compares it to “a filter through which information and social life generally is conducted and made sense of” (:33). He asserts that the ideological values shape our understanding of the social world around us, however as these values become ours through our socialisation within the society, we do not necessarily reflect upon them, and they are naturalised. As ideologies can be associated with particular groups, there will exist several parallel ideologies in a society, however one of them will inevitably be the dominant one. In terms of language ideologies, the dominant ideology is reflected in language policies and language planning (Tollefson 2011),² and enforced through bloc institutions such as the educational system and the media. I have previously pointed out how language attitudes are shaped partly by existing attitudes in our social environment, and so the language ideology of a society will inevitably influence our language attitudes. Because of this, Garrett asserts, research on language attitudes can be one way of studying language ideologies (2010:34).

2.2.3.1 *Standard language ideology*

As language ideologies are sets of beliefs about language, a *standard language ideology* (SLI) is characterised by the belief “that there is one and only one correct spoken form of the language” (L. Milroy 1999:174). Lippi-Green defines SLI as “a bias towards an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class” (2011:68). She argues that the existence of a standard language is a myth, which is brought on and tended to by powerful forces in the

² For a discussion of LPLP, see Tollefson’s chapter «Language planning and language policy” in *Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics* 2011.

society, as a way of maintaining social and political differences which give the powerful more power, because they speak the most valued variety, and correspondingly less power to less valued linguistic groups. Such an ideology has been, and to a large degree still is, dominating in most English-speaking societies. However, what constitutes the standard variety is highly contextual, and has proven difficult to define, causing confusion, “even among linguists, about what *Standard English* is” (Trudgill 1999:117).

Trudgill (1999) discusses the characteristics of Standard English, and asserts that it has nothing to do with pronunciation, but rather makes up “a social dialect which is distinguished from other dialects of the language by its *grammatical* forms” (1999:125). According to Trudgill, then, the standard is the same regardless of context, and is not related to accent or regional markers, as it can be spoken by people from different areas, in their own regional variety, and still be in terms with the norms of Standard English grammar. However, research on language attitudes shows that people certainly seem to think there exists a standard English accent, or accents in plural. In the following of this thesis, the term Standard English will be understood as what people believe to be the ‘correct’ way of speaking, and these beliefs differ according to context (Lippi-Green 1997, L. Milroy 1999).

In two of the largest native English-speaking countries, the USA and the UK, the ‘standard accents’ are very different from each other, both in terms of linguistic features, and in terms of regional and social links. In Britain, the variety known by many as *BBC-English*, or *Queen’s English*, which linguists call *Received Pronunciation* (RP), has been considered to be the standard accent. This is the variety promoted in school and taught to foreigners learning English, and is as its nickname implies, the variety most used on the national television channel BBC. However, this is a social variety, as it is most common among speakers from the upper middle-class, spread all over the UK. In the USA, however, the standard is not an upper-class variety, but a “mainstream accent associated with the levelled dialects of the Northern Midwest” (L. Milroy 1999:174). The American standard is, in other terms, what remains when salient regional and social features have been removed, and can thus be described as a ‘neutral’ accent. It should be pointed out again that this is also an accent, even if its users believe it to be a ‘non-accent’ (Preston 1996, in L. Milroy 1999:174). This accent is called *Mainstream American*, *Network American*, or as used in this thesis, *General American* (GA). In sum, the British standard is non-regional, and associated with high social status, while the American standard is associated with few social and regional markers, and their phonetic features are quite different from each other, as will be described in chapter 3.

Language attitudes may lead to changed behaviour towards certain speakers. As standard varieties are viewed more positively than other English varieties (c.f. attitudinal studies), speakers with standard English accents may be treated and evaluated more positively in social interaction. A second consequence of the hierarchy between standard varieties, rural varieties and urban vernaculars is that users of stigmatised varieties risk being disfavoured or discriminated based on their language use. Because of a strong presence of a standard language ideology, some people believe it to be only fair that speakers of ‘correct’ English receive better treatment and evaluation than those who have ‘not bothered’ to learn the standard accent. Stereotypes serve to justify this judgement and treatment of certain groups, as they, according to the stereotype, e.g. are less intelligent or less sophisticated than standard speakers. Not only do some speakers of standard varieties view their accent as superior, but the standard language ideology and its manifestations in society make this belief spread also among speakers of non-standard varieties. This is demonstrated through the existence of accent reduction classes, and the way many change their accent to be closer to the standard when they go into higher education (Lippi-Green 1997, L. Milroy 1999). Lippi-Green asserts that all languages are “equally efficient ... though they do not enjoy the same degree of respect” (2011:9), and discusses the mysterious ways through which large groups of people come to accept the idea that their language is non-appropriate (:68). So far, it has been established that the Standard Language Ideology is promoted and enforced through large institutions in society such as the educational system and, as will be investigated in this study, the media. The media’s role in shaping attitudes will be further discussed in the following section.

2.2.5 The power of the media

In 2019, Americans over the age of 15 spent on average almost three hours every day in front of the television (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics), and television, social media and other technological channels for entertainment have never before taken such a large part of people’s lives, also in younger children’s lives (Ribner & McHarg 2021). As has been stated already, children are socialised through what they observe around them, and what they observe through films and television contribute to their image of the world and how the world works (Lippi-Green 2011, Dragojevic et al. 2016). There is wide agreement among scholars (see Klein & Shiffmann 2009:57) that media exposure largely influence people’s attitudes, and research has shown that the earlier these attitudes are learnt, the more likely it is that they will last (Garrett 2010, Klein & Shiffmann 2009). Dragojevic et al. argue that the media contributes to the

formation of attitudes through the representation of different groups, which “help shape what viewers come to believe are the prototypical features (e.g. traits, roles) associated with different linguistic groups” (2016:60). As children are repeatedly exposed to these portrayals of different groups, the media contribute to the “formation and maintenance of stereotypes” (Dragojevic et al. 2016:64). Lippi-Green (2011) investigated the use of accents in Disney animated films and argues that children are taught to discriminate on the basis of language through the way linguistic groups are portrayed in these films. She asserts the importance of investigating these portrayals, which she finds to be systematic and stereotypical. Her study will be presented in section 2.3 of this thesis.

Children are especially vulnerable to the influence of media portrayals, but the power of the media affects viewers of all ages, as the media come to be one of our primary sources of information about the world and people in it. Dragojevic et al. agree with Lippi-Green in saying that the media is a double sided mirror, which mirrors attitudes and “intergroup relations” (Dragojevic et al 2016:66), while contributing to the shaping of those attitudes. As previously mentioned, stereotypes contribute to the maintenance of social differences, as they provide explanatory grounds for a favourable treatment of some groups at the expense of others. The media has been named one of the most powerful agents through which a standard language ideology is promoted, which gains the already powerful groups in society, who in many cases also have power and influence in the media (Dragojevic et al 2016:66). Klein and Shiffman investigates the distribution of social groups in media, and argues that less favoured groups are *symbolically annihilated*, while other groups are over-represented. Symbolic annihilation is defined by Merskin as “the way cultural production and media representations ignore, exclude, marginalize or trivialize a particular group” (1998:335). It is argued that symbolic annihilation is important because it contributes to the message about who is valued in the society, and what it means to be part of a disenfranchised group. Thus, it is not only stereotypical portrayals of linguistic groups that influence attitudes associated with these groups, but also the lack of media representation, which imply that these groups are not important enough to be granted the media’s attention. Dobrow and Gidney (1998) underline how the media representation of different groups not only influence how children learn to see others, but also how they learn to see themselves and their own linguistic group. A continuous lack of representation in the media can thus have negative consequences for the self-image of the children who never or rarely meet characters who speak like them, or if, when they are represented, the representation is stereotypical and limited. For this reason, the social annihilation of linguistic groups is, in line

with stereotypical portrayals, highly relevant when investigating language attitudes in the media in general, and in children's animated films in particular. It also underlines the importance of societal treatment studies on children's entertainment, as such studies can discover patterns with unfortunate effects on some viewers, which then can be changed.

2.3 Previous research

2.3.1 Approaches in attitudinal studies

The interest in language attitudes has only increased since the 1960s, when Lambert, Hogson, Gardner and Fillebaum first measured language attitudes, studying attitudes to English and French in Montreal, and further when Labov investigated "The social stratification of English in New York City" in 1966 (see Labov 2006). Since then, the field of attitudinal studies has expanded, and there are now considered to be three main approaches to the study of attitudes to language. These are the direct approach, the indirect approach, and societal treatment studies. As previously discussed, attitudes are difficult to access, and are non-observable unless they result in changed behaviour. The differences between the approaches thus lay in the way they attempt to assess people's attitudes, and there are strengths and weaknesses connected to all three. In addition to the direct, indirect, and societal treatment approach, the field of folklinguistics is starting to gain ground. These types of studies take a less linguistically oriented approach, with the main focus on how laypeople, instead of linguists, describe language and language attitudes (Garrett 2010). In the following, an account is given of the three most established approaches to attitudinal studies, before presenting some key findings from previous studies on language attitudes.

2.3.1.1 The direct approach

The direct approach asks people directly what their attitudes are. This type of study can be designed in various ways, but the main characteristic is that the informants know what is being investigated. There have been several direct studies using questionnaires, where informants rate or respond to statements regarding concepts, or labels. In conceptual studies, the informants are asked to give an explicit account of their attitudes, relating to their associations and knowledge connected to a concept, e.g. 'the Texas accent' or 'Queen's English', and not the accent itself. The main advantage of the direct approach lies in it being transparent, and the findings are not inferred by the researcher, as the answers are stated explicitly by the informants. However, there are certain challenges related to this aspect. Firstly, using questionnaires or interviews entails asking questions about hypothetical situations, which in turn leads to hypothetical

answers. What people say they would do does not necessarily correspond to their spontaneous reaction in an actual situation. Second, there is a tendency for people to give answers they think are right, or more socially acceptable, called *the social desirability bias*. It could lead to non-realistic results, as some people tend to not express their proper attitudes, but instead what they think their attitudes *should* be. Third, *the acquiescence bias* refers to the way some people prefer to agree with statements, and could, according to Garrett (2010), be “a way of gaining the researcher’s approval, giving them the answer that they want” (:45). Also related to the researcher, is *the observer’s paradox*, which is the way the presence of a researcher, or interviewer, can affect the results. For example, if the interviewer speaks with a certain accent, this could lead people to rate that accent more positively. Finally, relying on labels or concepts is a challenge in itself, as the respondents’ knowledge of different accents may vary, and is not guaranteed to correspond with the researcher’s understanding of a label. In other words, when respondents rate ‘the Texas accent’ or ‘New York English’, they may or may not associate it with the linguistic features with which the researcher associates it.

2.3.1.2 The indirect approach

The indirect approach has been much used, as it is thought to access the informants’ real attitudes, through investigating language attitudes without the informants knowing. Under the pretext of a different research question, the study’s design allows the researcher to study informants’ reactions to different language varieties. Two designs have dominated this approach; the matched guise and the verbal guise. Both techniques have informants listen to recordings of actual speech, asking them to rate the speaker on different features, while in reality, the main variable is accent. Thus, it is assumed that the reactions to accents will be unaltered by biases, as this is not where the informants’ focus is, and consequently the ratings reflect the respondents’ true attitudes. The matched guise technique has a single speaker record a text several times, speaking with different accents, while the verbal guise uses several speakers. Using different native speakers ensures accent authenticity, however, there is always a chance that informants’ reactions could be affected by differences in voice, speech rate or other extralinguistic features, which is avoided in the matched guise design.

In sum, the indirect approach aims to assess people’s language attitudes by investigating their reactions to different accents, while the informants are under the impression that they are responding to something else, e.g. what they think of the speaker. There have been conducted many studies with this design, which give valuable information about language attitudes among

different groups of respondents. These findings may in turn serve as grounds for comparison when conducting studies with different approaches, such as a societal treatment study.

2.3.1.3 Societal treatment approach

While the direct and indirect approach uses participants to investigate attitudes, the societal treatment approach relies on data material from the society, and infers attitudes from the way language varieties are treated in this society. It is a non-obtrusive approach, which gives a broader impression of the existing attitudes, on community level instead of individual level. According to Garrett (2010), the approach has not been as widely used as the direct and indirect approaches. He nonetheless asserts that it can give valuable insights into attitudes in a way that is non accessible, or more challenging, for the formerly mentioned approaches. Satraki (2019) mentions how this approach is gaining new ground within the field, as it engages with discourse-analytic methods. The main reason why this approach has been overlooked, is challenges related to reliability and validity. However, as is also true for the direct and indirect approach, a societal treatment study must be careful not to make generalised conclusions based on a selection of data, but rather see it as a contribution to the larger picture and the general understanding of language attitudes. Several researchers have argued for the combination of research methods, and as the societal treatment approach gives a “a more complete picture of the status of the linguistic variety within a community” (Satraki 2019:101), it brings valuable insights to the table.

The direct and indirect approaches gather information about how a selection of individuals rate language varieties, while the societal treatment study focuses on the way a variety is treated in the community, and findings from such a study can give information about and insights into the manifestations of a society’s language ideology. As has already been discussed, our attitudes are influenced by our social environment, and a study which aims at analysing language treatment in the social environment therefore not only studies attitudes already existing, but also the forces which may contribute to the shaping of those attitudes.

2.3.2 Direct and indirect studies

There have been conducted numerous studies with direct and indirect designs, and as their findings contribute to the general understanding of attitudes to English, the main findings from a selection of such studies are presented in this section. Following this, more thorough descriptions of three societal treatment studies are included, which have all been important sources of inspiration both regarding design, research questions and hypotheses for the present thesis.

Several studies have shown that language varieties are evaluated along three dimensions: social prestige/status, social attractiveness, and linguistic attractiveness or linguistic quality (Giles 1970, Zahn and Hopper 1985, Coupland and Bishop 2007). Social prestige relates to a speaker's success, intelligence, educational level and so forth, while social attractiveness is related to the likeability of a speaker, e.g. whether or not you would like to be friends with the speaker. As such, these two dimensions are not intertwined. Linguistic attractiveness refers to the inherent aesthetic quality of an accent. This was investigated by Giles, Bourhis and Davies (1979). By having respondents rate three accents from a language they did not know, they concluded that there is no inherent linguistic quality that is perceived as more pleasing than others to the ear, and that it is most likely that people are taught to find some accents more or less linguistically attractive. This is called the *Imposed Norm Hypothesis*.

Findings from direct and indirect studies show that accents are rated according to the three dimensions in a tripartite accent hierarchy, first introduced in a model by Andrew Wilkinson (1965, in Hiraga 2005). In this hierarchy, standard accents are rated highest in the status dimension, followed by rural regional varieties, leaving urban varieties with the least positive rating. However, regarding social attractiveness, studies have found that regional or rural varieties typically receive higher ratings, although standard varieties receive quite positive ratings also here. The urban varieties thus appear to be the least appreciated varieties in both dimensions.

In addition to investigating attitudes to British accents among British respondents (Coupland and Bishop 2007), there have been studies on British respondents' attitudes to non-British accents (Giles 1970, Hiraga 2005), and non-British respondents' attitudes towards English accents (Bayard et al. 2001). The findings point towards the tripartite division of accents into standard, rural regional and urban, with a clear preference for standard accents. Findings from several studies, with various combinations of accents and respondents, reveal how it is likely that the media has an effect on people's attitudes towards accents that are not native to their country. Bayard et al. (2001) investigated how respondents from USA, Australia and New Zealand rated a selection of English accents, among them their own native 'standard', as well as RP and GA. Among several points of interest, the 2001 study aimed to investigate whether the RP accent was still rated highest on status, or if its position was challenged by North American English. The findings suggest that American English might be 'taking over' for RP, as the North American female speaker received the highest rating on most traits (Bayard et al. 2001). This is to some degree attributed the power of the spoken media, especially in New

Zealand, which at the time has seen a growing presence of American television (Bayard et al. 2001:41).

A 2005 study (Hiraga) investigated British respondents' attitudes toward British and American varieties. The findings showed that British respondents were able to distinguish between different American accents, and rated these according to the same pattern with which they rated the British accents (Hiraga 2005). As it is most unlikely that all of the British respondents have first-hand experience with the selected American varieties, it is assumed that these attitudes originate from media exposure.

A large direct study from 2007, carried out by Coupland and Bishop, investigated British respondents' attitudes towards 34 British accents, where they were asked to rate accents represented by labels. The findings to a large degree confirmed what was found in earlier studies. However, Coupland and Bishop also included an analysis of results based on characteristics of the informants. This analysis found that younger respondents were less positive to standard variants, and that women in general rated accents more positively. These findings point towards changing attitudes to standard accents, but more importantly it underlines how attitudes to language is contextual, as they can vary according to social groups.

The findings presented above show how there are clear patterns in the way people from different English speaking countries rate spoken varieties of English. Standard varieties have been rated most positively, and it is found an increasingly positive attitude towards North American English (GA). As American television and films are continuing to gain grounds outside the boundaries of the American society, it is likely that this large industry influences the attitudes people have towards the spoken language in these media expressions. This thesis is conducted within a framework assuming that media portrayals influence the shaping of attitudes, and the findings from direct and indirect studies in part confirm this. Indirect and direct studies reveal attitudes which are expressed by a collection of individual respondents, and which may or may not stem from the media. Societal treatment studies can investigate this aspect from a different angle, by looking into how different varieties are actually represented. In the following section, I will present a selection of key studies within the societal treatment approach to studying language attitudes, which all attempt to shed light on how language varieties are treated in the media.

2.3.3 Societal treatment studies on films and television

2.3.3.1 Lippi-Green and Disney

In 1997, Rosina Lippi-Green conducted the first large study of language attitudes in animated films for children, where she analysed language use and a set of other characteristics of 371 characters, in 24 full-length feature films by Disney. The results were published in her book *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States* (1997), with the chapter title “Teaching children how to discriminate: (what we learn from the Big Bad Wolf)”, which in part summarises her findings. In the second edition of this book (2011), she included an analysis of 14 additional films, which had been released since the completion of her original 1997 study, and her research thus covers a large collection of films, which in turn allows for making conclusions on Disney’s way of treating different language varieties. As Disney at the time was, as it still is, by far the largest producer of entertainment for children, Lippi-Green’s study provides insight into a large part of what children all over the English-speaking world watch, which in turn influences the way they come to see the world, and things and people in it (Lippi-Green 2011).

Lippi-Green’s study of Disney is an excellent example of how societal treatment studies allow for diachronic perspectives, and the analysis of films produced between 1937-2009 provides insight into how attitudes can change over time. She underlines how popular entertainment and films often reflect the fears of their time, through the villains and ‘bad guys’ and their general characteristics, but also their accents. An example of this is the way ‘the big bad wolf’³ dresses up in a negative stereotypical Jewish way, trying to trick the three little pigs, and thus clearly reflects anti-Semitic attitudes, which were very much present in the 1930s’ America (Lippi-Green 2011:105). These scenes have later been harshly criticised, and consequently edited out, but also covered up by Disney, so that this image of the wolf has become unavailable in a modern time where anti-Semitism is not tolerated. According to Lippi-Green, this is a way of protecting the corporate image, and it “also stifles discussion about the role of animated film in the socialization of children and the history of anti-Semitism in the US” (2011:105). She argues in favour of a closer inspection of how linguistic groups are presented to children through animated films, and asserts that Disney systematically presents stereotypical character roles, which enforces a standard language ideology, but also ethnic and cultural stereotypes.

³ The wolf is the ‘bad guy’ in Disney’s 1933 cartoon version of *The Three Little Pigs*, which is still regularly shown on television (Lippi-Green 2011:105).

In the analysis of Disney's characters, Lippi-Green investigates the general distribution of accent groups, as well as accent distribution related to gender, setting, character's motivation, and ethnicity, with a special focus on African American Vernacular English (AAVE) related to ethnicity/race/appearances (as presented in table 7.5 in Lippi-Green 2011:120). The results from her 1997 study, show that the largest group of characters speak *SAE⁴ (43%), followed by *Standard British (22%)⁵. 13% of the characters speak socially or regionally peripheral U.S. accents, while the British socially or regionally marked varieties make up 11%. 2% speak with other Englishes, while 9% speak with a non-native English accent (Lippi-Green 2011:115). There is apparently, in Disney, a preference for Standard American, but also Standard British, accents, and this reflects the standard language ideology previously discussed.

In the relevant book chapter, Lippi-Green comments further on the use of foreign accents in relation to the setting of the story, and her findings show that there is more often use of foreign accents when the story is set in a non-English speaking country. However, this way of marking the setting through linguistic features is used to a limited extent, as only 34 of the 91 characters occurring in a setting where English is not normally the spoken language speak with a foreign accent (:115).

Regarding accent and motivation, Lippi-Green finds that the majority of the negative characters speak U.S. English, followed by British English, with the smallest number of 'bad guys' speaking with foreign accent. However, she underlines that the percentage of evil characters is higher amongst the foreign accented than among the US English speakers or British English speakers, suggesting negative attitudes to foreign accented speech, and 'otherness' (:117-120). When investigating the romantic roles so important to Disney's fairy tale recipe, the *lovers*, there are no foreign accented females⁶, despite the story being set abroad, which points to the background and logic language being "less important in this case than a consistent portrayal of an ideal lover and potential mate which stresses the lack of 'otherness'" (:126). Said differently, Disney sends the message that the people who fall in love, are those who speak 'correctly'.

⁴ Lippi-Green (2011) comments on the use of an asterisk in the label *SAE and *Standard British, as a way to mark her disagreement with the term 'Standard English', see chapter 4 "The standard language myth", in *English with an Accent*, 2nd ed.

⁵ Also explained as "less stigmatized varieties of British English" (Lippi-Green 2011:15).

⁶ Except two characters who were voiced by the same woman, Eva Gabor, a well-known Hungarian woman, which would inevitably be recognized by the 1950s and 60s audience, bringing associations to glamour and love affairs with rich men (Lippi-Green 2011:126).

In her study, Lippi-Green goes in depth in the discussion of some characters where the use of accent has been criticised and considered problematic, regarding the presentation of non-Anglo ethnicities. With an additional focus on AAVE, she finds a low number of characters using AAVE, where all of them were in animal form (:123). She underlines how the low number of characters make it difficult to infer any attitudes. It should be mentioned, however, that the lack of representation also points towards certain attitudes. Regarding the representation of ethnic communities, the additional analysis of 14 films in 2010 shows an increase in the total number of non-Anglo characters, although the number of occurrences are mainly from two films, which stand out compared to the ‘traditional’ Disney format, as they are set in non-Anglo communities, in Hawai’i and New Orleans, with non-Anglo female leads⁷. However, Lippi-Green points to how the use of ethnic and linguistic stereotypes is to a large degree present also in these films, complementing the initially positive development in the increased representation.

As a pioneer within the field of societal treatment studies of accents in film, Lippi-Green’s 1997 study has inspired several other studies of a similar kind. She shed light on how there is in fact clear evidence that children’s films are not all ‘innocent’ and ‘cheerful’, despite the fairy tale wrapping⁸. There is, however, need for more research of this kind before we can draw conclusions about children’s entertainment in general.

