Norwegian Attitudes to English Varieties

A sociolinguistic study of students and teachers in

lower secondary school

Hanne Trømborg

Abstract in Norwegian

Denne masteroppgaven er en språkholdningsstudie som ser på nordmenns holdninger til engelske uttalevarianter, og undersøker om disse holdningene samsvarer med klassiske stereotypier dokumentert i tidligere studier. I tillegg diskuteres ulike faktorer som kan påvirke holdninger, som kjønn, reiser til engelskspråklige land og media. Oppgaven er den eneste studien som har informanter fra ungdomsskolen, og respondentene er fra tre ulike fylker i Norge for å undersøke om det er regionale forskjeller i holdninger.

Studien har to deler. I første del lyttet 152 ungdomsskoleelever til og evaluerte seks uttalevarianter av engelsk: standard britisk engelsk, standard amerikansk engelsk, skotsk engelsk, australsk engelsk, indisk engelsk og sørstatsamerikansk engelsk. I den andre delen evaluerte de samme elevene, i tillegg til åtte lærere, de seks variantene ut i fra begrepsevaluering.

Resultatene fra alle informantene viser en tydelig favorisering av standard britisk engelsk. Standard amerikansk engelsk og skotsk engelsk ble evaluert mer positivt da elevene evaluerte begrep i motsetning til da de lyttet til uttalevariantene. Motsatt resultat ble funnet for sørstatsamerikansk engelsk og indisk engelsk, som ble mer positivt evaluert da elevene lyttet til språkvariantene sammenlignet med evaluering av begreper for samme varianter. Resultatene viser dermed at elevene har ulike assosiasjoner knyttet til begrepene for språkvariantene sammenlignet med når de lytter til uttalevariantene.

Studien undersøker også hvilken uttalevariant elevene og lærerne sikter mot, og resultatene viser blant annet at elevene ikke er spesielt påvirket av hvilken variant engelsklæreren bruker. Dataene viser også at flest elever sikter enten mot standard amerikansk engelsk eller en nøytral engelsk uttale, som ikke er assosiert med et engelsk-språklig land.

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List of abbreviations

RP: Received Pronunciation

GA: General American

ScotEng: Scottish English

SAmEng: Southern American English

AusEng: Australian English

InEng: Indian English

IDEA: International Dialects of English Archive

VGT: Verbal Guise Technique

SA: Social Attractiveness

LQ: Linguistic Quality

ELF: English as a lingua franca

ELT: English language teaching

EFL: English as a foreign language

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and scope of the thesis

There are numerous varieties of English spoken by people all over the world, and attitudinal studies investigate what attitudes are associated with different varieties. The present study explores Norwegian attitudes to six varieties of English: Received Pronunciation (RP), General American (GA), Scottish English (ScotEng), Australian English (AusEng), Indian English (InEng) and Southern American English (SAmEng). These particular accents are included to make it possible to compare the results with traditional stereotypes associated with the English varieties, and with previous studies.

The study includes 152 student participants, 13-14 year old 9th graders, and eight teacher participants from three different lower secondary schools in Norway. The student respondents evaluated six speakers, each representing one variety of English, based on the dimensions of Status, Social Attractiveness (SA) and Linguistic Quality (LQ). Additionally, all respondents assessed English varieties based on labels. Few attitudinal studies have investigated attitudes to English varieties among Norwegians, and no other study has explored attitudes among students and teachers in lower secondary schools in Norway. Therefore, the first aim of this study is to explore whether Norwegian 9th graders have the same attitudes to English varieties as attested in previous studies with native and non-native respondents.

Another aim of this study is to investigate which variety of English the teachers and students in Norwegian lower secondary schools prefer and why. A third goal is to uncover what knowledge the students have of the English varieties, and if they can place them geographically. Results from this study will be compared with earlier research on attitudes to English varieties among Norwegian students in upper secondary school.

Compared with previous Norwegian attitudinal studies, this study is more extensive and has a unique geographical spread, with informants from three different counties in Norway: Hordaland, Nordland and Trøndelag. Another aim is to explore if there are differences in attitudes between students living in different geographical

areas in Norway. This project will be an important contribution to the study of language attitudes, and will give new insight in a field with little research.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

This study seeks to explore five research questions, which are presented below.

1. What attitudes do Norwegian students in lower secondary school have towards different varieties of English?
2. Are there differences in attitudes between students from different geographical areas in Norway?
3. Do Norwegian students have the ability to auditorily identify English varieties?
4. Do aspects such as visits to English-speaking countries or the use of English-speaking media affect the respondents' attitudes?
5. Do students and teachers prefer a particular English accent in the classroom?

A total of 11 hypotheses are related to the research questions, and they are inspired by results from previous studies, sociolinguistic theory and by my personal experience as an English teacher.

Most Norwegians learn English at school, where RP and GA are predominantly taught. It is therefore expected that many respondents know these varieties. Moreover, RP has historically been the dominating variety in Norwegian schools and is therefore likely to be favored on the dimensions of Status and LQ. Media is one of the primary sources of English exposure in Norway, and GA is the dominant variety in films and TV series. The awareness of other English varieties has increased with the rise of the Internet, for example through numerous streaming sites such as Youtube. How English varieties are typically portrayed in the media can influence people's attitudes towards them.

The hypotheses in this thesis are the following:

1. The respondents have similar attitudes as reported in previous attitudinal studies.

2. The respondents evaluate RP more favorably than GA on the dimensions of Status and Linguistic Quality, and less favorably on the dimension of Social Attractiveness.

3. Generally, the respondents evaluate Scottish English and Australian English neutrally. The respondents evaluate Southern American English favorably for Social Attractiveness and less favorably for Status, and Indian English is evaluated less favorably on all dimensions.

4. There will be no differences in attitudes between students from different geographical areas in Norway.

5. The majority of the respondents will recognize RP and GA, followed by Indian English. A minority of the respondents will recognize Southern American English, Scottish English and Australian English.

6. Female respondents evaluate all varieties more positively than male respondents.

7. Respondents that have visited English-speaking countries have more positive attitudes towards English varieties.

8. Respondents that use English-speaking media daily have more positive attitudes towards English varieties.

9. The respondents favor the accent their teacher uses in the classroom.

10. The majority of the students believe that English teachers prefer students to use RP.

11. The teachers do not encourage the students to aim at a particular accent.

1.3 The structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of five chapters. The first introductory chapter presents the aims of the study, research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical background, which includes an overview of previous studies within the field and English teaching in Norway. Chapter 3 presents the methodology relevant for the thesis, and the research material such as the respondents, the questionnaires and a presentation of the six varieties used in the study. The results are presented and discussed in Chapter 4, and compared to previous research. Finally, in Chapter 5, the findings are summarized in relation to the research questions. Additionally, suggestions for future research are included.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter presents an overview of the relevant theoretical background for the present thesis. First, an outline of attitudes is presented, followed by an explanation of attitudes in the context of language and varieties of English. Moreover, language and gender, stereotypes and English as a global language will be examined. Finally, this chapter overviews English language teaching in Scandinavia, with the primary focus on Norway.

2.1 Defining 'attitudes'

Attitudes are widely accepted to have a central role in people's lives, even though they cannot be observed directly. Moreover, people are not necessarily conscious of how attitudes are developed, and how attitude surveys are indicators of current thoughts and preferences in a community. The word 'attitude' appears to be a part of people's terminology, and is therefore in common usage, not only for specialized psychologists (Baker 1995: 9). Furthermore, Baker (1995: 9) describes how "common terminology allows bridges to be made between research and practice, theory and policy". Attitudes are valuable explanatory variables concerning topics such as religion, race, marriage, sport and language, which can be discussed in various places, for example among friends, family, co-workers, in research and politics.

Because 'attitude' has become a central concept in social psychology and sociolinguistics during the 20th century, several theoreticians have attempted to explain the nature of attitudes. Thurstone (1931: 261) describes attitudes as "the affect for or against a psychological object", where the "potential action will be favorable or unfavorable toward the object". Baker (1995: 10) defines attitudes as "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour." While the former definition highlights how attitudes can lead to positive or negative feelings toward an object, the latter definition incorporates the component of behavior. LaPiere (1934: 230) defines social attitude as a "behavior pattern" or "a conditioned response to social stimuli".

Allport (1954) combines three components of attitudes when he defines them as: "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way" (in Garrett 2010: 19). Cognition, affect and behavior are the three

components often regarded as the basis or source of attitudes. Attitudes are cognitive because they involve people's thoughts and beliefs about the world. When attitudes are affective, they influence how people feel about something, either positive or negative. The behavior aspect of attitudes involves how people's cognitive and affective judgment influence how people react and behave in situations (Garrett 2010: 23). Consequently, when acquiring knowledge of people's attitudes, it can be easier to predict their behavior. Furthermore, Allport (1954) describes attitude as a *learned* disposition, and Garrett (2010: 22) highlights personal experience and social environment as the dominant sources of influence.

Thurstone's (1931) and LaPiere's (1934) studies show that attitudes are subject to measurement. Both theoreticians highlight the complicated relationship between verbally expressed attitudes and overt action, in other words, how to predict human behavior. Baker (1995: 16) believes that attitudinal surveys are a strong predictor of future behavior, because questionnaires are "less affected by situation factors, and can be measured more reliably" than observation of current behavior. Moreover, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) explain that the "predictability of a behavior is increased by working with attitudes," and that people act after having evaluated the consequences of the particular behavior (in Giles and Billings 2004: 201).

2.2 Attitudes towards language

Everyone using a language has language attitudes. Giles and Billings (2004: 201) define language attitudes as "our judgments about how people actually sound and speak". Language attitudes are therefore strong indicators of how people view language or language variation. These attitudes are often inherited and learned as members of a speech community. Furthermore, language attitudes can influence language use, linguistic variation and language change. According to Hymes (1971: 21–22), language attitude is a significant element of a person's communicative competence. The ability to communicate successfully shapes the way people think about each other. Linguistic forms, language varieties and language styles reveal information about the speaker, and may influence language choices during conversations. Garrett (2010: 105) explains this notion of making communicative adaptions during interaction as a "behavioural signal of our own attitudes, and these adaptations may themselves also evoke attitudinal responses in our communication

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partners, as well as bystanders, eavesdroppers, [and] members of wider audiences". How a person speaks may influence people's attitudes towards him or her, either favorably or unfavorably. Everyone has attitudes toward people and languages, often without conscious knowledge. Undoubtedly, most of us have experienced being somewhat annoyed or fascinated by how another person speaks.

Garrett (2010: 2) emphasizes how "language variation carries social meanings and so can bring very different attitudinal reactions, or even social disadvantage or advantage". People may have various attitudes to all levels of language, such as accent or pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. These factors may indicate a person's age, gender, education and geographical background. Additionally, based on how people speak, one can imagine some of their personality traits. For example, if a person uses many glottal stops, he or she may be perceived as sloppy or lazy. Admittedly, language attitudes are relevant factors in all parts of society, including politics and culture. In 2007, the British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, was accused by a Scottish actor of modifying his Scottish accent in an alleged attempt to achieve more voters in England. Comparatively, this particular Scottish actor also received negative evaluations because he spoke Scottish English while playing the character of an English monarch (Mandrake 2007, in Garrett 2010: 1). People have expectations when it comes to language. As Coupland (2007: 88) emphasizes; "dialect or accent variables may be alternative ways of achieving the same reference, but it certainly does not follow that they are alternative ways of saying, or meaning, 'the same thing'".

Language attitudes play a significant role in various parts of society, especially in the four professional contexts of legal processes, health, education and employment. There are several instances of language-focused discrimination in the workplace all around the world. One example is taken from a court case from Hawai'i, where the court declared the plaintiff's accent a handicap that he could overcome with practice. Lippi-Green (2012: 156) claims that it is "possible to trace the influence of the standard ideology through much of the court's deliberations". Unwritten laws of standard language ideology are evident in discrimination based on national origin, and to resist the process of language subordination is a "demand for the simple right to be heard" (Lippi-Green 2012: 335). In order to reduce discrimination against language traits, a first step could be that children acquire an understanding of several varieties of English (Lippi-Green 2012: 333).

Lippi-Green (2012: 61) describes the foundation of standard language ideology as a "myth that only persists because it is carefully tended and propagated, with huge, almost universal success, so that language, the most fundamental of human socialization tools, becomes a commodity". Historically, the standardized version of a language is often spoken by the powerful elites and promoted through education and the media. Consequently, standard varieties achieve high status and prestige in comparison with non-standard varieties (Giles and Rakić 2014: 14). Moreover, Lippi-Green (2012: 60) further explains how it appears that people want "language to be geographically neutral, because we believe that this neutrality will bring with it a greater range of communication". Her claim may be validated by the fact that standard varieties cannot usually be geographically placed, and these varieties are generally favored.

There are three main approaches to the study of language attitudes. Firstly, the direct method is the approach where respondents are asked explicitly to report their attitudes, through interviews or questionnaires. Secondly, the indirect method attempts to measure the respondents' unconscious and private opinions, without asking the respondents direct questions regarding their views. The indirect approach typically uses the matched guise technique (MGT) or the verbal guise technique (VGT) (Garrett 2010: 37). The MGT consists of one speaker who mimics several accents, while the VGT consists of several native speakers of the specific varieties. In both approaches, the respondents evaluate audiotaped speakers on a number of semantic-differential scales. The scales include evaluative dimensions such as Status, Social Attractiveness (SA) and Linguistic Quality (LQ). Thirdly, the societal treatment studies analyze publicly available materials, as a way of measuring societies' attitudes towards languages or linguistic varieties. Attitudinal studies using these approaches have yielded interesting results about attitudes towards language, especially English. The approaches are explained in detail in Chapter 3.

2.3 Attitudes toward English varieties

The influence of English increased during the expansion of the British Empire, through colonialism, settlements and trading. In the postcolonial era, English was often used as a second language in business, government and teaching (Melchers and Shaw 2011: 7). In an attempt to recognize the position and spread of English, Kachru

(1990) developed a prominent model which explains the role of English in the world. The model consists of three areas: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle includes countries where English has dominated as the prominent and first language over a long period, such as Great Britain and the USA, Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand.

The Outer Circle consists of countries in Asia and Africa that were colonized by Great Britain or the USA without large or permanent settlements. In these countries, such as India, Nigeria and Singapore, English became a second language and coexisted with the countries' first languages (Melchers and Shaw 2011: 38). Nevertheless, English became prestigious and a convenient lingua franca that could facilitate communication among linguistically diverse populations. English has remained an official or semi-official language and plays a significant role within the countries' communities, for example in government, law, media and education. There are numerous reasons for choosing English as an official language or a favored foreign language, which includes "historical tradition, political expediency, and the desire for commercial, cultural or technological contact" (Crystal 2003: 5).

Countries in the Expanding Circle, such as China, Japan and Norway, use English as a foreign language or as a lingua franca, to communicate with people from other countries (Munden and Sandhaug 2017: 73).

Crystal (2003: 30) emphasizes that a combination of geographical-historical and socio-cultural reasons has resulted in a "language that consists of many varieties, each distinctive in its use of sounds, grammar and vocabulary". When people all over the world speak English, many of these speech communities have their own English varieties. Galloway and Rose (2015: 96) describe English varieties within the Outer Circle as "New" Englishes. Mollin (2006: 198) characterizes English varieties within the Outer Circle, such as Nigerian English or Indian English, as indigenized versions of World Englishes if there has been a development of unique linguistic features (in Simensen 2014: 6).

Since the 1960s, numerous researchers in various disciplines around the world have conducted investigations of the effect of language. Linguists have in particular investigated attitudes towards the English language, due to its global and dominant status in the world. Moreover, many of these studies reveal similar findings. First and foremost, standard varieties are evaluated favorably on the evaluative dimension Status, which includes traits such as education, prestige and intelligence. In most

studies, RP has the upper hand on GA, but some researchers suggest that GA will soon replace RP at the top of the hierarchy (Bayard et al. 2001).

Until the middle of the 20th century, "RP reigned supreme as the unrivalled English pronunciation standard" (Hannisdal 2007: 15). However, in the decades following the Second World War, Britain experienced social changes that affected the hegemony of RP. When the educational system extended and became available to people with different upbringings, "an educated speaker was no longer synonymous with an RP speaker" (Hannisdal 2007: 15). Nevertheless, Stewart, Ryan, and Giles (1985: 98) emphasize how "previous studies have demonstrated that RP is not only acknowledged as the prestige accent in the United Kingdom, but also in the former colonies of Australia, New Zealand and Canada." Several studies substantiate this claim (e.g., Giles 1970, Giles and Powesland 1975, Ball 1983, Bayard et al. 2001). Furthermore, Garrett (2010: 54) states that the "place of RP in English language attitudes is a recurring topic in this field, both within and outside the UK".

Results from attitudinal research have found a correlation between evaluations of English varieties, and whether they are considered as standard, rural or urban varieties (e.g., Giles 1970, Preston 1998, Hiraga 2005, Coupland and Bishop 2007). Studies from the UK and the USA show that standard varieties, such as RP and GA, are judged more positively, particularly on the evaluative dimensions of Status. Furthermore, studies in the UK reveal that Scottish English and Irish English are often evaluated as the second most favorable varieties on Status. These varieties, in addition to rural varieties such as Yorkshire English, are frequently evaluated favorably on the dimension of SA. Moreover, urban varieties such as Cockney and Birmingham English are systematically downgraded on all evaluative dimensions (e.g., Giles 1970, Ball 1983, Hiraga 2005, Coupland and Bishop 2007). Consequently, when language varieties are characterized as non-standard, they are often stigmatized and not considered acceptable as "correct" English.

In the USA, on the other hand, the rural varieties are systematically downgraded on all dimensions, especially Southern accents. Furthermore, the urban varieties are often evaluated as the second most favorable varieties, with the exception of New York City (Preston 1998).

In Preston's (1998) study, his informants, American university students, are asked to identify the different speech areas of the United States and rank them in regard to "correctness". The speech areas rated as having the least correct English

were the South, New York City and Hawaii, and the speech areas evaluated as having a correct English were the Midwest, New England, the North and the West. The respondents' characterizations of speech areas in the USA are linked to stereotypes connected to the geographical area. For example, the respondents are consistent in their low ranking of the South, and the labels 'Hillbillies' and 'Hicks' are used to describe the Southerners. Preston (1998: 148) argues that the "South is thought to be rural, backward and uneducated; its dialect is quite simply associated with the features assigned its residents". New York City does not achieve a consistent ranking, because the stereotypes connected to this speech area are conflicting. On the one hand, people highlight the cultural dominance of New York City. On the other hand, perceptions of crime and poverty may have a negative influence on the rankings. Furthermore, Preston (1998) believes that New England has a high ranking due to its attachment to England, which people generally agree is the country where the most "correct" English is spoken.

Howard Giles has been a significant contributor to language attitudinal research. His 1970 study shows the significance of standard language ideology in the UK when secondary school students in Wales and England evaluate RP positively in comparison to other English varieties. RP is ranked the highest on the evaluative dimensions of Status, Communicative and Aesthetic content. While regional varieties (such as Irish, Southern Welsh, and Northern English) are rated neutral or slightly negative, urban varieties (such as Birmingham and Cockney) are downgraded on all dimensions. North American (GA) is rated positively on Communicative content and Status. Moreover, British respondents evaluate the standard variety in the USA more positively than regional and urban varieties within their own country.

Hiraga (2005) investigates British respondents' attitudes toward six varieties of English in the USA and the UK. In this study, the evaluative dimensions of Status and Solidarity are investigated using the VGT. She found that "accents used by prestigious people are associated with competence and status, an association which in turn evolves into a more favorable disposition towards their esthetic qualities as well". While standard varieties such as RP and GA are favored, the regional varieties of West Yorkshire and Alabama are ranked second. The urban varieties of Birmingham and New York City have the least favorable evaluations. Coupland and Bishop's (2007) study is inspired by Giles' (1970) study, and found similar results. The standard varieties, RP and GA, are evaluated the most positively with RP as the most

favorable. Regional varieties, such as Scottish English and Irish English, are evaluated positively on the dimension of SA. The urban varieties Cockney and Birmingham have the least positive scores in the study.

As previous research has shown, RP is rated higher than GA among respondents in Britain. Steward, Ryan and Giles' (1985) study of American students evaluating RP and GA shows similar results. On the dimension of social status, RP is rated higher than GA, even if RP is characterized as less intelligible and more uncomfortable than GA. However, GA is ranked higher than RP on SA. Bayard et al. (2001) investigate whether American English has dethroned British English, due to the impacts of globalization and the position American English has in the media world. The respondents from the USA, Australia and New Zealand demonstrate the continuation of a linguistic hierarchy with RP at the top. However, the researchers argue that GA eventually can rival or even replace RP as the preferred and possibly the most prestigious variety.

There are also researchers that investigate language attitudes among non-native speakers of English. McKenzie (2008) examines Japanese university students' attitudes towards the varieties Midwest United States English, Southern US English, Glasgow Vernacular, Glasgow Standard English, moderately accented Japanese English and heavily accented Japanese English using the VGT. The results reveal that the speakers of US English receive the most favorable evaluations for competence-traits, followed by the speakers of Scottish English and the Japanese accented Englishes. McKenzie (2008: 151) argues that the Japanese informants continue the notion of 'native speaker ideology' because varieties in the Inner Circle English are perceived as the standard of "correctness".

Moreover, the respondents evaluate the Japanese speaker with the heavily accented English most favorably on the dimension of SA, which may indicate that the Japanese respondents identify with the speaker (McKenzie 2008: 145). Additionally, the non-standard varieties of Scottish English and US English receive positive evaluations on SA. This is also evident in studies conducted in the USA and the UK, where native speaker evaluations reveal a preference for non-standard varieties on the dimension of SA.

McKenzie (2008: 141) further argues that attitude studies that involve evaluations by non-native speakers should include a variety recognition question, because they "are likely to have had less exposure to varieties of L2 speech than

native speakers and, as such, may be less familiar with and have more difficulty in identifying particular varieties". The findings from his study show a tendency for the respondents to classify speakers as either native or non-native before categorizing them further. The varieties with the most successful identification are heavily accented Japanese English and the speakers of US English, which demonstrates the dominance of American culture, such as US news and movies, in Japanese society. Additionally, the findings show that the respondents who correctly identify the speakers from Inner Circle English, evaluate the varieties more favorably.

Attitudinal studies of the English language have also been conducted in Scandinavia. Ladegaard (1998) applied the VGT in the study of Danish learners' attitudes towards several English varieties. The same data was also used in Ladegaard and Sachdev's (2006) article. The respondents, students in upper secondary school and at the University, evaluate three British speakers (using RP, Cockney and Scottish English), one American and one Australian speaker. The results reveal evaluation patterns similar to earlier attitudinal research from the UK and the USA. The RP speaker is rated high on the evaluative dimensions relating to Competence and Status, in addition to being perceived as the model of pronunciation. Similar to earlier studies, RP is perceived as the most prestigious accent of English in Denmark. Additionally, RP is downgraded on the evaluative dimensions of Personal Integrity and SA. While GA is favored on just one trait, sense of humor, the Scottish and Australian voices are generally favored on the Solidarity dimensions. The American accent is the most successfully identified, while the RP speaker is identified by a fairly large number of the respondents. The three remaining accents are more difficult to identify correctly, and the respondents often misidentify the Scottish speaker as being from Ireland. Additionally, a preference for American culture does not seem to affect the respondents' language behavior or accent preference.

