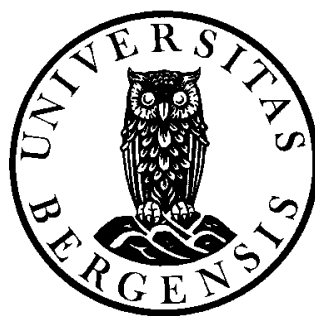UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

Norwegian attitudes to Arabic and Chinese Englishes

an attitudinal study of Norwegian attitudes to English varieties

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Summary in Norwegian

Målet til denne studien er å addressere nordmenns holdninger til to forskjellige varianter av engelsk: kinesisk engelsk og arabisk engelsk. Informantene var elever på videregående skole, hvilket betyr at informantgruppen er relativt homogen. Det ble brukt to forskjellige forskningsmetoder for å minske risioken for at eventuelle metodiske fallgruver skulle påvirke resultatene samt å gi studien ønsket nivå av validitet.

I dagens samfunn eksisterert det utbredte holdninger mot varianter av engelsk og spesielt mot varianter som regnes som 'non-standard'. Forskning viser at noen varianter ses på som bedre enn andre, selv om dette fra et lingivistisk perspektiv er feil. Variantene i denne studien regnes som særs relevante i forhold til hvordan verdenssamfunnet er i dag. Media- og underholdsningsindustrien kan sies å forsterke folks holdninger gjennom hvordan de velger å portrettere talere av enkelte varianter av engelsk. Eksempelvis er det vanlig at talere av arabisk engelsk gjerne portretteres som terrorister i dagens filmindustri. Det kan være gunstig å undersøke om norske informanter deler holdninger som kan sies å være vanlige i andre land.

I denne oppgaven er det til sammen fem hypoteser basert på tidligere forskning og egen erfaring. Enkelte av hypotesene regnes som innovative da det ikke finnes (så vidt jeg vet) annen forskning innenfor disse hypotesene og særlig ikke i norsk sammenheng. To av hypotesene kan sies å bli styrket av resultaene, samt én av hypotesene på én av dimensjonene som ble undersøkt. For det første viser det seg at norske informanter assosierer arabisk engelsk med terrorisme. Dette gjelder spesielt for mannen som snakket arabisk engelsk. Videre viser resultatene at informantene assosierer kinesisk engelsk med turisme.

En spesiell tendens er at informantene i en intervjuomgivelse viser et klart ønske om å fremstå som politisk korrekte, hvilket er et klar metodisk problem med bruk av intervju. Resultatene av denne studien viser at ønsket om å fremstå som politisk korrekt er vesentlig viktigere for kvinnelige informanter enn for mannlige. Dette gjenspeiler seg i resultatene fra begge forskningsmetodene.

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List of abbreviations

AAVE: African-American Vernacular English

AE: Arabic English

CE: Chinese English

HKE: Hong Kong English

PCSM: Parallel Constraint-Satisfaction Model

RP: Received Pronunciation

SAE: Standard American English

SGEM: Speak Good English Movement

Contents

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and context

In the present day globalized world we are seeing numerous varieties of English spoken by a vast number of different peoples. As with everything else people harbor attitudes towards these varieties – attitudes which are individual and which differ greatly. The aim of the present study is to investigate Norwegian respondents' attitudes towards two specific, non-native varieties: Chinese English and Arabic English. Little research has been conducted on attitudes towards these varieties (at least compared to studies of native varieties) and the present thesis aims to address this gap. Some of the hypotheses are inspired by existing stereotyping of speakers of the relevant varieties, while others were inspired by earlier research (i.e. Kraut and Wulff (2013) and Cargile (1997).

 The present research was carried out in a high school using the students as respondents. In total there were 63 respondents with a slightly skewed gender representation; 43 female respondents and 20 male. The study was conducted on three separate occasions (see section 3.4.1) for logistical reasons. However, the respondent group was overall rather homogenous. Two different research methods were used in order to sufficiently examine the hypotheses.

1.2. Hypotheses

In this study a total of five hypotheses are examined. Both personal experiences and understanding as well as earlier research have inspired the hypotheses. Due to the apparent lack of research in relation to some of the hypotheses they are treated as being new, at the very least in a context with Norwegian respondents. The hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Respondents associate Arabic English with terrorism.

 In present day Arabs and Muslims are unfortunately and unfairly often stereotyped as terrorists even though only a minority of Arabs and Muslims are in fact terrorists. It is not necessarily the case that this is out in the open, however. People and institutions attempt to act politically correctly even though they may harbor stereotypical attitudes. The media plays a fairly large role in this matter. Following the tragic events of 9/11 this unfair stereotyping has seen a drastic increase. In present day there have been several other terrorist attacks on western soil (e.g. the Paris attacks on the 7th of January 2015) as well as the presence of ISIS in the Middle East. My motivation for this hypothesis is to investigate whether auditory

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stimulus alone would be sufficient for Norwegian respondents to label a speaker as a potential terrorist. It is of further interest to see if Norwegian respondents themselves harbor attitudes which appear to be present in other countries. To some extent it will be expected that Norwegian respondents may answer differently than respondents of other nationalities due to the fact that the only major terrorist attack on Norwegian soil after World War II was carried out by a white Norwegian male (Anders Behring Breivik, 22nd of July 2011).