Disney is perhaps the largest, but certainly not the only, production company of animated films. There are therefore several other production studios waiting to be analysed and investigated regarding their use of accents. There has, however, been a large interest in Disney, and it is reasonable to assume that it is based on Disney’s tremendous popularity. Following Lippi-Green’s footsteps, Janne Sønnesyn (2012) completed a study of Disney films from 1995-2009. In 2013, Paola van Lierop conducted a study of accent use in Pixar, and compared her findings to Lippi-Green and Sønnesyn’s findings. Both of these studies found similar results as Lippi-Green’s. Looking into accent use in the more recent releases of Disney’s live action remakes compared to the original animated films, Urke (2019) showed that there is still more to be said about Disney, and that Lippi-Green’s study is still a major source of inspiration for upcoming research. Urke found an increase in the use of British English (RP) in the remakes, in the place of *SAE which was the most used in the originals. *SAE was also found to

⁷ *Lilo and Stitch* from 2002, and *The Princess and the Frog* from 2009.

⁸ In addition to focusing on accent representation, Lippi-Green includes a discussion of how cultural expressions from different cultures are ‘Disneyfied’, termed *the Disney spell*. This is not relevant to the present thesis, but very interesting and enlightening for all, especially those who have grown up with the Disney universe. I recommend reading Lippi-Green’s chapter on Disney, if only to broaden one’s awareness of how media expressions can shape the way cultures and groups of people are perceived.

dominate in the data of Lippi-Green's, Sønnesyn's and van Lierop's study. However, all of the above confirms what Lippi-Green found in her study; a preference for 'standard accents'.

Lippi-Green investigated accent use in a large part of Disney's films for children, and thus sparked an interest in, and created awareness about, the way linguistic groups are presented in animated films for children. She underlined these films' potential to influence and shape language attitudes, as she found stereotypical portrayals of certain linguistic groups and a clear preference for standard language, especially among the good characters and females. Since her study, there have been conducted several studies on films and television for children, which show that the same patterns are still present in Disney's productions. However, the studies concentrate on one specific production studio, and thus make way for studies on other production studios who have grown to become successful over the past years, such as DreamWorks.

2.3.3.2 Dobrow and Gidney "The Good, the Bad, and the Foreign"

In 1998, Julia R. Dobrow and Calvin L. Gidney analysed a sample of American children's animated television programming, with a focus on visual, behavioural and linguistic representation of characters. Pointing to how previous research has shown an over-representation of white males, as well as more non-white villains, and stereotypical gender roles, Dobrow and Gidney looked at ethnic and gender markers related to dialect, to investigate how language varieties was dealt with in American children's television. In line with Lippi-Green, they discuss the impact television can have on children, and how images of other groups to a large degree are shaped by what children watch on TV. They are also concerned with the way stereotypical representation, or lack of representation, can be negative for children's self-esteem, as television becomes a source of information about what society think of people who look or speak like they do.

Their data material was made up of 12 television series, randomly selected from a total of 76 series airing in the Boston area, in the fall 1996. They found that the television series could be divided into three groups; those who did not attempt to correlate language and character traits, those who used language to illustrate a quality of the character, and those where there were no linguistic diversity. Most of the programs fit into the second category, showing that children's television "relies heavily on language to mark characters' personalities" (Dobrow & Gidney 1998: 114).

Dobrow and Gidney's findings were to a large degree consistent with what has been found in previous studies. Most of the television programs in the study used language to mark character traits, and Dobrow and Gidney analysed dialect related to ethnicity and gender, but also the characters' status as hero or villain. They found that most of the villains spoke with a foreign accent, with a large percentage of villains with a British accent. There were also use of Slavic and German accents, which the researchers refer to as remains of fears from the cold-war period. Additionally, there were villains where the accent was unidentifiable, consisting of features suggesting different nationalities, and they underline how the importance seem to lie in the 'foreignness', and not in representing a specific foreign accent. Comic characters were also more often given foreign accents and regional marked accents, and the accents used for both villains and comic characters can be associated with low socioeconomic status. They found no use of *SAE among the evil characters. Regarding gender, Dobrow and Gidney relied on the description of stereotypical 'female speech' as described by Robin Lakoff (2004). Lakoff asserted that males and females speak differently, and described a tendency for females to use more standardised forms. She suggested that this was a way of compensating the lack of political power in society. Dobrow and Gidney concluded, however, that there was in fact a difference between female and male speech in the older productions, but found no gender related differences in the newer programs. Age, on the other hand, was frequently marked by language use, especially for indicating young age through the use of slang.

Dobrow and Gidney's study included a small sample of animated programming for children, and their findings to a large degree confirm what was found Lippi-Green's (1997) research. However, the one show which stood for most of the African American characters, is highlighted as an evidence that it is in fact possible to create children's television which "depicts male and female characters from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in ways free of visual, behavioral, or linguistic stereotypes" (Dobrow & Gidney 1998:118). They found differences between the newer and older programs in their sample, but this does not explain why there is only one program which manages to represent a diversity of characters non-stereotypically. The programs in their sample were aired in 1996, and several of the shows were considered 'older' already in the study. It should therefore be pointed out that a lot has happened in the field of children's entertainment since 1996, and that attitudes may have changed from the completion of their study and up until today. The field of children's television has, however, not been given much attention, and a replication of Dobrow and Gidney's study using contemporary television programming would inevitably yield interesting results for comparison. A similar, more recent

study was conducted on television aimed at adults, and this will be presented in the following section.

2.3.3.3 *Dragojevic, Mastro, Giles and Sink “Silencing nonstandard speakers: a content analysis of accent portrayals on American primetime television”*

In 2016, Dragojevic, Mastro, Giles and Sink published a study similar to those of Lippi-Green, and Dobrow and Gidney. While the two earlier studies have focused on children’s television and accent use in animated programming, this study from 2016 makes up the first of its kind, being a quantitative content analysis investigating accent portrayals in primetime television for adults. Mapping out the field of their study, they point to how previous research has found an uneven distribution in the media representation of different groups, with dominant social groups being over-represented, relative to the demographic size of that group in society. Supported by the writing of several other scholars, Dragojevic and his associates argue that the media representation of a group is part of that group’s institutional support, which in turn is part of what makes up the group’s vitality. The uneven distribution of groups represented thus contributes to the dominant and already powerful groups gaining more power, at the expense of the social influence of the nondominant groups, as they are under-represented in television. With this as a backdrop, Dragojevic et al.’s study investigates the distribution of a set of accent clusters, as well as the treatment of these, in order to discover potential underlying social attitudes towards certain varieties of English.

This study analysed characters according to certain traits, which could be placed into the dimensions of *status* and *solidarity*, and the character’s accent, operating with four accent categories. Based on what previous research have found to be accents to which people have stereotypical views and attitudes, their four accent categories were Standard American (SA, corresponds to General American), Nonstandard American (NSA), Foreign-Anglo (FA, including all British accents), and Foreign-Other (FO, including all non-native English accents). All characters who were physically present in the show, and also spoke a minimum of two lines, were analysed by a set of trained coders, a total of 1252 characters. One group of coders analysed the characters on their role and attributes, and a second group coded for accents. However, the coders were not trained linguists, and this was done in order for the coding of accent to be as similar as possible to the way a naïve viewer would perceive the accents.

Based on findings from previous research, the hypotheses for this study was that SA would be the most used accents, and also the accent most used for main roles. Also, they expected SA and FA to be portrayed more favourably on traits relating to status, and SA and NSA more

favourably on traits of the solidarity dimension. They included an analysis of the physical appearances of characters, and hypothesised to find SA and FA characters portrayed as more attractive. Their results to a large degree confirmed their hypotheses.

The findings from Dragojevic et al.'s study show that there is an over-representation of SA and FA characters, compared to the assumed number of people actually using these accents in the American society. They also found a pattern in the way the different linguistic groups were portrayed in their data. When characters with FO or NSA did appear, they more often had minor roles, and were portrayed as less intelligent or attractive. The researchers claim that both of these findings are relevant to the way media representation shape the way groups are viewed in society. Firstly, the lack of representation of certain groups affect the amount of institutional support given to this group, which in turn have negative effects for their social and political positions. Second, when groups are repeatedly portrayed in less favourable ways, it influences what viewers come to think is the prototypical features of members from these groups. Equally important is the way it influences how members of these groups come to see themselves and their in-group.

As argued by both Lippi-Green, Dobrow and Gidney, and others engaged in the topic, standard speakers are often considered to be both more intelligent and more attractive, and this is a result of the standard language ideology, with its manifestations in e.g. media representations. The findings presented above suggest that the media indeed contributes to the bolstering of some speakers, and the silencing of others.

The relevance of this study's findings lies in the way they show how accent is used for character building, also in television for adults. Animated television for children often have less complicated plots and simpler characters than television for adults, and one could speculate whether or not accent and stereotypes have been used in animation simply for the purpose of establishing a character's personality quickly. However, Dragojevic and associates re-establish that different accents are associated with different traits, and that these stereotypical images of linguistic groups are also present in 21st century television for adults.

2.4 Dubbing

In the previous sections, it has been established that media contributes to the shaping and maintaining of linguistic stereotypes and language attitudes through the way language is used in films and television. These attitudes trigger a response at the emotional and/or the cognitive level, which results in an evaluation of people based on their speech, and could result in changed behaviour towards speakers of different varieties. As attitudes shaped early in life are more likely to last (Garrett 2010), the main goal of this thesis is to investigate the way language is used in films by DreamWorks aimed at young viewers. As all of the large production studios, e.g. Disney and DreamWorks, in part owe their global success to the fact that their films have been translated and made available for children in other countries, the translated versions of the films should also be granted some attention. Language ideologies and language attitudes are, as have already been discussed, contextual. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that countries with different language ideologies would use language for character building in different ways. A point of interest of this thesis will therefore be to investigate whether, and in what way, Norwegian dialects are used for character building in the Norwegian dubbed versions of the films. This part of the analysis will be compared to the findings related to linguistic character building in the original English-speaking films. The following sections will present some key aspects related to dubbing in general, and translation of films in Norway in particular.

2.4.1 *General aspects of dubbing*

Translating films for a non-English-speaking audience makes these films available for almost all, and this has contributed to the major success of the American film industry. Dubbing and subtitling have for long been, and still are, the two major ways in which this is done, and often countries opt for one of the solutions. Examples of countries who typically dub most of the originally English-speaking productions are France, Italy and Germany (Chaume 2006). As this section presents, dubbing is a complex and expensive process, and subtitling has been used as a less costly alternative. There are different challenges related to the two techniques of translating, and as the present thesis is concerned with dubbed versions and not subtitles, the following section points to some of the major challenges related to substituting dialogue in one language for dialogue in a different language, the *target language*.

Dubbing a film is a complicated process, which requires experts on different layers and elements of the product, such as sound, image and/or computer animation. According to Chaume (2020), there are several elements that must be taken into account in order to achieve a dubbing which meets the industry's *quality standards*. To reach the main goal of making the target language dialogue seem natural and real, "creating the illusion of watching a 'real' story" (Chaume 2020:111), three kinds of synchronies must be observed. These are considered to be the most important feature of dubbing, and small failures in ensuring these synchronies could be fatal to the viewers' perception of the translation and the film as 'real'. These synchronies are *kinesic synchrony*, *isochrony*, and *lip-sync* or *phonetic synchrony*. The first relates to the way the new dialogue matches the character's body language and movements. Isochrony makes sure that the translated utterances fit exactly into the duration of the original utterances, so that there are no mouths moving when no voices are heard, or that the voice is heard after the character has closed their mouth. Phonetic synchrony refers to the way the translation should fit to the articulatory movements of the character's mouth, so that the viewer can believe that it was what they actually said in that scene. In addition to these synchronies, Chaume mentions how the target language dialogue must sound and seem natural and spontaneous, which also relates to gestures and intonation. Also, he underlines the importance of "semiotic coherence between words and images" (Chaume 2020:111), good quality of sound, volume and voice, and also how the voice actors must avoid over- or underacting.

Chaume's presentation of the 'quality standards' for dubbing shows the complexity of the translation process. The translators can not merely use the most natural translation of the utterance to convey the meaning, but must take lip-sync and credibility of target language dialogue into account. Chaume also mentions how it is important to stay true to the source film, "so that target culture viewers can watch the same film ... as source culture spectators ..." (2020:111). Stereotypical views of groups can be shared by different communities, so although it is perhaps not unique to a culture, the well-established attitudes in a society is to a large degree a part of that culture. Dubbed versions should not change too much of the relevant features of a film, and one could argue that this also includes the attitudes and stereotypes related to the characters' speech, on which producers often rely to build characters (c.f. Dobrow & Gidney 1998, Lippi-Green 2011).

2.4.2 *Translating language varieties*

Translating language varieties is one of the most problematic aspects of screen translation (Chiaro 2008). Erasure of original dialogue, and the installation of a target language dialogue in its place, consequently erases the attitudes and associations related to the language varieties used in the original version. According to Chiaro (2008), the general tendency in dubbing has been to ignore the problem of variation. With a special attention to the Italian dubbing industry, Chiaro asserts that dubbers often adopt the “homogenizing convention” (Sternberg 1981, in Chiaro 2008:10). This means that social and regional variants in the source language are translated into a ‘standard’ variant of the target language, evening out differences between characters, so that viewers of the dubbed version are presented with a world “in which everyone speaks the same way, with the same accent, cadence and, more or less, the same command of the language” (Chiaro 2008:10). As previous research has documented a widespread use of language for character building in animated films, adopting the *homogenizing convention* thus goes against the quality standards presented by Chaume (2020), which calls for minimal change of the original film.

The only alternative to ignoring variation is to opt for “a dialectal variety in substitution of the source variety” (Chiaro 200:11). Choosing a language variety with similar status and connotations as the original variety, might provide parts of the character’s traits that are communicated through linguistic features. However, the dubbed version will then rely on language attitudes connected to the target language, and Chiaro asserts how “such a choice will neither convey nor connote similar, let alone the same, encyclopaedic knowledge shared by the target audiences in the source language and culture” (2008:11). It can therefore not be seen as a provider of cultural knowledge from the source culture, but rather a reflection of target language culture. An analysis of how language varieties are treated in a dubbed version of a film will therefore provide information about the status of the target language varieties in the associated culture, and thus allow for inference of language attitudes present in the target language society, in this case Norway. As the plot, the characters, and visual representations of them are the same in both the original and the dubbed versions, analysis of both versions will provide grounds for comparing the way linguistic features and language varieties are potentially used for character building in the two languages.

2.4.3 *Dubbing in Norway*

While several European countries such as France, Italy and Germany to a large extent dub English-speaking films and television series into their own language, the Scandinavian countries have traditionally opted for subtitling (Pedersen 2010, Awedyk 2013). In Norway, dubbing is reserved for children's television or films only, and even these are in the later years also made available in subtitled versions (Pedersen 2010). Since the Norwegian audience is so accustomed to subtitling, it would be hard for them to ignore the illogic of famous American actors speaking Norwegian in an American setting. The exceptions are, of course, productions aimed at pre-school children. In order to make these films and television programs available to a young Norwegian audience, they are dubbed using Norwegian voice actors, or using the voices of well-known Norwegian actors (Pedersen 2010, Awedyk 2013). However, research has pointed to the benefits of subtitling instead of dubbing English-speaking films, in terms of learning English (Awedyk 2013). Norwegians in general are quite proficient in English, and the fact that Norwegians of all ages are surrounded by English in the media, is considered to be one of the reasons why. Pedersen points to how the Norwegian audience's level of English in many cases make the subtitling less important to convey the meaning of what is being said, but underlines that Norwegians are so accustomed to the support of the subtitles, that they would feel "orphaned" without them (Pedersen 2010:19).

In her discussion of subtitling in Norway, Awedyk (2013) comments on the large unexplored potential of research on audio-visual translation in Norway. Most research on the field has focused on subtitling, especially on intralingual translation which translates films and television for people with hearing disabilities (Pedersen 2010, Awedyk 2013). Awedyk (2013) points to the special linguistic situation in Norway, as there are two written standards; *bokmål* and *nynorsk*. Being the variety most used by Norwegians, *bokmål* is also the variety most used in subtitling, and the use of *nynorsk* in Norwegian television is regulated by law (Awedyk 2013, NRK's rules for language use). While commenting on the fact that children's television and films are dubbed, no attention is made to the special situation regarding spoken language varieties and the implications these may have for the translation of dialogue in children's television productions. The contributions made by this thesis is therefore an attempt to explore parts of this unexplored field. The following section gives a brief introduction to the linguistic landscape of spoken varieties in Norway.

2.5 Language ideology in Norway

While the English language has been associated with a standard language ideology, the Norwegian language is associated with pro-dialectal attitudes, where dialect is closely linked to the Norwegians' identity (Husby 2008). The answer to the question “does Norway have a standard spoken language?” depends on the way “standard spoken language” is defined. There is disagreement among Norwegian Linguists regarding the existence of a standard spoken Norwegian (Mæhlum 2009; Sandøy 2009). In Norway, there are two standard written forms: *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*. These written varieties are spoken in news broadcasts and when information is given in the national broadcasting company NRK, and the relationship between the two are regulated (NRK's rules for language use). Otherwise, dialect can be and is used, although there are guidelines related to the dialect use (NRK's guidelines for dialect use, original: “Dialektrøkt i NRK 2015”). These standardised spoken varieties, the pronunciation of bokmål and nynorsk, match parts of the description of a standard spoken language, as they take the written language as their model. They do not, however, exist as mental constructs of how people in Norway should speak, nor are they promoted as an ideal Norwegian through the educational system or the media, as Norwegians use their dialect in all levels of society, also when appearing on television. Pronounced bokmål and nynorsk therefore make up a limited part of the screen-time in the broadcasted television in Norway. The answer to the question first proposed is thus that there are two standardised spoken varieties of Norwegian, but these are not considered standard Norwegian speech (Kristiansen 2009) in the way this term is understood and applied in the present thesis.

Dialects in Norway are often very linguistically dissimilar, sometimes to the point where it can challenge or even block intralingual communication. This is partly why television news are communicated through a standardised pronunciation. Although there is no dialect in Norway with the status of being the correct variety, there is one dialect which is very similar to pronounced bokmål. This is the dialect associated with the western part of Oslo. The high degree of linguistic similarity between the dialect and the pronunciation of bokmål may lead to the impression that this dialect is a standard dialect. As this dialect dominates in an area of Oslo which is associated with high socio-economic status and prestige, it will to some degree be compared to English standard accents in the analysis, as they have been found to evoke similar associations in the status dimension (see section 2.3). A second point is that it is challenging to separate the two in the auditory analysis, as some characters speak very little. In the cases where a character's speech could be identified as either pronounced bokmål, or the Oslo West dialect,

it is treated as the dialect Oslo west, labelled *Oslo*. This dialect is, however, discussed with the underlying understanding that it is the closest we get to a standard pronunciation in Norway, but it is not a standard dialect.

The two languages English and Norwegian are not that different from each other in terms of dialectal variation. Within both languages there are many linguistically different dialects, so the difference lies in the way the dominating ideology treats variation. It has already been established that language use in films can reflect language attitudes in society, and thus the dominating language ideology in that society. When we know that a language ideology is promoted and maintained by bloc institutions such as the educational system and the media, a study of the way language is used in two different versions of the same film can potentially provide interesting grounds for comparison of language ideologies.

3 DATA AND METHOD

This chapter outlines the method applied for the present thesis, as well as a description of the data material, and choices made regarding the inclusion and exclusion of characters in the data. The linguistic and non-linguistic variables studied are presented in 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5.

3.1 Approach and method

3.1.1 Societal treatment approach

The societal treatment approach is, as discussed in 2.3.1, one of three main approaches to the study of language attitudes. By analysing how language varieties are treated in data material representing real-language use, this approach allows the researcher to infer language attitudes present in society. This has the advantage of providing a broader impression of the different varieties' status, than would be available through a study using informants. However, the inference of attitudes is also the main challenge with this approach, as the findings rely solely on the researcher's interpretation, and inevitably include an element of subjectivity. This approach is not the only research design relying on interpretation, as all types of studies interpret data in some way. The difference lies in the way this data is collected, as many societal treatment studies, especially those on film or television, operate with variables which are chosen for the specific studies, and which often seek to discover potential patterns regarding variables that simply cannot be measured according to any objective scale. The transparency of the analysis, including all decisions that are made along the way, is one way of ensuring reliability of a study within the societal treatment tradition. Also, attempts have been made to make the variables as straight forward as possible, so that the subjective judgements correspond to what 'most people' could agree with (e.g. young vs old, male vs female).

As with other approaches, the societal treatment approach alone can not give a complete and nuanced image of language attitudes in the real world. The findings of such studies must therefore be considered a contribution to the collected knowledge of language attitudes, where findings from different studies are compared, and may very well contradict each other without rendering the other's findings invalid. Language and language attitudes change continuously, and studies can only attempt to give an impression of occurring patterns and tendencies visible in a specific set of data, collected in a specific setting. As the present thesis is concerned with language use in a selection of films, and the use of language in films is considered real language

use, this study has a societal treatment approach. The analysis will rely on this researcher's subjective judgements, but the data material will not change, and is therefore available to any who wishes to replicate this study and make their own judgements. There will be no attempt to make statements on the use of accents in DreamWorks productions in general, but rather to say something about the potential correlation between accent use in the originals, and accent use in the dubbings, finally making suggestions about language attitudes implied through this use, in this particular set of data.

3.1.2 *My method*

The aim of this study is to investigate how language varieties are treated in American animated films for children, and how this corresponds to the way language varieties are treated in the Norwegian dubbed versions of these films. In order to do this, both spoken language varieties, and character variables, are analysed as they occur in the films. The first step was to watch the films and identify the accents used in the data material. This was done by auditory analysis only. Other techniques, such as transcribing in order to make clear phonetic differences, were not considered relevant for the purpose of this study. When analysing accents, the goal was to identify the different varieties used, and not to give detailed linguistic descriptions of the spoken material. In order to correctly identify the accents, sections of the films were watched numerous times. The International Dialects of English Archive (IDEA, <https://www.dialectsarchive.com>) was consulted as reference in some uncertain cases, and fellow students, as well as my supervisor, have functioned as my second opinions for a sample of occurrences, in order to ensure reliability of the data analysis. In the following, the term *occurrences* refers to the characters who speak a certain accent. An occurrence of an accent will in these terms mean one character and their accent, regardless the number of times this character speaks. The accent analysis resulted in a set of categories, which will be presented in section 3.3.

The next step was to analyse the characters according to a set of character variables. These variables were predetermined according to what has been done in previous studies, but also according to what was considered relevant for the selection of data analysed. These variables are *Gender*, *Species/Nature of the Character*, *Size of the Character's Role*, *Alignment*, *Age* and *Setting*. I also made note of other details which could become relevant or interesting in the analysis. All variables will be described in more detail in section 3.4.

When both accents and character traits were analysed, the findings were quantified to discover potential patterns. Firstly, accents were counted in order to determine the overall distribution

of different varieties. This was done for both the original and the Norwegian versions of the films. Further, and more interestingly, character variables were analysed together with accent categories, in order to discover potential correlations between accent and character traits. These numbers were made into percentages and turned into graphs in Microsoft Excel. The findings are presented and discussed in Chapter 6.