Several recent studies investigate Norwegian learners' attitudes toward English varieties in upper secondary schools (e.g., Rindal 2010, Loftheim 2013, Rindal and Piercy 2013, Sannes 2013, Rindal 2014, Rasmussen 2015, Areklett 2017). Similar to studies conducted in Denmark, Norwegian students evaluate RP more positively than other English varieties in verbal guise studies, including GA (e.g., Loftheim 2013, Rasmussen 2015, Areklett 2017). Furthermore, several studies suggest that while RP is perceived as the most prestigious and successful variety, GA is associated with more informal contexts and is perceived as the most

comprehensible, "normal" and accessible English accent (e.g., Rindal 2010, Sannes 2013, Rindal 2014). While RP is the most positively evaluated variety of English, Areklett's (2017) study demonstrates how Australian English is ranked second, followed by GA, Southern American English, Indian English and Irish English last. Loftheim (2013), on the other hand, reveals that the adolescents in his study rank GA in second place, followed by Scottish English and the New York accent, Cockney in fourth and Southern American English as the least favored variety.

Areklett (2017) and Loftheim (2013) found almost no age-group differences in their data. Both studies include two or three age groups, with participants ranging from 17 to 60. Even though Areklett found the adult participants to give slightly more negative evaluations than the younger group, the differences were smaller than expected. Similarly, Loftheim uncovers few noticeable differences when it comes to evaluative patterns between the age groups.

2.4 Language and gender

The feminist movement of the 1970s and the 1980s inspired early language and gender research. In the following decades, the awareness of the complexities of gender, masculinity, femininity and sexual orientation has inspired new research (Coates and Pichler 2011: 2). Furthermore, studies have found correlations between linguistic usage and gender. For many linguistic features, women tend to use the standard forms more regularly than men from the same social class (Romaine 2003: 101). Studies have shown that men, on the other hand, use more stigmatized forms than women, such as double negative (Eckert 2011: 59).

There are several explanations for why women use more standard language than men, such as prestige, social networks, economic factors and the linguistic market. Social networks refer to how social groups have the power to impose speech norms, and economic factors imply how the job market favor people who use standard forms.

The linguistic market refers to how women tend to use more standard forms due to their marginalization in the linguistics marketplace (Coates and Pichler 2011: 10). For example, women and men have traditionally had a different relation to linguistic markets. Women have historically been subordinate to men, and using the "right" language may therefore have been critical for women to succeed in different

parts of society, in order to gain respect or advance in position (Eckert 2011: 59). Because of these traditional gender roles, women have historically achieved status based on appearance, which includes how they speak, while men typically achieved status for their work achievements. Standard forms may therefore be associated with femininity or females, while non-standard forms may be associated with masculinity or men.

Trudgill's (2011) research reveals how male speakers in Norwich were more likely to use non-standard forms than female speakers. The study also shows that women tend to over-report their use of standard forms, while men tend to under-report. Trudgill (2011: 25–26) further argues that non-standard forms are associated with covert prestige in the working-class speech, because it is linked to hidden positive values. For example, non-standard speech may be connected to the notion of masculinity and give the connotation of toughness.

It has also been suggested that the linguistic forms women use become prestige forms. According to this argument, women create prestige norms rather than follow them (Romaine 2003: 110). For example, it is believed that the long stigmatized feature /t/-glottalization in British English, has lost its stigma due to the increased use of glottal stops in women's speech (Milroy et al. 1994). Milroy et al. (1994: 351) argue that both social class and gender affect linguistic change, but that "gender in this interpretation would be viewed as prior to class".

Gender differences have also been attested in attitudinal studies. Coupland and Bishop's (2007) study is a large online survey that collected evaluative data on 34 different varieties from 5010 respondents in the UK. The results show that the female respondents evaluated the labelled English accents significantly more favorably than the male respondents.

Norwegian studies, however, have found no systematic differences between the genders when it comes to attitudes towards varieties of English (e.g., Loftheim 2013, Rindal 2014, Areklett 2017). While Areklett (2017) finds the female respondents to evaluate most varieties slightly more positively than the male respondents, Loftheim (2013) reveals the opposite results. In his study, the male respondents overall judged the varieties slightly more positive than the female respondents. However, the differences found in these studies are minimal.

2.5 Stereotypes

Stereotypes are the cognitive process of attributing characteristics to people based on their group membership, such as people from a specific country or region, of a particular ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, religion or with specific names. Stereotypes are the foundation for social categorization, and "implies a cognitive grouping of objects, people or events" (Kristiansen 2001: 138). According to Garrett (2010: 32), "social categorization tends to exaggerate similarities among members within a social group and differences between groups, and thus provides a basis for stereotyping". Stereotypes are typically expressed through various labels that are either positive or negative, and they are often resistant to change (Garrett 2010: 32–33). Preston's (1998) study reveals negative attitudes towards several speech areas in the US. For example, the Southern area in the USA was labeled 'hillbilly', which is often applied as an insult against people who live in the countryside. Additionally, Mid-Western English was labeled 'normal' which may be in an attempt to connect the speech area closer to the standard variety in the USA.

Stereotypes can be described as a shared set of attitudes about a cognitive group that is socially and contextually determined. Furthermore, stereotypes are "socially relative constructs, in the sense that different social groups are likely to create different stereotypical images of the same target" (Kristiansen 2001: 138). Because everyone shares language characteristics within a particular country, region or city, people tend to categorize individuals that have some of the same characteristics, such as accent (Garrett 2010: 32). Stereotypes are therefore relevant in attitudinal studies.

Tajfel (1981) believes that social categorization serves a function on an individual and an intergroup level (in Garrett 2010: 33). Stereotypes can be an advantage for the individual because social categorizations simplify the social world, and can make it easier to predict characteristics and abilities in conversations with new people. At an intergroup level, stereotypes enable people to have preferences between in-groups and out-groups. Therefore, stereotypes help maintain inequalities in a world where people can experience an advantage or disadvantage due to their social class background (Garrett 2010: 32–33). Furthermore, Garrett (2010: 33) expresses how a "system of belief that maintains, triggers and directs such discrimination is often referred to as ideology".

Language ideology has become a significant factor to the study of language variation and language change. The standardized versions of a language are often considered acceptable in public life, such as education, media, in business and politics. Davies (2004: 434) explains how speakers who are further away from the standard language are "disfavored and disadvantaged" and are more likely to "feel insecure and to have their version of the standard language stigmatized, as well as to stigmatize it themselves". Additionally, Giles and Rakić (2014: 15) state that standard language ideology justifies and rationalizes "why nonstandard (and nonnative) speakers are somewhat 'less'".

2.6 English as a global language

Crystal (2003: 3) explains that "a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country". In the past couple of decades, globalization has solidified the position of English as a global language. Worldwide, people interact with each other more, relying on the global lingua franca to communicate. English has become a communication power international travelers use in encounters with, for example, hotel receptionists, business partners and other travelers with different native languages. The Internet has accelerated this trend, and English dominates in advertisements, broadcasting, academic publications, popular music and the film industry. Most films, TV-series and Internet services, such as Google and Netflix, originate from the USA. Additionally, American mobile applications such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat are popular worldwide, as are popular transportation apps such as Uber. Moreover, people often communicate in English to reach a wider audience. Consequently, the English language can signify opportunity and empowerment in the globalized era.

While the British political imperialism had its peak towards the end of the nineteenth century, the USA became the leading economic, political and military superpower after the Second World War (Crystal 2003: 59). As the influence of the USA increased, advancements in technology led to the development of communication such as the telegraph, telephones and radio. The explosion of large multinational organizations brought the emergence of international marketing and advertising. The growth of the broadcasting media exceeded the power of the press. New mass entertainment industries that promoted American movies, TV-programmes

and music, began reaching people all over the world and had a global impact. The English language evolved into a lingua franca, not only in diplomacy and business but also to regular people. With the growing importance of English as a global language, English now plays a vital role in research environments and education in many countries (Crystal 2003: 10). Moreover, Crystal (2003: 97) emphasizes how people can "only speculate about how these media developments must have influenced the growth of world English".

Even though English as a global language has increased, not everyone accepts English as the leading global language when it comes to political communication and diplomacies. The international organization, the United Nations (UN), has increased its member states nearly four times since its establishment in 1945, and it is currently made up of 193 Member States (2013a). In 1946, Chinese, French, English, Russian and Spanish became the official languages, with English and French as the working languages. During the next decades, the rest of the official languages, in addition to including Arabic, were given the status of working languages within the UN (2013b). This development illustrates how language identity is more significant in international collaboration than the adaption of a lingua franca, and that multilingualism is a core value in cooperation within the United Nations. Furthermore, Crystal (2003: 28) underlines that "despite the remarkable growth in the use of English, at least two-thirds of the world population do not yet use it".

2.7 English Language Teaching

The focus on English as a lingua franca (ELF) and English as a foreign language (EFL) has increased among scholars of English language teaching (ELT) development (Simensen 2014). Kramsch (2014: 299) emphasizes that with the "current global financial crisis, many institutions in the Scandinavian countries are cutting back on their FL [foreign language] programs and investing all their resources in the teaching of what they perceive as the only truly necessary language to succeed in a global world: English".

Galloway and Rose (2015: 204) highlight how "ELT classrooms should expose students to Englishes of ELF contexts that are salient to them." British and American English standard varieties have been codified and are therefore easily accessible for teachers and students, but materials for incorporating Global Englishes

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in the classroom are lacking. Furthermore, traditional approaches to ELT have promoted the 'English-only' policy in the classroom, where the students' first language may be viewed as a hindrance when learning English. A Global Englishes approach, on the other hand, highlights multilingualism in ELT as a useful resource (Galloway and Rose 2015: 204–205). Moreover, scholars of World Englishes and ELF believe it is important to encourage learners' communicative proficiency, and increase their understanding of language varieties by exposing them to a wide range of accents (Chan 2018: 63).

Bradac and Giles (1991) claim that language attitudes can have significant consequences for ELT. In ELT, there has been a focus on British and American English, in the form of RP and GA. Ladegaard and Sachdev (2006: 93) explain that given the "overwhelming media support and vitality of [GA] in Scandinavia, Bradac and Giles (1991) predicted that Scandinavian learners of EFL would not only perceive [GA] more favorably than RP … but would also be motivated to learn [GA] more than RP". However, this predicted shift has not been documented in Scandinavian studies (Ladegaard 1998, Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006, Rindal 2010).

Ladegaard and Sachdev's (2006: 102) findings suggest that Scandinavian respondents favor RP as their role model of pronunciation. The seven teachers whose students participated in their study also state that they aim towards British English, but only one of them said she encourages her students to speak with a British accent. The researchers also examine whether or not the respondents' preferred accent aim reflect actual language behavior. While 14 students were successful in achieving the British accent they aimed towards, only two of the 21 participants who stated they spoke with an American accent were judged to speaking with that accent (Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006: 99–105).

In Norway, English is taught as a foreign language from year 1 (age 6), and is regarded as an essential subject throughout the students' education. There is no formal pronunciation model in the English subject curriculum (ENG1–03), but the traditional English varieties taught in ELT are RP and GA. Because of the extensive influence from the British Council in the Norwegian education system, RP has been the dominant norm. In Norway, as in many countries where English is taught as a second or foreign language, GA is promoted and spread through popular culture and has a significant role in ELT (Rindal 2014: 314). Contrary to most other European countries, English language programs on Norwegian television channels are normally

subtitled rather than dubbed. Norwegians are therefore exposed to spoken English more or less on a daily basis.

The lack of dubbing in Norwegian TV may be an essential contributing factor to getting students acquainted with different English varieties. Since the Norwegian national curriculum, the Knowledge Promotion, was published in 2006 and revised in 2013, there has been a new focus on Global Englishes (Simensen 2014). Competence aims in the English subject curriculum after Year 10 and after Vg1[1] focus on enabling the students to listen to and understand varieties of English from authentic situations. Additionally, the focus on global Englishes increases according to the competence aims after Vg1, when the students should be able to "discuss and elaborate on the growth of English as a universal language" (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2013).

A renewed Norwegian national curriculum will be finished by the end of 2019 and used from the start of the new school year in 2020. The new competence aims after year 10 and Vg1 focus on the students' first language as a useful resource when learning English. Additionally, there is a new emphasis on global Englishes after year 10, when the competence aims focus on the role of English in Norway and the world, without specifying any countries (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2019). The national curriculum that was revised in 2013, on the other hand, highlights explicitly Great Britain and the USA in the competence aims after year 10. Both curriculums emphasize that students should be able to listen to and understand varieties of English. Additionally, neither curriculum focuses on a model of pronunciation, only that the students should be able to express themselves fluently and coherently (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2013, 2019).

Munden and Sandhaug (2017: 217) emphasize the necessity for teachers to "state explicitly that there are very many varieties of English, and that although some varieties carry higher social status than others, no one variety is intrinsically superior to another". It can be challenging for the students to be consistent in their aim towards a specific accent, and many EFL speakers use a mixture of RP and GA, also called Mid-Atlantic English. Rindal (2010: 256) emphasizes that "without any official English pronunciation norms in the Norwegian school, there is a need for teachers and teacher educators to be aware of perceived norms and learner attitudes towards the English language".

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[1] First year of upper secondary school.

Studies reveal how some teachers of upper secondary schools in Scandinavia prefer students to acquire a pronunciation and intonation close to a native speaker of English (Ainasoja 2010, Hansen 2011). Nevertheless, according to Ainasoja's (2010) study, six out of 19 English teachers in Swedish upper secondary schools do not speak and write the English variety they claim they are teaching. While some teachers are not aware of the differences between American English and British English, many teachers state explicitly that they want their students to be consistent in their choice of accent. However, a minority of the teachers report that they accept a mix of American English and British English features in the students' speech, but not when they write (Ainasoja 2010). Moreover, results from Hansen's (2011) study reveal that teachers evaluate a native-like pronunciation and intonation as positive factors when it comes to the students' competence.

Hopland's (2016) study looks as Norwegian students in upper secondary school, and shows that the majority of the respondents believe the teachers to prefer a specific English accent for the students to use, predominantly British English. However, many students have also answered that they do not believe teachers have any preferences.

Rindal (2014: 314) explains how "research into language attitudes can provide insight into language choices made by learners as well as into the status and development of the L2 in the given context". Rindal (2010: 256) argues that perceived language norms can be significant for "learner motivation, pronunciation skills and language insight." Rindal (2014) suggests that students should be exposed to several English varieties to understand the diversity of global Englishes. Furthermore, she emphasizes that "familiarity with such linguistic and social registers would encourage the development of L2 confidence and ownership, and ultimately lead to increased language proficiency" (Rindal 2014: 331–332).

Rindal (2014) further investigates Norwegian learners' identification success of English varieties, and her results show that standard accents are more easily identified than non-standard varieties. The identification success was high for RP and GA (ranging from 77% to 93%), while the identification score for the Scottish English speakers were noteworthy smaller (ranging from 21% to 46%). Additionally, the respondents were often unsure of the origin of the Scottish English speakers, whether or not they came from Scotland, Ireland or England. Moreover, Rindal (2014: 324) concludes that the "results of the analysis show that school, gender, home

language and accent aim had few (and apparently random) significant effects on accent evaluations".

Numerous studies reveal that a majority of Norwegian learners report that they aim towards a native variety of English, and that American English is the favored pronunciation model among students in upper secondary school, suggesting influence from American popular culture (e.g., Rindal and Piercy 2013, Rindal 2014, Rasmussen 2015, Hopland 2016). Rindal (2014: 327) claims that American English is the preferred choice because it is regarded as the most "natural" variety and as the easiest variety to pronounce. Nevertheless, some studies show that British English is the preferred pronunciation norm among Norwegian students (Rindal 2010, Sannes 2013). Rindal's (2010) study reveals that students have very traditional reasons for choosing British English, such as status, formality and competence. In comparison, the students aiming towards American English highlight the very same factors as reasons not to speak British English.

Language attitudinal studies demonstrate how a significant minority of the Norwegian learners report a 'neutral' accent aim, not associated with any native English-speaking country or people. Rindal and Piercy (2013) suggest how a 'neutral' accent aim can be a strategy for learners who do not want to be associated with the values and attributes related to native accents. Moreover, Rindal and Piercy (2013: 224) state that "there is a tendency for Neutral aimers' production to be closer to [American English] aimers than [British English] aimers."

Rindal (2010) investigates whether or not Norwegian learners' accent aim correlates with accent use. She includes the results from eight students who aim for American English, and eleven students who aim for British English. The results reveal a noteworthy correlation, where the participants use the variety they aim towards. Compared to Ladegaard's (1998) data, the respondents in Rindal's (2010) study have a higher success rate for American English. The data from Rindal (2010) is more recent, which may suggest increased influence from American English due to the rise of globalization.

2.8 Summary

The increased focus on attitudinal research of the English language reveals several evaluation patterns. Results from previous studies that include native respondents

show a correlation between evaluations of English varieties and whether they are considered standard, rural or urban varieties. The same tendencies are observed in previous studies with non-native respondents, for example in Scandinavia. The standard varieties, such as RP and GA, are evaluated favorably on the evaluative dimension status, which includes traits such as prestige, education and intelligence. In most studies, RP has the upper hand on GA on all evaluative dimensions. In the UK, regional varieties such as Scottish English and Irish English, are evaluated favorably on the dimension of SA, and are often judged as the second most favorable varieties on the dimension of Status. The urban varieties in the USA, with the exception of New York City, are often ranked in second place in the USA. Urban varieties in the UK, such as Cockney and Birmingham, and rural varieties in the US, especially the South, are systematically downgraded on all evaluative dimensions.

Attitudinal studies in Scandinavia also show that RP is perceived as the most prestigious accent of English. While RP is perceived as the model of pronunciation in attitudinal studies in Denmark, some attitudinal studies in Norway reveal a tendency for students to view GA as the model of pronunciation or to have a 'neutral' accent aim. Nevertheless, most attitudinal studies with native or non-native respondents reveal the continuation of a linguistic hierarchy with RP at the top.

3. METHODOLOGY

Attitudes are not directly observable, and therefore challenging to study. Researchers have developed several approaches for the study of language attitudes. This chapter begins by reviewing the three main approaches, mentioned in 2.2, in addition to discussing questionnaire design. Furthermore, the present study will be presented, with details concerning the respondents, the questionnaires and the linguistic varieties.

3.1 Research methods

Garret (2010:37) emphasizes three main approaches in the study of language attitudes, namely *the direct approach, the indirect approach* and *the societal treatment approach*. While societal treatment studies and the direct approach include numerous techniques of studying language attitudes, the indirect approach focuses on the guise techniques. The societal treatment approach provides insight into values and stereotypes connected to language varieties within society. In other words, it is a study of how a linguistic variety is "treated" in society. Societal treatment studies include content analysis of language use through ethnography studies, or the analysis of sources in the public domain, such as newspapers, adverts, TV and radio programs. For example, there has been an increased focus on the use of language in consumer advertisements and on linguistic landscapes, such as public road signs, street names and newspapers (Garrett, 2010:142).

Methods relevant to this study include indirect and direct measurements. The matched guise technique (MGT) and the verbal guise technique (VGT) are the most recognized methods within the indirect method. It is important to be aware of both the possibilities and the limitations of the different approaches, due to demands of reliability and validity in language research studies.

3.1.1 The direct approach

The direct approach involves the study of language attitudes through interviews, questionnaires or focus groups. Research can be conducted face-to-face, via telephone or online. The respondents are asked direct questions regarding language features, and

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personal preferences for languages or language varieties. Consequently, they are aware of the aim of the research and are explicitly asked to report their attitudes towards a particular subject. The advantages of using direct measurements are that the approach is straightforward, easy to carry out and requires few resources. It is rather simple to collect data on the respondents' attitudes because they are explicitly asked direct questions about the subject in question (Garrett 2010: 39). Moreover, the approach is efficient in the sense that it accumulates large amount of data quickly. For example, online questionnaires can be distributed to a large number of people in a relatively short time.

A weakness of online questionnaires is that the respondents are self-selected and therefore not a random group of people. The participants in the study may, therefore, have an interest in and specific predispositions (e.g., conservative or progressive view) towards language varieties from the beginning. Additionally, they may be defined as a group of people that have an interest in completing surveys, and are therefore not representative of the population (Coupland and Bishop 2007: 84).

There are other disadvantages with the use of the direct approach, for example, respondents may fail to reveal their true language attitudes. The respondents evaluate languages or accents without being exposed to particular varieties. For example, the respondents may be presented with a written list of linguistic varieties, and asked to state their opinions concerning prepared accent or group labels, such as 'North American English', 'London-English' or 'Australians'. It is challenging for the researcher to understand how each individual interprets the various labels in a study, because they are often broad, have different connotations and are given outside of context. Respondents may therefore react differently to labels compared to the language spoken in real-life settings.

Some approaches eliminate the disadvantage with broad labels. For example, perceptual dialectology, a subdivision of folk linguistics, is an approach without prepared labels. Moreover, the respondents evaluate language varieties freely regarding correctness, social prestige and pleasantness on a blank or minimally detailed map. In the context of Global Englishes, this method is particularly useful when explaining attitudes regarding unfamiliar varieties of English (Galloway and Rose 2015: 178).

A more general weakness with the direct approach concerns biases. Because respondents are asked direct questions, they are more likely to be affected by social

desirability bias and acquiescence bias. The former refers to the tendency for people to respond to questions in a way they think would be politically correct and therefore regarded as 'socially appropriate', especially regarding controversial topics such as religion, ethnicity and race. The latter label indicates a tendency for people to agree with whatever the statement is, either because of the way the question is phrased or because they want to gain the researcher's approval. Furthermore, people can be influenced by the way they perceive the purpose of the research and the particular researcher. These biases are therefore especially relevant in face-to-face interviews. The researcher's characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, language and accent, can have an effect on the respondents' answers (also called the 'Interviewer's Paradox'). Moreover, people may be unaware of their attitudes, or be unwilling to admit them for various reasons (Baker 1995: 44, Garrett 2010: 44–45).

If the biases mentioned above are present in a study, the respondents are not entirely truthful, which may result in validity problems. Therefore, it is essential that researchers are aware of these weaknesses when conducting research based on direct measurements. One can try to minimize the effects by ensuring the respondents' anonymity, and explicitly explain that there are no right or wrong answers.

3.1.2 The indirect approach

Language attitudes can also be studied using the indirect approach, which compensates for some of the weaknesses of the direct approach. Garrett (2010: 41) explains that the indirect approach is applied as a more subtle or deceptive technique to achieve information about people's true feelings towards a specific language, dialect or accent. Compared to direct measurements, indirect measurements are less vulnerable to social desirability bias, and respondents do not need to relate to accent labels. The two main techniques within the indirect approach are the MGT and the VGT. The establishment of methodological conventions has yielded useful insight, and the growing popularity of these techniques has led to numerous studies that allow international comparison.