Hypothesis 1 has been motivated by my own understanding of the (often negative) stereotyping of Arabs and Muslims. After Anders Behring Breivik's terrorist attacks, many Norwegians were quick to claim that the attack had been carried out by a Muslim before it was revealed who was behind the attack. This, in my opinion, grasps the very essence of the negative stereotyping of Muslims and Arabs. It is also of interest to see if the entertainment industry's conventional portrayal of Arab accented English to be spoken by terrorists enables respondents to easily identify a speaker as a) an Arab speaker and b) a terrorist.

Hypothesis 2: Respondents associate Chinese English with tourism.

It is a common conception amongst Norwegians that Chinese people are one of the most prominent tourist groups in Norway. They are perceived as always travelling in (large) groups and always taking pictures of everything. Statistical facts prove Norwegians' perception partly correct: Chinese people are a major tourist group in Norway. The present thesis aims to investigate if this common conception is true when the only cue respondents have to evaluate if a person is a tourist is auditory.

Hypothesis 2 has been motivated by both my own personal experience as well as the fairly common perception that Chinese people are a very common tourist group in Norway. A common observation is that Chinese tourists often travel in groups, which to a certain degree makes them stand out more as a tourist group. While there are other dominant tourist groups in Norway (Germans being the most notable group), they do not necessarily travel in the same size of groups as Asian tourists do. My aim was to address if the respondents shared the common conception that Chinese people are a dominant tourist group in Norway.

Hypothesis 3: Respondents evaluate Arabic English more favorably than Hong Kong English on the dimensions of a) comprehensibility, b) competence and c) fluency.

Kraut and Wulff (2013) found that American respondents evaluated speakers of Arabic English more favorably than Chinese English on the dimension of comprehensibility. It will be interesting to see if this is true for Norwegian respondents as well. My own

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experiences have led me to believe that Norwegians usually consider speakers of Arabic English to be both more competent and more fluent than speakers of Chinese English. While it is unclear as to why this is, I nevertheless find this quite interesting. While Chinese people often are seen as efficient and suitable in a work environment (see hypothesis 4) it is nonetheless a common conception, in my own experiences, that this point is irrelevant for how competent and fluent speakers of Chinese English are perceived: Arabic English speakers are evaluated more favorably.

Hypothesis 3 was initially motivated by previous research. I thought the findings of Kraut and Wulff (2013) interesting and thought it would be see if their findings were also true for Norwegian respondents. From personal experience it is often the case that speakers of Chinese English are ridiculed for their English. On the other hand, this is not the case for speakers of Arabic English. I wanted to address if ridiculing of one variety had deeper roots than at first glance.

Hypothesis 4: Respondents consider speakers of Chinese English to be more favorable in a work context than speakers of Arabic English.

Chinese people, and Asian people in general, are often viewed as efficient as well as successful in a work context. This goes for both the economical aspect as well as the productive aspect of a work context. Cargile (1997) found that speakers of Chinese English were evaluated equally as speakers of American English when the context was of a job interview. The interest of Cargile (1997) lies in the fact that a non-native variety was judged equally as a native-variety. This can be interpreted as indicating that the perception of Chinese people in a work context is so positive that Chinese speakers may be equally favored as speakers of American English are for a job. Cargile (1997) used both Anglo and Asian respondents. My aim is to investigate if this phenomenon is true for Norwegian respondents as well.

Hypothesis 4 has been motivated by a common perception (including my own) that Chinese people are very efficient and hard workers. It is from my own personal understanding that Chinese people have high expectations from both workers and students. I once read that it was encouraged in some Asian countries to take a nap while at work because it showed dedication to the job. I also remember reading about the intense focus on results in the Chinese school system. These memories as well as Cargile (1997) motivated me to conduct research which aimed to investigate if Norwegian respondents had similar impressions.

Hypothesis 5: Respondents consider Chinese English to be more familiar than Arabic English.

Lindemann (2005) found that US English speakers were quite familiar with Chinese English and that they were far less familiar with Arabic English. Hypothesis 5 aims to address if this is also true for Norwegian respondents. Personal experience has led me to believe that Norwegians are able to accurately identify both varieties, and it is interesting to see if they consider one more familiar than the other. Personally I have encountered more speakers of Arabic English than of Chinese English which has made me more familiar with an Arabic variety of English than a Chinese variety. This is not necessarily true for the respondents, however.

This hypothesis has been motivated mainly by previous research (see above). Since I myself have encountered more speakers of Arabic English than Chinese English I was initially not sure if hypothesis 5 was fitting for the present thesis. However, I realized that my own understanding of varieties of English is not necessarily applicable to Norwegian respondents. I think that Chinese English is a rather distinct variety of English and I assumed this to be true for Norwegian respondents as well. On the other hand, Arabic English is easily recognizable as well in my opinion. A friend of mine noted that he would more easily recognize a speaker of Chinese English, thereby convincing me that hypothesis 5 was of interest for the present thesis.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Attitudes

Baker (1992) claims that 'Attitude is a term in common usage.'(9) The general population uses 'attitudes' and mean much the same as professionals do when they apply the term. Research of attitudes is important as 'A survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preference and desires. Attitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation' (Baker 1992: 9). Attitude research is beneficial because it studies how people think, feel and act. However, attitudinal research is complex and one must keep in mind potential problems with research of this type. People are not always willing to accept or voice their internal attitudes to the outside world.