3.1.3 *Grounds for inclusion and exclusion*

3.1.3.1 *Characters*

All characters who spoke at least one full sentence were included in the analysis. However, cases where it was unclear who the speaker was, or where the character who spoke was not visible (e.g. as narrator or a voice on the radio), were not included. Characters who were children whose ability to speak was not yet fully developed were also excluded, and so were characters whose voices had clearly been edited or computerized. Only characters who spoke in English (in the originals) or Norwegian (in the dubbings) were included in the analysis. Characters who occasionally used different languages were included and categorised according to their English/Norwegian pronunciation.

3.1.3.2 *Accent/dialect*

As several characters who spoke very little have been included, there were some unclear cases in terms of accent use. It was difficult to establish a set limit of number of features, as some features are more salient than others, and in some cases evoke associations to a certain accent, even if it is the only prominent feature used in a sentence. Characters who spoke very little have been classified according to the most salient features of their pronunciation, e.g. if they utter only one sentence, but there is one salient feature used in this sentence, then this feature is used in 100% of this character's speech, and the character is therefore classified according to this feature. I acknowledge that some of these characters are classified on thin grounds, and others might disagree with my classifications. Despite this challenge, these characters are included for the purpose of investigating accent use for main characters compared to accent use for peripheral characters. This is also briefly discussed in section 3.4. Some cases were difficult to classify because of inconsistent accent use. In cases where a character spoke with a mix of two accents, they were nonetheless included, and classified according to the features which differed from the accent used by the majority of the other characters (e.g. an alien who spoke a mix of GA and RP was classified as RP, as most other characters in that film spoke with different American accents, and the RP features were the contrasting features). Likewise, characters who

spoke with an inconsistent, or inauthentic, accent were classified according to the accent they seemed to be aiming for.

3.2 Data selection

3.2.1 DreamWorks

DreamWorks, or DreamWorks Animation, is an American California-based film- and television production company. Since the release of their first feature film *Antz* in 1998, they have produced a total of 41 films aimed at children and families (by July 2021, www.dreamworks.com/movies). With new films every year since 2000, which has generated over \$15 billion at the global box office (www.dreamworks.com/about), DreamWorks has become one of the biggest competitors of the Disney Franchise. Since 2013, DreamWorks has also produced television series. DreamWorks Animation creates films based on original stories, and according to their own website, they pride themselves on their “unconventional characters” (www.dreamworks.com). Among their unconventional characters are worth mentioning the green ogre Shrek who is the main character in four films with the same name, of which the first one was the beginning of this company’s success. These films, particularly the two first, were very well received by audiences worldwide, perhaps because of their comical, and somewhat satirical, twist to the well-known fairy-tale plot, which is so often applied by Disney. As DreamWorks is one of the largest production studios making children’s films in the USA, who appears to aim for a different style than ‘the Disney recipe’. For that reason, it is interesting to investigate the language use in their films, to see whether they follow the same patterns regarding spoken language as the studies on Disney have found.

3.2.2 Films

The data material of this thesis is made up of a selection of films by DreamWorks Animation. As the total number of films by this studio is too high to include in a study of this size, a selection had to be made. The films were selected based on their year of release, to ensure an even distribution of newer and older films. All films have been accessed through the streaming services Netflix or Viaplay, and were easily accessible. Details regarding characters of the plot of the films will not be presented, but will be included in the discussion where relevant. A general comment of the films is that the selection includes films that are very different in terms of setting, plot, and nature and number of characters. In some films, all characters are animals, while in other films there is a combination of humans, animals and fantasy creatures. In all but

one film we meet speaking characters who are not human. This makes the analysis of accent use even more interesting, and this is included in the analysis through the variable *Nature of the Character*. The films which make up the data material for this thesis are presented in table 3.1 below.

Table 3. 1 The DreamWorks Animation films included in this study, and their year of release.

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <i>Shrek (2001)</i> | <i>How to Train Your Dragon (2010)</i> |
| <i>Shrek 2 (2004)</i> | <i>Puss in Boots (2011)</i> |
| <i>Madagascar (2005)</i> | <i>The Croods (2013)</i> |
| <i>Flushed away (2006)</i> | <i>Trolls (2016)</i> |
| <i>Kung Fu Panda (2008)</i> | <i>The Boss Baby (2017)</i> |
| <i>Monsters vs Aliens (2009)</i> | <i>Abominable (2019)</i> |

3.3 Linguistic variables: English

This section provides a description of the accents found in the data material. The present thesis operates with six accent categories: General American (GA), Received Pronunciation (RP), Social/Regional American (Soc./Reg.Am.), Social/Regional British (Soc./Reg.Br.), Other English Accents, and English with Foreign Accents (Foreign). The two first categories correspond to two separate varieties, while the following four are umbrella categories. This is done to make the analysis less complicated, which is an advantage considering the limited size of this study. It does, however, render invisible potential differences between the different accents within the umbrella category. Especially interesting cases regarding specific accents will be discussed explicitly.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how accents are used when they are used. It is therefore not the intention to give a thorough linguistic analysis of all occurring accents, but rather to identify which accents are present in the data material. To make visible the grounds for the categorisation of accents, linguistic descriptions of the accents in question are included. It should be noted again, however, that basing the classification of accents exclusively on auditory analysis involves a high degree of subjectivity. As the analyst is a non-native speaker of English, the categorisation relies on the most salient accent features. An analysis done by a native speaker of English, or by an experienced linguist, would perhaps result in a different categorisation of the accents. Although native speakers of English would potentially identify differences between the accents that would go under the radar of this analysis, folk linguistic studies in the field of perceptual dialectology show that native speakers in general have limited

knowledge of other accents than their own (Lance 1999) and therefore a non-native graduate in English linguistics would arguably be able to provide a just as accurate analysis of the accents. Nonetheless, as the relevance of this study lies in the use of accents' potential to influence a naïve viewer's image of certain linguistic groups, it is not problematic, but rather an advantage, that the categorisation is similar to that of a naïve viewer. This was also done intentionally in the study by Dragojevic et.al. In cases with a high degree of uncertainty, a second opinion have been consulted, in order to ensure reliability, and thereby validity of the findings.

3.3.1 *General American (GA)*

General American refers to the accent often considered to be the standard American accent. Because of its lack of salient regional or social markers, GA can be considered 'mainstream' way of speaking American English, as it corresponds to the dialects most Americans speak (Wells 1982). However, it must not be mistaken as a uniform entity, but rather seen as a term which comprises the accent(s) which remains when no salient social and/or regional markers are identified. Kretzschmar (2008) argues against the term *General American*, and prefers to use the term *Standard American English*. Other scholars, such as Lippi-Green (2011) argues against the term *Standard American English*, with the same arguments used by Kretzschmar against GA. What they agree upon is that there is no way of speaking American English that should be considered the best accent, and that a General American, or Standard American English is nothing but an accent without regional or social markers, although both terms might suggest otherwise. In the present thesis, I have chosen to use the term General American, as is done in the literature to which I refer several times in this section (Wells 1982). Meanwhile, it should be repeated once more that the term applied in this study, GA, is not meant as a superior accent seen as the "correct" accent, but rather as a term comprising all occurrences where no salient regional or social markers can be identified by the analyst. As GA describes the speech most often found in broadcasting television in the US, and as this thesis focuses on films made by an American production studios, GA is expected to be the accent (category) most used in the data sample. The main features of GA are outlined below, according to descriptions found in Wells (1982) and Kretzschmar (2008).

- GA is a rhotic accent, so that /r/ occurs in all environments⁹
- LOT words have long open back vowel /ɑ:/
- BATH words have front vowel /æ/

⁹ Unless subject to *R Dissimilation*, described in Wells (1982:490).

- The diphthong in GOAT has a rounded back starting point [oo]
- /l/ is typically realised as dark (velarised) [ɫ]
- /t/ is often voiced and realised as a tap [ɾ] when occurring between vowels

3.3.2 *Social/Regional American (Soc./Reg.Am.)*

Social and regional American is an umbrella category which includes American accents with salient social or regional markers. As there are a large number of accents in the US, the following subsection is limited to presenting the linguistic features of the accents which most often occur in the data material. All social or regional varieties of American English have been included in this category, also those who occurred only one or a few times, but their linguistic features will not be described as it would take up too much space compared to its relevance. They will, however, be included in the analysis where potential interesting observations related to specific accents require to be commented. However, the aim of this thesis is to look at the way accents are used when they are used, thus it is most fruitful for the purpose of this study to focus on occurring patterns, instead of attempting to give a full account of all accents found in the data. Some characteristic linguistic features of the social and regional American varieties most often used in the data are described below.

3.3.2.1 *Southern American English*

The category of Southern American English comprises the accent spoken in the South of the US, which is of course not one uniform accent, but several varieties with varying use of certain regional markers. Scholars have tried to limit and describe the linguistic South, but seem to disagree with regards to its boundaries (Thomas 2008). Folklinguistic studies (Hartley 1999, Lance 1999) find that the South exists as a dialectal area also in the perception of laypeople, albeit stereotypical or incorrect in the eyes of linguists. A description of the most characteristic features which are often found in the accent of many southern American speakers is here included. Some of these features are described by Thomas (2008) as recessive and stereotypical, but considering that other studies have found film producers to rely on linguistic stereotypes, these features are highly relevant for the purpose of this study. Some characteristic features are presented below according to descriptions by Wells (1982) and Thomas (2008).

- Traditionally non-rhotic ¹⁰

¹⁰ /r/ is increasingly realised in various context, depending on formality and socio-economic aspects (Thomas 2008).

- Monophthongisation/glide weakening of PRICE/PRIZE words ([aɪ] → [a:])
- PIN/PEN merger: the merged vowel is realised as closer to [ɪ] in quality
- Vowel sound in THOUGHT/CLOTH is sometimes realised as an upgliding diphthong, such as [ʊ], [ɔʊ], [ɒ] or [aʊ].
- Upgliding vowel in BATH/DANCE, where the vowel is often realised as [æɛ] or [æe]
- *The Southern Drawl* is a prosodic feature which is easily recognised but difficult to describe. I here use the description made by Thomas (2008), who explains *the Southern Drawl* as a “prolongation of certain stressed vowels and diphthongs, often accompanied by breaking of and exaggerated pitch rises in those vocoids” (:93).

3.3.2.2 African American Vernacular English (AAVE)

African American Vernacular English is a non-regional social/ethnic variety of American English, which is primarily spoken by many African Americans in the US. Although scholars disagree on from where AAVE developed¹¹, the variety has spread from the South, from the time of slavery and plantations, and shares many features with the Southern accent(s) (Edwards 2008). Previous studies on accent use in films and television for children find that AAVE is underrepresented (Lippi-Green 1997, 2011), and rarely spoken by main characters. As AAVE is primarily spoken by a group of the American population who has a long history of being discriminated, and who also in today’s USA faces inequalities and racism, the representation of this accent in children’s entertainment is highly relevant in terms of shaping attitudes.

AAVE is a dialect with several lexical and grammatical features which in many cases differ from the GA variety. Although this thesis is mainly concerned with pronunciation, *accent*, some grammatical features of AAVE will be presented, in order to distinguish occurrences of AAVE from Southern Am. English. The main characteristics of AAVE is presented according to Edwards (2008).

- AAVE is a non-rhotic accent
- Vowels are pronounced similarly to the southern accent(s), as presented in 1.2.2.1.
- /l/ and /r/ are frequently vocalized or deleted when following vowels, preceding consonants, in word-final positions.
- /θ/ and /ð/ are typically realised as [t] and [d]. When occurring word initially or word finally, they may be realised as [f] or [v].

¹¹ See Edwards 2008:181 for a short discussion and further reading on the origins of AAVE.

- Reduction of consonant clusters in final positions; the second consonant is often elided. This sometimes leads to the loss of grammatical information, as final inflectional morphemes are left unexpressed (*walk* and *walked* both pronounced as [wak], also elision of possessive or plural suffix -s).
- AAVE speakers often have stress on the first syllable in some words where GA speakers have stress on the second syllable, e.g. ['po,lis]. This is typical for informal speech.
- AAVE is often spoken with a wide pitch range, with the use of falsetto to signal modality.
- Invariant use of auxiliary *be*, as in *they be working*.

3.3.3 Received Pronunciation (RP)

Received Pronunciation is considered to be the British accent of reference, or the ‘standard’ accent. While GA is a ‘mainstream’ American accent, RP is not. This accent is a supra-regional social accent, spoken by only a small percentage of the British population (Hughes et al. 2005). RP has traditionally been associated with higher social class and money, but also ‘correctness’ and a high level of education. Scholars suggest that RP’s prestige is varying, and that its status as the preferred variety is gradually changing (J. Milroy 2001). It is nonetheless still the variety taught to foreigners learning to speak British English, as it is, according to Hughes et al. (2005), a British variety clearly understood by all. RP’s status is maintained through public schools and certain social circles, meaning there are both native and adoptive speakers of RP. As with other varieties, there is variation in pronunciation, both between speakers of RP, and within the speech of a single speaker (Hughes et al. 2005). The use of a broader category has been decided to be most suitable for the purpose of this study, and the features described below are thus the most characteristic linguistic traits of this accent, and not necessarily true for all speakers or variants of RP. These main features are described by Wells (1982) and Hughes et al. (2005).

- RP is a non-rhotic accent, meaning /ɹ/ is only pronounced before vowels, and otherwise omitted¹².
- There are two allophones of /l/: clear [l] before vowels, and dark [ɫ] in other positions¹³.

¹² Use of *intrusive* /ɹ/, meaning inserting an /ɹ/ where there were none originally, and *linking* /ɹ/, when the word-final /ɹ/ is linked to a word-initial vowel in the following word, is also found (Hughes et al. 2005).

¹³ According to Hughes et al. 2005, there is also a third allophone of /l/, which is voiceless [ɭ] as can be heard after aspirated /p/ and /k/.

- LOT words have short open back rounded vowel /ɒ/.
- BATH words have open back vowel /ɑ:/
- GOAT words have diphthong with unrounded central starting point /əʊ/.
- NEAR words have centering diphthong /ɪə/ (or monophthong [ɪ:])
- SQUARE words have centering diphthong /ɛə/ (or monophthong [ɛ:])
- CURE words have centering diphthong /ʊə/ (or monophthong [ʊ:])¹⁴

3.3.4 Regional British (Reg.Br.)

The category of *Social/Regional British* comprises all British accents with social or regional markers, except RP. For the same reasons as discussed in 1.2.2., this section is limited to the presentation of the British varieties which occurred most often in the data, although the umbrella category includes other British accents with salient social or regional markers, regardless the number of occurrences in the data material. The two varieties which occurred most often were *popular London*, and *Scottish English*. The most prominent linguistic features associated with these varieties are presented below.

3.3.4.1 Popular London

Popular London is what Wells (1982) describes as the working-class accent found all over London, and shares most characteristics of the well-known eastern London accent *Cockney*. Wells argues that *Cockney* constitutes the broadest form of the London accent, while *Popular London* is slightly closer to RP, and should be considered to entail a continuum stretching from *Cockney* to RP and not a specific accent. In the present thesis, *Popular London* will include all accents with features associated with London speech, including both broad accents like *Cockney*, and occurrences of speech that are closer to RP but nonetheless have a few important regional markers. The most characteristic traits of the London accent is described in its broadest form (*Cockney*) as presented by Hughes et al. (2005) and Wells (1982).

- H-dropping: /h/ is almost always absent, only occurring in stressed positions, but may be dropped also there.
- T-glottalling: the glottal stop [ʔ], replaces /t/ between vowels or before a pause, or accompanies /p/ between vowels (as in *paper*).
- TH-fronting: /θ/ and /ð/ becomes /f/ and /v/

¹⁴ The use of the centering diphthongs in NEAR, SQUARE and CURE is associated with the more conservative upper-class variants of RP and is suggested to be in decline, as younger speakers of RP tend to replace these diphthongs with monophthongs. This is referred to as *a smoothing process* (Hughes et. al 2005).

- L-vocalisation: /l/ is realised as a vowel when occurring finally after a vowel, when followed by a consonant in the same syllable, or when making up a syllable by itself. The quality of the vowel can vary, but is often realised as [ʊ].
- Diphthong shift: FLEECE and GOOSE words tend to be diphthongal, so that FLEECE is pronounced with the diphthong /əi/, and GOOSE with the diphthong /əu/.
- Diphthongs tend to be pronounced slightly differently than in RP:
 - FACE (/ei/ → /æɪ/),
 - PRICE (/aɪ/ → /ɑɪ/),
 - CHOICE (/ɔɪ/ → /oɪ/),
 - GOAT (/əʊ / → /ʌʊ/)
 - MOUTH (/aʊ/ → /æʊ/)

3.3.4.2 Scottish English (Scot.Eng.)

There are of course many different Scottish varieties spoken in Scotland, and attitudinal studies have found that different Scottish accents have received different ratings. Coupland and Bishop (2007) found that the label *Glasgow accent* were rated low, while the label *Scottish* received more positive ratings. The accent features described here can be considered to make up the ‘standard’ Scottish English, limited to the most characteristic features. It should be noted, however, that there were some variation within the speech of the occurrences placed in this category. As the data material is made up of films by an American production company, with an expected English speaking audience spread all over the world, of which the majority is unlikely to have knowledge of different Scottish English accents, it was not likely to find use of noticeably different Scottish accents as a way of building characters. They are therefore placed in one category.

As some occurrences have been categorised based on very little speech, a number of occurrences have been placed in this category based on one or two prominent features associated with Scottish English. Including these occurrences is somewhat problematic for the reliability of the analysis, but I have decided to include them nonetheless, in order to investigate differences in accent use between main and peripheral characters. The main features of Scottish English are described in Wells (1982) and Hughes et al. (2005), and are as following:

- Rhotic accent: /r/ is retained in all positions, most often as an alveolar tap [ɾ], or a post-alveolar or retroflex fricative or approximant: [ɹ] or [ɻ], but sometimes as a trill: [r]¹⁵
- T-glottalization is frequent
- Velar fricative /x/ in some words (typically place names)
- The vowel in KIT varies, but is often realised as open-mid [ɛ]
- The vowel in FOOT and GOOSE is typically realised as close central [ʊ]
- The vowel in NURSE depends on the spelling. Distinction between FIRST and HURT ([ʌ]) and in PERCH ([ɛ])
- FACE and GOAT have monophthongs: /e/ and /o/
- MOUTH is realised as [au] or [u+] ¹⁶
- Vowel length is contextual¹⁷

3.3.5 *Other native English accents (other)*

This category includes native accents which are spoken in countries outside Britain or the US. This includes accents such as Australian English, New Zealand English, Caribbean English and Canadian English, among others. As the number of occurrences in this category was very low, and the number of varieties potentially fitting into this category is relatively high, I have chosen not to include linguistic descriptions of these varieties. Descriptions of English varieties outside of the US and Britain can be found in Wells (1982).

3.3.6 *English with foreign accents (foreign)*

All occurrences where English is spoken with phonological traces of other languages are placed into the category *English with foreign accents*. As previous research has found interesting patterns regarding the use of foreign accents, this has been included as a separate category (Lippi-Green 1997,2011, Dobrow and Gidney 1998). Previous studies have found that some foreign accents are more used in film than others, and initial observations from the data of this thesis corresponded to these previous findings. The foreign accents which occurred most often

¹⁵ The stereotypical Scottish pronunciation of /r/, the voiced alveolar roll [r], was expected to be found used in occurrences of Scottish English.

¹⁶ In MOUTH, [au] is the high-status variant, but [u+] the popular and well-known stereotypical Scottish variant (Wells 1982).

¹⁷ Vowel length depends on *Aitken's Law*, or the *Scottish Vowel Length Rule*, which is “a complex vowel length conditioning system” (Hughes et al. 2005:103).

in the data were English with a French accent and English with a Spanish accent. It is difficult to give satisfying descriptions of these accents, as a French accent could differ between two speakers according to which French features appear in their English and so forth. Prominent features of the French accented English, however, were H-dropping and uvular /r/. The most prominent feature of the Spanish accented English was aspirated /s/ when occurring in word initial position. Because of the limitations of the length of this thesis, the presentation of *foreign* accents is limited to including an explanation of the term *accent*, which here is understood as *foreign accent*. The explanation is given by Lippi-Green: “when a native speaker of a language other than English learns English, accent is used to refer to the breakthrough of native language phonology into the target language” (2011:46).

3.4 Linguistic variables: Norwegian

This section presents the linguistic variables, dialects, that have been used for the analysis of parts of the data material, comprised of the dubbed versions of the films. There will be given a linguistic description of the dialects which occurred most often. Dialects occurring less than 10 times in the data material are placed in umbrella categories, as it is beyond the scope of this thesis to give detail accounts of all varieties used in the films. A note must be made on the terminology of this section. In section 2.1 there was made a division between *language*, *dialect* and *accent*, where *accent*, thus only pronunciation, is of interest in this thesis. As spoken varieties of Norwegian are usually referred to as *dialects*, while the term *accent* is used only when referring to L2 accents, the term *dialect* is here applied when describing spoken varieties of Norwegian. The descriptions of linguistic variables in Norwegian will nonetheless focus on differences in pronunciation, as is done for the linguistic variables in English.

The present thesis investigates how Norwegian dialects are used for character building, but another point of interest is how the distribution of dialects in dubbed versions of DreamWorks films corresponds to the dialectal variation in Norway. A brief presentation of variation within the Norwegian spoken language is therefore included in 3.4.1, before presenting the six categories in which I have placed the dialects identified in the data material. The categories of the present thesis do not correspond to the dialectal areas described in literature, but is rather an attempt to use categories which best illustrate the distribution of different varieties in the films. As this study is interested in the degree of dialectal variation found in the data, rather than opting for a full description of all identified dialects, specific

dialects are only included as separate categories if they were identified 10 or more times in the data.

3.4.1 Norwegian dialects

As in most other languages, the Norwegian language have a standardised norm for the written language. However, in Norway there are two standard written forms: *bokmål* and *nynorsk*. As discussed in 2.2.4, the idea of a standard spoken language is often based on written norms, but although there are two written standards, there is no such ‘standard’ variety for the spoken language in Norway (Husby 2008). Kristoffersen (2000 in Husby 2008) argues that the two competing written standards contribute to there being no such spoken norm, and dialect is used by all Norwegians, in all levels of society (Husby 2008). In fact, dialects in Norway are so linguistically different, and have such strong roots in geographical areas, that the written standard *Nynorsk* was based on a selection of features from various parts of Norway, so that there would be a written language more similar to the way Norwegians *actually* spoke (Hanssen 2010). *Bokmål* is very similar to written Danish, as it was based on the language used in the capitol of Norway, Oslo, where the Danish language was in a strong position (Hanssen 2010). The Oslo dialect is today the closest we get to a spoken *bokmål*, but it is not considered to be the ‘standard’ way of speaking, and pupils in schools, as well as all others, are encouraged to keep their regional dialects, something clearly reflected in dictionaries, where the pronunciation of words are often not given at all (Husby 2008).