The more common technique, the MGT, was developed by Lambert and his colleagues in Montreal in the 1950s, as an attempt to reveal the respondents' more privately held views (Giles and Billings 2004: 187–190). This technique involves listening to recorded speech samples of a given passage read by the same speaker in

different accents. While these passages are played, the respondents evaluate the speakers on attitudinal rating scales with various traits such as intelligence and friendliness (Galloway and Rose 2015: 178). The respondents are, however, unaware that they are listening to one speaker imitating different language varieties. They are told that they are listening to a number of different native speakers. An advantage to using the MGT is that the respondents evaluate the recordings purely based on sound segments and that all other factors are predominantly held constant, such as voice quality, pitch levels, intonations, pauses and speech tempo. These factors may be a distraction for the respondents if they start to focus on how slowly or fast one speaker speaks rather than the speaker's accent. Moreover, they are presumably unaware of the specific features (such as accents) they are evaluating (Garrett 2010: 41). Consequently, the MGT may be regarded as a more deceptive measurement of people's attitudes, but more likely to access "real" attitudes.

Even though the MGT is the commonly preferred technique, no measurement is perfect. The degree of authenticity is specifically questioned regarding this technique. First, it is challenging to find a person that manages to mimic a multitude of accents that is needed in these types of studies. Additionally, because language varieties differ in accent traits, such as intonation patterns, constructing language varieties can lead to irregularities. This may lead to varieties appearing unnatural, especially if the respondents are familiar with some of the selected varieties. Furthermore, the authenticity of the style is a potential weakness. When a person is to imitate several varieties, instead of speaking spontaneously, it may result in a more formal and 'stiff' style. Another disadvantage is that the respondents might think that the speakers are from a different geographical area than what they are (Garrett 2010: 57–59). Consequently, it is relevant to ask the respondents to identify the speakers' geographical origin.

The VGT is an example of a modified version of the MGT developed in response to criticism of the latter (Galloway and Rose 2015: 178). The VGT includes the same procedures as the MGT, where the respondents are asked to listen to speakers of different varieties and rate them on evaluation scales. However, there is an essential distinction between the two techniques. Unlike the MGT, the voice samples in the VGT are all produced by different native speakers. A significant advantage with this technique is therefore that the speakers have an authentic

pronunciation, and the VGT avoids the accent and mimicking authenticity issues mentioned regarding the MGT (Garrett 2010: 62).

A disadvantage of the VGT is that the speakers' voice quality, pitch level and speech tempo are different. Consequently, the respondents may evaluate the speech samples based on other features than the accent traits. To reduce this weakness, one can try to use speakers of the same age and gender, with similar speech rate. Another way of compensating for this weakness is to include more than one person for each variety, and look at the average score. The downside to this solution is the risk of respondent fatigue effects (Garrett 2010: 62–63), and the evaluations from the speech samples might therefore not be as reliable. Furthermore, Garrett (2010: 59) emphasizes that it is essential "to continue to explore innovations, and opportunities to study the same attitudes with more than one method". To employ different approaches in the same study can, therefore, strengthen the results.

Zahn and Hopper (1985) developed an overview of the main three ways in which people evaluate language and speakers, hence 'superiority', 'attractiveness' and 'dynamism' (in Garrett 2010: 62–63). First, they collected a large number of semantic differential scales employed from numerous language attitudinal studies. After putting the labels through a factor analysis, the three mentioned differentiated factors were classified. While the group Superiority includes adjectives such as 'educated' and 'rich', Attractiveness incorporates adjectives such as 'friendly' and 'honest'. Lastly, Dynamism comprises adjectives such as 'energetic' and 'enthusiastic' (Garrett 2010: 55). Garrett (2010: 57) believes that by establishing the main dimensions of language evaluations, the focus and understanding of language variations have increased. In attitudinal studies the three classified differentiated factors mentioned above have been addressed with various labels. However, they include similar categorization of traits.

3.2 Questionnaire design

The aim of questionnaire surveys is to achieve the respondents' interest in order to encourage them to provide reliable and valid answers. Oppenheim (1992: 102) describes a questionnaire as a valuable "tool for data collection" and that "its function is measurement." The term 'questionnaire' is predominantly used to cover postal and online questionnaires, self-administered questionnaires, interviewer-administered

questionnaires and structured interview. Interviewer-administered surveys are relevant for this study, and will, therefore, be examined further. In an interviewer-administered survey, the researcher explains the purpose of the research and presents the questionnaire for the respondents. Additionally, he or she provides the necessary explanations of the questions, without directing the respondents into answering a certain way. These surveys may involve a group of respondents assembled, for example, a school class, with somebody giving directions if needed. Interview-administered surveys are characterized by higher response rate because the researcher has greater control of the environment and can clarify misunderstandings and ensure completion of the questionnaires. Additionally, the researcher can help maintain the respondents' motivation when it comes to longer questionnaires. The Interviewer's paradox may, therefore, influence the respondents' answers (cf. section 3.1.1). Interviewer-administered questionnaires can also be costly, time-consuming and resource-needed, compared to self-administered questionnaires where the researcher is not present (Oppenheim 1992: 107–108).

An advantage with having access to whole school classes is the possibility to provide an already made sample based on features such as age, educational level and geographical area. The researcher achieves a lot of data in a short amount of time when administered questionnaires are completed in the classroom (Oppenheim 1992: 107). A disadvantage with using school classes is that there is a risk of the respondents copying answers, talking or asking numerous questions (Oppenheim 1992: 103).

Garrett (2010: 3) explains how words reflect and evoke attitudes, and because of this, there is much strategic work on wording in advertising and politics. This is because words and word phrases have different connotations, and when making questionnaires, one should try to choose words that are regarded as more 'neutral'.

The researcher also needs to decide on the type and number of scales and labels applied in the questionnaire. Likert scales measure to what agree the respondents agree or disagree with a sample of statements, for example, "strongly agree" and "strongly disagree". A disadvantage with Likert scales is that the statements may be directing the respondents towards certain answers. For example, a statement could be: "Children in Wales should not be denied the opportunity to learn Welsh". Because of the formulation of the question, it is easy to agree with the statement.

The semantic differential technique is another type of measurement originally developed by Charles E. Osgood and his associates. The rating system often consists of a number of seven-point scales, where a bipolar adjective defines each extreme. However, some research workers prefer to use five-point or three-point scales. Additionally, it is significant to have separate rating sheets when investigating several concepts, but the semantic differential scales can be repeated (Oppenheim 1992: 236–237). The respondents are asked to rate one number on each scale, where number 1 might present the adjective 'intelligent' and number 7 presents the bipolar adjective 'unintelligent'. An advantage with the semantic differential technique is that respondents often answer quickly, reducing the effects of social desirability and acquiescence biases. The scales are often easily understandable for respondents, and it is effortless for the researcher to analyze the results. Moreover, using labels from earlier research saves time and opens up the possibility for comparison (Oppenheim 1992: 195–200).

Data about the informants' background and habits is important and can be used when investigating potential factors that can explain the various attitudes. Oppenheim (1992: 109) emphasizes that "personal data questions should always come near at the end of the questionnaire". Furthermore, the respondents should be given a short explanation describing why these personal data are necessary for the study, for example, that they are required in other to make statistical comparisons (Oppenheim 1992: 109).

Moreover, it is significant to consider what types of question should be included in the questionnaire. Closed questions offer alternative replies, such as 'Yes' or 'No', or the respondents are asked to state their preference towards, for example, five different language varieties. These questions are straightforward, require little response time and are easy for the researcher to analyze. Questions with no extended writing make it easier to compare respondent groups and test specific hypotheses. In comparison, open questions are often difficult to respond to and more challenging for the researcher to analyze. However, open questions invite spontaneous and free answers, which opens up the possibility for new insights and gives a basis for new hypotheses (Oppenheim 1992: 113–115). It could be advantageous to employ a mixture of the two question types in surveys.

Researchers should avoid asking strongly slanted questions, which can direct the respondents to answer a certain way. Moreover, asking hypothetical questions

should also be avoided because these questions are often weak predictors of a person's future behavior (Garrett 2010: 43–44).

3.3 The present study

The present study employs a combination of the direct approach and the indirect approach to explore language attitudes among students and teachers in lower secondary schools in Norway. In Part 1 of the data collection, the student participants were presented with a verbal guise questionnaire. In Part 2, both the student and teacher participants answered a questionnaire where they were asked direct questions about specific topics regarding language attitudes, thus providing a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. The data were collected the 7th–13th of September 2018, and the survey time was approximately 30 to 45 minutes per class.

3.3.1 The respondents

The study includes 152 student participants, 13-14 year old 9th graders, from three different lower secondary schools in Norway located in the counties of Hordaland, Trøndelag and Nordland. The respondents are younger than in previous studies conducted in Norway, and because of their age, theirs parents' consents were collected. Additionally, eight English teachers participated in the study. The respondent group consisted of 39 student participants and four teachers from Hordaland, 80 students and two teachers from Trøndelag, and 33 student participants and two teacher participants from Nordland. It is not ideal that the study consists of a different number of study participants from the three localities (ranging from 33 to 80), because this may affect the findings as larger sample sizes increase confidence in the observed results. However, this is only a major issue if the findings show regional differences.

The study only included respondents that have Norwegian as their mother tongue, to ensure the same nationality and similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Attitudinal studies that compare language attitudes among people living in different geographical areas in Norway are lacking, and including this variable may yield new insights.

Based on my experiences as a teacher, it is necessary to give students thorough instructions before assignments. Before the respondents were handed their questionnaires, they therefore received some general information about the study. In addition, we discussed the diversity of Norwegian dialects. The respondents were asked whether or not they favored or disfavored some dialects, and they were asked to explain what they believed the reason to be. Ideally, when the student respondents received a few examples, they would understand the questionnaire. However, making the students aware of how language varieties affect perception and stereotypes may problematize the indirectness of the VGT.

Furthermore, the student participants listened to a demonstration round of an English variety that was not included in the study, in order to comprehend the various traits in the questionnaire. They were given the opportunity to present their immediate reactions and to ask questions. Subsequently, they received information on how to fill in the questionnaire and how to interpret the scales. The students were also informed that there were no 'right' or 'wrong' answers, and that this study aimed to elicit their individual opinions. Moreover, they were assured that participation was voluntary, and they were ensured anonymity. The respondents received the questionnaire in Norwegian, as I expected them to be more comfortable answering questions in their mother tongue. Additionally, I spoke Norwegian in order not to affect the students' evaluation of the different English varieties, and to ensure that the students understood all the information they were given. Every respondent group was given the same instructions. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, both an English and a Norwegian version.

Table 3.1 presents the number of student and teacher participants in this study.

Table 3.1: *The respondents by gender*

Respondents	Students	Teachers
Female	72	4
Male	79	4
Transgender	1	0
Total	**152**	**8**

The number of respondents is evenly distributed when it comes to gender in both groups. 72 female student respondents participated in the study, only seven fewer than

the group of 79 male student respondents. Additionally, one student identified as transgender, by circling the answers of both boy and girl.

An advantage with this study is the large sample of respondents and the fact that the respondents live in different geographical areas, located in Hordaland, Nordland and Trøndelag. The reason for collecting data from different counties is to make this study more representative for Norwegian students in lower secondary school, even though 152 participants from three counties do not represent all of Norway. Still, the number of participants in this study is higher compared to many other attitudinal studies.

The findings from the student respondents are the main focus in this study, and they will be compared with results from earlier attitudinal studies, particularly studies conducted in Norwegian upper secondary schools. There are also four female and four male teacher participants in this study. The data from the eight teachers are an essential supplement to investigating which English varieties the students are exposed to regularly.

3.3.2 The questionnaires

In this study, the questionnaire is presented to the student participants in two parts. Part 1 comprises the verbal guise component (see Appendix 1), while Part 2 includes direct questions about personal information and accent evaluations (see Appendix 2). The teacher questionnaire is presented in Appendix 3. In the verbal guise test, the respondents evaluate six audiotaped speakers, each representing one variety of English, with reference to the dimensions of Status, Social Attractiveness (SA) and Linguistic Quality (LQ). The dimensions are categorized into the semantic categories listed in Table 3.1, inspired by Ladegaard (1998).

Table 3.2: Semantic categories

Status	Social attractiveness	Linguistic Quality
Intelligence	Friendliness	Aesthetic quality
Self-confidence	Honesty	Comprehensibility
Education	Sense of humor	
Professionalism	Helpfulness	
Wealth	Popularity	

In total, the three dimensions comprise eight semantic categories in Part 1 and twelve in Part 2, with the additional four semantic categories 'Professionalism', 'Wealth', 'Helpfulness' and 'Popularity' not included in Part 1.

The first dimension, Status, includes the categories 'Intelligence', 'Self-confidence', 'Education', 'Professionalism' and 'Wealth' which in turn comprise the traits: 'intelligent−unintelligent', 'confident−insecure', 'high education−low education', 'professional−unprofessional' and 'rich−poor'. The second dimension, SA, contains the semantic categories 'Friendliness', 'Honesty', 'Sense of humor', 'Helpfulness' and 'Popularity', which include the traits 'very friendly−unfriendly', 'honest−dishonest', 'funny−boring', 'helpful−not helpful' and 'popular−unpopular'. The third dimension, LQ, includes the semantic categories 'Aesthetic quality' and 'Comprehensibility', with the traits 'pleasant accent−ugly accent' and 'comprehensible accent−incomprehensible accent'. The particular traits in this study are based on those applied in earlier studies to enable comparison (e.g., Ball 1983, Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006, Loftheim 2013, Areklett 2017).

The selection of traits was done in order to best represent the three main dimensions. However, because the dimensions incorporate numerous elements, it is challenging to choose the perfect terms to achieve a fully comprehensive questionnaire. It is also challenging to find perfect antonyms for the selected adjectives. The bipolar adjectives are not always the ideal opposite, for example, boring is not the perfect opposite to funny. Nevertheless, I believe that the traits selected for this study are easy for the respondents to understand and use, and they represent the different aspects of the main dimensions from attitudinal studies.

The respondents evaluated the speakers on five-point scales where 1 is the most favorable evaluation, 3 is neutral and 5 represents the least favorable evaluation. To exemplify, one five-point scale includes the adjectives 'Confident' on the left (alongside number 1), and 'Insecure' on the right (alongside number 5). The scale is presented in Figure 3.1.

This person sounds:						
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	**Insecure**

Figure 3.1: Example of an evaluative scale applied in the study

The word *confident* in Figure 3.1 is commonly perceived to be positive, while the word *insecure* is typically understood to be negative. The respondents circle one number from 1 to 5, depending on how the speaker is perceived.

I chose to use a five-point-scale with a neutral mid-point, because in a scale consisting of only five points, it is easier to define the meaning of each point compared to scales with more points. However, scales incorporating several intermediate points may provide more nuanced responses (Krosnick and Presser 2010: 271). Nevertheless, the respondents in this study are still allowed to report neutral, moderate or extreme attitudes. A scale with a neutral midpoint means that the respondents are not forced "to randomly select one of the moderate scale points closest to where a neutral midpoint would appear" (Krosnick and Presser 2010: 274). Therefore, a middle alternative can improve the reliability and validity of rating scales. A middle alternative may also be useful for respondents with little interest or knowledge in the topic, which may be the case with some students in lower secondary school. A disadvantage with a neutral midpoint may be that the respondents select this option when the alternative of 'I do not know' is not offered. Consequently, a neutral midpoint may be similar to non-responses. Therefore, an overall average score excluding the neutral midpoint is included in the results.

The recordings were played from loudspeakers present in the classrooms, either for one class at a time or the classes were divided into two groups, depending on the class structure at the schools visited. Each recording lasted for approximately one minute and 30 seconds, and the respondents completed eight scales per record. In total, the respondents were asked to fill out 48 semantic differential scales. The respondents were unaware of which variety was presented in each recording, and they were asked to identify where they believed the speakers came from. This question was presented as an open question after the semantic differential scales. After each recording, they were given approximately 30 seconds to one minute to complete the scales. To ensure that the respondents filled out all the scales, I asked them to look over the answer sheet one more time before they turned the page.

In Part 2 of the questionnaire, the student participants were asked to provide some general information about themselves, such as gender, visits to English-speaking countries and English accent preferences. In this study, travel is defined as spending a minimum of three days in an English-speaking country. There were also questions regarding their use of English-speaking media, and what they believed have

influenced their English accent the most. Some of the questions allowed the respondents to choose more than one option (see Appendix 2). The final question allowed the respondents to write a couple of words they associated with the six English varieties included in the verbal guise test.

The opposing adjectives from the VGT were included in an example box below the question, to make it easier to compare the results with Part 1. Additionally, four new pair of traits ('professional–unprofessional', 'helpful–not helpful', 'rich–poor' and 'popular–unpopular') were included. To capture other traits, the respondents were allowed to include other adjectives if they wished.

The teacher participants were asked similar questions, but they were also explicitly questioned about what accents they preferred personally, in school and whether or not they encouraged their students to aim at a specific accent.

A potential limitation with the study concerns the use of accent labels. In Part 2, the terms 'British English' and 'General American English' were used, which are otherwise called RP and GA in the thesis. These particular labels were used to ensure that the student participants recognized the varieties. The labels are therefore very broad, which may be seen as a weakness (cf. section 3.3.1).

3.3.3 The linguistic varieties

This study includes the six varieties of English: RP, GA, Scottish English (ScotEng), Australian English (AusEng), Indian English (InEng) and Southern American English (SAmEng), because they represent a mixture of standard, rural, urban and non-standard varieties of English. GA and RP are expected to be the varieties Norwegian youths recognize the easiest, due to high exposure through media, film, television, popular music and education. It is anticipated that InEng is identified due to a greater awareness of Bollywood, and the increased representation of Indian characters in films and TV-series, for example, *The Big Bang Theory*. To some extent, the respondents may be familiar with SAmEng, due to country music and popular TV-series such as *Hart of Dixie*, *True Blood*, *The Walking Dead* and *House of Cards*. Scottish English and Australian English were expected to be more challenging to recognize. Nevertheless, both varieties are represented in the media. For example, ScotEng is prominent in the TV-series *Outlander* and AusEng can be heard in the popular TV-series *Home and Away*.

3.3.3.1 Received Pronunciation and General American

Received Pronunciation (RP) enjoys the highest overt prestige in England, and the accent is known under various names such as 'BBC English', 'Oxford English', 'Standard English' and 'Southern British Standard'. RP cannot be located anywhere in particular within England, but it has traditionally been perceived as the educated British pronunciation (Wells 1982: 117). General American (GA) is the term for the accent used by approximately two-thirds of the population in the United States who do not have a recognizably local accent. GA is regarded as mainstream, socially neutral, and the most used accent in mainstream media and is therefore often referred to as 'Network English'. Characteristics of RP and GA are outlined in Wells (1982: 124–126), Cruttenden (2013) and Kretzschmar Jr (2008). The main differences between RP and GA are as follows:

- RP has the vowel /ɒ/ in the lexical set LOT, while GA uses the vowel /ɑ:/.
- GA is a rhotic accent, where <r> is always pronounced. RP, as a non-rhotic accent, pronounces /r/ only prevocalically.
- RP adds a /j/ between /t, d, n, θ/ and /u:/ in words such as *tune* and *nurse*, which is a feature that does not happen in GA.
- GA has a dark (velarized) /l/ in all positions, while RP has clear /l/ prevocalically.
- GA has a voiced tap [ɾ] in the realization of /t/ in intervocalic position, while RP /t/ remains voiceless in all contexts, in words such as *letter* and *putting*.
- RP has the vowel /ɑ:/ in the lexical set BATH, while GA has /æ/.
- In RP the vowel in GOAT is realized as /əʊ/ while in GA it is realized as /oʊ/.

3.3.3.2 Scottish English

Scottish English (ScotEng) is the variety spoken in Scotland, which is a part of the United Kingdom. The main characteristics are outlined in Corbett and Stuart-Smith (2013: 198–206), Wells (1982: 399–412) and Stuart-Smith (2008: 48–70).

- In the lexical sets of FOOT and GOOSE, ScotEng uses the central vowel /ʉ/.
- Vowel duration is not systematically distinguished, but varies according to phonetic context.

- Vowels in the standard lexical sets of FACE and GOAT are generally monophthongal, and pronounced as /e/ and /o/ respectively.
- The vowel in the lexical set of MOUTH is raised [əʉ].
- The vowel in the lexical set KIT is realized as the open-mid front [ɛ].
- ScotEng is rhotic, and /r/ is therefore pronounced in all positions. /r/ is often pronounced as an alveolar tap [ɾ] or a trill.
- The lateral /l/ is usually velarized [ɫ] in all positions of the word.
- The voiceless labial-velar fricative [ʍ] remains in the consonant system, in words such as *whale*, *where* and *whine*.
- NURSE has two vowels, depending on the spelling: Open central /ʌ/ in words such as *bird*, *word* and *hurt*, and a front /ɛ/ in words such as *earth* and *person*.

3.3.3.3 Australian English

Australian English (AusEng) is the variety spoken in Australia. The main characteristics of AusEng are outlined in Wells (1982: 592–604) and Horvath (2008: 89–110):

- The vowels in DRESS and TRAP are raised to [e] and [ɛ] respectively.
- The vowel in the lexical sets BATH, PALM and START is an open front /a:/.
- Compared to RP, there is a diphthong shift in the vowels of the following lexical sets:

  FLEECE [əɪ]
  GOOSE [əʉ]
  FACE [œɪ]
  PRICE [ɑɪ]
  CHOICE [oɪ]
  GOAT [ʌʉ]
  MOUTH [æʊ]

- AusEng is non-rhotic.
- The phoneme /l/ is pronounced as a velarized /ɫ/.
- Intervocalic /t/ is usually realized as a voiced tap [ɾ].

3.3.3.4 Indian English

Indian English (InEng) is the variety of English spoken in India, and the main characteristics of Indian English are outlined in Wells (1982: 626–630), Pingali (2009) and Gargesh (2008: 231–243)

- InEng is generally non-rhotic, and /r/ is often pronounced as a tap or trill.
- The vowels of the lexical sets FACE and GOAT are typically monophthongs /e:/ and /o:/.
- The open front /a:/ is the vowel in the lexical sets BATH, PALM and START.
- In InEng, there is typically no distinction between /v/ and /w/ in pronunciation, or it is realized as the labiodental approximant [ʋ].
- The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ are generally unaspirated in all contexts.
- The realizations of /t/ and /d/ are usually retroflex [ʈ, ɖ].
- The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, are generally replaced with the dental plosives [t̪] and [d̪].
- The /l/ in InEng is clear in all positions.

3.3.3.5 Southern American English

Southern American English is typically spoken in the Southern states in the United States, hence Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas (Wells 1982: 527). A summary of the most common features of the Southern U.S. variety is found in Wells (1982: 529–553) and Thomas (2008: 87–114), and includes the following:

- Southern American English is traditionally a non-rhotic variety, but is today variably rhotic.
- The PRICE vowel is given a monophthongal realization [a:].
- The vowel in the lexical sets BATH and TRAP is diphthongized in specific contexts to the front closing diphthong [æɪ].
- The vowels of KIT, DRESS and TRAP become diphthongized to [ɪə] [ɛə] [æə], a pronunciation referred to as Breaking.
- The mid central [ɜ] is used for GA [ʌ] in the lexical set STRUT.
- The vowel in DRESS is raised before nasals and becomes a close-mid front [ɪ].