2.1.1 Definition

The term 'attitudes' can be defined in numerous ways. A definition may, and often will, include terms such as 'cognition, 'affect' and 'behavior'. According to Eagly and Chaiken (1993) an attitude is defined as '... *a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor.*'(1, italics in original) Within the frame of this definition, an entity could be anything from a physical item to an abstract idea. Another simple, but effective definition of attitude is '... a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior.' (Baker 1992: 10). Other definitions include more nuances and may be more beneficial in other settings, but I have nonetheless chosen to consider these two as core definitions due to their simple yet specific nature. Eagly and Chaiken furthermore specify that within their definition '... *psychological tendency* refers to a state that is internal to the person, and *evaluating* refers to all classes of evaluative responding, whether overt or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavioral.' (Eagly & Chaiken 1993: 1, italics in original). Baker (1992) also agrees with this explanation, stating that '... attitudes cannot be directly observed.'(11) Attitudes may be measured when they manifest themselves in actions or way of thinking.[1]

Another point worth making is that some psychologists see '… attitude as an *acquired behavioral disposition*, that is, a *learned* state that creates an inclination to respond in

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[1] 'Ways of thinking' is not, per definition, observable. Certain research methods aim to study people's thoughts, however, often through use of covert techniques.

particular ways.' (Campell 1963 in Eagly & Chaiken 1993: 2, italics added in *learned,* other italics in original). While this is idea is not necessarily correct in all aspects of psychology, several studies have shown that within the field of attitudes to *language* this may indeed be correct (i.e. Giles et.al. 1979). Eagly & Chaiken (1993) mention several researchers who have studied domains where attitudes are not necessarily learned, but may originate elsewhere - for example in sensory input or genetics. These domains will not be discussed further, however.

The three categories of cognition, affect and behavior may be more explicitly defined as: 'The *cognitive* category contains thoughts that people have about the attitude object. The *affective* category consists of feelings or emotions that people have in relation to the attitude object. The *behavioral* category encompasses people's actions with respect to the attitude object.' (Eagly & Chaiken 1993: 10, italics in original). These three categories do not always harmonize: it is possible for someone to feel and think in a certain manner but to behave differently from his feelings and thoughts. This potential lack of congruence will be of further relevance in the following sections, and in particular in section 2.1.3.

2.1.2 Evaluation, consistency and reasoned action

A key concept for attitudes is evaluation: 'An attitude develops on the basis of evaluative responding: An individual does not have an attitude until he or she responds evalutatively to an entity on an affective, cognitive or behavioral basis.' (Eagly & Chaiken 1993: 2). It is, in other words, essential that a person evaluates an entity in some way, and this may often be on a subconscious level. Furthermore, such evaluative responses may '... produce a psychological tendency to respond with a particular degree of evaluation when subsequently encountering the attitude object. If this tendency to respond is established, the person has formed an attitude towards the object.' (Eagly & Chaiken 1993: 2). Since attitudes often are repetitive in nature, the concept of recurrence is important to accurately discuss and describe them. Furthermore, '… evaluations of a given valence differ in *intensity* or *extremity*, when, for example, very positive evaluations are distinguished from moderately positive evaluations, which are, in turn, distinguished from slightly positive evaluations.' (Eagly & Chaiken 1993:4, italics in original). This may seem self-evident but is nonetheless worth noting as it is relevant in particular when two opposing attitudes are in conflict (see parallel constraint-satisfaction model (PCSM) in section 2.2.4).

Consistency is also a dimension of relevance within the domain of attitudes – 'Attitudes are a convenient and efficient way of explaining consistent patterns in behaviour.

Attitudes often manage to summarise, explain and predict behaviour.' (Baker 1992: 11). While Baker (1992) does indeed state that attitudes *often* summarize, explain and predict behavior, this does not always hold true. Attitudes are seen as tendencies when the same general frames apply across scenarios. However, change in external factors (e.g. application of social norms) may alter a person's behavior to not correspond with his attitude (Baker 1992) What this means is that while attitudes often will accurately predict and/or explain behavior, it is not a clear-cut research phenomenon. For example, someone could state that he has no intention whatsoever to attend a particular social event. Nevertheless, he may in fact attend the event due to external factors that override his attitude towards said event. Peer-pressure could be a factor which plays a role in this scenario.

The idea of consistency relates to the fact that:

[I]n general, people who evaluate an attitude object favorable are likely to associate it with positive attributes and unlikely to associate it with negative attributes, whereas people who evaluate an attitude object unfavorably are likely to associate it with negative attributes and unlikely to associate it with positive attributes. (Eagly & Chaiken 1993: 11)

In other words it is difficult to change people's attitudes when they have already obtained a particular attitude towards an object. This concept becomes important in research of language attitudes as certain difficulties are associated with for example separating language varieties and ethnicity. If a person is outright racist towards a certain group he will inevitably harbor some degree of dislike towards the variety of English members of the group speak (provided that he is able to accurately recognize the correct variety).