Dividing Norwegian dialects into categories is not an uncomplicated task. Dialectologists have opted for various divisions, depending on the features on which they base their categorisation. However, the main attempts are to divide Norway into dialectal areas, where the dialects share some main features, which differ from dialects in other parts of Norway. The dialectal areas are nonetheless quite heterogenous, as some features may differ even between neighbouring villages (Hanssen 2010). Hanssen (2010) presents a division of Norway into four main dialectal areas: *Eastern Norwegian (Østnorsk)*, *Mid-Norwegian (Trøndersk)*, *Western Norwegian (Vestnorsk)* and *Northern Norwegian (Nordnorsk)* (Hanssen 2010:118, my translation, original terms in parentheses). These dialectal areas are further divided into sub-groups of dialects, which in turn are divided into a third level of sub-groups. There will not be given any further detailed descriptions of Norwegian dialects, as the aim of

this section was to make clear how diverse the spoken Norwegian language is, as well as point to the strong position Norwegian dialects have in the Norwegian society.¹⁸

3.4.2 Eastern Norwegian

This is an umbrella category, and includes the eastern Norwegian dialects, except the Oslo dialect (see 3.5.2), identified in the data material. In Hanssen (2010), the dialectal area *Eastern Norwegian* is divided into two, by a line from north to west, where the easternmost area comprises dialects used in the lowland villages (*flatbygdsmål*), and the westernmost comprises dialects spoken in the highland villages (*fjellbygdsmål*). The lowland dialect area corresponds to what most Norwegians associate with ‘eastern Norwegian’ (Hanssen 2010), and therefore this category will include only these dialects. The highland village dialects are included in the category *Other Norwegian Dialects*. There are inevitably variation within this area, thus the linguistic presentation of this category is limited to the most common pronunciation features. These features are used in many areas within the easternmost part of Norway, but not everywhere or by all speakers. The features are presented according to descriptions in Hanssen (2010).

- Eastern Norwegian dialects are typically low tone dialects, where the first syllable is pronounced with a lower tone than the following, and the highest tone appears last in the sentence.
- A “thick L” is common in the whole area. In this context, “thick L” means that /l/ is realised as a retroflex flap [ɫ]. For some speakers, a “thick L” is also used for word final -rd: *hard* → [ha:ɫ]
- When /r/ is followed by /l/, /n/, /d/ or /t/, the latter is retroflected and assimilated into [ʃ], [ŋ], [dʃ], [tʃ] and [ʃ] respectively: *farlig* → [f:aʃi], *kors* → [kɔʃ]
- There is vowel assimilation in some words, where the first vowel undergoes regressive assimilation and becomes similar to the last vowel (*vera* → *vara*).
- There is often monophthongisation of some diphthongs: *stein* → [ste:n], *graut* → [grø:t].
- Fronting and lowering of vowels are common tendencies, e.g. [y] → [ø]: *kysse* → [ˈçøse]

¹⁸ For more on dialectal areas in Norway, Norwegian readers are referred to Hanssen (2010), and others may see Husby (2008) for an introduction to Norwegian Dialects given in English.

- Common prosodic features are stress on the first syllable, especially in loan words ('*sjåfør*, '*politi*/'*polti*), and the placement of main stress on the verb in phrasal verbs ('*gå ut*).

3.4.3 *The Oslo dialect*

The term *the Oslo dialect* suggests that there is one dialect in Oslo. There are actually several different variants, spoken alongside many other languages, linking speakers to geographical areas of the capitol, but also to social and ethnical groups. According to Hanssen (2010), the linguistic landscape in Oslo is of the country's most complex. As these variants have different social, and in part regional, markers, they evoke different associations. We can nonetheless draw a rough line between the eastern and the western part of Oslo, two quite distinct areas both in terms of language, and in terms of socio-economic factors. In this study, the category *the Oslo dialect* comprises all occurrences of characters who use the dialect spoken by people in the western part of Oslo (Oslo Vest), which is typically associated with high socioeconomic status. It developed among the upper-class in Oslo, based on written Danish, on which also *bokmål* was based (Hanssen 2010). The sociolinguist Kjell Venås disagrees with naming this *bokmål*-like dialect the Oslo dialect, as the Oslo dialect is regional bound (Venås 1998), and spoken *bokmål* is not, as it is not a dialect. It is also not considered to be a reference dialect for people in other parts of the country, and neither of them are considered a 'standard variety' in the terms of a standard language ideology. It should therefore be made clear that *the Oslo dialect*, as it is used in this thesis, is not spoken *bokmål*, but the dialect used by a large group of people in (western) Oslo. The other main variant of the Oslo dialect, *Eastern Oslo (Oslo Øst)* is categorized as *Eastern Norwegian* (see 3.5.2.), as it shares many of the same features with Eastern dialects outside Oslo. Some features of the Oslo dialect are presented below according to Hanssen (2010), focusing on features distinguishing the Oslo dialect from the other eastern Norwegian dialects.

- There is a high degree of monophthongisation, e.g. *stein* → [ste:n], *røyke* → [rø:kə]
- Opposite to other eastern dialects, there is rarely use of "thick [l]". /l/ is primarily realized as [l].
- Vowels are typically not lowered, *kysse* → ['çysə]
- In some words, and by some speakers, unvoiced consonants are realized as voiced, e.g. *håpe* → hɑ:bə], *skip* → [ʃi:b].

- Considering prosodic features, the Oslo dialect is a low tone dialect, and has stress on the verb in verbal phrases, like the other Eastern dialects. However, in Oslo (west), the main stress is not on the first syllable in loan words (*sjå'før*).
- There are only two grammatical genders, as the masculine and feminine nouns are merged into a 'common gender', which follows the conjugation patterns of masculine nouns.

3.4.4 *Western Norwegian*

The category *Western Norwegian* is an umbrella category, including all occurrences of characters who speak with a western Norwegian dialect, not including the Bergen dialect (see 3.5.4). According to Hanssen (2010), the dialectal area Western-Norwegian can be divided into three main sub-groups, which are North-Western, South-Western and Southern. This implies that the dialects placed into this category can be quite different, although they share some features distinguishing them from Eastern-, Northern-, and Mid-Norwegian. Detailed descriptions of all dialectal varieties within this category will not be given, as it would make this section too comprehensive compared to its relevance for the thesis. In general, it can be argued that the western-Norwegian dialects are closer to Nynorsk than to Bokmål. Some distinctive features common for most Western-Norwegian dialects are presented below, according to Hanssen (2010).

- There is no retroflex /l/ (as opposed to many Eastern- and Mid-Norwegian dialects), and /l/ is realised as [l] in all environments.
- Western-Norwegian dialects are typically high tone dialects, meaning the first syllable is pronounced with a higher tone than the following syllable. Sentences typically have falling intonation.
- In certain areas, some words, typically adjectives and some verbs, have the insertion of an extra vowel (svarabhakti): (*ein fin dag* → *ein fine dag*).
- Western-Norwegian dialects have characteristic prosodic features of which a detailed presentation would be outside the scope of this thesis. Besides tonal contours different from eastern Norwegian¹⁹, there is a tendency to place stress on the last syllable of loan words (*sjå'før*) and on the non-verbal element of phrasal verbs (*gå 'ut*).

¹⁹ Norwegian speakers use differences in tone (*tonem* in Norwegian) to distinguish between words consisting of the same sounds (homonyms). See Hanssen 2010 and Husby 2008 for further explanation.

3.4.5 *The Bergen dialect*

This dialect is primarily spoken in Bergen, the largest city on the western coast of Norway, and is distinct from the surrounding dialects in the south-western dialect area (Hanssen 2010). This variety has been influenced by German and Danish, as Bergen was an important trading centre from the 14th to the 19th century (Husby 2008). There is not one uniform Bergen dialect, as there are differences between the ‘colloquial’ and the ‘upper class’ variants of this dialect (Husby 2008). Also, the ‘broadness’ of this dialect, as with other dialects, varies from speaker to speaker, and according to how the dialect is realised in a speaker’s close social environment. In this thesis, the Bergen dialect will be described as one entity, although all occurrences of this dialect in the data material were not identical. The most important distinctive pronunciation features, as well as one grammatical feature typical for Bergen, are presented below, according to descriptions in Husby (2008) and Hanssen (2010).

- /r/ has a dorsal pronunciation, and is realised as a vibrant [ʀ]
- /e/ is lowered and realized as closer to /æ/ in unstressed final syllables.
- /y/ is sometimes lowered and realized as closer to /ø/
- Bergen dialect speakers often have syllabic /n/, so the unstressed final sequence /len/ is assimilated into /ln/. *ballen* → [ba:ln]. There is also more assimilation than in other south-western dialects.²⁰
- [ç] is typically replaced by [ʃ], especially by younger speakers
- There is monophthongisation in some words: *heime* → [hɛ:mə]
- It is a high tone dialect
- In Bergen there are only two grammatical genders. Where other western-Norwegian dialects have feminine nouns, the Bergen dialect users treat them as masculine, and this is reflected in the choice of both suffixes and pronouns, even for nouns referring to natural genders (such as *jente* – *girl*).

²⁰ Other unstressed vowels may also be contracted, especially in the definite article, so that the following consonant is syllabic (*jentene* → [jɛnt'nə]) (Hanssen 2010:80). This is however not a distinctive feature of Bergen dialect, but occurs in most Norwegian dialects.

3.4.6 *Other Norwegian dialects*

This category comprises all occurrences of dialects which are identified less than 10 times in the data material. As the number of occurrences for each of these dialects are very low, a broader category is chosen as most suitable for the analysis. The classification of dialects into this category depends on number of occurrences, and as it is a heterogenous category, there will be given no linguistic description of these dialects.

3.4.7 *Foreign accents*

This category includes all occurrences of Norwegian spoken with an L2 accent, which is when there are traces of phonology from a different language, the speaker's native language, in the Norwegian speech. A foreign accent can also be realised through traces of rhythm, intonation or stress patterns from other languages. No specific accents are described here, as the number of occurrences in this category is quite low. Additionally, some occurrences in this category were ambiguous, as it was difficult to identify which language the accent was from. However, the importance lies in the accents being *foreign* signalling *otherness*, and this corresponds to what has been done in previous studies (Lippi-Green 1997, Dobrow & Gidney 1998), as well as to the category applied for English with foreign accents, as described in 1.3.7.

3.5 Non-Linguistic variables

The main goal of this study is to investigate how different varieties of spoken English and Norwegian are treated in animated films for children. In addition to analysing the distribution of accents and dialects, characters who speak have been placed into non-linguistic categories, in order to reveal potential correlations between accent and character traits. The non-linguistic categories are presented in this section, including *setting*, which is not related to the characters, but which is nonetheless relevant when looking at how language is treated in films²¹. A framework for each category has been established beforehand, in order to ensure the classification were as consistent as possible. In the following presentations of the variables, I will include the framework for each category, to make visible the decisions on which I have based the character classification. The variables *mixed* or *neutral* have been included in some

²¹ An additional character variable, *Level of Sophistication*, was initially included in this study, in line with what has been done in previous studies. It was, however, too challenging to establish a framework for the analysis that could be applied consistently on all films. Consequently, it was left out of the analysis, as the findings were considered insufficiently reliable.

categories, as a way of ensuring reliability of the analysis. Placing ambiguous cases into one of two categories, when none of the categories are accurate, could affect the findings, as the categorisations of these cases would be random. Uncertain cases have therefore been placed in their own category, so that the findings reflect clear cases, which are the most interesting for the purpose of this thesis.

3.5.1 *Gender*

It is natural to include the category *gender* for several reasons. Firstly, scholars have argued and attempted to define the differences between male and female speech (Lakoff 2004, see also Schilling 2011). However, these differences are difficult to define. Although there is no complete overview of the differences between male and female speech, it has been suggested that some of the differences in speech are a result of the historical differences between social power granted to women relative to that of men, and that the male political and economic superiority have resulted in female speech patterns which compensate for their societal positions (Lakoff 2004). This is, however, a much debated view (see Schilling 2011), and the whole question of female and male speech has been problematized, as this builds on a dichotomous approach to understanding gender. Although differences between male and female speech in society have been difficult to pinpoint, societal treatment studies of film and television have discovered differences in language use for the genders. These findings demonstrate that gender expressions in animated media follow traditional and stereotypical portrayals of two genders, with male and female speech differing according to certain patterns. These patterns reveal that female characters tend to use varieties that are closer to the ‘standard’ varieties, while male characters more often use regional varieties (Lippi-Green 1997,2011, Dobrow & Gidney 1998). Also, female characters occur in a much smaller number than male characters, and women are thus vastly underrepresented in a large part of film and television (Lippi-Green 1997,2011, Dobrow & Gidney 1998, Klein & Shiffman 2009, Dragojevic et al. 2016).

The category of *gender* is undoubtedly a very interesting category, but analysing gender and language in films is, as shown above, not completely uncomplicated. Previous master theses (Sønnesyn 2011, Lundervold 2013, Urke 2019) have operated with dual categories, placing characters into either *male* or *female*. Using a binary category for gender suggests that there are only two realisations of gender possible, while literature on the field clearly argues that gender should be viewed as a social construct, where individuals can create their own gender expression, more or less corresponding to the traditional gender patterns which society

so often relies on (Schilling 2011). Acknowledging that gender is not a straightforward category, the present thesis will nonetheless operate with a binary division, where characters are placed into *male* or *female*. This is not an ideal solution, as labelling individuals and their gender expressions never is, but it is done in consideration of the size of the present study. The categorisation of *gender* will be based on traditional gender expectations regarding appearances or social roles, as previous studies on children's animated films have portrayed highly traditional patterns (especially Disney, in Lippi-Green 1997, 2011). This approach to *gender* is therefore considered the most fruitful for the purpose of this thesis. Voice will also be taken into account, and this is especially decisive for animals or fantasy characters.

3.5.2 *Species/Nature of the Character*

In this category, characters are categorised according to one of three labels; *human*, *animal* or *fantasy*. The two first labels are quite straightforward, and the species of the animals are also noted and will be included in the analysis if relevant. *Fantasy* comprises all cases where characters are not human or animal, and includes relatively large number of characters. These are aliens, fairy tale creatures or talking objects which normally do not talk, such as a talking mirror in *Shrek 2*.

3.5.3 *Size of the character's role*

This category takes into account the importance a character has in the film. It is divided into three, categorising the most important character(s) as *main characters*, other important characters who are not the main character(s) as *supporting characters*, and characters who only appear briefly, or who are not particularly important to the plot, as *peripheral characters*. This category was quite straightforward, although there were some cases with some uncertainty regarding a character's status as a *main* or a *supporting character*. As this category do not operate with set screen-time percentages or criteria other than the character's importance to the film, the categorisations are my subjective judgements, and others might disagree.

3.5.4 *Alignment*

Studies of film and television have found patterns in accent use for e.g., villains, who in many American films appear to be given an RP accent and, likewise, a tendency for GA to be used by 'the good guys' (Lippi-Green 1997,2011). The category *alignment* used in this thesis corresponds to the characters' motivation, in other words whether they are good or bad. This category is divided into four. The good characters, who help or otherwise have a positive relation to the main character(s), are categorised as *good*, while the characters who deliberately work against the main character(s), or otherwise are part of the main character's problem, are

categorised as *bad*. Some characters start out as bad, and go through a development during the course of the film. The characters whose alignment change, e.g., from *bad* to *good*, are categorised as *mixed*. There are, however, a large number of characters who occur in the film who neither help nor work against the main character(s), but who are included in the analysis because they speak. These could be categorised as *good*, but for those who have peripheral roles and appear quite briefly, it is not possible to determine their motivation. In order to reserve *good* for the clearly good characters, these uncertain cases are categorised as *neutral*.

3.5.5 Age

In order to investigate whether language is used to communicate a character's age, this has been included as a character variable. It is quite established within sociolinguistics that there are differences in speech according to one's age, partially because we signal our social belonging to a group through our language, but also because languages change, even from one generation to the next. Teenagers have also been found to use slang and other 'non-standard' forms more often than adults (Stenström et al. 2002). There are several ways to categorise characters according to their age, but as we rarely learn the exact age of the characters in the data material, they are divided into groups of *young*, *adult* and *elderly*. This categorisation is based on their social roles, e.g. daughter vs grand-mother, but also their voices, appearances, and vocabulary e.g. whether or not they use slang.

3.5.6 Setting

Although not a character variable, *setting* is included as a variable in the non-linguistic analysis of the films. Previous studies, such as Lippi-Green's research on accent use in Disney (1997, 2011), have demonstrated that accents to some degree are used to signal the setting of the film. As several of the films in the data material are set in fantasy worlds, the analysis of this category will have to be based on the cases where characters find themselves in places which exist in the real world. The fairy-tale settings are nonetheless interesting for a different purpose. When a story is set in a fantasy world, the film creators are free to choose any accents, unbound by expectations related to actual language use in these places, as there are in fact no language already associated with the setting. The language used for characters in these settings are therefore interesting, and, in perhaps even larger degree than in films set in real settings, they provide information about attitudes to the language varieties used. Potential patterns and interesting cases related to language use in fantasy worlds will be commented in the analysis section if and when relevant.

4 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results from the analysis of spoken varieties and character variables in a selection of DreamWorks films and their Norwegian dubbings. The first section will briefly comment on the overall distribution of English accents and Norwegian dialects, before the findings related to character variables and setting are presented. For each of the character variables, the findings from the original and the dubbed versions will be compared and discussed. Finally, certain observations from the analysis are included and commented on, as well as some factors which potentially have affected the results.

4.1 General distribution

4.1.1 *English*

In this selection of films by DreamWorks Animation, General American is the English accent spoken by the highest number of characters, making up 45,6%. The second most used accent category is Social/Regional British, which is spoken by 18,8% of the characters. RP is used by 14%, while 13,2% of the characters have a foreign accent. 8,1% has a Social/Regional American accent, while there is only one character (0,4%) speaking with a native English accent which is not British or American. Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 show the overall distribution of accents in the original version of the films. Percentages are rounded.

Table 4. 1 General distribution of English accents

| Accent | Characters | |
|------------------|------------|--------------|
| | n | % |
| General American | 124 | 45,6 |
| Soc./Reg.Br | 51 | 18,8 |
| RP | 38 | 14 |
| Foreign | 36 | 13,2 |
| Soc./Reg.Am | 22 | 8,1 |
| Other native | 1 | 0,4 |
| Total | 272 | 100 % |

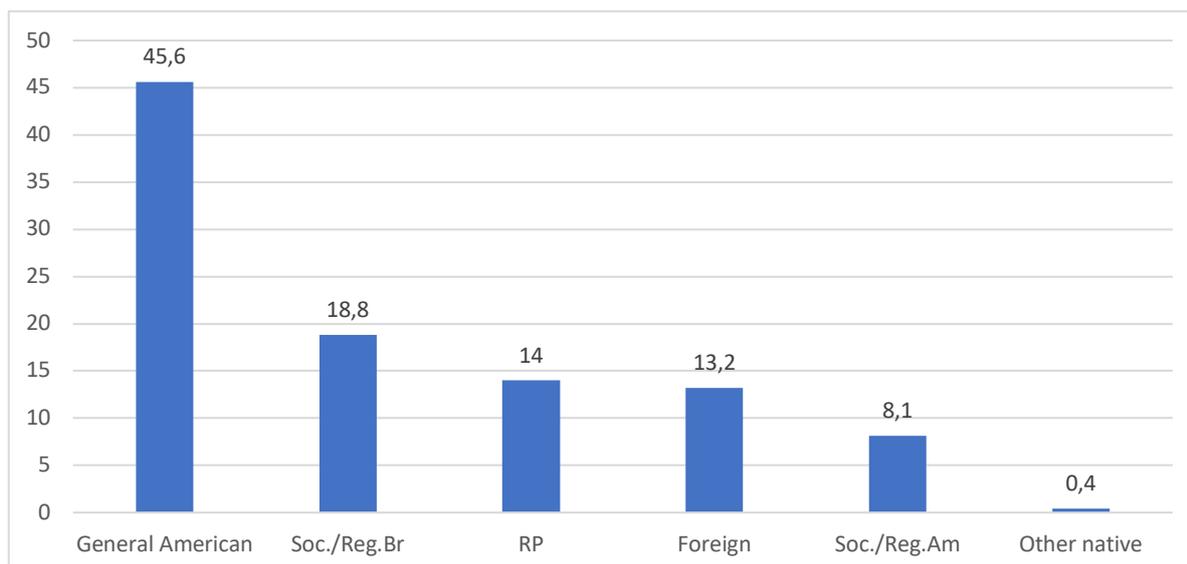


Figure 4. 1 General distribution of English accents, percentages

As DreamWorks Animation is an American production company, the high occurrence of GA was expected. Although it is the third most used accent, RP is spoken by fewer characters than what was expected considering its status as a ‘standard’ spoken variety. In the context of an American-produced film, however, it is not the logic ‘standard’, but is on the other hand likely to be perceived as a mark of *otherness*. Compared to findings from previous societal treatment studies of accents in animated films (Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011, Urke 2019), the high occurrence of Social/Regional British accents was unexpected. Social/Regional British accents are spoken by more than twice the number of characters with Social/Regional American accents. These findings suggest a preference for the American standard, but the British non-standard varieties. It should also be noted that the number of foreign accented characters is slightly higher than what was found in previous studies, with 13,2%. In Lippi-Green’s study from 1997, 9% of the characters speak with a foreign accent, similar to Sønnesyn (2011) who identifies 8.8% of the characters as foreign-accented. The character categorized as *other native* spoke with an Australian accent, and was the only occurrence of non-British non-American native spoken English. It is nonetheless placed in a separate category, as it does not fit into any of the other accent categories.

4.1.1.1 Uncertain cases

The accent analysis was not always straight-forward, and there were some uncertain cases. Among the uncertain cases were a few characters who spoke with a mixed accent, such as the evil alien Gallaxhar in *Monsters vs Aliens*, whose pronunciation includes both RP and GA features. His accent was classified as RP, since the other characters surrounding him spoke with

GA/other American accents, and the RP features added some ‘otherness’ to his character. An additional example is Dr. Zara from *Abominable*, who mostly speaks RP, but who switches to GA when her character reveals that her niceness is merely an act. She is classified as RP as that is her accent throughout most of the film.

Other characters were challenging to classify as they spoke very little, yet enough to be included in the analysis. These characters, as already discussed in chapter 3, were classified according to the most prominent features, and the lack of any prominent social or regional features led to a classification as GA speakers. RP features are here included in “social or regional features”. There were some characters who spoke more than one sentence, but where the challenge existed in whether certain features were prominent enough to determine the classification. An example is the Ugly Stepsister in *Shrek 2*, whose accent includes some NY features such as diphthongization, but where she does not have rounded diphthongs in all expected environments. She was nonetheless classified as having a NY accent, as the rounding of only some of the diphthongs was considered to be sufficiently characteristic of this accent.

A second example of a character whose speech includes some but not very prominent regional features is the penguin Private from *Madagascar*. His accent has British features, which mostly correspond to RP, however there was an occurrence of T-glottaling, which is associated with London-speech. As this feature only occurs one time, and is not the most prominent feature of his speech, he was classified as RP.