3.3.3.6 Characteristics of the speakers and the reading passage

The six speakers chosen for the verbal guise experiment are all males and native speakers of their respective accent. As mentioned in 3.1.2, there are weaknesses associated with the VGT. First, there are differences between the voice qualities of the speakers. To minimize the differences between the speakers, only males close in age were selected. None of the speakers have extreme intonation patterns and the speech tempo is similar. However, one cannot completely escape the individual differences when including native speakers.

The recordings are collected on the website 'The International Dialects of English Archive' (IDEA), which includes a collection of English accents and dialects worldwide. The speakers read the same passage, called *Comma Gets A Cure*, created by McCullough and Somerville (2010). The text includes all the keywords for Wells' standard lexical sets, which ensures that all the most essential vowel features are represented. Each recording was played for approximately one minute and thirty seconds. The text is available at the following site: [URL: https://www.dialectsarchive.com/comma-gets-a-cure].

Speaker A represents Received Pronunciation (RP). He is born and raised in Britain, but has lived most of his adult life in the United States. He is a Professor of Voice, Speech, Dialects and Heightened Text, in addition to being a dialect coach for theatre and film. The speaker has all the characteristics of RP, as outlined in 3.3.3.1. The recording can be found at the following website: [URL: https://www.dialectsarchive.com/received-pronunciation-3].

Speaker B represents General American (GA), and he works professionally as an actor and director, in addition to being a voice and dialect coach. The speaker has all the characteristics of GA, as outlined in 3.3.3.1. The recording is available at the following website: [URL: https://www.dialectsarchive.com/general-american-8].

Speaker C represents Scottish English (ScotEng), and he is a Caucasian man who was born, raised and lives in Johnstone in Scotland. When recorded, the subject was a drama student. The speaker has all the Scottish English features mentioned in 3.3.3.2. His accent is rhotic, and /r/ is often realized as a tap or a trill. This can be heard in, e.g. *working*, *tower*, *her*, *for*. /l/ is dark (velarised) in all positions, as can be heard in, e.g. *liking*, *plain*, *fleece*, *letter*. WH is realized as [ʍ] in *white*. The vowel in NURSE is [ʌ] in, e.g. *nurse*, *working*, *first*, *bird*, and [ɛ] in *deserted*. He has monophthongs /e/ and /o/ in FACE and GOAT, e.g., *face*, *gave*, *made*, *name*, *so*, *only*,

goat, *owner*. The vowel in FOOT and GOOSE is /ʉ/, as heard in *put*, *woman*, *foot*, *took*, *goose*, *soon*. The KIT vowel is lowered to [ɛ] in, e.g. *picked*, *kit*, *this*, *millionaire*. The raised MOUTH diphthong [əʉ] can be heard in *tower*, *mouth* and *around*. The recording is presented at the following website: [URL: https://www.dialectsarchive.com/scotland-9]

Speaker D represents Australian English (AusEng) and is a Caucasian male from Melbourne in Australia who has currently moved to the United States to study. He has an undergraduate degree. The speaker has a non-rhotic pronunciation, and the /t/ is tapped in intervocalic positions, for example in words like *deserted*, *waiting* and *letter*. The /l/ is typically velarized [ɫ] in all positions, in words such as *liking*, *fleece*, *letter*, *like* and *lunatic*. The lexical set of DRESS has a close mid [e] in words such as *stressed*, *then*, *sentimental* and *expensive*. The speaker varies in the lexical sets of BATH, PALM and START either with an open front vowel in words such as *palm* and *can't*, and sometimes a back quality front vowel. There is a diphthong shift in the lexical sets of FLEECE [əi], PRICE [ɑɪ], CHOICE [oɪ], GOAT [ʌʉ] and MOUTH [æʊ], e.g., *tower, ate, face, waiting, gave, implied, disease, surprising, only, goat, choice, finally, time, able, bathe, wiped, side, required* and *out.* The recording can be found on the following website: [URL: https://www.dialectsarchive.com/australia-27].

Speaker E represents Indian English (InEng) and is a male from Madurai, in India, who has also been living other places in India since his birth. He is currently a graduate student in computer science living in Lawrence, Kansas, in the United States. In the lexical sets of BATH, PALM and STARTS, the speaker pronounces them as the open front vowel [a:], which can be heard in words such as *start, palm, bath* and *can't.* Furthermore, the monophthongs in FACE and GOAT, /e:/ and /o:/ are sometimes applied, although in other cases he uses diphthongs. His pronunciation is variably rhotic, where /r/ is typically realized as a tap. In words such as *Perry, private, practice, kit, kept* and *tower,* the pronunciation of /p, t, k/ are often unaspirated. The consonants /t/ and /d/ are pronounced as the retroflex plosives [ʈ, ɖ] in words such as *territory, headed, goat* and *idea.* The speaker does not distinguish between the pronunciation of /v/ and /w/, and both are realized as a labiodental approximant in words such as *veterinary, working* and *vet.* Finally, the dental fricatives /θ, ð/ are pronounced as /t, d/, for example in words such as *there, mouth, though, bath* and *then.* The recording can be found on the following website: [URL: https://www.dialectsarchive.com/india-3].

Speaker F represents Southern American English (SAmEng) and is a Caucasian male born in Harlan, Kentucky, in the United States. He has lived outside Harlan a few years, including a year in England. His current occupation is as a police dispatcher. The speaker has monophthongization of the vowel in PRICE, which can be heard in, e.g. *private*, *liking*, *implied*, *surprising*, *tried*, *finally*, *time*, and *side*. He also has STRUT raising, which can be heard in *suffering, strut* and *much*. There is a tendency towards breaking of the vowels in KIT, DRESS and TRAP, resulting in [ɪᵊ], [eᵊ], [æᵊ]. This breaking can be heard to varying degrees in *stressed*, *kit*, *vet*, *mess*, and *trap*. He also has occasional DRESS raising before nasals, which can be heard in *remembered* and *expensive*. The speaker has diphthongization of the vowel in LOT and CLOTH to [ɑɔ]. This is part of a phenomenon often called the Southern Drawl. This feature can be heard in, e.g. *on*, *dog*, *long*, *office*, *off*, and *strong*. The recording is available on the following website: [URL: https://www.dialectsarchive.com/kentucky-12].

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents an overview of the findings from the questionnaires, and the results will be discussed in light of the research questions and hypotheses, as well as previous research. As pointed out in section 3.3, the students' questionnaire is divided into two parts. The first part includes the verbal guise test and the second involves direct questions about accents, including aspects such as media exposure and travels to English-speaking countries (cf. section 3.3.2). These factors might have influenced how the respondents evaluated the different varieties, and they will be cross-referenced with the findings from the verbal guise test. The teachers' questionnaire contains only direct questions, such as accent aim and preferences for English varieties in the classroom. Finally, a comparison of the findings from the indirect and the direct approach will be presented.

4.1 Part 1: Accent evaluations

In this section, the respondents' overall accent evaluations and average scores by dimensions using the verbal guise technique (VGT) will be presented. As pointed out in section 3.3.2, a score of 1 represents the most positive rating, and the most negative rating is a score of 5. A score of 3 signifies a neutral rating. Furthermore, results according to the students' geographical areas are presented, followed by the students' ability to distinguish between English varieties. Finally, the results according to accent identification are presented.

4.1.1 Overall evaluations of the varieties

Figure 4.1 shows the student respondents' overall evaluations of the six English varieties in the present study.
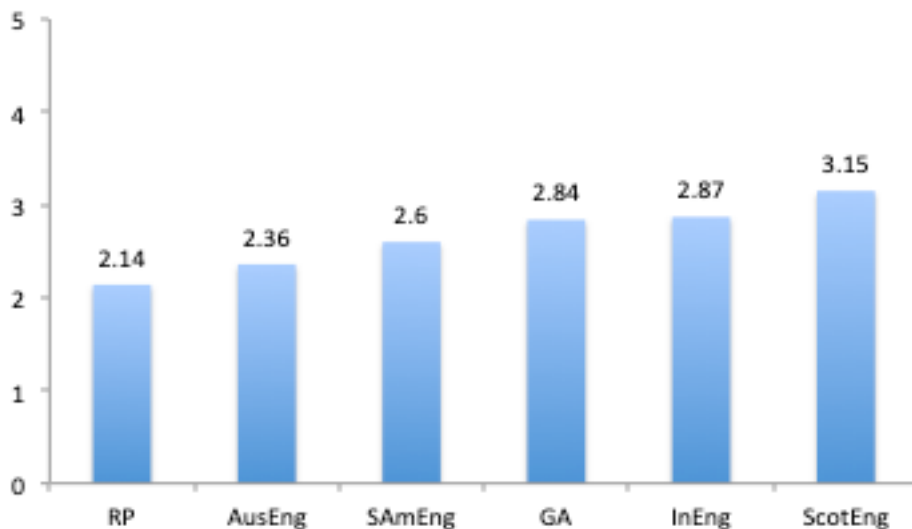
Figure 4.1: *Overall verbal guise scores for all varieties*

As seen in Figure 4.1, all varieties are evaluated close to the neutral score of 3, which implies that the respondents did not regard the varieties as specifically negative or positive in the overall evaluations. RP is evaluated as the most favorable variety with an average score of 2.14. The other varieties are ranked in the following order: AusEng, SAmEng, GA, InEng and ScotEng. ScotEng is the least favored variety with an average score of 3.15, which is over one point above RP. It is also the only variety that is evaluated more negative than neutral. The scales consisted of scores from 1 to 5, and while all the scores were used in the verbal guise test, few participants chose the least favorable score (ranging from 4% to 13%). The majority of the respondents selected 1 or 2 for RP (69%) and AusEng (58%), and the numbers 2 or 3 for SAmEng (54%), GA (57%) and InEng (54%). The numbers 3 or 4 were most often selected for ScotEng (59%) (see Appendix 4).

As mentioned in section 3.3.2, a disadvantage with including a neutral midpoint may be that the respondents select this alternative when the possibility of 'I do not know' is not presented. Therefore, the data were analyzed excluding the neutral midpoint in order to examine whether or not the results revealed any other patterns. The results from the overall evaluations still show that the varieties are ranked in the following order: RP, AusEng, SAmEng, GA, InEng and ScotEng (see Appendix 6). Moreover, the results without the midpoint do not change the results entirely, the findings just become more evident and the varieties are evaluated slightly more or less in the direction they already were heading. In other words, ScotEng has a

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slightly more negative score, and the other varieties have slightly more positive scores. It can be argued that these results increase the confidence in the findings.

It was not expected that the GA speaker would be evaluated less favorably than the SAmEng speaker, because results from earlier studies show that standard varieties are often evaluated more favorably than rural varieties (cf. section 2.3). The low score for GA may partly be a result of the recording used in the verbal guise test. Previous studies have shown that Norwegian students associate American English with informality (cf. section 2.6), and reading is by definition a formal style. Hence, the respondents may not associate what they hear on the recording with their connotations of GA, which may lead to discrepancies. SAmEng receives an overall more favorable evaluation in this study compared with previous studies conducted with native respondents, especially in the USA (Preston 1998). Areklett (2017) reveals similar tendencies with GA and SAmEng, because the Norwegian informants in her study evaluate the two varieties with the same overall score.

With the exception of GA and SAmEng, the varieties' overall average rankings correspond predominantly to the findings from previous studies conducted in Scandinavia, Great Britain and the United States (see hypothesis 1 in section 1.2). Several studies in Scandinavia find RP to be the favored variety in verbal guise experiments (Ladegaard 1998, Loftheim 2013, Areklett 2017). While Ladegaard's (1998) and Loftheim's (2013) findings reveal how GA is the second most positively evaluated variety overall, AusEng is rated the second highest in Areklett's (2017) study, which is similar to results from the present study. Additionally, Bayard et al.'s (2001) respondents also evaluate the male speaker of AusEng more favorably than the GA male speaker.

Moreover, Areklett's (2017) respondents evaluate InEng and Irish English as the least favorable varieties. This study includes ScotEng instead of Irish English, but both studies reveal similar patterns of how Norwegian students evaluate English varieties. In Loftheim's (2013) study, on the other hand, ScotEng is evaluated overall more favorably than SAmEng.

Compared to earlier attitudinal studies conducted in Great Britain and the United States (cf. section 2.3), the accent hierarchy is slightly different with the similarity of RP being the most favored variety. However, ScotEng receives the lowest score in this study and is evaluated less favorably than SAmEng, which is not evident in other studies. The score is, however, close to the neutral midpoint. The

reason may be that the respondents in this study may not be that familiar with ScotEng, possibly due to their young age.

Even though the findings let us rank the varieties with RP as the most favorable and ScotEng as the least favorable, the differences are small between the four other varieties. The evaluations show no particular positive or negative extremes, even when looking at the data without the middle point, which is similar to other Norwegian studies on the topic. Rindal (2014: 225) argues that Norway is a "society with relative acceptance of spoken variation, where speakers are not accustomed to targeting a standard in their L1", which arguably can explain the student respondents' evaluations. The findings may therefore suggest that Norwegians have a general acceptance of spoken varieties.

4.1.2 Overall evaluations according to the three dimensions

Hypothesis 2 claims that the student respondents would evaluate RP more favorably than GA on the dimensions of Status and Linguistic Quality (LQ), and less favorably on the dimension of Social Attractiveness (SA). Hypothesis 3 assumes that respondents evaluate ScotEng and AusEng more neutrally on all three dimensions, and that SAmEng would be evaluated more favorably for SA and less favorably for Status. Furthermore, InEng will generally be evaluated less favorably on all dimensions (cf. section 1.2). Figure 4.2 shows the respondents' overall average scores by variety and evaluative dimensions.
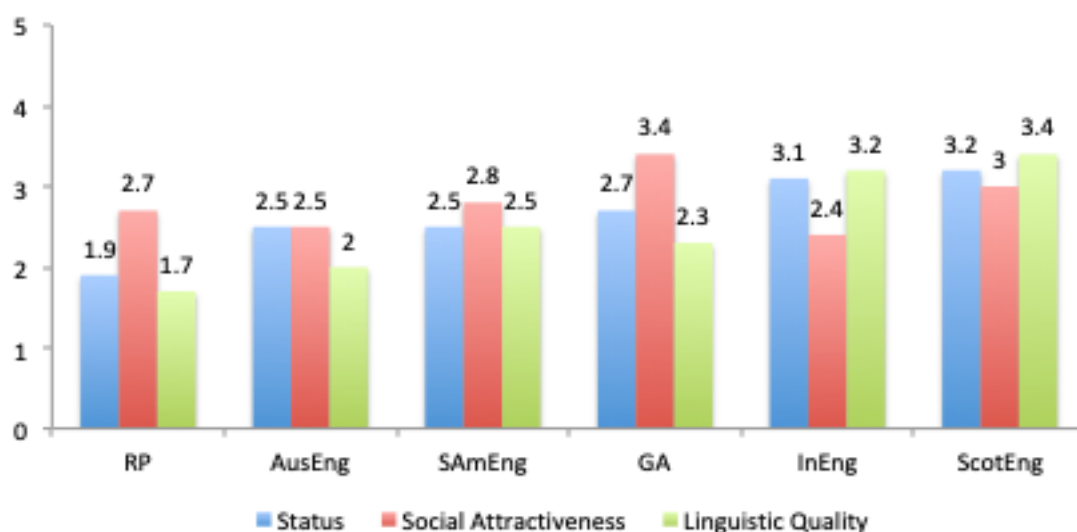
Figure 4.2: *Overall verbal guise scores by variety and evaluative dimensions*

The overall evaluations according to the evaluative dimensions show that there are some notable differences between the varieties. The differentiation between the highest and lowest scores for the three dimensions is 1.3 points for Status, 1 point for SA and 1.7 points for LQ. RP receives the most favorable score for Status (1.9), while ScotEng receives the most unfavorable score (3.2). RP also receives the most favorable evaluations for LQ (1.7), while GA and ScotEng share the least favorable score (3.4). InEng has the most positive evaluations for SA (2.4), while GA receives the most unfavorable score (3.4).

When excluding the neutral midpoint in the analysis, the evaluations are overall slightly more positive according to the evaluative dimensions (see Appendix 6). The first exception is the evaluation of the semantic category 'sense of humor', which is slightly more negative when excluding the neutral mid-point, for RP (3.8 vs. 4.1), AusEng (3.3 vs. 3.4), SAmEng (3.3 vs. 3.4) and GA (3.9 vs. 4.1). The second exception concerns the semantic category 'aesthetic quality' for the score of ScotEng (3.5 vs. 3.7). However, as mentioned in section 4.1.1, excluding the neutral mid-point does not reveal other patterns than minor differences.

Earlier attitudinal studies with native respondents typically reveal an evaluation pattern where standard varieties are judged more positively on Status, whereas rural varieties have the highest scores of SA (cf. section 2.3). This trend can partly be seen in this study, because RP receives the most positive scores for the dimensions of Status and LQ, and compared to these scores, RP has a relatively negative score for SA. The overall results of GA are similar, although the evaluations are overall more negative. Other studies in Norway, on the other hand, reveal that RP receives more positive scores for all three dimensions (e.g., Loftheim 2013, Areklett 2017).

As seen in Figure 4.2, InEng receives the most positive score for SA and the second lowest scores for Status and LQ. Areklett (2017) also included InEng in a verbal guise experiment, and similar to this study, the variety received more positive evaluations for SA than Status and LQ. However, the standard varieties in her study received more positive evaluations for SA than InEng. Additionally, Figure 4.2 shows how InEng receives positive evaluations for all three traits included in SA. The varieties of AusEng, RP, SAmEng and GA have more negative evaluations for SA because of the negative score of the semantic category 'sense of humor'. For example, RP receives a score of 3.8 for the semantic category 'sense of humor' and a score of

2.0 for 'honesty'. Moreover, AusEng receives a score of 3.3 for 'sense of humor' and a score of 2.1 for the traits 'friendliness' and 'honesty' (see Appendix 5). These findings reveal how the standard varieties receive more negative evaluations for the dimension of SA because they are perceived as boring, compared to the other varieties.

The reason for why respondents evaluate InEng more positively on SA may arguably be that they associated spoken InEng with TV-series characters who are presented as nice, funny and charming. The findings correspond to earlier attitudinal studies where non-standard varieties and non-native varieties are often favored on the dimension of SA (e.g., Coupland and Bishop 2007). For example, in the UK, rural varieties such as ScotEng are often evaluated favorable for the dimension of SA and the second favorable variety of Status (cf. section 2.3). This is not evident in this study, because the respondents evaluated ScotEng as the least favorable variety on all dimensions. However, the variety receives a more positive score for SA than the other two dimensions, and the score for SA is more positive compared to the score for GA.

4.1.3 Overall evaluations according to students' geographical areas

Hypothesis 4 expects no differences in attitudes between students living in different geographical areas in Norway (cf. section 1.2). Figure 4.3 shows the overall average scores from the verbal guise test according to the student respondents' geographical areas, Hordaland, Trøndelag and Nordland.
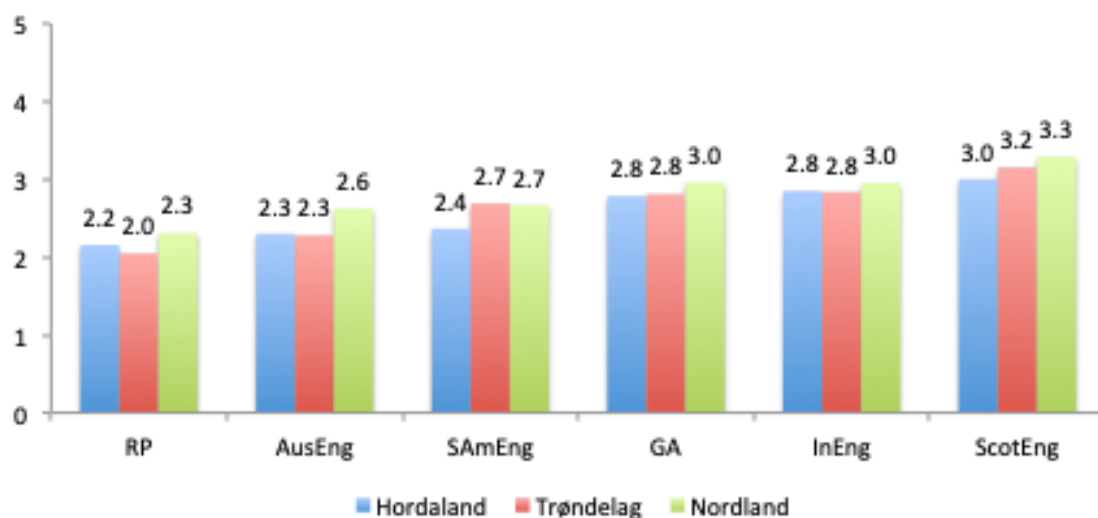
Figure 4.3: Overall verbal guise scores by variety and geographical area

The overall evaluations according to the students' geographical origin reveal that there are no notable differences in overall average scores. The differentiation between the highest and lowest scores for each variety is either 0.2 points or 0.3 points. Respondents from Hordaland are slightly more positive regarding the overall evaluations of GA, ScotEng and SAmEng, while respondents from Trøndelag have slightly more positive evaluations of RP, AusEng and InEng. Respondents from Nordland have overall slightly more negative evaluations of the varieties. However, all of these differences are minor and the geographical variable seems to be of very little importance.

The regional similarities may be linked to the idea that Norway is a culturally homogenous society with inhabitants that consume the same popular cultural products, which leads to similar exposure to English. Furthermore, schools in different counties in Norway follow the same national curriculum, and similar education can lead to similar attitudes to English varieties (cf. section 2.7).

It is important to acknowledge that the study consists of a different quantity of study participants from the three localities (cf. section 3.3.1). However, the lack of regional differences may imply that the overrepresentation of Trøndelag is not an issue.

4.1.4 Ability to distinguish between English varieties

Figure 4.4 shows the student respondents' ability in identifying the speakers' geographical origin. The results will be compared with previous studies with Norwegian informants (Rindal 2014, Areklett 2017). Areklett (2017) includes one male speaker of each variety, similar to the present study, while Rindal (2014) has several male and female speakers representing RP, GA and ScotEng.

Figure 4.4: *The respondents' ability to identify the speakers' geographical origin*

It was expected that a large number of the student respondents would recognize RP and GA (see hypothesis 5 in section 1.2). Figure 4.4 shows that 70% of all the respondents placed Speaker A correctly as RP, answering either "London" or "England" when asked where this speaker came from. It is worth mentioning that 7% of the respondents answered Great Britain, but these are not included in the 70% in Figure 4.4. The other participants answered "the USA", "Wales", "Australia", "Ireland", "South-Africa", "Canada" or "New Zealand". Areklett's (2017) study incorporated 82 respondents from two age groups, but did not differentiate the identification scores for the two groups. 90% of the respondents identified the RP speaker by answering "England", "London" or "Great Britain", compared to 77% of the respondents in this study when including the same answers.

In total, 68% of the student respondents identified the geographical origin of the GA speaker, answering either "USA" or "America". The remaining students answered other countries such as "England", "Australia", "New Zealand", "Wales" and "Scotland". Similar results can be seen in Areklett's (2017) study, where 65% of the respondents identified the GA speaker correctly. The student respondents in Rindal's (2014) study were also successful when identifying RP and GA (ranging from 77% to 93%).