Research of attitudes will often encounter the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980). 'Generally speaking, the theory is based on the assumption that human beings are usually rational and make systematic use of the information available to them.' (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980: 5). In other words, Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) argue that most humans will have attitudes which are to a large extent explainable from a rational point of view. Attitudes to a specific language, for example, will more often than not emerge from an attitude towards the *speakers* of the language. This enables rational explanations of a person's attitude towards that specific language. It would not be rational (from a linguistic point of view) to say that language X is more beautiful than language Y. However, it would be considered rational to say that if speakers of language Y have treated one unfairly in the past one prefers speakers of

language X. Furthermore, the theory of reasoned action notes that the systematic use of information is important. This relates to the repetitive nature of attitudes. Attitudes are usually (but not always) consistent and people's attitudes are not so easily altered.

2.1.3 LaPiere

To illustrate the problematic link between attitudes and behavior mentioned earlier, a brief discussion of the study conducted by LaPiere in the beginning of the 1930s is beneficial. In the beginning of 1930 LaPiere, a white Caucasian male, travelled in the US with a Chinese couple who were '... foreign-born Chinese, a fact that could not be disguised.' (LaPiere 1934: 231). At the time, there were considerable negative opinions of East-Asian people in the US. During their travels, LaPiere and the Chinese couple visited several hundred establishments, and they were refused service only once: '... in only one out of 251 instances in which we purchased goods or services necessitating intimate human relationships did the fact that my companions were Chinese adversely affect us.' (LaPiere 1934: 233) The interesting part is that the establishments' behavior did not correspond with their reported attitudes; six months after the encounters with the various premises LaPiere sent a questionnaire asking the question 'Will you accept members of the Chinese race as guests in your establishment?'(LaPiere 1934: 233) Roughly half of the visited establishments responded. The responses did not cohere with the observed behavior - over 90% replied that they would not. LaPiere's study serves to illustrate how behavior and attitude do not necessarily harmonize. In attitude research, then, one must bear in mind the possibility for these two categories to potentially diverge.

2.1.4 Deception

Of particular relevance is the work of Trivers (2011), which arguably could render the entire domain of attitudinal research obsolete. Trivers (2011) argues that humans constantly deceive themselves (and, by extension, others). This is not done consciously, however. Trivers (2011) argues that '…self-deception occurs when the conscious mind is kept in the dark.' (9) The key notion is that the actual truth is not revealed at all, but rather kept either in the unconscious mind or nowhere at all: '…the key to defining self-deception is that true information is preferentially excluded from consciousness and, if held at all, is held in varying degree of unconsciousness.' (Trivers 2011: 9). According to Trivers (2011) this is true for every aspect of human reality and would therefore also mean that it is true for attitudes. Furthermore,

'…this […] arrangement exists for the *benefit of manipulating others*. We hide reality from our conscious minds to the better to hide it from onlookers.' (Trivers 2011, my italics). The relevance of this for attitudinal research is that it is possible to argue that researchers are unable to address attitudes as respondents do not themselves even know which attitudes they actually possess, regardless of their willingness to share said attitudes. However, this is the opinions of one individual and may not necessarily be true. On the other hand, it is worth noting that if true it could influence or, possibly, annihilate all attitudinal research, including the present thesis.

Attitudes is a realm which is not easily understood or studied. On the surface it seems quite easily explainable, but as one further explores definitions and theories it becomes clear that attitudes consist of several complex dimensions and ideas. However, scholars agree on some key concepts which can be said to be the basis of an attitude. Evaluation and consistency as well as the three categories affect, cognition and behavior are of great value in general attitudinal research. In addition, the idea of attitudes being learned is of relevance, particularly for the discussion in section 2.2.2.

2.2 Attitudes to language

Garrett (2010) states that 'People hold attitudes to language at all its levels: for example, spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation, dialects and languages.' (2) The attitudes people hold manifest themselves in all levels of society. Garrett (2010) mentions at least two domains of society where language is of vital importance: advertisement and politics. For both domains it is important that the general population or, at least, the target group is able to relate to and feel comfortable with the type of language used. Everyone has an attitude with regards to language, either conscious or subconscious. The most obvious difference between attitudes in general and attitudes to language is that everyone can, and does, have attitudes towards language. 'Ways of speaking give rise to judgments of people's honesty, competence, intelligence, enthusiasm, etc.' (Garrett 2010: 6). Section 2.2 will discuss several aspects related and distinctive to language attitudes. The concepts of ideology and standardization are of particular importance.

2.2.1 Language ideology and standard varieties

The notion of language ideology may be defined in the following manner: 'In the broadest sense, language ideologies reflect people's beliefs about what language is and how it should be used.' (Dragojevic et. al. 2013: 3). Since people have attitudes to language on all levels, they also have beliefs and opinions of language. Dragojevic et. al. (2013) claim that 'People are socialized into and create language ideologies as a means of explaining the source and meaning of the links between linguistic and social phenomena.' (3). Language ideology is crucial for people to structure the social world they live in. Garrett's (2010: 34) explanation further elaborates on this by stating that '... ideology [in general] comprises a patterned but naturalised set of assumptions and values about how the world works, a set which is associated with a particular social or cultural group.' Language ideology is of significant importance because it is the foundation for the concept of standardization.