4.1.2 Norwegian

The findings from the analysis of Norwegian dialects signal a preference for eastern Norwegian dialects. The dialect category *Oslo* is the most used dialect, spoken by 51,5% of the characters. The category *Eastern* is used by 31,6%, thus making up the second most used dialect category. Considering that the *Oslo* dialect is also an eastern dialect, the majority of characters in the Norwegian dubbings speak with dialects from the eastern part of Norway. While 226 characters have eastern dialects, there are only 24 characters with western dialects, of which 10 have a Bergen dialect. Other Norwegian dialects are spoken by 8 characters, making up only 2,9% of the total number. There are 14 characters with various foreign accents, which make up 5,1%. The general distribution of Norwegian dialects is presented in table 4.2 and figure 4.2 below. Percentages are rounded.

Table 4. 2 General distribution of Norwegian dialects

| Accent | Characters | |
|----------------|------------|--------------|
| | n | % |
| Oslo | 140 | 51,5 |
| Eastern | 86 | 31,6 |
| Western | 14 | 5,1 |
| Foreign | 14 | 5,1 |
| Bergen | 10 | 3,7 |
| Other | 8 | 2,9 |
| Total | 272 | 100 % |

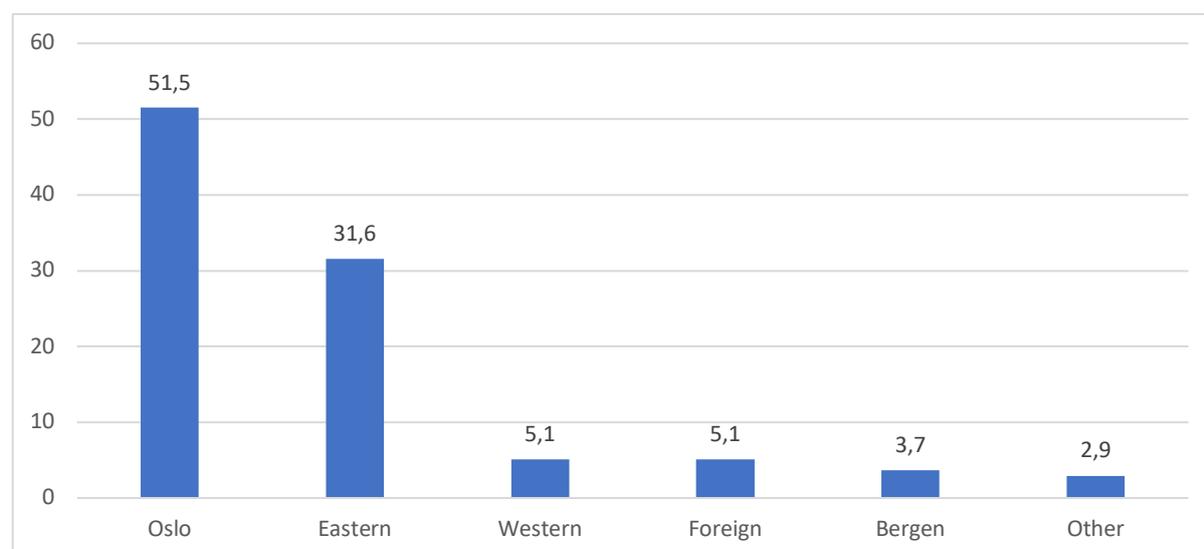


Figure 4. 2 General distribution of Norwegian dialects, percentages

4.1.3 Discussion

Both the original and the dubbed versions of the films show a clear preference for one accent category, but there are still important differences to be pointed out between the two sets of films. While there are prominent linguistic differences between *GA* and *Soc./Reg.Br.*, which are the most used accents in the originals, the two most used Norwegian categories *Oslo* and *Eastern* are more similar. *GA* and *Soc./Reg. British* differ both in geographical terms, and in their perceived status as standard versus non-standard varieties. The Norwegian category *Oslo* could be categorized as *eastern*, both because of its geographical connections, but also because of its linguistic qualities which to a large degree match the other eastern varieties. The division

between the two eastern categories is included mainly to investigate whether there are differences in the treatment of the dialect associated with high socio-economic status in the (western) urban area of Oslo, and the features associated with more rural eastern areas. Taking the large dialectal variation in Norway into account, these small linguistic differences between *Oslo* and *Eastern* which are included in the dubbings are not considered to be much of a dialectal variation. It is therefore found to be more linguistic variation in general in the originals than in the dubbings.

4.2 Gender

4.2.1 English

Similar to what has been found in previous studies, the number of male characters in this selection of films is much higher than the number of female characters. Out of 272 characters, only 71 are female, while 201 are male. The distribution of accents among male and female characters is presented in figure 4.3 below.

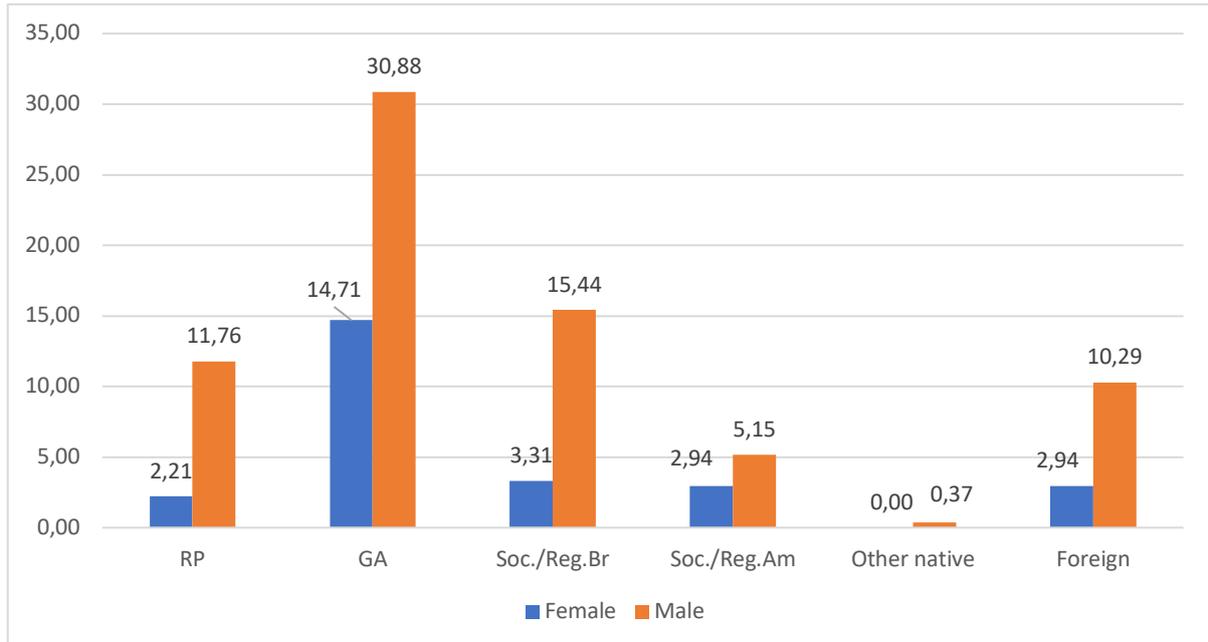


Figure 4. 3 English accent and gender, percentages

GA is the most used accent for both gender categories. However, as the majority of characters are male, the distribution of accents for each gender category will be presented in percentages of the total number of characters within each category. Table 4.3 shows the percentages for

each accent category among female characters, while table 4.4 shows the percentages for each accent category among male characters. Figure 4.4 and 4.5 give a graphic presentation of the same numbers.

Table 4. 3 Distribution of accents among female characters

| Accent | n | % |
|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| General American | 40 | 56,3 |
| Soc./Reg.Br | 9 | 12,7 |
| Soc./Reg.Am | 8 | 11,3 |
| Foreign | 8 | 11,3 |
| RP | 6 | 8,5 |
| Other native | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 71 | 100 % |

Table 4. 4 Distribution of accents among male characters

| Accent | n | % |
|------------------|------------|--------------|
| General American | 84 | 41,8 |
| Soc./Reg.Br | 42 | 20,9 |
| RP | 32 | 15,9 |
| Foreign | 28 | 13,9 |
| Soc./Reg.Am | 14 | 7 |
| Other native | 1 | 0,5 |
| Total | 201 | 100 % |

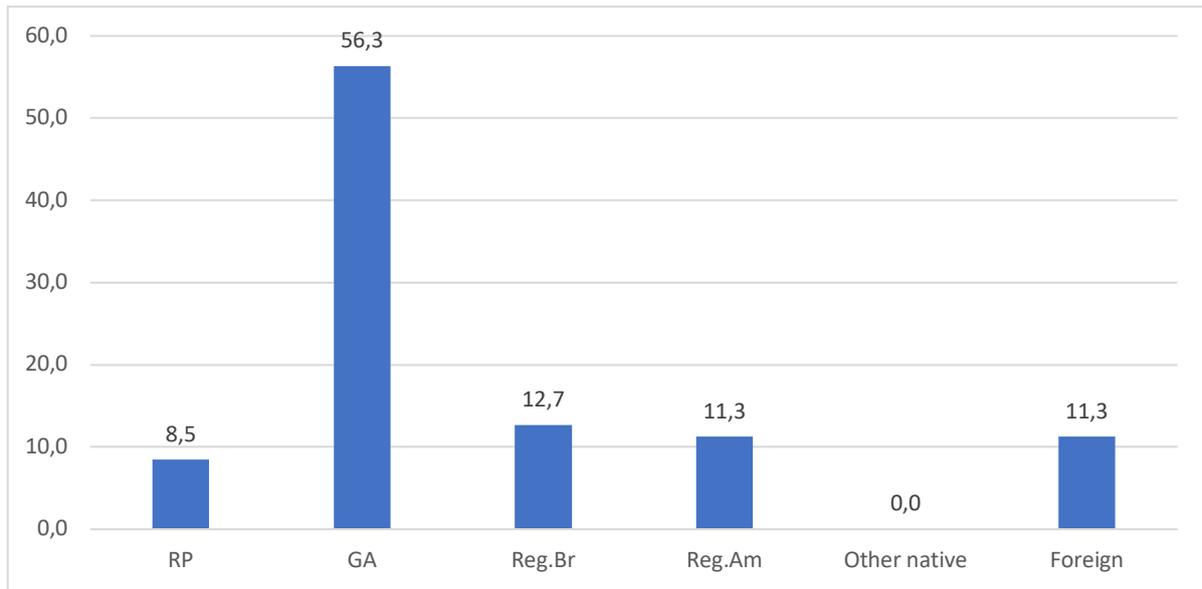


Figure 4. 4 Distribution of English accents among female characters, percentages

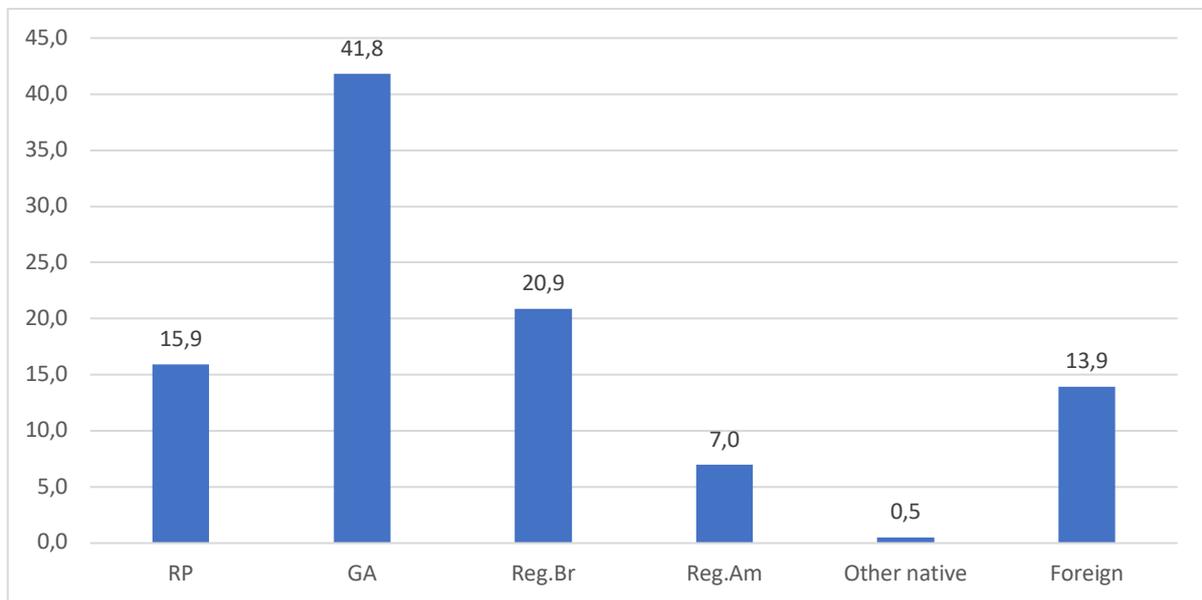


Figure 4. 5 Distribution of English accents among male characters, percentages

The distribution of accents according to gender shows a greater variation in accents among male characters. While GA is the most used accent for both gender categories, there is a higher percentage of the female characters who speak GA. While there are similar percentages of males and females who have a foreign accent, Social/Regional British accents are spoken by a larger percentage of the male characters than of the female characters. However, Social/Regional American accents are spoken by a larger percentage of the females than the

males, although the percentage is fairly low in both categories, with 11,3% and 7,0% respectively. It must be remembered, though, that although the percentages of foreign accented characters are similar for the two categories, the numbers of female and male characters who speak with a foreign accent are not. Since the total number of male characters is significantly higher than the number of female characters, the male representation within each accent category is too. The percentages show, however, how the relative number of females with regional, or non-standard, accents are lower than for the males, and it therefore meets the expectation that there is a difference between male and female speech. This difference conforms with findings from previous studies, namely that there is more standardised speech among female characters (Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011).

4.2.2 Norwegian

The numbers of male and female characters in the dubbed version of the films are the same as in the originals. The distribution of Norwegian dialects among males and females are presented graphically in figure 4.6 below.

Oslo and *Eastern* are the two most used dialect categories for both males and females, and the other dialect categories are similarly low for both genders. Table 4.5 and 4.6 give the relative distribution of dialects for female and male characters, in percentages of the total number within each gender category.

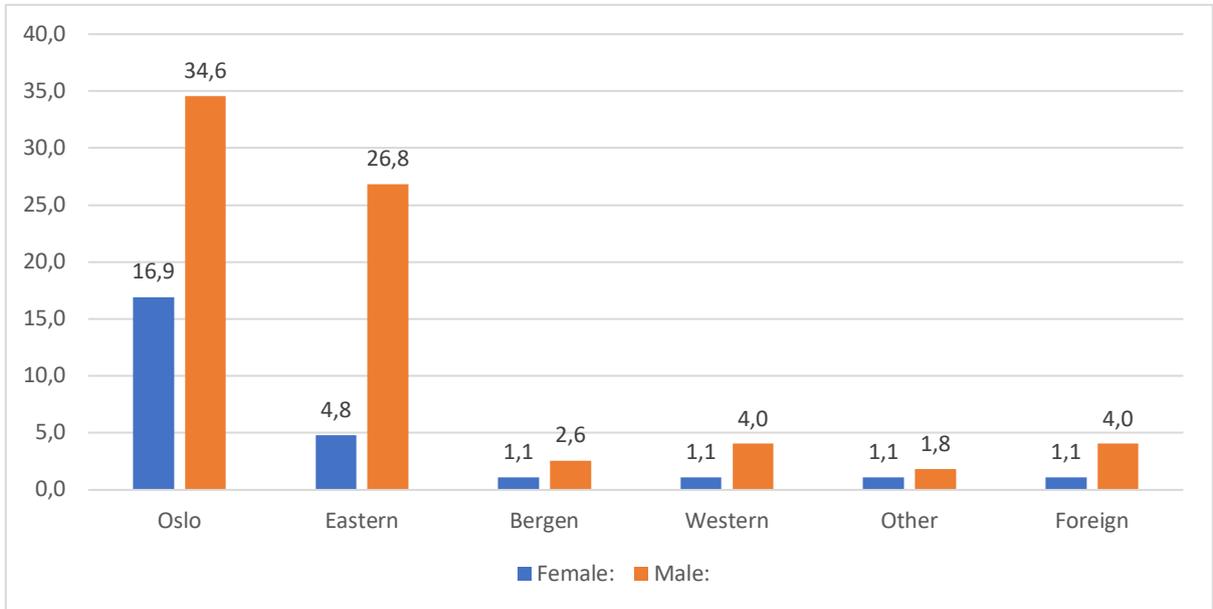


Figure 4. 6 Distribution of Norwegian dialects according to gender, percentages

Table 4. 5 Distribution of Norwegian dialects among female characters

| Dialect | n | % |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| Oslo | 46 | 64,8 |
| Eastern | 13 | 18,3 |
| Bergen | 3 | 4,2 |
| Western | 3 | 4,2 |
| Other | 3 | 4,2 |
| Foreign | 3 | 4,2 |
| Total | 71 | 100 % |

Table 4. 6 Distribution of Norwegian dialects among male characters

| Dialect | n | % |
|--------------|------------|--------------|
| Oslo | 94 | 46,8 |
| Eastern | 73 | 36,3 |
| Western | 11 | 5,5 |
| Foreign | 11 | 5,5 |
| Bergen | 7 | 3,5 |
| Other | 5 | 2,5 |
| Total | 201 | 100 % |

The percentages of characters with *Western*, *Foreign*, *Bergen* and *Other* dialects are low among both male and female characters, however, there are slightly more male characters who speak with these dialects. It should be noted, however, that since the number of female characters are much lower than the number of male characters, a difference of a single character makes the percentage change noticeably. That being said, the analysis finds a difference between the genders also regarding the Norwegian dialects. The main difference lies in the division between *Oslo* and *Eastern*. The more prestigious eastern dialect, the *Oslo* dialect, has a higher percentage of speakers among the female characters (64,8%) than the males (46,8%), and the more regionally marked *Eastern* dialect category has a higher percentage of speakers among the male characters (36,3%) than the females (18,3%).

4.2.3 Discussion

As presented above, the analysis have shown how there are differences between the speech of male and female characters, in both versions of the films. In the original versions, there is a higher percentage of females than males who speak General American, and thus more use of the ‘standard’ accent among females. The analysis of the Norwegian films also find more dialectal variation among the male characters, and a higher percentage of males than females are placed in the less prestigious eastern dialect category *Eastern*. Although the *Oslo* dialect is not considered a standard dialect, it is associated with more prestige, and is therefore partly comparable to the American ‘standard’ GA, in terms of the status dimension. In sum, there is more use of ‘standard’ accents for female characters, and this difference between male and female speech is found in both the original and the dubbed version of the films.

As many of the female characters speak with a more prestigious or a ‘standard’ variety, it is interesting to have a closer look at the female characters who speak with a “non-standard” variety. The only character who challenges the traditional expectations about social gender is the transgendered Ugly Stepsister in *Shrek 2*. This character has a dark voice and a masculine physique, but dresses and acts like a woman. As this thesis operates with the category *gender* by treating gender as a social construct, she is classified as female. She is a character who already challenges the social norms, and by including her, DreamWorks gives transgendered people some representation in animated films. However, there are several downsides here. The obvious is how her name, *the Ugly Stepsister*, brings few positive associations. Second, in the original version, she speaks with a New York City accent, which historically has been considered a recognisable and low-status accent, and which also receives low ratings by British respondents (Hartley 1999, Hiraga 2005, Labov 2006). In the dubbed version, she is given a broad Bergen dialect, which stereotypically is spoken by loud and unsophisticated people. The use of these broad varieties creates an additional contrast to her feminine dress and make-up, and makes her a rather comical character. In terms of creating and enhancing stereotypes, DreamWorks does both in this character, and the question becomes whether no representation is better or worse than a negative stereotypical presentation.

4.3 Age

4.3.1 English

Out of the 272 characters, 188 were categorized as adult, 52 were categorized as young, while only 32 were categorized as elderly. As the majority of characters are adult, it is expected that this age group makes up the majority of the speakers in each accent category. The analysis of accent distribution within the age groups show that while 43,1% of the adult characters speak GA, which is a similar percentage to the overall distribution of this accent, GA is spoken by as much as 65,4% of the young characters. GA is the accent most used by young and adult characters, while only 28,1% of the elderly characters speak GA. Within this age group, RP is the most used accent, spoken by 37,5%. This contrasts with the young and adult characters, where RP is spoken by 5,8% and 12,2% respectively. It should be noted, however, that as the numbers of characters within the categories *elderly* and *young* are lower, each character will evidently influence the percentages more than each character in the *adult* category does. This means that even if 37,5% of the elderly characters speak RP, there is a higher number of adult characters who speak RP, with almost twice as many speakers than in the elderly group (n=23 vs n=12). There are only 3 young speakers of RP. Figure 4.7 gives a graphic presentation of the distribution of accents according to age groups.

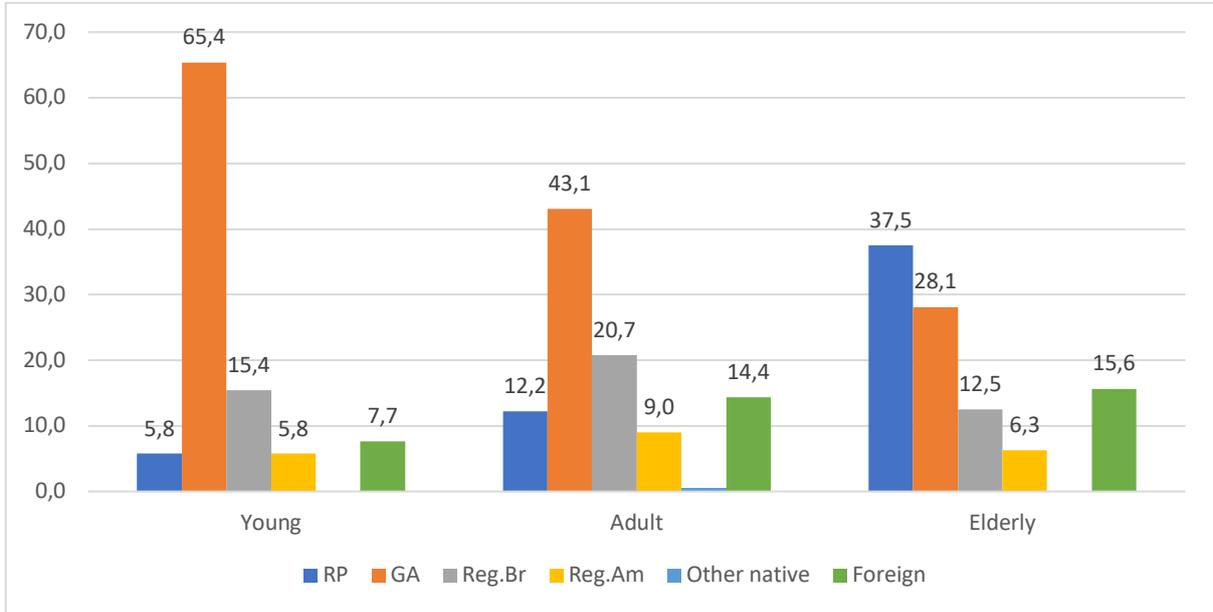


Figure 4. 7 Distribution of English accents within age groups, percentages

With the exception of RP for the elderly characters, non-GA accent categories have a low percentage of speakers in all age groups. However, the percentage of speakers with a foreign accent is lower for the *young* characters (n=4, 7,7%) than for the two other age groups (adult 14,4%, elderly 15,6%). Also, there is a higher percentage of speakers with a Social/Regional British accent among the adult characters (20,7%) than among the young (15,4%) and elderly (12,5%) characters.