Many respondents were expected to recognize InEng (cf. hypothesis 5) because the representation of this variety has increased in the media. Additionally, it is phonologically very characteristic and markedly different from Inner Circle

English. Figure 4.4 reveals a total of 49% of the respondents identifying the InEng speaker as being from India. Many respondents answered either "Africa" or "South Africa", while others mentioned countries from all over the world located in continents such as Europe, Asia, the Middle East and South America. 77% of Areklett's (2017) respondents identified the InEng speaker correctly.

To some extent, the student respondents were expected to recognize SAmEng (see hypothesis 5 in 1.2). In total, 38% of the respondents identified the speaker of SAmEng correctly as they answered "Texas", "Alabama", "Kentucky", "Kansas" or "Southern USA". Additionally, it was expected that some of the respondents would identify the speaker as coming from the USA, which was the reply of 30% of the respondents; however, these are not included in Figure 4.4. Other participants answered predominantly "Australia", "Canada" or "Scotland", but other countries located in continents such as Europe and South America were also mentioned. Areklett (2017) reveals that 90% of the respondents in her study identified the SAmEng speaker as coming from the USA or Southern USA, which is a higher identification score than the 68% in this study, when including the same answers.

Scottish English was expected to be more challenging for the respondents to recognize (see hypothesis 5 in 1.2), and to be confused with Irish English. Figure 4.4 shows that only 22% of the respondents answered "Scotland". A total of 19% of the respondents answered "Ireland", and 6% of the respondents guessed "England", "Wales" or "Great Britain". Other wrong answers were "Africa" and countries in Europe, especially "Russia". Additionally, countries in South America, Asia and the Middle East were mentioned, in addition to "the USA", "Australia" and "New Zealand". Areklett (2017) included a speaker of Irish English, which can be comparable to the ScotEng speaker in this study. While 42% of the respondents identified the speaker of Irish English, 22% of the respondents guessed "England", "Scotland" or "Wales". The respondents in Rindal's (2014) study were also unsure of the ScotEng speakers (correct identification ranged from 21% to 46%), and who was often misidentified as coming from Ireland or England.

The Australian speaker was also challenging for the respondents to identify, with only 25% of the respondents answering "Australia". A few respondents (3%) believed the speaker came from "New Zealand", 31% of the respondents guessed either "England" or "Great Britain", and 21% answered "the USA" or "Canada". The remaining respondents believed that the AusEng speaker came from other areas such

as "Scotland", "Wales" and "Ireland". In Areklett's (2017) study, 46% of the respondents identified the AusEng speaker, which is a higher identification score than in this study.

The ability to identify accents seems to improve with age, since the informants in Areklett's and Rindal's studies, who are older than the respondents in the present study, are better at identifying accents.

Furthermore, the respondents' ability to identify the speakers' geographical origin was also divided by the respondents' geographical areas, which is seen in Figure 4.5.
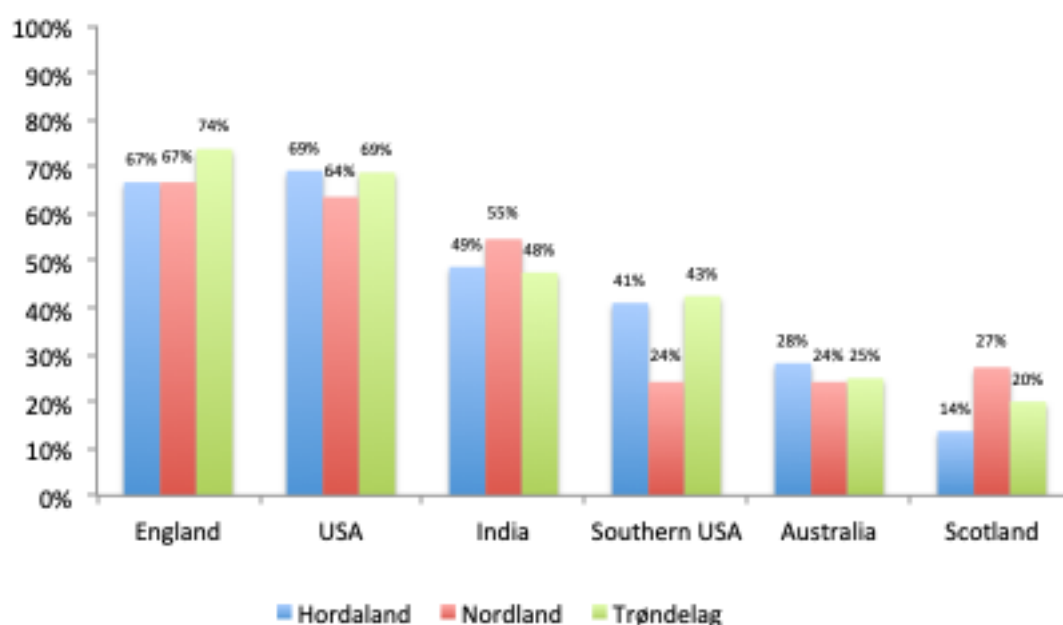
Figure 4.5: *The respondents' ability to identify the speakers' geographical origin, according to the respondents' geographical area*

Figure 4.5 shows that there are few differences between students from different geographical areas in Norway. There is a differentiation of seven percentage points between the highest and lowest correct identifications with the speakers of RP and InEng. The speakers of GA and AusEng have a smaller differentiation of five and four percentage points, respectively.

The two noteworthy differences are the identification of ScotEng and SAmEng. Respondents from Nordland have a notable lower identification score for SAmEng. However, for ScotEng, respondents from Nordland have a higher score than the others. The ScotEng speaker is correctly identified by 27% of the respondents from Nordland, 20% of the respondents from Trøndelag and only 14% of

the respondents from Hordaland. The SAmEng speaker is placed correctly by 43% of the respondents from Trøndelag, 41% of the respondents from Hordaland and only 24% of the respondents from Nordland.

Even though the national curriculum is the same across counties in Norway, teachers have creative freedom and have the possibility to focus on particular topics, which may be the reason why there are some differences.

4.1.5 Overall evaluations according to accent identification

Figure 4.6 below reveals the overall average scores from the verbal guise test according to correct or incorrect accent identification. Respondents who identified RP as either "London", "England" or "Great Britain" are included in the correct identification. Respondents answering "the USA" are included in the correct identification of GA, while respondents replying either "Scotland" or "Ireland" are incorporated in the correct identification of ScotEng. Both answers were regarded as correct because Scottish English and Irish English are phonetically similar, and it was not expected that Norwegian students in lower secondary school would know the differences due to lack of exposure to these varieties, which is evident in results from previous studies (e.g., Rindal 2014, Areklett 2017). The correct identification of AusEng includes the answer of either "Australia" or "New Zealand", because they are also phonetically very similar. The only correct answer for InEng is "India". Finally, respondents answering either "the USA", "Southern USA" or specific southern states are included in the correct identification of SAmEng.
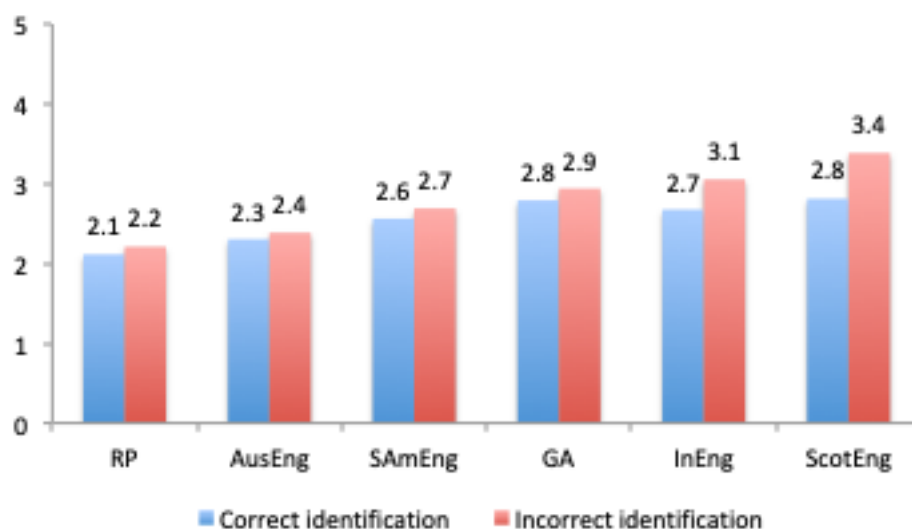
Figure 4.6: *Overall verbal guise scores from respondents identifying the varieties correctly and incorrectly*

The results presented in Figure 4.6 show that all varieties receive more positive evaluations from respondents who identified the varieties correctly compared to the respondents who did not. However, the differences are minor for most varieties. The differentiation score is only 0.1 for the varieties RP, AusEng, SAmEng and GA. As seen in section 4.1.4, the respondents who misidentified the geographical origin of these speakers predominantly guessed countries with native speakers of English. As seen in section 2.3, McKenzie (2008: 151) argues that speakers within the expanding circle of English may favor the notion of 'native speaker ideology', which means that varieties in the Inner Circle Englishes are perceived as the standard of "correctness".

The two noteworthy results are the evaluations of ScotEng and InEng. The differences between respondents identifying the varieties correctly and incorrectly are 0.6 points for ScotEng and 0.4 points for InEng. As pointed out in section 4.1.4, many respondents guessed that the speaker of ScotEng came from countries in Africa and Europe, especially Russia. This implies that the respondents did not believe the speaker to be a native speaker of English, which may be a reason for the evaluations. Results from Lindemann's (2005) study with respondents from the USA show that countries with primarily native English speakers are evaluated the most positively, while countries with non-native speakers in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Eastern Europe, especially Russia, are the lowest rated countries. Results from the present study reveal that the respondents who did not correctly identify the ScotEng speaker,

evaluated it particularly less favorably on the dimension of LQ and mainly for the semantic category aesthetic quality (4.0 vs. 3.0, see Appendix 5).

Lindemann (2005) further argues that countries that are less familiar to the respondents are often evaluated the most negatively. This argument can explain why the respondents that incorrectly identified the InEng speaker as coming from countries within Africa, Europe, Asia, the Middle East and South America evaluated the variety less favorably than the respondents who were familiar with InEng. Similar to the ScotEng speaker, the speaker of InEng was evaluated less favorably on the dimension of LQ by the respondents who did not identify the speaker. The most notable difference for LQ involves the semantic category 'comprehensibility' (3.3 vs. 2.7, see Appendix 5).

The data was also analyzed including only "Scotland" as the correct answer for ScotEng. The results for the respondents with correct identification reveal the same score for the overall evaluation (2.8). When categorizing the answer of "Ireland" as incorrect identification, the score was slightly more positive, 3.2 respectively. The results suggest that the respondents who identify the speakers as non-native speakers of English give more negative evaluations compared to respondents who identify the varieties as native speakers of English. The findings are similar to earlier studies with non-native informants (McKenzie 2008).

4.2 Part 1: Accent evaluations according to personal variables

In Part 2 of the students' questionnaire, the participants were asked to provide some personal information, such as gender, accent aim and visits to English-speaking countries. In the following section, these variables are included in the analysis of the verbal guise test in Part 1.

4.2.1 Overall evaluations according to gender

Figure 4.7 presents the overall average scores for males and females. The sample has a relatively equal gender distribution with 79 male student respondents and 72 female student respondents.
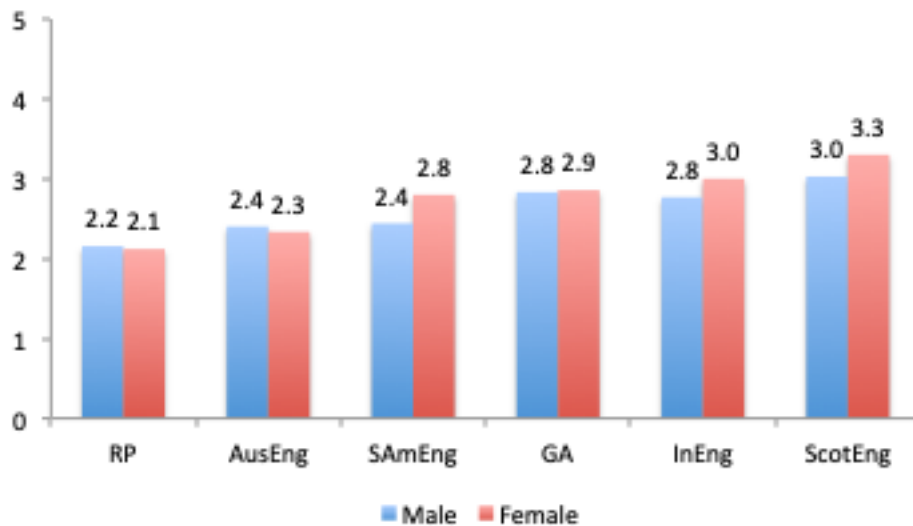
Figure 4.7: *Overall verbal guise scores by gender*

The overall average scores from the verbal guise test are analyzed by gender, and it was expected that female respondents would evaluate the varieties more positively than the male respondents (see hypothesis 6 in section 1.2). However, the results show that there are few notable differences between the genders. The small differences that can be observed reveal that the male respondents evaluate most varieties slightly more positively than the female respondents, except for RP and AusEng. SAmEng has the greatest gap between the genders, with a differentiation score of 0.4.

These results can be compared to earlier attitudinal studies that include the variable of gender. Loftheim (2013) and Areklett (2017) found only minor differences between the gender groups in their studies, similar to the present study. The male respondents in Loftheim's (2013) study judge the varieties slightly more positively than the male respondents, while the female informants in Areklett's (2018) study evaluate most varieties slightly more positively than the male respondents. Nevertheless, the main observation is that there are no particular gender patterns in Norwegian studies using the VGT.

Table 4.1 shows the female and male respondents' scores for the evaluative dimensions.

Table 4.1: *Overall verbal guise scores by evaluative dimensions and gender*

	Female			Male		
	Status	SA	LQ	Status	SA	LQ
RP	1.9	2.6	1.7	1.9	2.8	1.7
AusEng	2.4	2.5	1.9	2.5	2.5	2.1
SAmEng	2.6	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.2
GA	2.7	3.4	2.3	2.7	3.3	2.4
InEng	3.2	2.5	3.5	3.0	2.4	3.0
ScotEng	3.3	3.1	3.6	3.1	2.9	3.2

As seen in Table 4.1, the male respondents give more favorable evaluations for the dimensions of SA and LQ compared to the female respondents. The scores are predominantly very similar, but there are some differences. For example, the female respondents evaluate SAmEng with the score of 3.0 for the dimension SA, while the males give the score of 2.6. Another difference concerns the evaluation for the semantic category 'self-confidence', with the score of 2.4 from the females and the score of 1.8 from the males (see Appendix 5). The female respondents also evaluate the InEng speaker more negatively for the dimension LQ compared to the male respondents (3.5 vs. 3.0), based on the evaluations for both the semantic categories of 'aesthetic quality' and 'understandability'.

The results from the evaluations according to gender suggest a pattern where the male respondents evaluate the varieties slightly more positively than the female respondents. It is also noteworthy that the male respondents overall have higher identification success for the varieties, with the exception of RP, as seen in Table 4.2. Correct identification for RP is England, USA for GA, Scotland for ScotEng, Australia for AusEng, India for InEng and the USA, Southern USA or particular southern states for SAmEng.

Table 4.2: *Identification of the varieties according to gender*

	RP	GA	ScotEng	AusEng	InEng	SAmEng
Females	71%	65%	19%	24%	38%	51%
Males	70%	70%	24%	28%	60%	81%

The overall tendency shown in Table 4.2 is that the males correctly identify the varieties more often than females. The identification scores for RP, GA and AusEng is rather similar according to gender, which can be explained by the fact that GA and RP are common varieties in the Norwegian schools, while AusEng is the variety the students are most unfamiliar with. The identification of ScotEng is also similar, however, 27% of the male informants identified the ScotEng speaker as coming from "Ireland", and 11% of the females did the same.

The male respondents have a noteworthy higher identification success for InEng and SAmEng than the female respondents. While 60% of the male respondents identified the InEng speaker, only 38% of the female respondents did the same. Moreover, 81% of the male respondents and only 51% of the female respondents identified the SAmEng speaker. 48% of the male respondents specified Southern USA or particular Southern states, while only 29% of the females did the same.

As seen in Figure 4.6 in section 4.1.5, correct identification seems to have a notable effect on the evaluations of InEng and ScotEng, but not for SAmEng. ScotEng also received more favorable evaluations when including "Ireland" as correct identification. The results according to gender also show that the male respondents have a notable higher identification success for ScotEng when including "Ireland". SAmEng, ScotEng and InEng are also the varieties that have the greatest gap between the genders (see Figure 4.7).

A possible explanation for why male respondents have a higher success rate in identifying these varieties may be that they are exposed to more English varieties than females because of their use of digital media. Studies show that boys play more computer games than girls when they get older. A study on Norwegian teenagers reveal that 46% of the girls and 92% of the boys play video games when they are 16 years old. While the girls are primarily interested in mobile games, the boys focus

predominantly on popular games such as 'Grand Theft Auto', 'Minecraft', 'Fifa' and 'CS:GO' (Medietilsynet 2018). It is common to chat or talk to people when gaming online, also people from other countries. Additionally, it is also widespread to watch streams of popular gamers from all around the world.

In the same study, 44% of the male informants that were 15 years old stated that they played video games minimum two hours each day, in comparison to only 10% of the female informants (Medietilsynet 2018). The boys are therefore arguably exposed to a greater diversity of spoken English varieties, which might be a reason for why they have more success at recognizing different varieties. Table 4.3 shows the factors that have influenced the present student respondents' English accent according to gender (more information on English influence are presented in section 4.3.1). They were allowed to choose more than one option.

Table 4.3: English influence according to gender

	TV/film	Internet/ computer games	Travel	Former English teachers	Family/ friends	Other
Females	88%	32%	38%	29%	25%	4%
Males	57%	82%	18%	22%	16%	5%

The results from Table 4.3 support the claim that Internet and computer games are more important for the males than for the females. This particular factor has the most noteworthy gap according to gender, as 82% of the male informants believe the Internet or computer games have influenced their English accent, while only 32% of the female respondents give similar answers. Furthermore, Table 4.3 shows a tendency for the female respondents to regard the other factors, such as 'TV and film', 'travel', 'former English teachers' and 'family and friends', as having influenced their English accent more compared to the male respondents. The most notably factor is 'TV and film', which 88% of the female respondents emphasize as the biggest influence on their English accent, compared to 57% of the males. GA and RP are the most common varieties used in films and TV-series, which can explain why the identification scores for RP and GA are similar for both genders.

4.2.2 Overall evaluations according to accent aim

The student participants were asked to state which variety they aim at when they speak English. 46 students stated that they aim towards American English, 21 aimed towards British English and 74 students responded that they did not aim towards a specific accent. The 11 remaining participants reported that they aimed towards Australian English, Irish English or Southern American English, or that they vary between different varieties. These 11 participants are not included in the analysis. Figure 4.8 shows the results from the verbal guise test categorized by the students' accent aim.
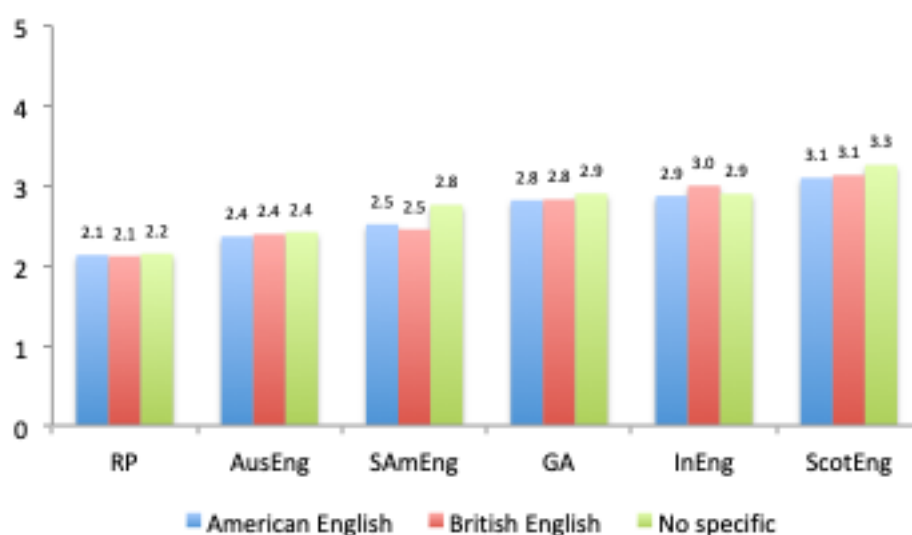
Figure 4.8: Overall verbal guise scores by accent aim

Figure 4.8 shows the results from the student respondents who reported using American English (henceforth 'American respondents'), British English ('British respondents') or did not aim towards a specific accent ('Non-specific respondents'). It is interesting to note that the differences between the respondent groups are minimal. Similar to the overall results from all respondents (see Figure 4.1 in section 4.1.1), RP is evaluated most favorably by all three groups, followed by AusEng, SAmEng, GA, InEng and ScotEng. The only difference is that the Non-specific respondents rate both GA and InEng in fourth place with a score near the neutral midpoint of 3 points. Figure 4.8 shows that there are no differences between evaluations divided by accent aim, which means that the British respondents and the American respondents do not specifically favor the accent they aim towards compared to the other two groups.

These findings are supported by other studies, such as Rindal (2010), which have suggested that accent aim does not seem to affect the rating of other accents.

However, it is interesting to note that 34 of the 46 American respondents recognized the speaker of GA as coming from the USA, which means that 26% did not correctly identify the GA speaker. Moreover, of the 21 British respondents, only 15 recognized the RP speaker as coming from either London or England, while two wrote Great Britain. Consequently, 29% of the student respondents who stated their aim towards British English did not identify the RP speaker. These findings suggest that even though the respondents aim towards a specific variety, it does not mean that they manage to identify and perhaps use the specific variety correctly. Moreover, because of the young age of the respondents, they have little experience with English accents and recognition of varieties is therefore challenging. It is also possible that the recordings used may not correspond with what the respondents associate with these varieties.

4.2.3 Overall evaluations according to visits to English-speaking countries

Hypothesis 7 concerns whether or not the student respondents' visits to English-speaking countries affect how they evaluate the six varieties in the verbal guise test. It was expected that respondents that have traveled to English-speaking countries and experienced the peoples and cultures would have more positive attitudes towards English varieties (cf. section 2.1). The student respondents who have visited countries where English is an official language (such as England, Ireland, Scotland, the USA and Australia) are included, and the trips range from a week to several months. In total, 83 student respondents have traveled to an English-speaking country, and the average time spent in an English-speaking country was 2,82 weeks per student. 69 student respondents have not visited an English-speaking country.