Many languages have a standard variety: Standard British English, for example. 'In standard language ideology, there are strong pervading common-sense views about which language forms are right and which are wrong. The notion of correctness is reinforced by authority.' (Garrett 2010: 7). The notion of 'standard varieties' is of vital importance for language attitudes. It is impossible to discuss attitudes to language without reference to the idea of standard varieties. Perhaps most essential is the fact that people will often, especially when discussing language, compare *any* variety to a standard variety. This is particularly true for the English language where all varieties are usually compared to RP (Received Pronunciation) or, more recently, to what is called Standard American English. Most linguists would agree that standard varieties exist. What separates linguists from laypeople is that linguists would not claim standard varieties to be *linguistically* superior to any other variety. This is not to mean that standard varieties are not superior; they are *socially* superior solely due to their status. However, many laypeople would be quick to claim that a standard variety is supreme on, at the very least, some dimensions (for example grammar). The

> ... *standard language ideology* (SLI), is defined as a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class. (Lippi-Green 1997: 64, italics in original)

All languages are arbitrary and any variety of a specific language should not be considered better in linguistic terms than any other. However, this is not how the situation is and the most basic explanation for this is the existence of the SLI. Lippi-Green (1997) makes note of several claims made by laypeople of what a 'standard variety' is. For example: 'Standard English is the English legitimatized by the wide usage and certified by expert consensus, as in a dictionary usage panel.' (Lippi-Green 1997: 55). Reference to an 'expert-panel' is recurring in discussion of standard language (Lippi-Green 1997). But the actual panel of experts (that is, linguists) does not support laypeople's claims of the linguistic superiority of standard varieties (although the social superiority of standard varieties is usually agreed upon). Preston (1998) notes that

> Professional linguists are happy with the idea that some varieties of a language are more standard than others; that is a product of social facts. Higher-status groups impose their behaviors (including language) on others, claiming theirs are the standard ones. Whether you approve of that or not, the standard variety is selected through purely social processes and has not one whit more logic, historical consistency, communicative expressivity or internal complexity or systematicity than any other variety. (140)

The essential problem with the SLI is that 'People come to view nonstandard language varieties as lacking in logic and correctness and *iconically* project these representations onto nonstandard speakers by downgrading them on a variety of traits such as intelligence and ambition.'(Dragojevic et. al. 2013: 11, italics in original). The existence of standard varieties should not in itself pose a problem; it is, as mentioned, 'a product of social facts'. However, it becomes problematic when people claim standard varieties to be linguistically superior to nonstandard varieties.

2.2.2 'Imposed norm' and 'inherent value'

The theory of standardization is one of the most fundamental and important theories when dealing with language attitudes, and closely linked to standard varieties are the hypotheses of 'imposed norm' and 'inherent value' (Giles et. al. 1979). These two hypotheses have their basis in two different theories; the difference- and the deficit theory (Giles et. al. 1979). Supporters of the two respective cultures are described as:

DEFICIT theorists would claim in very broad terms that nonstandard speech is inferior and underdeveloped along a number of linguistic dimensions while the DIFFERENCE theorists would hold no such value judgment but simply suggest that nonstandard dialects are normal, well-developed codes having their own distinct structural rules. (Giles et. al. 1979:590, capitalized in original)

Supporters of the inherent value hypothesis claim that the deficit theory is correct and supporters of the imposed norm hypothesis agree with the difference theory. The imposed norm hypothesis claims that a particular language or language variety receives its status from the status of the speakers (Giles et. al. 1979). It is in other words the speakers, not the language itself, who determine the status of a particular language: 'In most cultural contexts the users of the prestigious code of a language are to a large extent the most powerful social group.' (Giles et. al. 1979: 590) On the other hand, the inherent value hypothesis argues that a language or variety has, per definition, inherent value. This means that a language or variety of a language has more or less value depending on different linguistic features present in the language. Claimed features would for example be that variety X is more aesthetic/has better grammar/is more advanced than variety Y. In an attempt to test these two theories, Giles et. al. (1979) conducted a study where respondents were to listen to a number of speakers speaking different varieties of French. The respondents did not themselves speak French. The results of the research showed support for the imposed norm hypothesis (Giles et.al. 1979), but the authors themselves were careful to stress that the findings were not necessarily the only correct answer to the imposed norm vs. inherent value question. Later studies have all but confirmed the research found in Giles et. al. (1979) and present linguistic research usually hold the imposed norm theory to be correct.

2.2.3 Traits and stereotypes in language attitudinal research

In order to better understand attitudes to language as well as the concept of standard varieties it is necessary to discuss some of the traits relevant in numerous studies within the field of attitudes to language. A tradition in language attitude research is that empirical results often are grouped in few and broad categories. The number of these categories does vary across studies, but some are recurring: status, power, competence and solidarity (e.g. Garrett 2010: 55, 67). Certain other dimensions also occur regularly, such as aesthetics and comprehension.