4.3.2 Norwegian

The general distribution of Norwegian dialects place the majority of characters into the *Oslo* and *Eastern* categories. Thus, it is not surprising that *Oslo* and *Eastern* are the most used dialects for all age groups. The percentage of *young* characters who speak with an *Oslo* dialect is the same as for the *adult* characters (50%). Among the young characters, there is a slightly higher percentage of speakers with *eastern* dialect (38,5%) than among the adults (31,4%). Within the adult category, however, the other four dialect categories have a higher percentage of speakers than within the *young* and *elderly* groups, although the percentages for these dialect categories are low in all age groups. In the *elderly* group, there is a higher percentage of speakers with *Oslo* dialect (62,5%), and a lower percentage of speakers with *eastern* dialects (21,9%) than for the *adult* and *young* characters. As the percentages of speakers with *Oslo* and *Eastern* dialects are so high, giving percentages for the other four categories may give the impression that there are numerous speakers in all categories. For the category *young* and *elderly*, however, there are only 2 speakers of *foreign* or *other* Norwegian dialects in each, while the *Bergen* dialect is spoken by only one *young* and one *elderly* character.

In sum, there is little difference between the age groups in the Norwegian dubbings, except that elderly characters have a higher percentage of speakers with the more prestigious eastern dialect of *Oslo*. The results from the analysis of Norwegian dialects are presented graphically in figure 4.8 below, and gives the percentages of speakers for each age group.

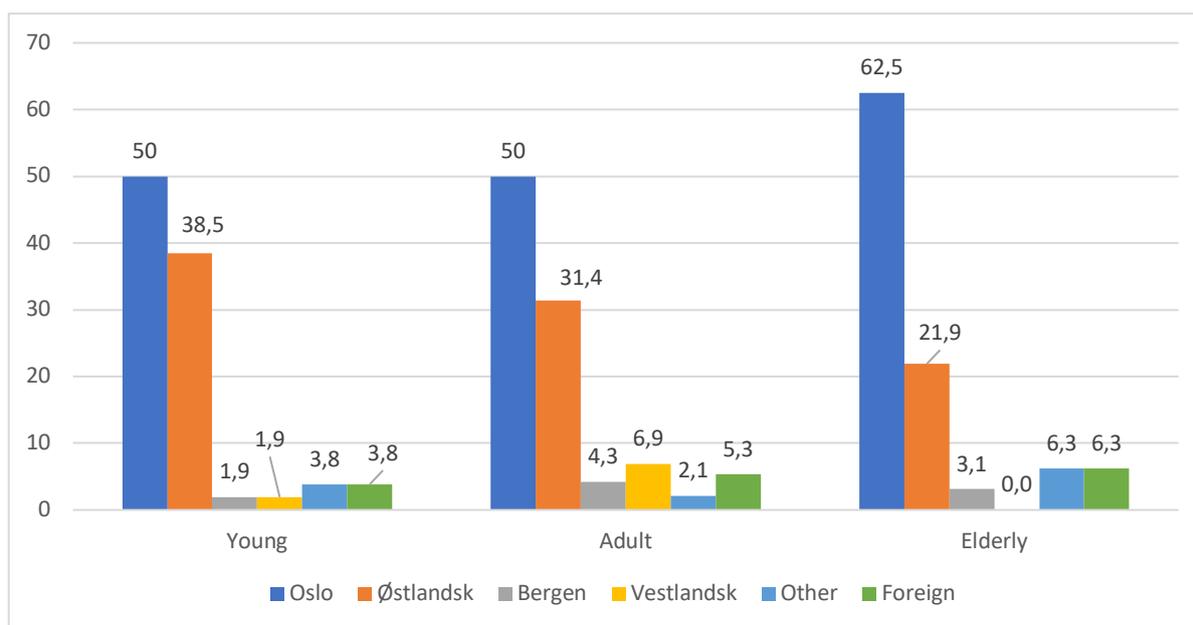


Figure 4. 8 The distribution of Norwegian dialects within age groups, percentages

4.3.3 Discussion

The analysis of spoken language in relation to the characters' age show differences, however small, in the use of accent/dialect between the age groups. Both in the English and the Norwegian versions, there are higher percentages of the elderly characters who use more prestigious varieties. The differences between age groups are larger in the originals than in the dubbings, which could be a consequence of there being less dialectal variation in general in the dubbings than in the originals. The major findings related to this character variable are the uneven distribution of characters within the three age categories, and the tendency to use RP for elderly characters in the original versions. The majority of characters are categorized as *adult*, and most of the linguistic variation is found within this category.

Age is included in this study in order to investigate whether there is a correlation between the accent used and the character's age. The findings have been commented in the sections above, but some additional observations related to age and language will be presented in what follows. Firstly, it was observed that differences in spoken language marked a division between young and adult characters in one specific film: *How to train your dragon*. In the original version of this film, the characters fit into two different accent categories, where all of the young characters (n=6) spoke with a GA accent, and all the adult characters (n=16) spoke with a Scottish accent (Soc./Reg.Br.). This division is also found in the Norwegian dubbing,

where the young characters speak with *Eastern* or *Oslo* dialect, while the adult characters have *Western* dialects, of which some are categorised as speakers of the *Bergen* dialect. As the Oslo dialect is also an eastern Norwegian dialect, and the Bergen dialect is a western Norwegian dialect, the division of characters into linguistic groups from two different geographical areas is translated from the originals to the dubbings. Meanwhile, the linguistic differences between young and adult characters are even larger in the originals, considering that GA and Scot.Eng. are varieties from two different continents. As some of the young and adult characters were in the same family, and all characters lived on a fairly isolated island with resemblance to British coastal areas, this difference in language between the age groups is not explained either explicitly nor implicitly in the film, and it is certainly not a logical choice. It should also be mentioned that the difference in accent/dialect between the age groups does not add any cultural difference to the characters, as they are all participating in the same activities, and the young characters in general do not represent any opposition to the culture of the adult group, except to the way they approach and treat dragons. It is thus unclear to what this difference serves, but a difference in terms of language use between characters of different ages is certainly present.

As the data material consists of a selection of 12 films, it should not be ignored that patterns in one or a few films can result in the impression of a general pattern in the data material. The example mentioned above does not, however, stand for all adult speakers of Soc./Reg.Br, as the total number of characters in the film is quite low (n=22).

4.4 Alignment

4.4.1 English

In the analysis of the characters' alignment, there has been included a neutral category. This is the category in which the highest number of characters have been placed, as many characters do not actively act against nor in favour of the main characters. These characters typically have peripheral roles. Soc./Reg.Br. is the accent category with the highest percentage of neutral characters (58,8%), while Foreign, GA, and Soc./Reg.Am. follow closely with 47,2%, 46,8% and 45,5% respectively. RP stands out from the rest of the accent categories, as only 28,9% of RP speaking characters are classified as neutral.

As most of the neutral characters have little importance to the plot, the most interesting categories in this character variable are the other three, namely *good*, *mixed* and *bad*. Among

the speakers of GA, 41,1% were classified as good, leaving few characters left to mixed (6,5%) and bad (5,6%). While Soc./Reg.Am. also have a relatively high percentage of good characters (40,9%), 13,6% are classified as bad. Soc./Reg.Br. has the highest percentage of neutral characters, 3,9% mixed, and 17,6% bad characters, which leaves only 19,6% to being classified as good. Among the foreign accented characters, 30,6% are classified as good, 2,8% (n=1) are classified as mixed, and 19,4% are classified as bad. Thus, foreign is the accent category with the second highest percentage of bad characters. On the top of the list rages RP, with 39,5% bad characters. This is the only accent category in which there are more bad characters than good (26,3%) or neutral (28,9%) ones. There are two (5,3%) RP-speaking characters who are classified as mixed. The percentages of good, mixed, neutral and bad characters for each accent category are presented graphically in figure 4.9.

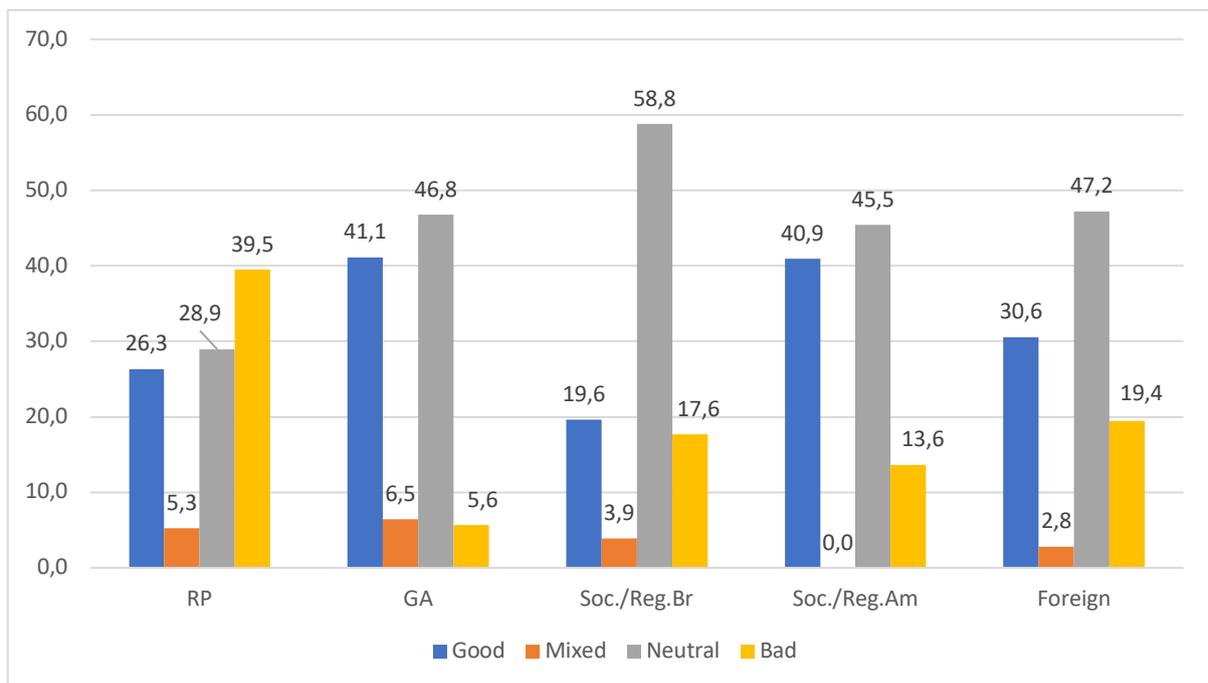


Figure 4. 9 Characters' alignment according to English accent category, percentages

4.4.2 Norwegian

The characters' alignment was the same in the original and the dubbed versions. Also in the dubbings, the neutral category has a high percentage of characters in nearly all dialect categories, however, there are more good than neutral characters with *Eastern* dialects. This dialect category is also the dialect with the highest percentage of bad characters (20,9%), while *Oslo* has fewer bad-guys (15%). The percentage of bad-guys is similar for the prestigious *Oslo* dialect as for the *foreign* category (14,3%), but since the number of characters is significantly

lower in the *foreign* category, there are consequently fewer foreign-accented bad-guys than Oslo-speaking bad-guys in the Norwegian dubbings. While there are both good, bad and mixed characters who speak with the *Bergen* dialect or the *foreign* accented Norwegian, there are no bad characters who speak with a *Western* or *Other* Norwegian dialect. Figure 4.10 displays the characters' alignment in percentages of the total number within each dialect category.

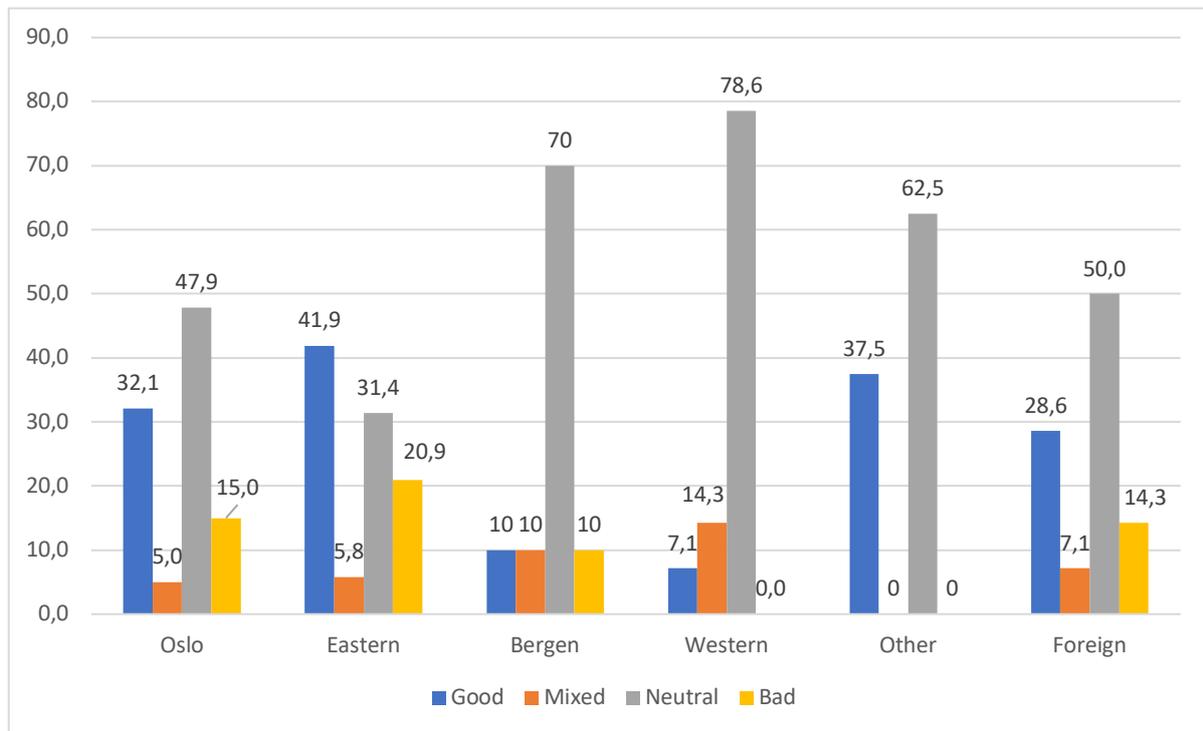


Figure 4. 10 Characters' alignment according to Norwegian dialect category, percentages

4.4.3 Discussion

Both the original and the dubbed versions have a high number of characters who are categorised as *neutral* in terms of alignment. Although the neutral characters are of less importance to the plot, the low number of neutral characters with RP accent, compared to the other accent categories, is of interest. RP is the only accent category where there are more *bad* than *good* or *neutral* characters, and the only accent category where *neutral* does not have the highest percentage. Even when the number of RP speakers in total is relatively low (n=38, 14%), and much lower than the number of GA speakers (n=124) there are more than twice as many bad characters with an RP accent (n=15) than with GA accent (n=7). These findings show that there certainly is a correlation between accent and a character's alignment. In the data for the present thesis, the use of RP for bad characters suggests existing negative attitudes towards this accent.

Based on previous research, it was expected to find more use of standard accents among the good characters, and more regionally marked varieties among bad characters. RP is considered a ‘standard’ accent. The pattern suggested by findings presented above was therefore unexpected. However, approaching this category from a second angle yields a different impression. Figure 4.11 and 4.12 display the distribution of accents/dialects for good and bad characters in numbers (total n=272), and show how there, in the originals, is a greater balance between each accent category for the bad characters than there is for the good characters. Among the good characters, GA is clearly the most used accent, raging far above the other accent categories. As DreamWorks is an American production company, it could be argued that GA is likely to be considered *the* ‘standard’ spoken variety. In these terms, there is a greater use of standard varieties for the good characters.

In the Norwegian dubbings, most of the characters speak with an *Eastern* or *Oslo* dialect. As figure 4.12 shows, there is more dialectal variation among the good characters than among the bad characters. However, it should be pointed out that there are very few good characters who speak a dialect other than *Eastern* or *Oslo*, even if there are more than among the bad characters. It has thus been found to be less dialectal variation among the bad characters in the dubbing than it is in the originals.

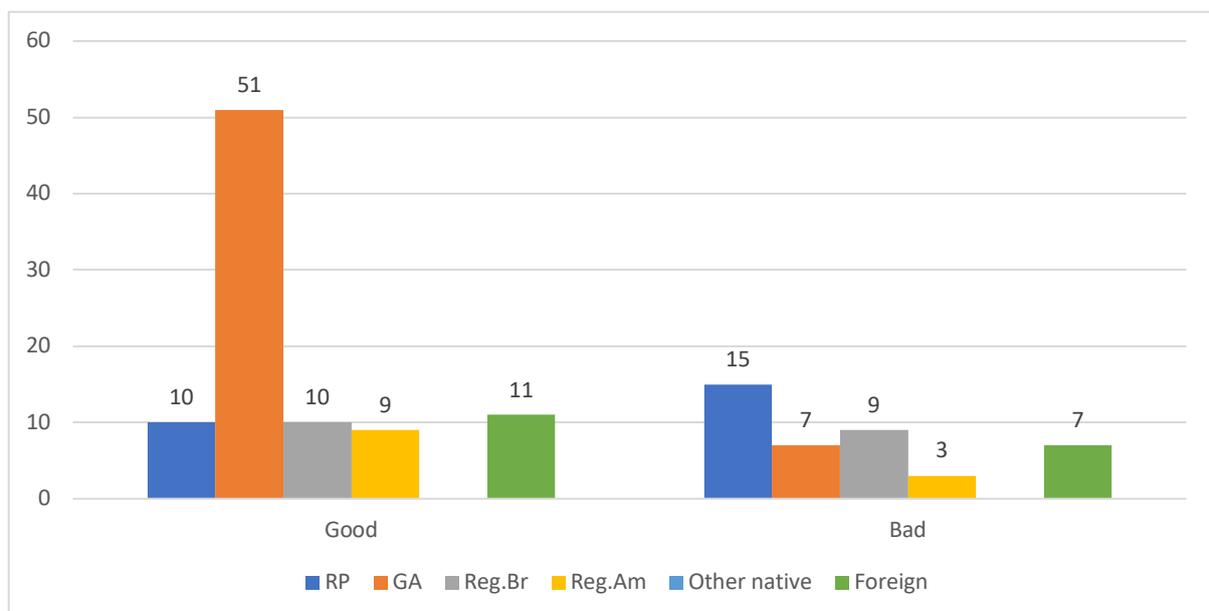


Figure 4. 11 Distribution of English accents among good and bad characters, in numbers of characters

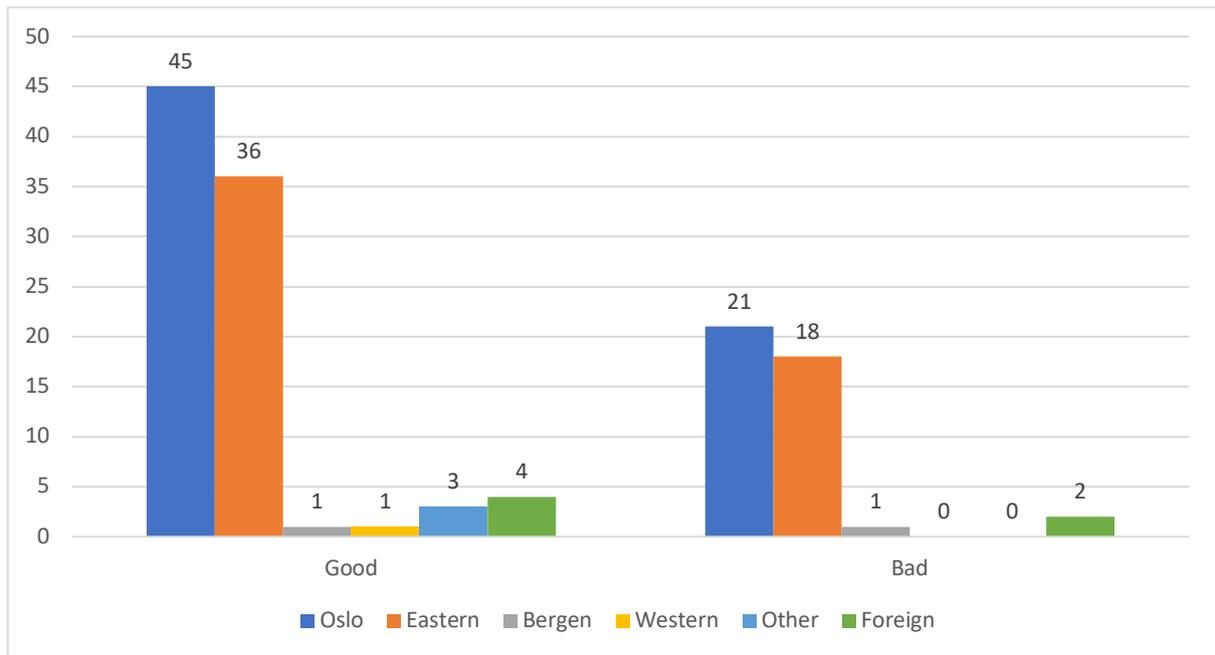


Figure 4. 12 Distribution of Norwegian dialects among good and bad characters, in numbers of characters

4.5 Size of the Character's role

The analysis of the characters according to the size of their role finds that there are 14 main characters, 57 supportive characters, and 201 peripheral characters. These findings are expected, due to the limited number of main characters in each film, as well as limitations to how many characters it is possible to include as supportive, when their status as *supportive* demands some level of importance to the plot as well as quite a bit of relative screen-time. There are differences between the films, as some include a large number of peripheral characters, while others include fewer characters in total.

4.5.1 English

Figure 4.13 displays the findings related to the distribution of English accents within the categories *main*, *supportive* and *peripheral* characters, given in percentages. As GA is the most used accent in general, it was expected to be the most used accent for all three categories. This expectation was met. Most of the films have only one main character, while two films have two main characters. Of the total 14 main characters, there are 8 who speak GA.