Figure 4.9 shows the overall average scores from the verbal guise test based on whether or not the student participants have traveled to an English-speaking country. In this study, travel is defined by spending more than three days in an English-speaking country.
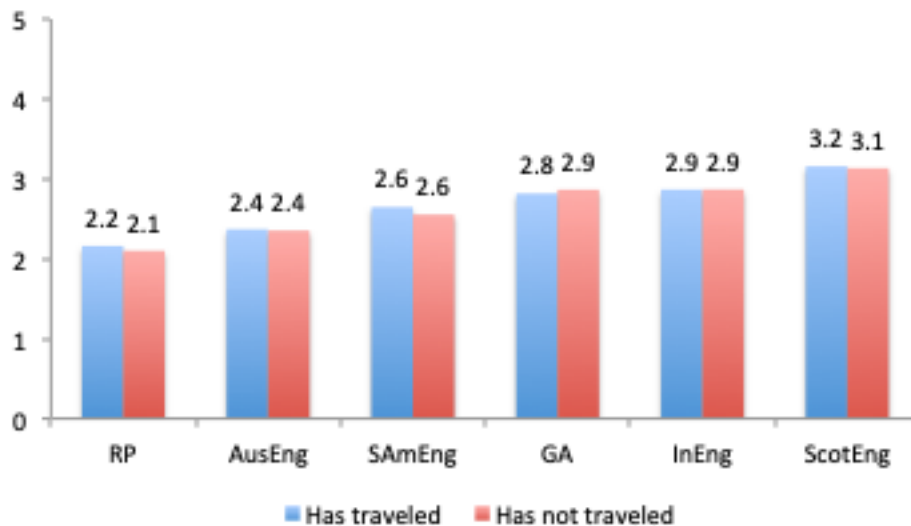
Figure 4.9: Overall verbal guise scores by travels to English-speaking countries

It is interesting to note how minor the differences are between the two groups, and that both groups evaluate RP as the most favored variety followed by AusEng, SAmEng, GA, InEng and ScotEng. The results suggest that traveling to English-speaking countries do not impact the attitudes of student respondents. Therefore, the results do not corroborate Hypothesis 7.

One reason for the results may be that the student respondents may not interact that much with native speakers when abroad. Because the respondents are only 13 or 14 years old, it is more likely that their parents interact with local people in hotels, restaurants and shops. Therefore, visits to English-speaking countries may not have an impact on how they view English varieties. Additionally, travel does not necessarily lead to positive experiences. The student respondents may have negative experiences with the cultures, which can influence their attitudes towards certain English varieties.

Table 4.4 shows the identification of the varieties divided by travel to English-speaking countries. Correct identification is similar to section 4.1.5, namely England or Great Britain for RP, USA for GA, Scotland or Ireland for ScotEng, Australia or New Zealand for AusEng, India for InEng and the USA, Southern USA or specific southern states for SAmEng.

Table 4.4: *Identification of the varieties by travel to English-speaking countries*

	RP	GA	ScotEng	AusEng	InEng	SAmEng
Has traveled	83%	69%	41%	27%	47%	65%
Has not traveled	71%	67%	42%	32%	52%	70%

The most noteworthy finding from Table 4.4 is the identification of the RP speaker. While 83% of the respondents who have traveled to English-speaking countries recognize the RP speaker, 71% of the respondents who have not traveled did the same. It is interesting to note that 64 of the 83 student participants who have traveled to English-speaking countries have visited England, while three respondents mentioned visiting Great Britain.

There is only a minor difference for the other varieties between the two groups and whether or not they identified the varieties. The differentiation between the highest and the lowest identification score between AusEng, InEng and SAmEng is five percentage points. For the varieties of GA and ScotEng, the differentiation score is only a few percentage points.

The respondents who have not traveled to English-speaking countries have a slightly higher identification rate of ScotEng, AusEng, InEng and SAmEng than the other group. For the respondents in this study, travels to English-speaking countries do not play a noteworthy role in the identification of the different varieties. The only exception may be for RP, because England seems to be a common travel destination for the respondents. However, other factors such as the impact of media may be more significant when learning different English varieties.

4.3 Part 2: English in the media and the classroom

First, the student respondents' reported media exposure will be presented. Second, factors that have influenced the students' and the teachers' English accent will be analyzed. Third, the English varieties preferred in the classroom will be examined.

4.3.1 Media exposure and English influence

Hypothesis 8 states that respondents using English-speaking media daily have more positive attitudes towards English varieties (cf. section 1.2). The student participants were asked to state approximately how many days per week they use English-speaking media during their spare time. The average number for the 152 student participants was 5.8 days per week. While 86 participants responded seven days per week, 21 participants answered six days per week and 15 participants responded five days per week. Only ten participants replied that they use English-speaking media four days or less per week. The results show that there is a high usage of English-speaking media among the student respondents. With the high mean value, it is challenging to see differences in how media exposure affects the accent evaluations. However, one can argue that media exposure affects their English and accent associations.

Figure 4.10 shows the distribution of variables the student respondents believe have influenced their English accent. They were allowed to choose more than one option.
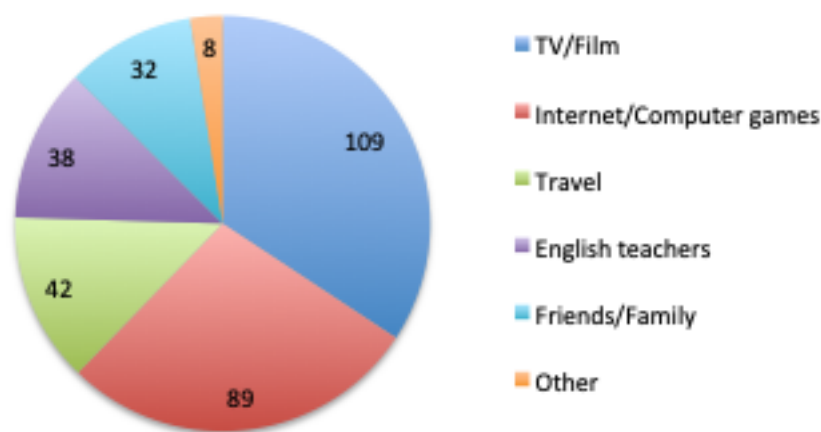
Figure 4.10: English accent influences by student respondents

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In total, 109 student respondents answered "TV or film" as having the most significant impact on their English accent, while 89 respondents replied "Internet or computer games". The third largest group is "travel", with 42 respondents. 38 respondents answered "English teachers" as an influence, and 32 replied "friends or

family". Additionally, eight student respondents answered the "other" category, which includes English books or audiobooks, and conversations with people online.

Several teacher participants mention travel as a factor that has influenced their own English accent the most. A study with English teachers in Sweden also identifies travels to English-speaking countries as an important factor (Ainasoja 2010: 18). In the present study, some teachers refer to TV and film and earlier English teachers, which is also evident in Ainasoja's (2010) study. Only one teacher participant mentions the Internet and computer games. The student respondents may therefore experience the English language in more diverse and new situations compared to the teacher participants, as they are exposed to the media earlier in age through numerous entertainment services, such as TV, streaming sites online and new computer games.

Hypothesis 9 states that the student respondents favor the accent their teacher uses in the classroom (cf. section 2.1). The highest correspondence is for the teacher in Trøndelag who has a non-specific accent, which is similar to a majority of the students. However, a non-specific accent of English can be anything and it is problematic to claim that the students have a non-specific accent because of their teacher. Additionally, many student respondents in the other classes also report a 'neutral' accent aim. Similar observations have been made in other studies conducted in Norway (Rindal and Piercy 2013).

The teacher of the other class in Trøndelag aim towards American English, and 32% of the student participants in the class do the same. In Hordaland, there were two teachers per class, which means that the students were exposed to two accents of English. For example, one class in Hordaland has two teachers where one aim towards British English and one aim towards American English. Consequently, the total score is higher than in the other classes with only one teacher. Furthermore, the two teacher participants in the two classes in Nordland aim towards British English, but only 12% of the students do the same.

The findings correspond with the fact that only 25% of the student respondents believe that English teachers influence their English. The students therefore do not seem to be especially affected by which English accent their teacher uses.

4.3.2 Preferred English varieties in the classroom

The student respondents were asked whether or not they believe that English teachers prefer the students to have a particular accent, and the teachers were asked if they prefer the students to have a specific accent. Hypothesis 10 states that a majority of the students believe that English teachers prefer the students to use RP (cf. section 1.2). The hypothesis is based on the belief that British English continues to enjoy a high status in Norwegian schools. Furthermore, it is expected that the teachers do not encourage the students to aim at a particular accent (cf. hypothesis 11 in section 1.2), because the competence aims in the Norwegian national curriculum in the English subject do not specify particular accent aims.

Figure 4.11 shows which English accent the student participants believe English teachers prefer their students to speak. The respondents were allowed to choose more than one option.
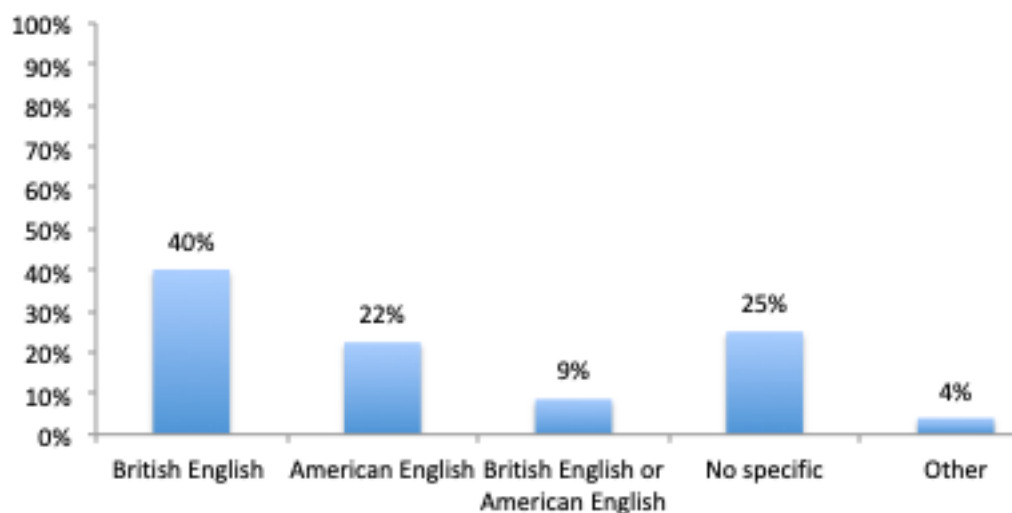
Figure 4.11: *English accents the students believe English teachers prefer their students to speak.*

Figure 4.11 shows that while 40% of the students believe that English teachers prefer their students to speak British English, 25% of the respondents think that teachers do not favor a specific accent. These findings correspond with the results from a study with Norwegian student respondents in upper secondary school (Hopland 2016: 79). 22% of the respondents believe that American English is the preferred accent, and 9% think that English teachers prefer either British English or American English. Finally, 4% of the respondents mention other varieties of English, or did not answer the question.

Even though a substantial number of student participants believed that the teachers prefer the students to aim towards RP, only a few students aim towards the same variety (cf. section 4.2.1). The student participants' accent aims do not correspond to what they believe the English teachers prefer, which can be seen in light of the fact that only 25% of the student respondents answered that English teachers influence their English accent.

The teacher participants in this study were asked whether they prefer a specific accent in Norwegian schools and if they encourage their students to aim at a particular English variety. Six of the eight teachers responded that they do not prefer a specific accent in the Norwegian school and that they do not encourage their students to aim at a particular accent. The teacher participants explicitly explained that as long as the students learn to communicate in the English language, their grammar is correct and the pronunciation is understandable, it is not important which English accent they have. One teacher specified that it was important that their Norwegian dialect should not dominate the English accent. The results correspond with Ainasoja's (2010) findings, where several English teachers in Sweden thought that it does not matter what variety the students use, as long as they can understand other varieties and try to be consistent.

These findings correspond with the competence aims in the English subject curriculum after Year 10. The curriculum does not focus on a particular model of pronunciation, but rather on the fact that the students should be able to express themselves fluently and coherently (cf. section 2.7).

However, two teacher participants stated that either British English or American English was preferred in Norwegian schools. These particular teachers both said that they aimed towards British English themselves. The first teacher described American English as the English variety the youth identify with through TV-shows from the USA, and explained that the few students that preferred British English was encouraged to use British English. The other teacher participant said that the preferred accent in Norwegian schools should be British English because it is easy to understand and may be the most useful accent for Norwegians. However, this teacher did not encourage the students to aim at a particular accent because his classes consisted of international students. It seems, then, that some teachers may have a preference for a particular English variety, but teaching it may be too challenging or time-consuming.

4.4 Part 2: Label evaluations

In the following sections, the overall direct evaluations of the varieties are presented. First, the overall evaluations by from the student respondents will be discussed. Second, the scores according to gender are introduced, and finally, the overall evaluations by teacher respondents are presented.

4.4.1 Overall evaluations of the varieties by student respondents

All the respondents were asked to evaluate the six varieties from the verbal guise test (RP, GA, ScotEng, AusEng, InEng and SAmEng), but now referred to using labels. The label 'British English' was used to refer to RP and 'General American English' referred to GA in Part 2 of the questionnaire. The other varieties are labeled the same as in Part 1. The labels may be broad, but they were selected to be understandable for the participants. The respondents were given open spaces to fill out after each label (see question 9 in Appendix 2). They could choose from an example box with various opposing traits used in the verbal guise test in addition to some new traits. The respondents also the option of adding other words if they wished. In order to get a clearer picture of how the varieties are evaluated in Part 2, the number of positive and negative words for the six varieties is presented in Figure 4.12. Only the words the student respondents chose from the example box are included (see Appendix 7).
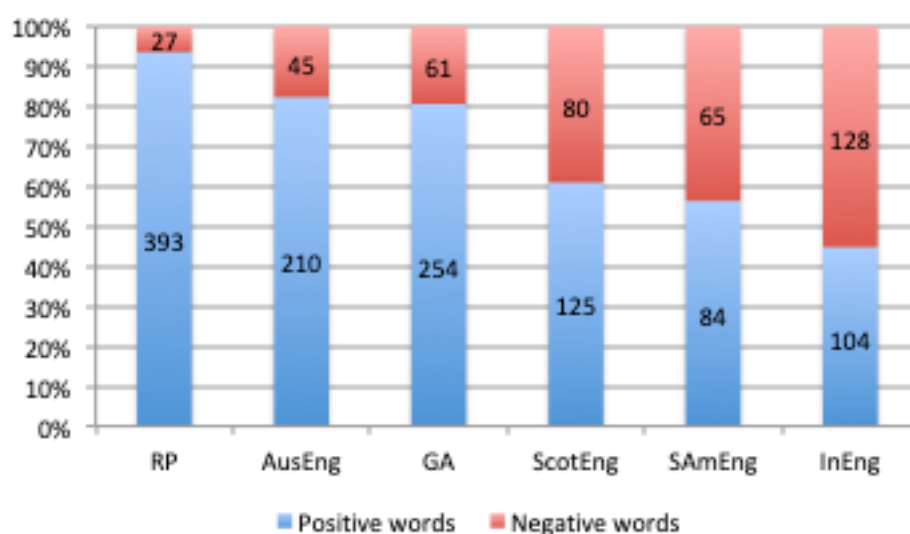
Figure 4.12: *Positive and negative words from label evaluations (the example box)*

Figure 4.12 shows that RP receives the most positive words compared to negative words, followed by AusEng, GA, ScotEng, SAmEng and InEng. Moreover, 94% of the words RP receives classify as positive, and the variety also gets the most comments with 420 words, followed by GA, AusEng, InEng, ScotEng and SAmEng. The findings suggest that RP triggers the most associations for the respondents, and the traits refer predominantly to the dimension of Status. AusEng and GA attract a similar proportion of positive comments compared to negative comments, but GA receives a higher amount of words. InEng is the only variety that receives more negative than positive words, because 55% of the words classify as negative. Comparable results are found in Areklett's (2017: 59) study using a similar methodology.

The results show that the varieties that are less familiar to the student respondents receive fewer comments. RP and GA receive the highest number of words, and only four respondents answered that they had not heard of these varieties. Furthermore, while 14 students replied that AusEng was unknown, InEng was unknown for 37 students, ScotEng was unknown for 40 students and SAmEng was unknown for 75 students. It can therefore be argued that familiarity is an important factor when the student respondents evaluate accent labels.

Table 4.5 shows the total count of descriptive words from the example box from all student respondents. The words are organized into semantic categories, each containing two opposing traits (see Appendix 7 for details on each trait), and the negative words have been subtracted from the positive words. The total score for each dimension indicates how many more positive words than negative words the varieties received. A negative score means that a variety received more negative than positive words. Additionally, a total score for all three dimensions is presented. Unlike in the preceding sections, a high score here signifies a positive evaluation, while a low score indicates as a negative evaluation.

Table 4.5: *Accent label evaluations from student respondents (the example box)*

Dimensions	Semantic category	COUNTS					
Status		**RP**	**GA**	**AusEng**	**ScotEng**	**SAmEng**	**InEng**
	Intelligence	60	3	13	8	-4	-2
	Professionalism	35	6	0	5	-5	-7
	Self-confidence	22	28	11	15	8	-7
	Education	42	-5	8	1	-4	-16
	Wealth	46	11	4	4	-8	-22
Total score Status		**205**	**43**	**36**	**33**	**-13**	**-54**
Social attractiveness (SA)		**RP**	**GA**	**AusEng**	**ScotEng**	**SAmEng**	**InEng**
	Friendliness	57	26	36	11	5	15
	Honesty	17	8	20	-4	5	2
	Helpfulness	9	9	11	0	9	3
	Popularity	11	32	6	1	1	-2
	Sense of humor	-1	3	16	17	15	43
Total score SA		**93**	**78**	**89**	**25**	**35**	**61**
Linguistic quality (LQ)		**RP**	**GA**	**AusEng**	**ScotEng**	**SAmEng**	**InEng**
	Aesthetic quality	52	23	34	2	-4	-11
	Comprehensibility	16	49	5	-12	1	-20
Total score LQ		**68**	**72**	**40**	**-10**	**-3**	**-31**
Total score from all dimensions		**366**	**193**	**165**	**48**	**19**	**-24**

Table 4.5 shows that RP receives the highest overall score of 366, followed by GA, AusEng, ScotEng, SAmEng and lastly InEng with minus 24 points. In Part 1, the varieties were ranked in the following order: RP, AusEng, SAmEng, GA, InEng and ScotEng. RP is therefore the only variety that has the same ranking in both parts of the questionnaire. GA and ScotEng receive more favorable evaluations when the student respondents relate to labels rather than speech samples, while SAmEng and InEng are more positively evaluated when presented as speech samples. The findings show that student respondents have different connotations related to labels compared to speech samples. For example, accent labels may also give associations to the specific country of the variety, the people and the culture.

In part 2, RP received 205 points for the Status dimension, 93 points for SA and 68 points for LQ. In both parts of the study, the respondents evaluated RP particularly favorably on the dimension of Status. These findings suggest that RP is

still perceived as the most prestigious variety of English among Norwegian students, which is evident in other attitudinal studies (cf. section 2.3). In Part 2, the respondents focused mainly on the three semantic categories 'intelligence', 'friendliness' and 'aesthetic quality' (see Table 4.5). Additionally, many respondents associate speakers of RP with the traits 'rich', 'high education', 'professional' and 'confident' (see Appendix 7). Similar results are found in other Norwegian studies, where the respondents associate RP particularly with competence, education and aesthetic qualities (e.g., Rindal 2010, Rindal and Piercy 2013, Rindal 2014, Hopland 2016, Areklett 2017).

While the GA speaker was not evaluated as favorably in Part 1 as expected, in part 2, it received the second most positive score of 193 points. The score includes 43 points on Status, 78 points on SA and 72 points on LQ. Hypothesis 2 states that the student respondents would evaluate GA more favorably than RP on the dimension of SA because this is evident in earlier research (cf. section 2.3). Results from Part 1 and Part 2 do not support the hypothesis, because RP receives more favorable evaluations than GA on all dimensions in Part 1 and more positive scores on SA and Status in Part 2. However, GA receives a slightly more positive score on the dimension of LQ in Part 2, because many student respondents associated speakers of GA with the traits 'comprehensible accent' and 'pleasant accent' (see Appendix 7). Moreover, several student respondents thought that speakers of GA sound 'confident' and 'very friendly', which is similar to the findings in Garrett et al. (2005).

It was expected that AusEng and ScotEng would be evaluated more neutrally, because the student respondents are presumably less familiar with these varieties. However, in Part 1, AusEng is judged as the second most favorable accent, only outranked by RP. One reason for the favorable evaluation may be that 23% of the students identified the AusEng speaker as coming from England. In Part 2, AusEng was evaluated as the third most favorable variety after RP and GA with a score of 165 points, which incorporates 36 points on Status, 89 points on SA and 40 points on LQ. The students predominantly described speakers of AusEng as 'very friendly', which was also the main attitude of the respondents in Areklett's (2017: 74) study. AusEng received positive evaluations for the dimension of SA in both parts of the questionnaire, especially regarding the semantic categories 'honesty' and 'sense of humor' in Part 2. Some respondents also thought that speakers of AusEng have a 'pleasant accent'.

ScotEng was in Part 1 evaluated as the least favored variety with an overall score of 3.15. In Part 2, on the other hand, ScotEng is in fourth place with overall 48 points, and received a score of 33 on Status, 25 points on SA and minus ten points on LQ. Nevertheless, it received a low score compared to AusEng in third place (see Table 4.3). ScotEng received fewer negative connotations than InEng and SAmEng on the dimension of Status because of favorable evaluations of the semantic categories 'self-confidence' and 'intelligence'. In earlier studies with native speaker respondents, ScotEng has been evaluated particularly favorably on SA, for example in Coupland and Bishop's (2007) direct study. However, these results are not evident in the present study, because ScotEng is evaluated as the least favorable variety for SA in Part 2. Furthermore, ScotEng received a negative score for the dimension of LQ, especially in regard to the trait 'incomprehensible accent'. The reason may be that Norwegian students do not often encounter ScotEng, due to its lack of representation in the media and films compared to RP and GA. ScotEng received both positive and negative associations on the different traits, which means that the respondents are not in agreement (see Appendix 7).

SAmEng is the second least favorable variety with only 19 points overall in Part 2, which includes minus 13 points on Status, 35 points on SA and minus three points on LQ. It was expected that SAmEng would receive a positive score for SA and a less positive score for Status in both parts of the questionnaire. SAmEng was evaluated overall favorably in Part 1 and received a more positive score than GA, especially regarding Status. In Part 2, however, SAmEng received an overall low score due to its negative scores for Status and LQ. Several respondents associated speakers of SAmEng with traits such as 'poor', 'low education', 'unintelligent' and 'ugly accent'. SAmEng was also associated with being 'funny', 'confident' 'helpful' and 'honest', which is similar to results in other Norwegian studies (e.g., Loftheim 2013, Areklett 2017).

It was expected that some of the student respondents would have knowledge of InEng due to popular media, and that the student respondents would evaluate the InEng speaker the least favorably on all three dimensions (see hypothesis 3 in 1.2). In Part 2, InEng does indeed receive the lowest score with minus 24 points, which includes minus 54 points on Status, 61 points on SA and minus 31 points on LQ. The scores for Status and LQ are especially negative due to the four traits 'incomprehensible accent', 'poor', 'low education' and 'ugly accent'.