The different dimensions are important due to the tendency for certain varieties to score differently across the dimensions. When compared to non-standard varieties, standard varieties will usually receive the highest score on dimensions of status, power and competence. While linguists are aware of the fact that no variety is in any sense linguistically superior to others, laypeople nonetheless ascribe a higher status to a standard variety: standard varieties are considered to be of higher status, more cultured and more intelligent (e.g. Coupland & Bishop (2007), Giles (1970)). However, much research has shown that standard varieties tend to score lower along the solidarity dimension (e.g. Hiraga (2005)). The importance of this lies in the perceived superiority of standard varieties of English along a number of dimensions. One cannot deny the existing social superiority of standard varieties: standard varieties are in many ways superior socially. Speakers of standard varieties are valued highly due to the socially constructed concept of the superior standard varieties. However, this does not make them superior *linguistically*.

Stereotypes is another key term in attitudinal research of language: 'Cognitive processes in language attitudes are likely to be shaped by the individual and collective functions arising from stereotyping in relations between social groups.'(Garrett 2010: 32) Furthermore, Garrett (2010) contends that 'Social categorisation tends to exaggerate similarities among members within a social group and differences between groups, and thus provides a basis for stereotyping.'(32) Some scholars have argued the importance of stereotypes, claiming they are essential for humans to organize and understand their reality. Stereotyping is primarily about categorizing: 'In the language attitudes field, then, language varieties and styles can trigger beliefs about a speaker and their social group membership, often influenced by language ideologies, leading to stereotypic assumptions about shared characteristics of those group members.' (Garrett 2010: 33) This is problematic at a certain level because stereotyping of speakers is a phenomenon which makes it possible to treat groups of speakers unequally. To some extent negative stereotyping of speakers of a particular variety may be compared to racism - one variety is regarded more favorably than another, and thus speakers of a 'lesser' variety may suffer solely on the grounds of the variety they speak. 'Social stereotypes tend to perpetuate themselves and be self-fulfilling, acting, like ideology, as a store of 'common-sense' beliefs or filters through which information and social life generally is conducted and made sense of.' (Garrett 201:33) The notion of stereotypes is related to the standard language ideology. Since stereotypes may be either positive or negative, respondents will often favorably stereotype speakers of a standard variety (at least on certain dimensions).

2.2.4 The parallel constraint-satisfaction model (PCSM)

The parallel constraint-satisfaction model (PCSM) by Kunda & Thagard (1996) is of interest in explaining and discussing attitudes to language. The theory attempts to explain how, amongst other things, attitudes and behavior work: '[Their] theory of impression formation assumes that stereotypes, traits and behaviors can be represented as interconnected nodes in a spreading activation network. The spread of activation between nodes is constrained by positive and negative associations.' (Kunda & Thagard 1996: 285) The importance of this theory for attitudes to language lies in the difficulties associated with accurately predicting and describing people's attitudes. The PCSM is a theory concerned with information processing. The activated nodes in the theory differ from person to person. It is of importance that this is always kept in mind in research of language attitudes - the nodal network of a person is not always fully explored by neither researcher not respondents. Explaining someone's attitudes is therefore not always an easy task. 'A language-based stereotype (e.g. 'I think a New York accent makes people sound rude') is ... the cognitive component of a more general language attitude, and it is the part of an attitude that is subject to information processing.' (Cargile: 2002: 179). In the nodal network, the cognitive and affective nodes may either be activated automatically or manually. Cargile's (2002) study concerns itself with how automatic and manual activation of these nodes is dependent on time and/or ability.

The relevance for language attitudes in general is that attitudes may be latent or active - that is certain components of the cognitive aspect are not necessarily automatic. Since people hold attitudes both subconsciously and consciously this is relevant in a number of cases, for example (apparent) attitudes that manifest themselves through social desirability bias which '... is the tendency for people to give answers to questions in ways that they believe to be 'socially appropriate'.' (Garrett 2010: 44) Someone might have an attitude A towards variety B, but they would not find it socially appropriate to admit to having this particular attitude. This process would then involve a conscious awareness of activation of a particular (set of) node(s). According to Cargile (2002):

> The variability in processing ... should be regarded as a continuum such that sometimes hearer responses are based on the relatively automatic integration of information; other times these responses are based on a nodal network whose spread has been greatly

controlled; and other times still these responses are based on a network whose nodes have been activated in both automatic and controlled manners. (181)

Different methods and techniques (e.g. the matched guise technique) aim to minimize the potential of respondents activating controlled nodes which hinder the manifestation of their true attitudes. A negative attitude towards AAVE (African-American Vernacular English) may be associated with racism, and Caucasian respondents may therefore not actually let their attitudes manifest themselves through actions and/or voicing of opinions: *a controlled node overrides an automatic node*. This is a problem in most attitudinal research and is a point which researchers must be aware of.

2.2.5 Attribution of guilt

Dixon et.al (2002) conducted a study which aimed to investigate '... the effect of regional accent on the attribution of guilt.' (Dixon et.al. 2002: 162). It was a study which employed the matched guise technique and sought to examine what role accent played in attribution of guilt. What he found was that respondents thought the speakers of a non-standard variety to be more likely to have committed a crime than the standard variety.[2] Dixon et.al. (2002) themselves notes that 'One hypothesis, for example, is that nonstandard speakers are perceived as guiltier than standard speakers because their testimony is deemed less accurate and therefore more closely associated with shiftiness or related criminal stereotypes.' (Dixon et.al. 2002: 166). Dixon et.al.(2002) showed that language attitudes has relevance for other aspects of society.