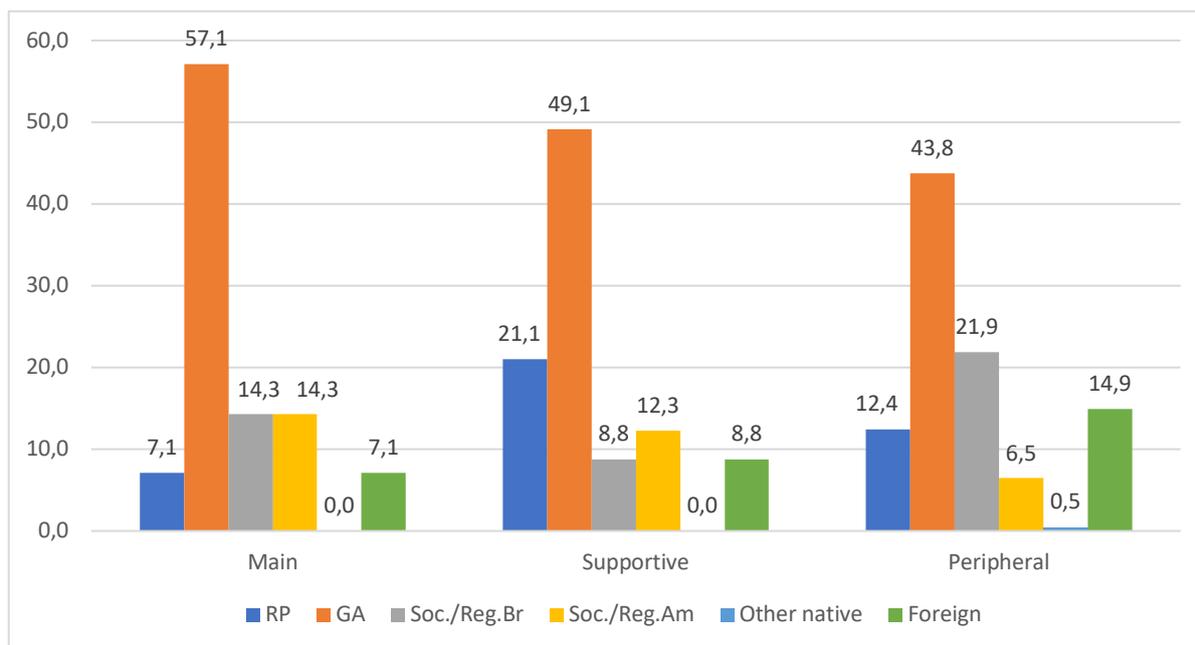


Figure 4. 13 English accent and size of the character's role, percentages

The analysis shows that there are main characters in all accent categories, except *other* where there is only one character in total. This points to a higher degree of variation for the main characters than what was expected. The relative difference between the accents is nonetheless larger for the main characters than for the other two categories. While there are twice as many peripheral characters who speak GA than Soc./Reg.Br. ($n=88$ vs. $n=44$), there are four times as many main characters who speak GA than Soc./Reg.Br. ($n=8$ vs $n=2$). As the total number of GA-speaking characters is so high, the percentage of main characters among the characters with a GA accent is not much higher than for the other accent categories. Soc./Reg.Am is the accent category where the highest percentage of the characters are main characters (9,1%), but this is a result of the rather low number of characters in this accent category ($n=22$) among which there are 2 main characters.

The total number of characters in each accent category greatly influences the percentages, as exemplified above. Although looking at percentages for each accent category risks giving a somewhat misleading impression of the correlation between accent and size of the characters role, it gives information about the type of roles that are assigned to speakers with different accents. When comparing RP and Foreign, which have similar numbers of characters in total ($n=38$, $n=36$), and which both have one main character, we see a difference between the number of supportive characters versus peripheral characters. While 31,6% of the RP-speaking characters are supportive characters, only 13,9% of the foreign accented characters are. This suggests that a foreign accent is more often given to less important

characters, the peripheral characters, while RP is spoken by characters who are more involved in the plot, the supportive characters.

Given the positive ratings granted ‘standard’ accents in attitudinal studies, it was expected to find more use of standard accents among the main characters, and more accent diversity among the supportive and peripheral characters. As the data consists of only 12 films, the number of main characters is limited, and this inevitably affects the percentages. Nonetheless, the findings show that the percentage of GA-speaking characters is higher among the main characters (57,1%) than among the supportive characters (49,1%), which in turn is higher than among the peripheral characters (43,8%). Although all of these clearly show how GA dominates in all three categories, there appears to have been given more room for non-GA accents among the supportive and peripheral characters than among the main characters.

4.5.2 Norwegian

Figure 4.14 presents the findings related to the distribution of Norwegian dialects among the three categories *main*, *supportive* and *peripheral* characters.

Among the 14 main characters in the Norwegian dubbing, only two characters do not have an Eastern Norwegian dialect (the categories *Eastern* and *Oslo*). These two speak with a *Foreign* accent and a Northern Norwegian dialect, categorised as *Other*. The numbers of main characters who speak with *Oslo* and *Eastern* dialect are the same, which indicates that the prestigious *Oslo* variant and the *Eastern* dialects with the use of less prestigious features are considered to be equally suitable for main characters.

The findings from this category show, however, the special position given to the Eastern Norwegian dialects (*Eastern* and *Oslo*) in relation to the other Norwegian dialects that have been identified. *Eastern* and *Oslo* are the most used dialect categories for all three character categories of this variable. Among the supportive characters, 90,2% (n=55) speak with an *Oslo* or other *Eastern* dialect, while there are only 6 characters with dialects from other parts of Norway or with a foreign accent. In the *supportive* category, there are no characters who speak *other* Norwegian dialects. While Eastern dialects make up 85,7% (n=12) of the main characters, they make up 80,7% (n=159) of the peripheral characters. As a result of the high number of Eastern-speaking characters, the percentage of peripheral characters with non-eastern dialects is low (19,3%). However, a closer look at the characters with dialects other than *Eastern* or *Oslo* show that 82,6% (n=38) of these have peripheral roles, thus the characters who speak with

dialects from non-Eastern parts of Norway are more often given less important roles in this selection of dubbed films.

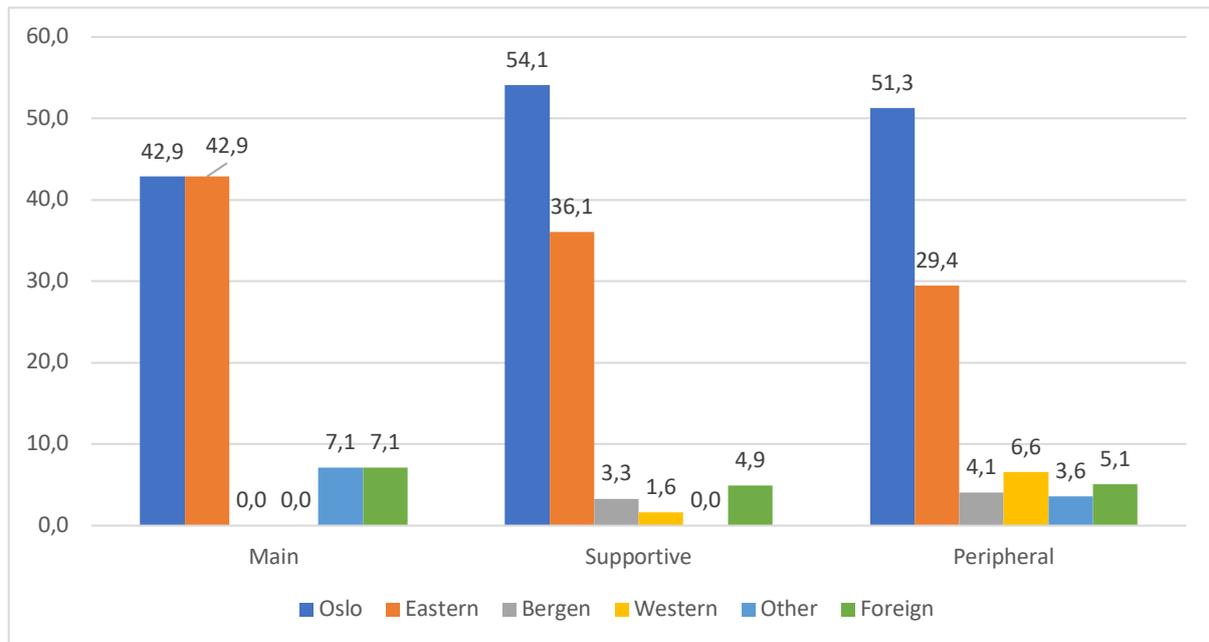


Figure 4. 14 The distribution of Norwegian dialects according to the size of the characters' role, percentages

4.5.3 Discussion

The findings related to the character variable *The size of the character's role* have shown that there is more use of GA among main characters in the original films, and that social or regional varieties, or “non-standard” varieties, to a larger degree are used for supportive or peripheral characters. The percentage of non-standard speakers is highest among the peripheral characters. This difference is in some ways found in the Norwegian dubbing as well. The analysis have revealed that the main characters mostly use eastern Norwegian dialects, but do not show any difference between the prestigious and the non-prestigious eastern dialect categories. The Eastern Norwegian dialects are not considered to be standard dialects, but it has already been pointed to how the Oslo dialect category is the category most comparable to an English standard, as it carries associations of higher prestige or social status, which also English standard varieties tend to be associated with in attitudinal studies. As the two Eastern dialect categories are spoken by the same number of main characters, it can not be argued that there is more use of prestigious, varieties among main characters in the Norwegian dubbings. While there is no clear preference for the prestigious Norwegian dialect *Oslo* among main characters, there is more dialect diversity among the peripheral characters, as 82,6% (n=38) of the non-

Eastern speaking characters are placed in this category. Similarly, only 13% of non-eastern characters have supportive roles, compared to 24,3% of the eastern-speaking characters.

The expectations regarding accent and the size of the characters' role were met with regards to main characters, as there was found to be a preference for standard varieties among the main characters in the original films, but not in the dubbings. The higher degree of accent diversity among the *peripheral* characters was expected in the originals but not in the dubbings, as the Norwegian dialects are used in all levels of society in Norway. The analysis show, however, that there is more accent diversity among the peripheral characters in both the original and the dubbed versions.

4.6 The character's nature

The data consists of 12 films which differ from each other in terms of plot, setting, the number of characters, and the nature of characters. In some films, all speaking characters are human, while in other films there are mostly animals or fantasy figures. The categorization of characters into these three categories, *human*, *animal* and *fantasy*, will inevitably be affected by how some films include a higher number of characters than other films do, especially when these films are also the films within which most of the characters have the same nature. During the analysis, it has been observed how a few films include many speakers of one particular accent. The purpose of including this variable is to look at the potential correlation between accent and nature of the character, and the issue mentioned above can inevitably influence the results regarding some accents. This has been taken into consideration in the process of analysing the findings related to the nature of the characters. The findings related to this character variable show that among 272 characters in total, 53,3% (n=145) are human, 28,7% (n=78) are animals, and 18% (n=49) are fantasy figures of various types, including human-like creatures such as fairies.

4.6.1 English

Figure 4.15 gives a graphic presentation of the distribution of accents among the different categories related to the characters' nature. Looking at Figure 4.17, it is apparent how human characters who speak with a GA accent is the most common combination. As GA is the most used accent, and as much as 53,3% of the characters are human, this is not surprising. GA is also the most used accent for fantasy characters, while the most used accent category for animal

characters is Soc./Reg.Br. The number of fantasy characters with a Soc./Reg.Br. accent is much lower (n=6). This is also seen for Soc./Reg.Am. accents, which is spoken by only 2 fantasy characters, but 10 human and 10 animal characters. GA is the most used accent for fantasy characters, spoken by 61,2% (n=30 out of total n=49). Although the total number of fantasy characters is lower than for the animal characters, there are more GA-speaking and RP-speaking fantasy characters than animals (GA: n=20 to n=30, RP: n=8 to n=10), while there are more animals than fantasy characters who speak Soc./Reg.Br., Soc./Reg.Am. and foreign accents.

Figure 4.16 presents the distribution of the three character categories among speakers of each accent, and numbers are given in percentages of the total for each accent category. It shows how the accent category *foreign* has the highest percentage of human characters (63%, n=23), while there are no fantasy characters within this accent category. Soc./Reg.Br and Soc./Reg.Am. are the two categories with the highest percentages of animal characters (52,9% n=27 and 45,5% n=10 respectively). Among RP and GA speaking characters, more than half of the characters are human, while approximately a quarter are fantasy characters, leaving animal characters as the least represented category. The visual presentation of the findings show how there are similar patterns for RP and GA, and for Soc./Reg.Br and Soc./Reg.Am.

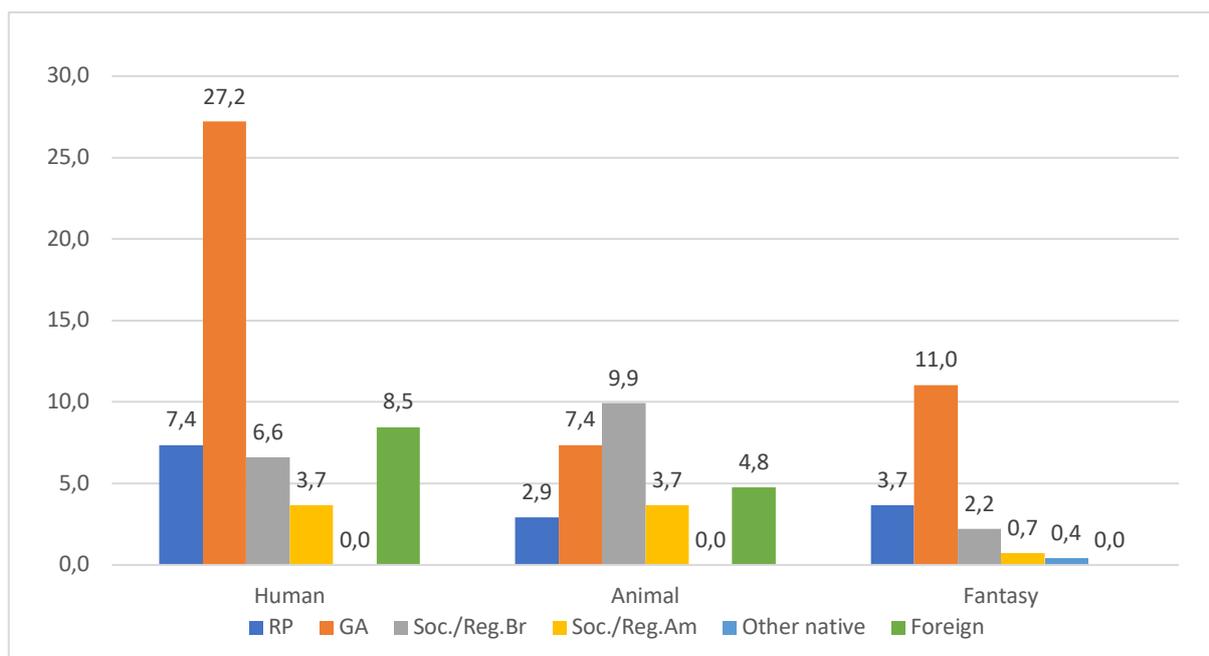


Figure 4. 15 The distribution of English accents according to the characters' nature, percentages

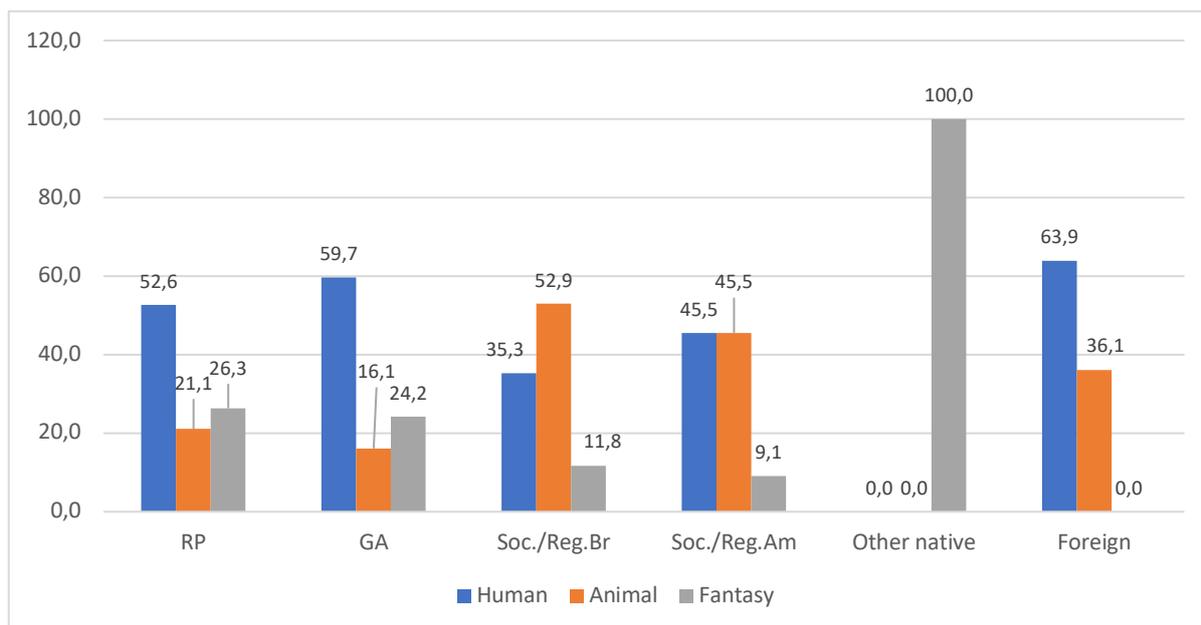


Figure 4. 16 Nature of the character, percentages for each accent category

The findings presented above suggest that there is a correlation between accent and the nature of the character, where social/regional varieties are more likely to be spoken by animals, and standard varieties are more likely to be spoken by characters in human form.

4.6.2 Norwegian

Table 4.7 and Figure 4.17 present the distribution of Norwegian dialects according to the characters' nature. As can be seen in figure 4.19, the most common combination is human characters who speak with an Oslo dialect, making up 32% of the total number of characters. The eastern dialect categories *Oslo* and *Eastern* make up the majority of characters in all three categories, which is almost inevitable considering the numbers of speakers within these dialect groups. The analysis of the characters' nature reveals a difference between the use of these two eastern dialect groups. While the Oslo dialect dominates among human characters, and is the most used dialect among fantasy characters, it is in second place among animal characters, where there are more characters who are placed in the less prestigious *Eastern* dialect category. Although there are more human than animal characters, the number of eastern-speaking animals is higher (n=38) than the number of eastern-speaking humans (n=32).

The analysis of the non-eastern dialect speakers shows that the western dialects are primarily spoken by human characters, while spoken by no animals and only one fantasy character. The Bergen dialect is also mostly found used by humans (n=6), although there are

three fantasy characters and one animal with this dialect. The number of characters with other Norwegian dialects is higher among animals (n=4) than among humans (n=2) and fantasy characters (n=2), although the numbers are low in all three categories. There are no fantasy characters with a foreign accent, and this accent category is found to be spoken by more animals (n=8) than humans (n=6).

Table 4. 7 Norwegian dialects and the nature of the characters

| | | Human | Animal | Fantasy | Total n | Total % |
|----------------|---|-------|--------|---------|------------|--------------|
| Oslo | n | 87 | 27 | 26 | 140 | 51,5 |
| | % | 32,0 | 9,9 | 9,6 | | |
| Eastern | n | 32 | 38 | 16 | 86 | 31,6 |
| | % | 11,8 | 14,0 | 5,9 | | |
| Bergen | n | 6 | 1 | 3 | 10 | 3,7 |
| | % | 2,2 | 0,4 | 1,1 | | |
| Western | n | 13 | 0 | 1 | 14 | 5,1 |
| | % | 4,8 | 0,0 | 0,4 | | |
| Other | n | 2,0 | 4 | 2 | 8,0 | 2,9 |
| | % | 0,7 | 1,5 | 0,7 | | |
| Foreign | n | 6 | 8 | 0 | 14 | 5,1 |
| | % | 2,2 | 2,9 | 0,0 | | |
| | | | | | 272 | 100 % |

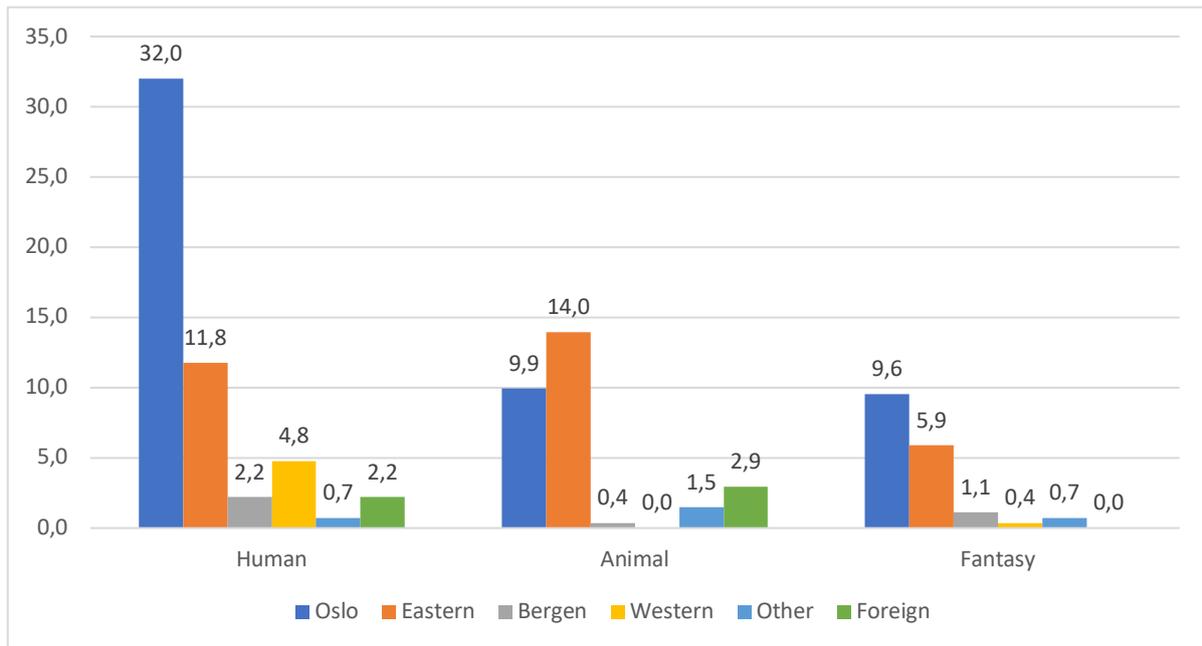


Figure 4. 17 Distribution of Norwegian dialects according to the characters' nature

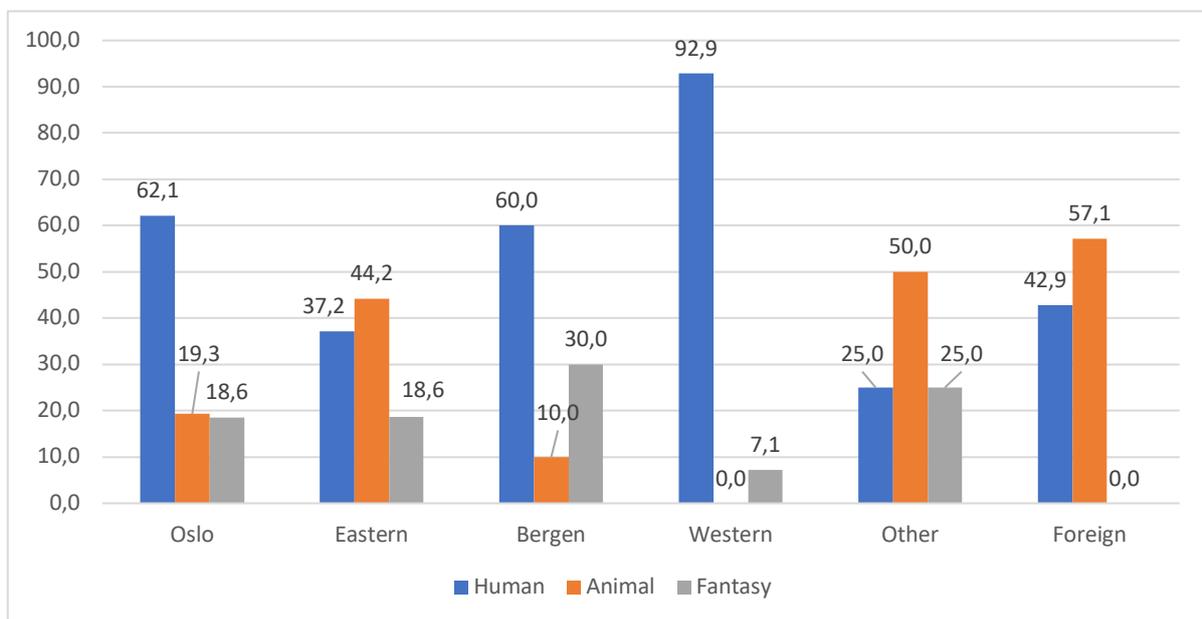


Figure 4. 18 The distribution of the characters' nature according to dialect category, percentages for each dialect category

The graphic presentation of the percentages for each dialect category, shown in Figure 4.18, makes visible how each character category is distributed within the dialect categories. While the western dialects, including the Bergen dialect, are primarily used by humans, the *other*, *foreign* and *eastern* dialect categories are more often used by animals than by humans. The division between the prestigious *Oslo* category and the more regionally marked *Eastern* category shows interesting differences in terms of *nature of the characters*. While as much as

62,1% of the Oslo-speaking characters are human, only 37,2% of the eastern-speaking characters are. *Eastern* dialects are more often spoken by animal characters (44,2%), while the percentage of animals with *Oslo*-dialect is only 19,3%. The two dialect categories have the same percentage of fantasy characters (18,6%). These findings suggest that there is a correlation between the characters' nature and their dialect, as characters are more likely to be human when speaking with the *Oslo* dialect, while *eastern*, *foreign* and *other* dialects are spoken by more animals than human characters.