InEng receives a positive score for SA due to the 43 points from the semantic category 'sense of humor'. Some popular TV-shows portray InEng in a humoristic way, which might explain the score for this category. Arguably, however, the trait 'funny' might not be regarded as positive for InEng, as some respondents perhaps think of InEng as more comical. Nevertheless, in Part 1, InEng also receives positive evaluations for the other two semantic categories in the dimension of SA. Therefore, the negative stigmatization towards InEng might be more evident when the respondents are evaluating accent labels compared to speech samples.

Lindemann (2005: 207–208) argues that respondents typically stigmatize non-native English in countries such as India, with references to 'heavy accent' and 'broken English', while non-native Englishes in European countries, such as France, are not stigmatized in that manner.

Table 4.6 shows a selection of the words the student respondents included when evaluating the different varieties freely. They have been translated into English, but the complete list of words in Norwegian is found in Appendix 8. When words are mentioned by more than one respondent, an 'x' and the number of times the word is mentioned will appear behind the word.

Table 4.6: Accent label evaluations from student respondents (self-selected words)

	RP	GA	AusEng	ScotEng	SAmEng	InEng
Linguistic features	'Flowing' 'Normal'	'Easy' x7 'Normal' x7	'Broad' x3 'Flat' 'Slang'	Many 'r' x3 'Long e' 'Talks fast'	'Broad' 'Slow' 'Broken American'	'Bad pronunciation' x2 'Broken'
Affective positive	'Beautiful' x2 'Fancy' 'Pretty' 'Elegant'	'Cool' x6 'Fascinating' 'Relaxed'	'Beautiful' x3 'Eager' 'Strong' 'Adventurous' 'Festive'	'Cool' x4 'Wise' 'Fascinating' 'Unique' 'Powerful'	'Cool' x2 'Strong'	'Cool' x2 'Fantastic'
Affective negative	'Rude' 'Arrogant' 'Snobbish'	'Stressful' 'Rude' 'Loud'	'Weird' x2 'Different' x2 'Demanding' 'Annoying'	'Weird' x7 'Different' x2 'Aggressive' 'Angry' 'Annoying' 'Loud'	'Annoying' 'Loud' 'Snobby'	'Weird' x3 'Strict' x2 'Nasty' 'Demanding' 'Annoying' 'Foreign'
Cultured	'High class' 'Posh'		'Normal education'			
Uncultured					'Stupid'	
Associations	'Cup of tea' x4 'Fish and chips' 'Royal' 'Upper class' 'School dialect' 'Old'	'Burger King' 'KFC' 'Varied' 'Fat people' 'Flatter than Australian' 'Sounds like Trump: unintelligent'	'G'day mate' x6 'Crocodile Dundee' 'Similar to British English' 'A mix of British and American English'	'Barbarian' 'Living in a small village' 'Hate the Brits' 'Almost British' 'Haggis'	'Hillbilly' x2 'Cowboy' x2 'Howdy' x2	'Tikka masala' 'Chicken curry'

Inspired by Garrett et al. (2005: 218–219), the keywords from the respondents are organized into four semantic categories. Category 1 is called 'linguistic features', and incorporates descriptions of sounds and speech rate (e.g., 'fast', 'slow' and 'broad'). AusEng receives the most comments such as 'broad', 'slang' and 'flat'. Many student respondents describe GA as "easy" and "normal", and similar findings have been made in previous studies among Norwegian respondents (Rindal 2010, 2014, Sannes 2013). Additionally, one student respondent has also described RP as "normal", which can be related to the fact that RP is common in Norwegian schools. The student respondents referred to the linguistic features 'many r', 'long e' and 'talks fast' to explain the sounds and speech rate of ScotEng.

InEng received comments such as 'bad pronunciation' and 'broken'. Lindemann (2005) explains that the Englishes of countries that have been identified as stigmatized, such as India, are typically rated as less correct. She further argues that the comments concerning the comprehensibility of InEng are mostly negative, and one respondent in her study gave the negative global evaluation 'very broken English', which is similar to the comments found in the present study. SAmEng is described as 'broken American', as well as 'broad' and 'slang'. The term 'broken' can be associated with perceived incorrectness, compared to other accents in the US, which is similar to the findings in Preston's (1998) study with informants from the USA.

The second category, 'affective', is divided into two subtypes. While 'affective positive' refers to descriptions of how a respondent might like a variety (e.g., 'friendly'), 'affective negative' reveals negative opinions of a variety (e.g., 'annoying'). ScotEng receives the highest number of comments in both categories, such as the positive comments 'cool', 'fascinating', 'wise' and 'unique', and the negative comments 'weird', 'different', 'aggressive', 'angry' and 'loud'. Words associated with RP are 'beautiful', 'fancy' and 'elegant', but also 'snobbish', 'rude' and 'arrogant'. RP was also described as 'arrogant' in Areklett's (2017) and Loftheim's (2013) study, and given the description 'they feel they are better than you' in Garrett et al. (2005). Informants in Hopland's (2016) study also described RP as 'beautiful, 'fancy' and 'snobby'. The respondents in the present study thus seem to have typical, traditional attitudes towards RP, documented in earlier studies.

GA is associated with the traits 'cool', 'fascinating' and 'relaxed' in addition to 'rude' and 'loud'. Respondents in Ladegaard and Sachdev's (2006) study use

similar descriptions when evaluating American culture, such as 'exciting', 'fascinating' and 'relaxed'. Moreover, informants in Hopland's (2016) study also characterize GA as 'relaxed' and 'cool'. GA is described as 'too outspoken' in Garrett et al. (2005), which is comparable to the description 'loud' in the present study. Similar to GA, SAmEng is also referred to as 'cool' and loud', which suggests that some respondents have similar cultural associations towards both varieties.

Qualities associated with AusEng are 'beautiful', 'strong', 'eager', 'festive' and 'adventurous'. Some of these associations can be linked to typical stereotypes portrayed in films and TV-series, such as *Home and Away* and *Bondi Beach*, where Australians are outdoorsy (cf., Garrett et al. 2005). InEng receives more negative comments than positive. While the positive comments are 'cool' and 'fantastic', examples of the negative ones are 'weird', 'nasty', 'annoying' and 'foreign'. The last comment, 'foreign', can be explained by the fact that the variety is non-native from the Outer Circle.

Category 3, 'status and social norms' concerns descriptions related to correctness, intelligence and education, and includes two subtypes, namely 'cultured' (e.g., 'intelligent') and 'uncultured' (e.g., 'incorrect'). British English is often associated with status, competence and formal contexts such as education (cf. section 2.6), and RP receives the comments 'high class' and 'posh', which is similar to Areklett's (2017) results. The comment 'stupid' describes SAmEng, and can be interpreted as SAmEng being regarded as less superior, in light of the variety's low score for the dimension of Status in Table 4.3.

Category 4, 'associations' refers to keywords with connotations to various aspects of the variety, for example culture and media. Other associations might relate to language diversity or comparison. This category may yield insights into the stereotypes associated with the English varieties. Norwegian students exhibit some typical stereotypes towards speakers of RP with the comments 'upper class' and 'royal'. These comments correspond with findings from Garrett et al. (2005), where American respondents associated RP with 'royal family', 'wealth' and 'high society'. There are also comments that relate to British culture, such as 'cup of tea' and 'fish and chips', which can have been transmitted through the media or travel. Additionally, RP receives the comment 'school dialect' which refers to the position this variety has in the educational system in Norway.

GA is the variety that is represented the most through the media, such as TV-series and films, and may therefore often be associated with entertainment. The comments that relate to American culture are the references to the fast-food chains 'Burger King' and 'KFC'. Additionally, there is one reference to the people in the USA with the association 'fat people'. The next comment is 'sounds like Trump (unintelligent)', which is an association to the US president, who is often portrayed as less intelligent by the media. The comment 'varied' may be a reference to the diversity of the country.

AusEng receives keywords like 'g'day mate' and 'Crocodile Dundee', which is similar to results in Garrett et al. (2005). The respondents have most likely acquired these associations through the media. AusEng has also been compared to other varieties, with the comments 'similar to British English' and 'a mix of British and American English'. ScotEng similarly receives the comment 'almost British'. Other studies have also found that respondents make comparisons to other varieties (e.g., Lindemann 2005).

SAmEng receives comments that relate to the people and the culture of Southern USA, such as 'cowboy', 'hillbilly' and 'howdy'. The association with 'cowboy' may be based on typical stereotypes from TV-series or films, while 'hillbilly' may be an association of how Southern Americans are sometimes portrayed as poor and uneducated. The expression 'howdy' is probably also acquired through the media.

ScotEng is associated with the comments 'barbarian' and 'living in a small village', which are connotations the students may have acquired through the media. The representation of Scotland and ScotEng in popular media is often associated with stereotypes, such as men dressed in a kilt in the Highlands, or maybe with warriors, established in popular TV-series and films such as *Outlander* and *Braveheart*. Moreover, ScotEng receives the comment 'haggis' which is a reference to a traditional dish from Scotland. InEng also receives comments relating to food that is associated with Indian culture, such as 'Tikka masala' and 'Chicken curry'.

4.4.2 Overall evaluations according to gender

Figure 4.13 shows the proportion of positive words from the accent label evaluations by variety and gender.
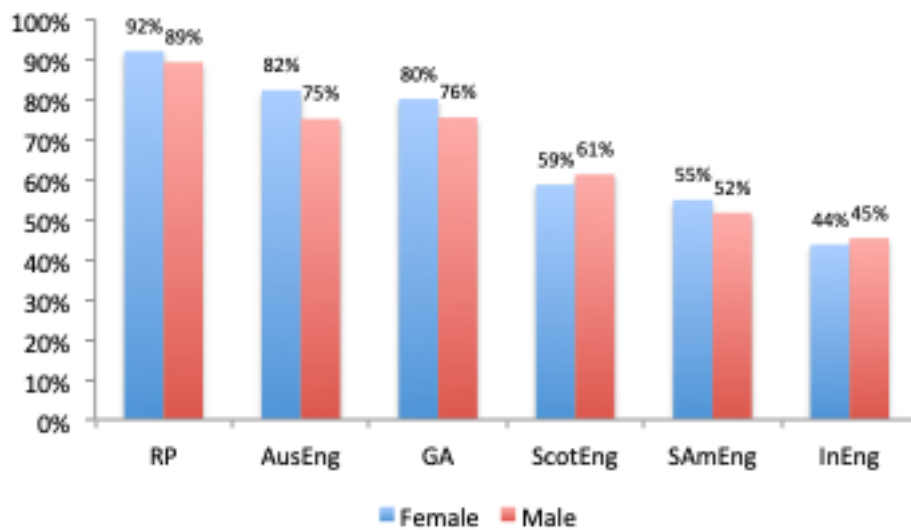
Figure 4.13: *Positive words from label evaluations by variety and gender*

Figure 4.13 shows that the female respondents judge the varieties overall slightly more positively than the male respondents, with the exception of ScotEng and InEng. The most noteworthy result is the evaluation of AusEng, where 82% of the comments from the female informants and 75% of the characteristics from the male informants are positive. Although the differences are minor, the results correspond predominantly with hypothesis 6, which states that female respondents would evaluate the varieties more positively than the male respondents (see section 1.2). They contrast, however, with the results in Part 1.

  Coupland and Bishop (2007) found significant gender differences in their UK study using accent label evaluations. The results show that the female respondents overall evaluated the varieties more positively than the male respondents, similar to the results in Figure 4.13. However, with the exception of AusEng, the present results show that there are few notable differences concerning gender. Gender differences seem to be small in Norwegian studies compared to studies with native speaker informants.

4.4.3 Overall evaluations of the varieties by teacher respondents

Table 4.7 shows the total number of keywords for all varieties from the teacher respondents in Part 2. It includes both words from the example box and other words

the teacher respondents added. The original version in Norwegian can be found in Appendix 9.

Table 4.7: *Accent label evaluations from teacher respondents*

	RP	GA	AusEng	ScotEng	SAmEng	InEng
Linguistic features	'Understandable accent' 'Pleasant accent'	'Audience friendly' 'Understandable accent' 'Neutral' 'Ugly accent'	'Pleasant accent' x4 'Understandable accent'			'Practical English: Distinct pitch and pronunciation' 'Understandable English'
Affective positive	'Very friendly' x3 'Nice' ''Professional' Funny'	'Very friendly' 'Confident'	'Very friendly' x2 'Funny' 'Popular' 'Honest' 'Interesting' 'Cozy' 'Informal'	'Funny' x3 'Helpful' x2 'Very friendly' 'Honest' 'Confident' 'Popular' 'Exciting' 'Cool'	'Very friendly' x2 'Honest' 'Funny' 'Cozy'	'Funny' x4 'Very friendly' x2 'Cozy'
Affective negative		'Boring' x2 'Taking oneself too seriously' 'Lazy'			'Boring' 'Dishonest' 'Self-centered' x2	
Cultured	'Intelligent' x4 'Posh' 'Cultured' 'Eloquently'					'Intelligent'
Uncultured		'Low education' 'Unprofessional'		'Low education'	'Low education' x3 'Unintelligent' x2 'Insecure'	'Low education' 'Unintelligent' 'Insecure'
Associations	'Formal'	'More rough than British English'	'Exotic'	'Stereotypical farmer' 'Rough farmer'	'Cultured/ educated, but unenlightened' 'Singing'	'Stereotypical'
Total words	**16**	**13**	**14**	**14**	**17**	**13**

Table 4.7 shows that the teacher respondents give only positive evaluations for the category 'linguistic features', with the exception of GA that receives the comment "ugly accent". RP, GA, AusEng and InEng are described as understandable accents, and AusEng receives comments particularly as being a pleasant accent. ScotEng and SAmEng, however, receive no comment. GA is also described as 'audience friendly' and 'normal', which can be related to the position this variety has in education and in the media. InEng is also described with the comment 'practical English with distinct

pitch and pronunciation', which may relate to the fact that the variety is phonetically distinct compared to the other varieties in the study.

ScotEng receives the most comments in the category of 'affective positive', such as 'funny', 'helpful', 'confident' and 'exciting'. The student respondents had similar comments to 'exciting', such as 'fascinating' and 'unique', which may relate to the fact that ScotEng is not commonly heard in Norway and may therefore be more captivating. Nearly all varieties receive the comment 'funny', but InEng receives the highest numbers of words, which is comparable to the results from the student respondents (see Table 4.5).

SAmEng and GA receive the most comments in the category of 'affective negative'. GA is described with the comments 'boring', 'taking oneself too seriously' and 'lazy', and SAmEng is characterized as 'self-centered', 'boring', and 'dishonest'. RP, on the other hand, did not receive any negative associations. The teacher participants were also asked to state the three English varieties they favored the most, and the result supports the reported comments. It is noteworthy that six teacher participants placed RP as the most favorable variety and the other two participants placed RP as the third most favorable variety. GA was not favored as highly as RP with three teachers placing GA in second place and two teachers placing GA in third place. Four teachers mentioned AusEng as one of their three favored varieties, and the variety receives only positive associations such as 'very friendly', 'interesting' and 'popular'. Two teacher respondents mention ScotEng and Irish English, and other varieties that are mentioned one time are Southern American English, Indian English, South African English, Canadian English.

The teacher participants therefore favor RP, which reflect traditional attitudes, and may be a reason for why a noteworthy part of the student respondents believe that English teachers prefer students to aim towards RP (cf. section 4.3.2).

The next category 'status and social norms', has two subcategories 'cultured' and 'uncultured'. For the first category, RP and InEng are the only two varieties to receive comments. One teacher respondent describes InEng as 'intelligent', and RP receives a similar comment by four respondents. Additionally, RP is described as 'posh', 'cultured' and 'eloquent', which are comparable results to the student respondents and Garrett et al. (2005). Regarding the other subcategory, 'uncultured', the varieties GA, ScotEng, SAmEng and InEng receives the comment 'low education'. SAmEng and InEng are also described as 'insecure' and 'unintelligent',

while GA receives the comment 'unprofessional'. The comments for SAmEng and InEng are similar to the results for the student respondents, as these varieties are evaluated particularly unfavorably for the dimension Status (see Table 4.5).

Nearly all the varieties receive comments for the category 'associations'. GA receives the comparison 'more rough than British English', and AusEng is described as 'exotic'. The latter may relate to the fact that Australia is associated with exotic animals, also evident in Garrett et al. (2005). ScotEng receives the comments 'stereotypical farmer' and 'rough farmer' and InEng receives the comment 'stereotypical'. The cultural comments can be linked to typical stereotypes connected with the people or the culture of the specific varieties, not least because two of the comments include the word 'stereotypical'. The associations connected with ScotEng are comparable with a comment from the student respondents, 'living in a small village', and reflect the typical representation of this variety in popular media. SAmEng is associated with the comments 'cultured/educated but unenlightened' and 'singing', and the first comment may be linked to how Southern Americans are often portrayed as conservative and backward in the media.

Some of these comments are also comparable with the student respondents' answers, seen in Table 4.6, and reflect cultural stereotypes connected with the English varieties.

5. CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a summary of the study and the main results. The results will be presented in light of the research questions and hypotheses, as well as previous research.

5.1 Summary and main tendencies

The present study has investigated Norwegian attitudes to the following six varieties of English: Received Pronunciation (RP), General American (GA), Scottish English (ScotEng), Australian English (AusEng), Indian English (InEng) and Southern American English (SAmEng). The first respondent group consisted of 152 student participants, 13-14 year old 9th graders, from three different lower secondary schools in Norway located in Hordaland, Trøndelag and Nordland. The study included the indirect approach with the use of the verbal guise test (Part 1), and the direct approach with explicit questions about attitudes (Part 2). The second respondent group was comprised of eight English teacher participants who answered a written questionnaire with direct questions (Teacher Questionnaire). The main variables in the study are geographical origin, gender, reported accent aim, visits to English-speaking countries and media exposure.

5.1.1 Results from Part 1: Accent evaluations

The first research question was: "What attitudes do Norwegian students in lower secondary school have towards different varieties of English?" The overall evaluations from Part 1 reveal that all respondents evaluated RP as the most favorable variety, followed by AusEng, SAmEng, GA, InEng and ScotEng. The evaluations of the varieties reveal no particular positive or negative extremes, even when analyzing the data without the midpoint. The results suggest that the student respondents have a general acceptance of spoken English varieties, which is similar to findings from other Norwegian attitudinal studies.

RP received the most positive evaluations for the dimensions of Status and Linguistic Quality (LQ), while InEng was evaluated as the favorite variety for Social Attractiveness (SA). ScotEng received the most negative score for Status and LQ, and

GA was evaluated the least favorably for SA. The student respondents evaluated the varieties RP, GA, AusEng and SAmEng unfavorably on the semantic category 'sense of humor', which is the reason for their negative score for the dimension. With the exception of the score for RP, the findings for the evaluative dimensions in this study do not generally correspond with previous studies conducted in Scandinavia, the USA and Great Britain.

The second research question asked the following: "Are there differences in attitudes between students living in different geographical areas in Norway?" The overall results reveal that there are no notable differences, which reflect hypothesis 4. The regional similarities may be explained by the fact that Norway is a culturally homogenous society where the students follow the same national curriculum and consume similar popular cultural products.

Research question 3 was as follows: "Do Norwegian students have the ability to distinguish between English varieties?" As outlined in section 4.1.4, RP and GA are the most recognized varieties, followed by InEng, SAmEng, AusEng and ScotEng. The results were as expected, because RP and GA are widely represented in education and the media. InEng was recognized by nearly half of the respondents, possibly because it is a phonologically distinct variety. More than one third of the student respondents identified the SAmEng speaker as coming from Southern USA, and almost one third identified the speaker as coming from the USA. The two least recognized varieties were AusEng and ScotEng, which is arguable because of their low representation in the media and in Norwegian schools compared to the other varieties. These findings are similar to other attitudinal studies (e.g., Ladegaard and Sachdev 2006).

The overall evaluations according to accent identification revealed that all varieties receive more favorable evaluations from informants who identify the varieties correctly. The two noteworthy differences are the evaluations of ScotEng and InEng, and the respondents who evaluated these varieties more unfavorably identified the speakers as coming from countries with non-native speakers of English. Therefore, it can be argued that the student respondent evaluated the varieties less favorably because they were unfamiliar and believed to be non-native, which is evident in other studies (e.g., Lindemann 2005).

5.1.2 Results from Part 1: Accent evaluations according to personal variables

The results from the overall evaluations according to gender revealed no notable patterns. The male informants evaluate the varieties slightly more positive than the female informants, but the differences were generally small. The only noteworthy differences were that the male respondents evaluate InEng more favorably than the female respondents on the dimension of LQ, and SAmEng on the semantic category 'self-confidence'. Additionally, the results show that the male respondents have an overall higher identification success for the varieties, with a clear gender difference for the speakers of SAmEng and InEng. The reason for this may arguably be that males are exposed to a greater diversity of spoken English varieties by playing computer games.

The overall evaluations according to the student participants' accent aim revealed minimal differences. The results indicate that the informants who aimed towards RP or GA did not specifically favor the accent they were aiming towards, which is supported by other studies (e.g., Rindal 2010). Furthermore, the findings revealed that a substantial part of the respondents who aimed towards a specific variety were not able to correctly identify this variety. The participants in this study are young and may have little experience with English accents and the identification of varieties may therefore be challenging.

Research question 4 asks: "Do aspects such as visits to English-speaking countries or the use of English-speaking media affect the respondents' attitudes?" The overall average scores according to travels to English-speaking countries show only minor differences between the two groups. However, there is one noteworthy difference concerning the identification of the varieties, where the students who have traveled to an English-speaking country, predominantly England, identifies RP more than respondents who have not traveled. The results imply that familiarity with countries may yield higher identification success, but not more favorable evaluations. The respondents' use of English-speaking media will be presented in the next section.

5.1.3 Results from Part 2: English in the media and the classroom

The use of English-speaking media daily was expected to give more positive accent scores. The results show that there is a high usage of English-speaking media among

the student respondents, which made it challenging to see differences in how media affects the evaluations. A majority of the respondents replied that TV and film have influenced their English the most, followed by the Internet and computer games. The results therefore suggest that media exposure seems to be an important influence on language attitudes, and a major source for accent associations. The teacher respondents highlights travel, earlier English teachers and TV and film as factors that have influenced their English accent the most. The results indicate that the media may be a more important influence on the student respondents' English accents, compared to the teachers', because they are exposed to media from an earlier age.

The final research question was: "Is there a correspondence between students and teachers regarding the favored accent in the classroom?" There are three hypotheses connected to this research question. Hypothesis 9 states that the students favor the accent their teacher uses in the classroom, and hypothesis 10 claims that a majority of the students believe that the English teachers prefer their students to aim towards RP. A noteworthy amount of the student informants believed that the teachers preferred the students to aim towards RP, but only a minority of the students aim towards the same variety. The data shows that the student respondents are not particularly affected by which English accent their teacher uses. The results are supported by the fact that only 25% of the students mentioned English teachers as an important factor that has influenced their English accent (see Figure 4.9 in section 4.3.1).

Hypothesis 11 states that the teachers do not encourage the students to aim at a particular accent. The results support the hypothesis because only one of eight teacher participants encourages students to aim at either British English or American English. The majority of the teachers explicitly stated that it is not important which English accent the students have, as long as their pronunciation is understandable and their grammar is correct. The results correspond with the fact that the national curriculum in English does not focus on a particular model of pronunciation.