The ideas of ideology and standardization as well as the theories of imposed norm and inherent value are of special importance. What is perhaps most prominent in language attitudinal research is the idea that 'everyone' has a set of attitudes towards language. This is somewhat particular for language in general: while people generally have attitudes towards almost everything, they are often encouraged to alter and/or modify their attitudes by experts or professionals. In the field of attitudes to language this is not the case: people refer to 'experts' when they formulate their opinions of language, not meaning what they would mean by 'experts' in another scientific field. The actual experts, the linguists, are not believed by the layperson to provide a relevant foundation for people's attitudes. Most present day linguists will accept the existence of standard varieties. They will however not claim, as laypeople do,

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[2] Race did also show significant variance, but will not be dealt with in this thesis

that the standard varieties are superior in any absolute sense: 'Linguists know that language variety does not correlate with intelligence or competence …' (Preston 1998:139). The notion of ideology grasps the very essence of attitudes to language: people all have them but are often not, unlike in other fields, sufficiently influenced by linguists. Instead, they make up their own (often) prescriptive ideas, supported and enforced by people of power or powerful institutions.

2.3 Attitudes to English

It is of the utmost importance that one does not generalize people's attitudes to English (or language in general, for that matter). As with all attitudes, attitudes to English vary and often greatly so. Speakers may have different opinions individually and governments and populations will differ from one another. The sheer number of English speakers will enable significant variation in attitudes. Crystal (2003) claims that there could have been 2,236 million people being '…routinely exposed to English' (67) in 2002. He does mentions that '…only a proportion of these people actually have some command of English.' (Crystal 2003:67) Nonetheless, the number of English speakers is beyond a doubt vast and serves to illustrate the magnitude of English as a global language. Furthermore, attitudes to English primarily exist due to the globalization of the language; there would be significantly less attitudes towards it if the language did not affect as many as it does. Kachru (1990) notes that 'It is now well-recognized that in linguistic history no language has touched the lives of so many people, in so many cultures and continents, in so many functional roles, and with so much prestige, as has the English language since the 1930s.' (5) Kachru's (1990) statement serves as a summary of the influence English has had, and still has, in the present-day world. This was accurate over twenty years ago and is even more accurate today. As will all attitudes, attitudes to English are largely related to tendencies. Several studies and examples will serve to better illustrate this.

Attitudes to English are closely linked to language attitudes in general. This is due to the fact that extensive research has been carried out with regards to the English language, resulting in the fact that findings of language attitudes often are based on research of the English language. The two most important varieties in attitudinal research of English are Received Pronunciation (RP) and Standard American English (SAE). These two varieties cannot be omitted when discussing attitudes to English; they are part and parcel for that particular topic. The reasoning behind this is that respondents will often compare a variety to at least one of the two standard varieties, though this may happen on a subconscious level.

Common statements made by respondents without relevant education or knowledge are usually prescriptive in nature, resulting in beliefs such as speakers of non-standard varieties speaking 'broken English'. Other statements may include 'incorrect English' or 'English, but with an accent'. One will inevitably wonder what exactly these statements mean. The constant enforcement of standard varieties may result in laypeople seeing potential deviations in any linguistic dimension as incorrect. The notion of standardization in the English language is particularly important when discussing attitudes to English. Standardization of English will be discussed in greater detail later, and the two standard varieties will feature in relevant previous research.

2.3.1 English as a lingua franca

Discussion of attitudes to English is not possible without some mention of its role as the world's '…*lingua franca,* or "common language".' (Crystal 2003:11). The status of English as a lingua franca enables and presupposes attitudes towards it. Many people who do not themselves speak English as a native language or even at a very proficient level will have attitudes towards it. To some extent this enforces the notion of superiority of standard varieties: the varieties of spoken English taught and idealized in communities where English is not the native language of its members are usually (but not always) one of the standard varieties (although this may be the case in native speaker communities as well). One could argue that some degree of institutional choice would have to be made for this to be possible. Since the choice is usually of a standard variety the teaching of English can be seen as enforcing the perspective of standard varieties to be superior.

Closely related to the notion of 'lingua franca' is the '… universalization of English …. (Kachru 1985: 12) Connected to the concept of globalization of English we encounter Kachru's (1985) famous model of the three circles:

> The spread of English may be viewed in terms of three concentric circles representing the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages. I [Kachru] have tentatively labeled these: the *inner* circle, the *outer* circle (or *extended* circle), and the *expanding* circle. (12, italics in original)