4.6.3 Discussion

The findings presented above show how there is a correlation between the character's nature and their speech in both the originals and the dubbings. Especially interesting is the fact that there are more use of 'standard', or more prestigious, varieties (GA, RP, the Oslo dialect) among human characters, and the lack of foreign-accented fantasy characters in both languages. Also, in both languages there was a tendency to use less prestigious varieties for animal characters, as there in the originals was found to be more use of regional, or "non-standard" varieties for animals, while there in the dubbings was more use of eastern dialects with less prestigious features.

Returning to the point made in the introduction of this section, it should be noted how the numbers from one particular film may greatly influence these findings. Although it makes for an interesting argument how the regional varieties Soc./Reg.Br. and Soc./Reg.Am. have similar patterns in terms of the nature of the character, it should be noted that all 27 animal characters with Soc./Reg.Br. accent have been identified in the same film, *Flushed Away* (2006). As the data was selected based on the year of publication, and this film was not the only film published that year, these findings are a result of the arbitrary choice of this film in the place of an other, and choosing a different film could have led to quite different results regarding accent and nature of the character. That being said, it was never the intention of this thesis to make statements about the use of accents in DreamWorks films in general, but rather to comment on the use of accents in this specific selection of data. The analysis of this specific set of data show that RP, GA and the Oslo dialect are more often used for human characters than for animal or fantasy characters, while regionally marked varieties are more often used for animal characters. Foreign accents are more often given to humans than to animals, and are not used for fantasy characters in neither of the languages.

4.7 Setting

This section presents the findings related to the variable *setting*, which was analysed in order to answer whether the spoken varieties identified in the film correlate with the setting of that film. Based on findings from previous studies on animated films (Lippi-Green 1997,2011, Sønnesyn 2012), it was expected to find more accent realism in the originals than in the dubbings, e.g. that the spoken varieties reflect the setting of the film. In the following, the findings from the originals will be presented, before a final comparison to the dubbings is included.

In her study of Disney characters, Lippi-Green (1997,2011) found that only 34 of 91 characters who appear in a foreign setting, e.g. where English is not normally spoken, speak with a foreign accent. In the present thesis, the analysis of this variable has mainly focused on the use of foreign accents in films where the setting is in a non-English-speaking setting. Out of the 12 films making up the data for this thesis, there are four films where all or most of the plot is set in a real-life place where English is not normally spoken. Among the four films with a non-English-speaking setting, there are 69 characters whose accent would logically be a foreign accent. That is, if one ignores the obviously most logic choice of having the characters speak the language of that place instead of English. Among these characters, only 25 have a foreign accent, and 18 of those are from the same film, *Puss in Boots*. In the dubbings, only 6 of these 25 are translated into a foreign accented Norwegian variety.

The total number of characters in *Puss in Boots* is 29, and all of these characters could logically have a foreign accent, as they all appear as “natives” in the film. The setting is a place resembling both a Spanish village and a Mexican village, but most importantly it is a Spanish-speaking setting. Among the 29 characters there are 18 with a foreign accent, while one supportive character speaks GA, alongside some peripheral characters who speak very little. The bad-guys Jack and Jill speak with a broad southern American accent, classified as Soc./Reg.Am., which is a more logical choice if the setting is considered to be Mexico and not Spain. Nonetheless, the bad-guys speak with a different accent than the most-used accent in this film, which gives them a sense of otherness and make them stand out as different from the protagonist, who speak with a Spanish accent. Thus, language evidently contributes to the division between the bad-guys and the hero in the original version. In the dubbed version, there

are only two characters with a foreign accent. This is the protagonist and his mother. The other characters speak with an Oslo dialect or other eastern dialects. *Puss in Boots* stand out as the only film with a foreign setting where this is reflected in the spoken language. However this is not translated in the dubbing, where the difference between the characters, as well as the setting, is not highlighted through the spoken language.

Both *Abominable* and *Kung Fu Panda* are set in China. While all of the characters in *Abominable* are humans, all of the characters in *Kung fu Panda* are animals, and what these two films have in common is mainly the country. *Abominable* has a more urban setting, while *Kung Fu Panda* is set in a small village in the mountains. Despite the differences, these two films show the same pattern regarding spoken language. In *Abominable* there are 20 characters who would logically speak Chinese or at least have a Chinese accent, but only 2 characters do. These two characters are the main character's grandmother Nai Nai and an old man in a village. Both characters have peripheral roles. In *Kung Fu Panda* there are 14 characters who would be expected to speak Chinese or have a Chinese accent, while there are only 3 characters who do. The main character Po's father speaks with a barely-there Chinese accent, while the wise, and old, master Oogway speaks with an undefinable foreign accent. So does the monkey Mantis, which has a more peripheral role than the two formerly mentioned. In these two films, it appears that the foreign accents are reserved for the elderly and wise characters, while the younger main characters, alongside most of the other characters, speak with a GA accent. In *Abominable*, the Chinese-like accents of the two characters are translated into a foreign-accented Norwegian speech, which sound like a mixed accent of different languages, and the point seems to be that they are "foreign". In *Kung Fu Panda*, however, the foreign accents are not translated, and all but one characters speak with Oslo or other Eastern dialects. The only character who does not speak with an eastern dialect is a peripheral character who utters one sentence with a Bergen dialect, who in the original version speaks GA. Although the setting is only marginally expressed through foreign accents in the originals, this is done to an even lesser extent in the dubbed versions.

In *Madagascar* the main characters and their friends find themselves on Madagascar after ending up overboard their ship leaving New York. In this film, most of the characters are animals, where the two main characters, the lion Alex and the zebra Marty, speak with a GA and an AAVE accent respectively. Why an AAVE accent is considered suitable for a zebra but not for a lion, when they clearly have grown up in the same zoo and would naturally have the same habitat, is unclear. Some might argue that the lion Alex is the only main character, and

this would have had Madagascar follow the pattern where the main character speaks GA and the side-kick is given a non-standard variety (Lippi-Green 2011). Of the 6 characters they meet on Madagascar who would logically speak with a foreign accent, only 2 do. The comical character King Julian speaks with what resembles an Indian accent, while the other somewhat important character living on Madagascar, the king's advisor Maurice, speaks with an AAVE accent instead. The other character with a foreign accent is the scared little lemur Mort, who has a peripheral role and speaks very little. In the Norwegian dubbing, the only character with a foreign accent is king Julian, who has also been given a lisp in his pronunciation, which contributes to his comical function. Thus, the spoken varieties in *Madagascar* do not reflect the setting of the film in neither of the languages.

Some other observations have been made in the course of analysing the use of foreign accents. In *Flushed Away*, the plot is in the London sewage, and most of the characters are given a London accent, where some speak with broader features than others, and some characters have RP accents. This could be argued to reflect the London speech pattern, and it thus reflects the setting. There are also some characters with foreign accents, as the spy frogs have been given French accents. The stereotypes continue as the street painter with a striped shirt speaks with Italian accent, and the two somewhat unintelligent-appearing tourists speak with broad Texas accents. *Flushed Away* succeeds in including a realistic linguistic landscape, but this is not successfully translated into Norwegian, as most of the characters speak with eastern dialects. The distinction between RP and London accent is somewhat included, as the RP speakers have been given a more prestigious variety through the Oslo dialect, but their upper class status is rather marked through style and voice instead than dialect. The foreign accents have been translated, however, and so has the Texas accent. Although not recognizable as a Texas accent, it is clearly an American accent, and this is the only case where the division between British and American varieties have been made visible in the Norwegian dubbings in this data.

Linguistic stereotypes have also been identified in *Shrek* and *Shrek 2*. While the royals of Far Far Away in *Shrek* and *Shrek 2* speak with RP accents, princess Fiona, who ends up as an ogre by choice, speaks with a GA accent even when her snobbish parents have RP accents. The French accent is also used in these films, as the royal chef, the feminine but very charming Robin Hood, and the feminine secretary Jerome speaks with this accent. Also, there are some traces of a German accent in the three little pigs, which signals the origin of the fairytale which these pigs come from. In the dubbed versions, the distinction between RP and GA is evened

out, as all characters speak with Oslo or eastern dialects, except the French-accented characters just mentioned. The only other exception is in *Shrek 2*, where the ugly stepsister, who also happens to be a transperson, has been translated from a NY accent to a broad Bergen dialect.

This section has shown how foreign accents to some degree have been used to signal the geographical setting of the films. Only some of these accents are translated into a foreign-accented Norwegian in the dubbings. In the final paragraphs it has been shown how foreign accents have been included also where it is not logical according to the setting, and in these cases the foreign accents are used in line with established linguistic stereotypes. Foreign accents are not included in all films, and so this section has been limited to discussing the films of which there were made interesting observations regarding setting and accents, and foreign accents in general.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the following chapter, the goal, method and main findings of this study are summarised and discussed, in order to gather the threads and reach a conclusion regarding the use of English accents and Norwegian dialects in this selection of films by DreamWorks Animation. Some limitations and shortcomings of this study are also commented on, before a closing note presents some contributions made by this thesis, as well as some thoughts on further research in the field of language and children's entertainment.

5.1 Summary

This study has investigated the use of English accents and Norwegian dialects in a selection of animated films by DreamWorks Animation. The aim of this thesis was to investigate whether and how spoken language was used for character building in the dubbed Norwegian version compared to the original American version, and this was done by investigating potential correlations between character traits and spoken varieties. The underlying assumption of the thesis is that language varieties used in animated films reflect conscious choices made by the producers, and the way language is treated in the films thus reflects existing language attitudes. Based on this approach, investigating the use of language in these films is a study of language attitudes, and the comparison between the two languages can accordingly be regarded as a comparison of dominating language ideologies. The way language varieties are treated not only reflects existing attitudes, but also has the potential of shaping and enhancing language attitudes and linguistic stereotypes. As children's entertainment in general has been found to contribute to the formation of children's way of categorising the world and the people in it, the use of linguistic stereotypes was a special point of interest in this project.

The data consists of 12 animated films by DreamWorks Production, which were analysed in both the original and the Norwegian dubbed version. All characters who spoke a minimum of one complete sentence have been coded according to accent as well as a selection of character variables (*gender, age, alignment, the size of the character's role, and the character's nature*). In addition, *setting* was included as a sixth non-linguistic variable. The linguistic categories were created according to the accents/dialects found to be used in the data. Accents/dialects were placed in somewhat broad categories in order to reveal potential patterns,

and detailed linguistic analysis of the spoken language was considered beyond the scope of this thesis. The goal was to investigate how accents/dialects were treated when they were used.

The main research question of this study was:

Is language variation used as a way of building characters in a) the original films, and b) the dubbed version of the films, and what similarities and/or differences are there in the way language varieties are treated in the two versions? (ch.1).

This study was designed in order to answer research question 1 through investigating whether or not there were systematic correlations between spoken language and character traits in all of the 5 character variables.

As one approach to investigating how language is treated in the data, the study looked into the amount of accent diversity and dialectal variation in the films. The overall distribution of accents showed that GA was the most used accent in the originals, raging far above the other accents. The British “standard” accent RP was used less than what has been found in previous studies. There were, however, more use of Soc./Reg. British accents than what was expected, which was a surprise, considering that the films are American-produced, and Soc./Reg. American accents were used less frequently than the British Soc./Reg. varieties were. Foreign accents were used slightly more often than what previous studies have found. The analysis of the Norwegian dubbings found that the two eastern dialect categories *Eastern* and *Oslo* dominated in a much larger degree than GA did in the originals. Other Norwegian dialects were spoken by a low number of characters. The dialect categories *Western* and *Bergen* were the only two non-eastern dialectal groups that were spoken by many enough characters to have their own category. It should be noted that *Western* is a broad umbrella category, and the category itself signals the low number of speakers of each of the western Norwegian varieties.

It was expected to find more accent diversity in the originals than in the dubbed versions, as this has been a described tendency in dubbed films. The ultimate finding related to dialectal variation in the two versions is that the process of translation the dialog from English into Norwegian have evened out many differences between the characters that were communicated through their spoken language. This is in line with the homogenizing convention described in literature on dubbing (Chiaro 2008).

Research questions 2 and 3 ask whether there are systematic correlations between accent/dialect and character traits in 1) the original version of the films, and 2) the dubbed

version of the films. Based on what previous studies on animated films have found (Lippi-Green 1997, Dobrow & Gidney 1998, Sønnesyn 2012, Urke 2019), it was expected to find a correlation between character traits and accent in the original films. As literature on dubbing describes how a dubbed version of a film should attempt to limit the amount of change made to the original content, a systematic correlation of this sort was expected to be found also in the dubbed films. However, literature on dubbing has also described a tendency to even out many linguistic differences between characters, and it was therefore hypothesised that the differences between characters would be less prominent in the dubbed version of the films. To answer research questions 2 and 3, the main findings related to each of the character variables are summed up.

Related to gender, previous studies have found that female characters more often than male characters speak with standardised accents. It was therefore expected to find more use of standard accents among female characters, and more accent diversity for male characters. This was however not expected to be found in the dubbings. In the originals, 56% of the female characters spoke with a GA accent, while the percentage for males was 41,8%. There was thus more use of standard accents among females. It was not true for RP, however, which is traditionally considered the British standard. As the films are American, they make up a linguistic environment in which GA is considered the one standard, while RP, being a British variety, marks otherness. In the Norwegian dubbing, there was found to be a correlation between gender and the two different eastern categories, as female characters more often spoke with the more prestigious eastern variety, and male characters more often had a broader regionally marked pronunciation. As the eastern *Oslo* dialect is not a standard dialect, it can not be argued that females spoke with standard accents/dialects in both versions. However, there was found to be a correlation between gender and accent/dialect in both versions of the films, and the original films followed the pattern found in previous studies of language in animated films.

The analysis of the *size of the character's role* sought to investigate which accents were given what types of roles, and whether some accent categories were more or less used for the less important roles. It was found that there was more accent diversity among the peripheral characters, and this was true for both versions. In the originals, GA dominated among main characters, while in the dubbing, the eastern dialects dominated among main characters. There was not found to be a difference between the more prestigious *Oslo* variety and the less prestigious *Eastern* varieties in terms of numbers of main characters. As attitudinal studies of

various designs have found standard varieties to be rated higher on the status dimension, it was expected to find more use of prestigious varieties for main characters, and more accent diversity in the peripheral roles. It was not expected to be true for the dubbed versions. As there was no difference between the numbers of characters who spoke the prestigious and the non-prestigious eastern varieties, this expectation was met. Meanwhile, the characters who spoke non-eastern dialects were more often peripheral characters than the eastern-speaking characters, who had a larger percentage placed into the *supportive* and *main character* categories.

When investigating the use of accents for characters according to their alignment, an interesting pattern regarding one particular accent was discovered. There was found to be a correlation between accent and a character's alignment, especially for RP. This was the only accent which was spoken by more bad-guys than good-guys or neutral characters. Although GA was spoken by a much higher number of characters in total, there were more bad-guys with an RP accent than with a GA accent. This analysis does not say anything about why RP is considered more suitable for the villains, but it confirms what has been found in previous studies, namely that RP is more often used for bad characters than other accents are. It was also found that GA was by far the most used accent among the good guys. When regarding GA as 'standard', and disregarding RP as such, these findings confirms the expectation, which were that the favourable rating of standard GA would lead it to be more used for the 'good guys'. In the Norwegian dubbings, however, there was no equivalent to the bad-guy accent, and the good-guys/bad-guys balance was rather evenly distributed among the dialect categories.

The present thesis also investigated whether or not there was a correlation between the characters' nature and their accent. The analysis revealed that the most common combination was human characters with GA accent for the originals, and human characters with Oslo dialect for the dubbings. It also found that animal characters are more likely to have a less prestigious, regionally marked pronunciation, and this was found to be true for both the original and the dubbed versions. For some reason there were no fantasy-characters with foreign accents, in either of the versions.

The last character variable included in this thesis was *age*. The analysis found a correlation between accent/dialect and age in both versions, which showed a tendency for elderly character to speak with more prestigious varieties. In the originals, there was a high percentage of the elderly characters who spoke RP. In the dubbings, there was a higher percentage of elderly who spoke with an *Oslo* dialect than in the other age-categories. Age was also used to create a division between the young characters and the adult characters in *How to*

Train your Dragon, as these two age-groups were placed into two different accent/dialect categories. These findings show how language can be used to build characters and establish divisions between groups of characters in a film, and thus support the underlying assumption of this thesis, namely that language use in films reflects conscious choices.

In addition to the character variables, *setting* was included as a non-linguistic variable. This was included in line with previous research, which has found that foreign accents to some degree are used to mark a non-English-speaking setting for films (Lippi-Green 1997,2011). This use of linguistic markers has been discussed to be highly illogical, as it is limited to a small number of characters within each film. Lippi-Green argues that the logical choice would be to have all characters speak with an accented English, or to have no characters speak with accented English. What is done instead is to give a few characters an accented English, to signal the foreign setting. When analysing accents in relation to the setting, the findings were that it was done in a varying degree. While some films marked the setting through one or two foreign-accented characters, other films included local accents for most of the characters.

When comparing the use of foreign accents in the original and the dubbed versions, it was found that foreign-accented English was translated into foreign-accented Norwegian when spoken by one or two characters, marking the setting. Looking at foreign accents in general, they were translated to Norwegian when used in line with established linguistic stereotypes. The French-accented spy-frog in *Flushed Away* was allowed to keep his French accent in the Norwegian dubbing, and so was the French royal chef in *Shrek 2*. The non-stereotypical use of Spanish accents for most of the characters in *Puss in Boots*, however, were not translated. These characters were given eastern Norwegian dialects instead, except two characters whose accent marked the setting. An additional observation regarding foreign accents is how the differences between British and American accents were evened out in Norwegian, as it was not marked through the Norwegian dialects. The exception was when the American speakers were two stereotypical American tourists in London in *Flushed Away*, where their American accent served to mark their *otherness*. In this case, the London-accented characters were given an eastern dialect, while the two silly tourists spoke American-accented Norwegian.

In both the original and the dubbed versions there was found to be use of linguistic stereotypes for comical characters. It is perhaps not an insult to give the French royal chef in *Shrek 2* a French accent, as the French cuisine is in fact known worldwide to be quite exquisite. However, when the feminine secretary Jerome (*Shrek 2*) and the slimy and unintelligent spy (*Flushed Away*) who happens to be a frog, is given a French accent, it contributes negatively to

the image of the linguistic group who speaks with a French accent, as the representation of this linguistic group is entirely made up of comical and somewhat negative stereotypical characters. If there were a large selection of non-stereotypical French-accented characters alongside these stereotypes, the culminating message would be different. When the setting of *Puss in Boots* is reflected through the Spanish accent spoken by most of the characters, their accent is not linked to their personality but to their environment, and the character types are not automatically associated with their accent. However, when the *Ugly Stepsister* in *Shrek 2* is the only transgendered character we meet, the choice of accent is significant. The historically negative attitudes towards the New York accent is thus linked to the transgendered woman. This shadows the fact that some representation of a typically non-represented group in children's entertainment is initially a positive development towards a more including media.

This selection of 12 films by DreamWorks Productions portrays a broad gallery of various characters, with different natures, alignments, ages, and genders, and in different roles and settings. The main findings show that there are correlations between character traits and spoken language, and that this is found in both the original and the dubbed versions. There are some differences, however, in the way language is treated in the two versions. The correlation between accent and character traits found in the original films conformed with what has been found in previous similar studies investigating other production studios. This was expected with regards to the original films, but it was more surprising to find the same patterns to a large degree mirrored in the Norwegian dubbings. Despite large dialectal variation in the Norwegian society, and pro-dialectal attitudes in the media and the society in general, there was very little dialectal variation in the Norwegian version of the films. This can to some degree be explained through the homogenizing convention so often found in dubbing, as translating spoken varieties, with all the connotations and associations they carry, is a challenging matter. The low degree of representativity for most non-eastern dialects, with many dialectal areas in Norway not represented at all, leaves an impression of a Norwegian dubbing-industry which favours eastern dialects in the translation of children's animated films. It would undoubtedly yield interesting results were there conducted interviews with the dubbing studios in Norway. It is not unlikely that other considerations, such as the availability of voice actors, may have contributed to the selection of dialects. The size and scope of this thesis, however, limited the opportunities to include this aspect. Albeit a potential source of explanations, it does not influence the culminating message communicated through the way the Norwegian dialects are used in the dubbings.

The novelty of this thesis is the inclusion of the Norwegian dubbed versions, and the comparison of the patterns in the original and the dubbed versions of the films. This was also the most challenging aspect of the project. While there are several previous studies on language use in American animated films, this field is yet rather unexplored in Norwegian. Previous societal treatment studies analysing children's entertainment conclude that the findings confirm the results from other approaches to the study of language attitudes. This is also found in the original version of the films in the data of this thesis. The societal treatment approach is thus considered to reflect underlying attitudes in the society, and thereby the dominating language ideology. The findings from the Norwegian versions of the films do not, however, conform with what has been written about language ideology in Norway. Instead, it confirms attitudes reflected in the original films. This is an interesting field for further research, and it underlines the importance of combining methods when investigating language attitudes.

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