5.1.4 Results from Part 2: Label evaluations and comparison

The student respondents evaluated the varieties based on speech samples in Part 1, and in Part 2 they assessed the varieties based on accent labels. The average evaluations in Part 1 are generally neutral to positive, and most varieties receive more

positive than negative evaluations in Part 2. The only varieties to receive an overall score more negative than neutral are ScotEng in Part 1 and InEng in Part 2. Therefore, the majority of the varieties are evaluated predominantly positively, which is also evident in earlier studies in Norway.

While RP is the most favored variety in both parts of the study, the other accents are ranked differently in Part 2, with GA in second place followed by AusEng, ScotEng, SAmEng and InEng. RP has the most favorable scores for Status and SA, and GA receives the most favorable evaluations for LQ. InEng is the least favorable variety for Status and LQ, while ScotEng receives the most negative score for SA.

The results also show that RP receives by far the most positive comments and the least negative comments in Part 2. AusEng and GA attract a similar proportion of positive comments compared to negative comments, while InEng is the only variety that receives a majority of negative comments. RP and GA are the varieties that receive the highest amount of comments, which suggests that they trigger the most associations for the respondents. These results are similar to the findings in Areklett's (2017) study with a similar methodology and comparable English varieties.

The noteworthy differences between the two parts involve the evaluation of GA and InEng. The GA speaker was evaluated more favorably with accent label evaluations compared to the verbal guise test in Part 1. The InEng speaker, on the other hand, received favorable evaluations for all semantic categories for SA in Part 1 and the least favorable evaluations in Part 2. The negative assessments of InEng are therefore more evident when the respondents relate to accent labels compared to speech samples, and these results from Part 2 reflect attitudinal stereotypes associated with the English varieties from earlier studies.

The results reveal that the male respondents evaluate the varieties more positively than the female respondents when listening to speech samples, and they have a higher identification success than the female informants. In the direct evaluation of labels, on the other hand, the female respondents rate the varieties overall more positively than the male respondents.

5.2 Concluding remarks: Critique and future research

The present study is much more extensive than other comparable research on the topic, as it includes more data due to a higher number of respondents. The study also has younger informants than previous studies, and has a unique geographical spread, with informants from three different counties. In hindsight, the teacher respondents could also have been included in the evaluations of the speech samples. Also, because of the young age of the respondents, including the alternative answer of 'I do not know' could have yielded more nuanced results.

Some of the findings confirm previously established attitudes in Scandinavia, Great Britain and the USA, for example, that RP is evaluated as the most favorable variety overall. However, some results are slightly different which might be explained by the fact that the respondents are younger in this study compared to previous studies. The study further shows that male students have a greater identification success for some varieties than females, but the reason for this is not clear. The results therefore encourage further investigation of gender differences in future attitudinal studies.

The renewed Norwegian national curriculum that will be finished by the end of 2019 focuses on the students' first language as a useful resource when learning English. The present study can provide useful insights for teachers because the findings reveal that the traditional varieties, RP and GA, are still regarded favorably. The teachers can therefore be more aware of accents when teaching English, and remember that the students may learn a lot by being exposed to and learn about different varieties of English. Also, the present study investigates what factors have the most significant impact on the students' English accents, which can be useful for teachers to help improve students' motivation and learning.

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Appendix 1

1. English version:
Questionnaire: Part 1

Listen to the recordings, and indicate after each sound-clip where on the scales you believe the speaker belongs. <u>Circle</u> your answer.

This person sounds:

Very friendly	1	2	3	4	5	Less friendly

_____

This person sounds:

Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	Unintelligent

_____

This person sounds:

Honest	1	2	3	4	5	Dishonest

_____

This person sounds:

Funny	1	2	3	4	5	Boring

_____

This person sounds:

Confident	1	2	3	4	5	Insecure

_____

This person sounds like he has a:

High education	1	2	3	4	5	Low education

_____

This person has a:

Pleasant accent	1	2	3	4	5	Ugly accent

_____

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Comprehensible accent   1   2   3   4   5   incomprehensive accent

_____

Where do you think this person comes from?

Answer:_____

2. Norwegian version:

Denne personen høres:

| Svært vennlig | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Lite vennlig |

Denne personen høres:

| Intelligent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Uintelligent |

Denne personen høres:

| Ærlig | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Uærlig |

Denne personen høres:

| Morsom | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Kjedelig |

Denne personen høres:

| Selvsikker | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Usikker |

Denne personen høres:

| Høyt utdannet | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Lavt utdannet |

Denne personen har en:

| Fin uttale | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Stygg uttale |

Denne personen har en:

| Forståelig uttale | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Uforståelig uttale |

Hvor tror du denne personen kommer fra?

Svar:

Appendix 2

1. English version:

Questionnaire: Part 2

In order to analyse the results of the survey, it is necessary that you provide some information about yourself.
*Please **circle** your answer or **fill in** below*

1) Age: 13 years 14 years

2) Gender: Woman Man

3) Mother tongue: Norwegian Other: _____

4) Which accent are you aiming at when you speak English?

British English American English No specific

Other (please specify): _____

5) Have you visited an English-speaking country? Yes No

If yes, **where** and for **how long**? _____

6) Approximately how many days per week do you use English-speaking media during your spare time (TV/film/internet/computer games)? *Please circle **one** of the numbers below.*

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7) What English accent do you believe English teachers prefer their students to speak? *You can choose more than one option.*

British English American English No specific

Other (please specify): _____

8) What would you say have influenced your English accent the most? *You can choose more than one option.*

TV/film Internet/computer games Travel English teachers

Family/friends Other (please specify): _____

9) In the spaces below, please write **a couple of words** that you associate with the following English accents. You can refer to any aspect of the accent (i.e., what it sounds like, politeness, understandability, beauty, etc.), and use the example box below as help.

a) British English: _____

_____

b) General American English: _____

_____

c) South American English: _____

_____

d) Australian English: _____

_____

e) Indian English: _____

_____

f) Scottish English: _____

_____

EXAMPLES

Very friendly – Unfriendly – Intelligent – Unintelligent – Honest – Dishonest –

Professional – Unprofessional – Confident – Insecure – High education – Low education –

Pleasant accent – Ugly accent– Comprehensible accent – Incomprehensible accent –

Helpful – Not helpful – Rich – Poor – Popular – Unpopular - Funny – Boring

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2. Norwegian version:

<u>Spørreskjema: Del 2</u>

For å kunne analysere resultatene av spørreundersøkelsen er det nødvendig at du oppgir noe informasjon om deg selv.
*Vennligst sett en <u>**sirkel**</u> rundt svaret ditt eller <u>**fyll ut.**</u>

1) Alder: 13 år   14 år

2) Kjønn: Jente   Gutt

3) Morsmål: Norsk   Annet: _____

4) Hvilken uttale prøver du på når du snakker engelsk?

     Britisk engelsk   Amerikansk engelsk   Ingen spesiell

     Annet (vennligst spesifiser): _____

5) Har du besøkt et engelsktalende land?   Ja   Nei

     Hvis ja, hvilke(t) land?
     _____

     Hvor lenge var besøket?
     _____

6) Cirka hvor mange dager i uken bruker du engelsktalende medier på fritiden (TV/film/internett/dataspill)? *Sett en sirkel rundt <u>**ett**</u> av tallene under.*

        0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

7) Hvilken engelskuttale tror du engelsklærere foretrekker at elever har? *Du kan velge flere svaralternativer.*

     Britisk engelsk   Amerikansk engelsk   Ingen spesifikk

     Annet (vennligst spesifiser): _____

8) Hva vil du si har påvirket din engelskuttale mest? *Du kan velge flere svaralternativer.*

     TV/film   Internett/dataspill   Reiser   Engelsklærere   Familie/venner

     Annet (vennligst spesifiser): _____

9) Vennligst skriv **et par ord** som du assosierer med de følgende engelskvariantene. Du kan referere til alle aspektene av uttalen, og bruke boksen med eksempler som hjelp.

a) Britisk engelsk: _____

_____

b) Generell amerikansk engelsk: _____

_____

c) Sørstatsamerikansk: _____

_____

d) Australsk engelsk:_____

_____

e) Indisk engelsk: _____

_____

f) Skotsk engelsk: _____

_____

EKSEMPLER

Svært vennlig – Uvennlig – Intelligent – Uintelligent – Ærlig – Uærlig –

Profesjonell – Uprofesjonell – Selvsikker – Usikker – Høyt utdannet – Lavt utdannet –

Fin uttale – Stygg uttale – Forståelig uttale – Uforståelig uttale –

Hjelpsom – Ikke hjelpsom – Rik – Fattig – Populær – Upopulær ─ Morsom – Kjedelig

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Appendix 3

1. English version:

<u>Teacher Questionnaire</u>

*Please <u>**circle**</u> your answer or <u>**fill in**</u> below*

1) Gender: Woman   Man

2) Mother tongue: Norwegian   Other: _____

3) What subjects do you teach? _____

4) Which accent are you aiming at when you speak English?

    British English   American English   No specific

    Other (please specify): _____

5) In your opinion, what should be the preferred accent when teaching English in Norwegian schools? *You can choose more than one option.*

    British English   American English   No specific

    Other (please specify): _____

    Why? _____

    _____

6) What English accent do you encourage your students to aim at? *You can choose more than one option.*

    British English   American English   No specific

    Other: _____

    Why? _____

    _____

7) Have you lived in an English-speaking country?   Yes   No

    If yes, **where** and for **how long**? _____

8) What would you say have influenced your English accent the most? *You can choose more than one option.*

        TV/film   Internet/computer games   Travel   Former English teachers

        Family/friends   Other: _____

9) Please list the three English accents that you like the most

        1) _____

        2) _____

        3) _____

10) In the spaces below, please write a word or a phrase that you associate with the following English accent. You can refer to any aspect of the accent (i.e., what it sounds like, politeness, understandability, beauty etc.)

a) British English: _____

_____

b) General American English: _____

_____

c) South American English: _____

_____

d) Australian English: _____

_____

e) Indian English: _____

_____

f) Scottish English: _____

_____

EXAMPLES

Very friendly – Unfriendly – Intelligent – Unintelligent – Honest – Dishonest –

Professional – Unprofessional – Confident – Insecure – High education – Low education –

Pleasant accent – Ugly accent – Comprehensible accent – Incomprehensible accent –

Helpful – Not helpful – Rich – Poor – Popular – Unpopular – Funny – Boring

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2. Norwegian version:

<u>Spørreskjema for lærere</u>

*Vennligst sett en <u>**sirkel**</u> rundt svaret ditt eller <u>**fyll ut.**</u>

1) Kjønn: Kvinne   Mann

2) Morsmål: Norsk   Annet: _____

3) Hvilke fag underviser du i? _____

4) Hvilken uttale bruker du når du snakker engelsk?

    Britisk engelsk   Amerikansk engelsk   Ingen spesifikk

    Annet (vennligst spesifiser): _____

5) Etter din mening, hva burde vært den foretrukne uttalen i undervisning av engelsk i norske skoler? *Du kan velge flere svaralternativer.*

    Britisk engelsk   Amerikansk engelsk   Ingen spesifikk

    Annet (vennligst spesifiser): _____

    Hvorfor? _____

    _____

6) Hvilken engelskuttale oppmuntrer du elevene dine til å ha? *Du kan velge flere svaralternativer.*

    Britisk engelsk   Amerikansk engelsk   Ingen spesifikk

    Annet (vennligst spesifiser): _____

    Hvorfor? _____

    _____

7) Har du bodd i et engelskspråklig land?   Ja   Nei

    Hvis ja, hvilke(t) land?_____

    Hvor lenge? _____

8) Hva vil du si har påvirket din engelskuttale mest? *Du kan velge flere av svaralternativene.*

TV/film   Internett/dataspill   Reiser   Tidligere engelsklærere

Familie/venner   Annet (vennligst spesifiser): _____

9) Vennligst ranger de tre engelskvariantene du liker best:

1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

10) Vennligst skriv **et par ord** som du assosierer med de følgende engelskvariantene. Du kan referere til alle aspektene av uttalen, og bruke boksen med eksempler som hjelp.

a) Britisk engelsk: _____

_____

b) Generell amerikansk engelsk: _____

_____

c) Sørstatsamerikansk: _____

_____

d) Australsk engelsk:_____

_____

e) Indisk engelsk: _____

_____

f) Skotsk engelsk: _____

_____

EKSEMPLER

Vennlig – Lite vennlig – Intelligent – Lite intelligent – Ærlig – Uærlig –

Profesjonell – Uprofesjonell – Selvsikker – Usikker – Høyt utdannet – Lavt utdannet –

Fin uttale – Stygg uttale – Forståelig uttale – Uforståelig uttale –

Hjelpsom – Ikke hjelpsom – Rik – Fattig – Populær – Upopulær – Morsom – Kjedelig

Appendix 4

Overall evaluations from Part 1:

	RP	GA	ScotEng	AusEng	InEng	SAmEng
1	384 (32%)	162 (13%)	133 (11%)	325 (27%)	177 (15%)	256 (21%)
2	459 (37%)	310 (26%)	214 (18%)	384 (32%)	296 (24%)	350 (29%)
3	221 (18%)	387 (32%)	362 (30%)	304 (25%)	356 (30%)	311 (26%)
4	97 (8%)	261 (22%)	354 (30%)	147 (12%)	284 (23%)	218 (18%)
5	46 (4%)	88 (7%)	152 (13%)	55 (6%)	102 (8%)	81 (7%)
NA	9	8	1	1	1	0
All	1216	1216	1216	1216	1216	1216

Table explanation: The number of student responses for each of the scores 1 to 5 in the verbal guise test (additional percentage of the total score from all responses), in addition to the informants who did not reply (NA).

Appendix 5

Overall verbal guise scores including all scores (1–5):

Dimensions	Semantic category	COUNTS					
Status		**RP**	**AusEng**	**SAmEng**	**GA**	**InEng**	**ScotEng**
	Intelligence	1.9	2.2	2.6	2.7	3.1	3.3
	Self-confidence	1.9	2.9	2.1	2.5	2.8	2.7
	Education	1.8	2.4	2.8	2.7	3.3	3.6
Total score Status		1.9	2.5	2.5	2.7	3.1	3.2
Social attractiveness (SA)		**RP**	**AusEng**	**SAmEng**	**GA**	**InEng**	**ScotEng**
	Friendliness	2.3	2.1	2.8	3.3	2.3	3.1
	Honesty	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.9	2.6	2.9
	Sense of humor	3.8	3.3	3.3	3.9	2.3	2.9
Total score SA		2.7	2.5	2.8	3.4	2.4	3.0
Linguistic quality (LQ)		**RP**	**AusEng**	**SAmEng**	**GA**	**InEng**	**ScotEng**
	Aesthetic quality	1.8	2.1	2.7	2.7	3.4	3.5
	Comprehensibility	1.6	1.9	2.2	2.0	3.0	3.3
Total score LQ		1.7	2.0	2.5	2.3	3.2	3.4
Total score from all dimensions		2.14	2.36	2.6	2.84	2.87	3.15

Appendix 6

Overall verbal guise scores excluding the midpoint (3):

Dimensions	Semantic category	COUNTS					
Status		RP	AusEng	SAmEng	GA	InEng	ScotEng
	Intelligence	1.8	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.2	3.4
	Self-confidence	1.7	2.8	1.8	2.3	2.7	2.5
	Education	1.6	2.1	2.7	2.6	3.4	3.8
Total score Status		1.7	2.3	2.3	2.5	3.1	3.2
Social attractiveness (SA)		RP	AusEng	SAmEng	GA	InEng	ScotEng
	Friendliness	2.0	1.8	2.7	3.5	2.2	3.1
	Honesty	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.8	2.4	2.9
	Sense of humor	4.1	3.4	3.4	4.1	2.2	2.8
Total score SA		2.6	2.4	2.7	3.5	2.3	2.9
Linguistic quality (LQ)		RP	AusEng	SAmEng	GA	InEng	ScotEng
	Aesthetic quality	1.6	1.8	2.6	2.5	3.6	3.7
	Comprehensibility	1.5	1.7	2.0	1.8	3.0	3.3
Total score LQ		1.5	1.7	2.3	2.2	3.3	3.5
Total score from all dimensions		**2.0**	**2.19**	**2.45**	**2.76**	**2.83**	**3.19**

Appendix 7

Accent label evaluations from student respondents (the example box)

Dimensions	Traits	COUNTS					
Status		RP	GA	AusEng	ScotEng	SAmEng	InEng
	Intelligent	60	13	16	11	4	10
	Unintelligent	0	10	3	3	8	12
	Professional	35	7	6	6	1	1
	Unprofessional	0	1	6	1	6	8
	Confident	24	29	15	18	10	5
	Insecure	2	1	4	3	2	12
	High education	42	6	11	6	5	2
	Low education	0	11	3	5	9	18
	Rich	47	15	9	8	4	1
	Poor	1	4	5	4	12	23
Total score Status		**205**	**43**	**36**	**33**	**-13**	**-54**
Social attractiveness (SA)		RP	GA	AusEng	ScotEng	SAmEng	InEng
	Very friendly	59	33	39	16	9	19
	Unfriendly	2	7	3	5	4	4
	Honest	21	16	21	6	8	5
	Dishonest	4	8	1	10	3	3
	Helpful	10	13	11	5	9	8
	Not helpful	1	4	0	5	0	5
	Popular	11	33	7	4	2	2
	Unpopular	0	1	1	3	1	4
	Funny	13	15	22	26	18	46
	Boring	14	12	6	9	3	3
Total score SA		**93**	**78**	**89**	**25**	**35**	**61**
Linguistic quality (LQ)		RP	GA	AusEng	ScotEng	SAmEng	InEng
	Pleasant accent	54	25	40	18	7	3
	Ugly accent	2	2	6	16	11	14
	Comprehensible accent	17	49	13	4	7	2
	Incomprehensible accent	1	0	7	16	6	22
Total score LQ		**68**	**72**	**40**	**-10**	**-3**	**-31**
Total score from all dimensions		**366**	**193**	**165**	**48**	**19**	**-24**

Appendix 8

Accent label evaluations from student respondents (self-selected words in original version):

	RP	GA	AusEng	ScotEng	SAmEng	InEng
Linguistic features	'Vanlig' 'Flytende' 'Grei uttale' 'Merkelig tonefall'	'Enkel' x7 'Normal' x7 'Slapp uttale' 'Kjapt'	'Bredt' x3 'Flat' 'Slang' 'Flytende' 'Grei dialekt'	'Mange r' x3 'Lange e' 'Snakker fort'	'Bredt' 'Treg' 'Lange vokaler' 'Gebrokkent Amerikansk'	'Dårlig uttale' x2 'Klarer ikke si r' x2 'Gebrokkent' 'Går opp og ned i lyd'
Affective positive	'Vakkert' 'Nydelig' 'Fancy' 'Pent' 'Elegant' 'Kult' 'Drømmende'	'Kul' x5 'Stilig' 'Fascinerende' 'Høflig' 'Avslappet' 'Kraftig'	'Vakkert' x3 'Lur' 'Ivrig' 'Sterk' 'Mystisk' 'Eventyrlig' 'Festlig'	'Kul' x3 'Stilig' 'Klok' 'Fascinerende' 'Unikt' 'Bra' 'Rørt' 'Mektig'	'Kul' x2 'Rørt' 'Kraftig'	'Kul' x2 'Fantastisk' 'Uskyldig'
Affective negative	'Rar' 'Frekk' 'Teit' 'Arrogant' 'Aggressiv' 'Snobbete'	'Stressende' 'Streng' 'Rufsete' 'Mindre pent' 'Frekk' 'Sur' 'Høylytt' 'Slafsete' 'Brautende'	'Rar' x2 'Spesiell' x2 'Krevende' 'Litt sint' 'Irriterende' 'Mumlete' 'Skjuler mye'	'Rar' x7 'Spesielt' x2 'Aggressiv' 'Sint' 'Plagsom' 'Høylytt' 'Slafsete' 'Masete'	'Rar' 'Irriterende' 'Høylytt' 'Klysete'	'Rar' x3 'Streng' x2 'Spesiell' 'Ekkelt' 'Ikke-imponerende' 'Krevende' 'Irriterende' 'Utenlandsk'
Cultured	'Høy klasse' 'Posh'		'Normal-utdannelse'			
Uncultured					'Dum'	
Cultural associations	'Cup of tea' x4 'Fish and chips' 'Kongelig' 'Overklasse' 'Skoledialekt' 'Gammelt'	'Burger King' 'KFC' 'Fat people'	'(G'day) mate' x6 'Crocodile Dundee' 'Tykk pirat' 'Witches hat'	'Haggis' 'Barbarisk' 'Voksen' 'Bor i en liten landsby' 'Hate the Brits'	'Bondeknøl' x2 'Cowboy' x2 'Howdy' x2 'Mannlig'	'Tikka masala' 'Chicken curry'
Diversity		'Variert' 'Multinasjonal'				
Comparison		'Flatere enn Australsk' 'Høres ut som Trump (uintelligent)'	'Lik som britisk engelsk' 'En mix av Britisk og amerikansk'	'Høres ikke europeisk ut'		
Total words	**28**	**42**	**37**	**36**	**20**	**23**

Appendix 9

Accent label evaluations from teacher respondents (original version):

	RP	GA	AusEng	ScotEng	SAmEng	InEng
Linguistic features	'Forståelig uttale' 'Fin uttale'	'Publikums-vennlig' 'Forståelig uttale' 'Nøytralt' 'Stygg uttale'	'Fin uttale' x4 'Forståelig uttale'			'Praktisk engelsk: Utpreget tonefall og uttale' 'Forståelig uttale'
Affective positive	'Svært vennlig' x2 'Hyggelig' 'Høflig' 'Profesjonell' 'Morsom'	'Svært vennlig' 'Selvsikker'	'Svært vennlig' x2 'Morsom' 'Populær' 'Ærlig' 'Interessant' 'Koselig' 'Uformell'	'Morsom' x3 'Hjelpsom' x2 'Svært vennlig' 'Ærlig' 'Selvsikker' 'Populær' 'Spennende' 'Kul'	'Svært vennlig' x2 'Ærlig' 'Morsom' 'Koselig'	'Morsom' x4 'Svært vennlig' x2 'Koselig'
Affective negative	'Formell'	'Kjedelig' x2 'Selvhøytidelig' 'Lat'			'Kjedelig' 'Uærlig' 'Selvsentrert' 'Navlebeskuende'	
Cultured	'Intelligent' x4 'Posh' 'Dannet' 'Velformulert'					'Intelligent'
Uncultured		'Lav utdannelse' 'Uprofesjonell'		'Lav utdannelse'	'Lav utdannelse' x3 'Uintelligent' x2 'Usikker'	'Lav utdannelse' 'Uintelligent' 'Usikker'
Associations		Sammenligning: 'Mer uslepen enn britisk engelsk'	'Eksotisk'	'Stereotypisk bondsk' 'Grovhugget bondsk'	'Syngende' 'Fremstår ofte dannet, men også uopplyst'	'Stereotypisk'
Total words	**16**	**13**	**14**	**14**	**17**	**14**