Crystal (2003) explains the circles as follows: The inner circle consists of countries where English is a native and primary language. The outer circle involves countries where English is a non-native language, but nonetheless has a significant place in the country's institutions. The last and largest circle, the expanding circle, '… involves those nations which recognize the importance of English as an international language, though they do not have a history of colonization by members of the inner circle, nor have they given English any special administrative status.' (Crystal 2003: 60). An alternative but similar explanation to the three circles lies in what norms the three circles adhere to. Kachru (1985) defines the varieties within the circles as '*Norm-providing* varieties (the inner circle)', '*Norm-developing* varieties (the outer circle)' and '*Norm-dependent* varieties (the expanding circle)' (16-17, italics in original) Furthermore, the norm-providing varieties '…' have traditionally been recognized as models since they are used by the 'native speakers'.' (Kachru 1985: 16) The role of outer circle countries is of particular importance as they to a certain extent challenge the supposed superiority of standard varieties by introducing and holding on to their own, localized varieties. One could argue that the tendency of standard varieties being perceived as superior is seeing a continually decline due to present day globalization and non-native communities refusal and/or inability to attain a standard variety. The outer circle is of further noteworthiness because 'These speakers are mostly in the process of developing – or have developed - their own variety of English.' (Beinhoff 2013: 14) This notion may be seen with a certain degree of positivity as a development of non-native varieties of English might alter the mainstream focus and preference of the standard varieties. Within the field of education it could prove particularly useful. We may perhaps see greater acceptance of non-standard varieties and, in turn, standard varieties could eventually not be viewed as socially and, by extension, linguistically superior to other varieties. This would be guesswork on my part, however. It is nonetheless relevant that we see a gradual shift away from the enforcement of standard varieties towards further acceptance and embracement of non-standard varieties.

2.3.2 Standard varieties and prescriptivism

Both RP and SAE are key varieties in attitudinal research of English. Garrett (2010) notes that 'The place of RP in English language attitudes is a recurring topic in this field, both within and outside the UK.' (54) It has been a tendency for several decades in attitudinal research aimed at the English language for RP to score in a certain way on attitudinal scales. However, recent studies have shown a possible shift or at least stagnation of this tendency. Bayard et.al. (2000)

note that in their study 'The RP voices did not receive the higher rankings in power/status variables we [the researchers] expected.' (22). Nonetheless, the authors state that '… it seems clear that what we are seeing here is just part of the globalization of world media based on American models – a *Pax Americana* which will continue for the foreseeable future.' (Bayard et.al. 2001: 44). Though this particular study shows a shift in preferred variety from one standard variety to another, the preference is still of a standard variety. Findings of this sort are closely linked to the globalization of the English language. One could argue that the long lasting dominance of RP as a preferred variety originates from the history of the British Empire. The perceived superiority lies in the history of the speakers, not the characteristics of the variety itself. The increasing presence of the US in today's globalized world may serve as an explanation for the surge of American English. Since the UK has seen a decrease of power arguably at the expense of the US this is a possible explanation.

Within the field of attitudes to English, prescriptivism is a problematic notion: 'When we talk of prescriptivism in terms of innovations, we are primarily thinking of formal (lexical, phonological, syntactic), contextual and discoursal deviations.' (Kachru 1985: 21) This explanation may seem as indicating that it is countries in the inner circle which are prescriptive. However, it is not the case that inner circle countries are the only prescriptive forces when it comes to which variety of English is to be spoken. People in countries in the other two circles may also have prescriptive views. An example of interest is the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM). The SGEM is a movement which has as its goals 'To encourage Singaporeans to speak grammatically correct English that is universally understood …' (Speak Good English Movement, accessed 20 October 2014). It is a government based website which encourages and maintains a standard language ideology. The varieties SGEM aim to teach their members is either RP or Standard American English. The SGEM is interesting due to its existence in a country whitch is not in the inner circle. One would perhaps expect Singaporeans to be more in favor of establishing and enforcing a variety of English which is more closely related to their own native language(s). The SGEM was introduced by the government in 2000 (Singapore Window, accessed 20 October 2014). It is in other words not the work of individual prescriptivists, but rather a result of government ideals. There is a possibility that a portion of Singapore's population feels otherwise, but the SGEM is nonetheless in existence and run by the government. Hence, we see a prescriptive force still in effect even though most linguists have abandoned and rejected the idea of prescriptivism and instead embraced the idea that all language or varieties of a language are equal in linguistic terms.

2.3.3 The role of English in Europe

Kristiansen (2005) conducted a study where he compared 'Attitudes towards today's influence from English … across seven Nordic countries …'(155) The results of this study showed that there exists significant difference in attitudes between the speech communities. One of Kristiansen's conclusions is that 'In sum, then, the results clearly testify to the existence of attitudinal differences between the Nordic speech communities with regards to English …' (Kristiansen 2005: 167). While this specific study was only concerned with a limited number of speech communities in a specific part of the world it is nonetheless noteworthy in order to exemplify the potential for diversity in attitudes even in a limited geographical area. There may be several possible explanations to why these attitudes exist within the Nordic communities. An evident explanation would be the lack of British colonization of the Nordic countries, while a counter explanation could be the present day prominent influence of American culture. (Kristiansen 2005) This is not the main point, however. Kristiansen (2005) serves to illustrate the difference in attitudes between countries. The Nordic countries can be seen to be relatively homogenous in terms of culture and geography. Nonetheless, large attitudinal differences were found even in such a homogenous area. Most notably is the difference in how favorably Nordic countries viewed the influence of English on their native language; the results showed large variation in how positive or negative English influence was perceived by people in different Nordic countries (Kristiansen 2005).

The status of English in Europe is of notable interest. Rakic & Steffens (2013: 47) note that 'English has a unique status within Europe …' Several European countries focus on English in their educational institutions and it is one of the prominent languages used in the institutionalized aspects of the European Union. French also has a significant status in the EU, but does not have the same status as English in most individual countries. Furthermore, 'English can be seen as a cradle of language attitude research.' (Rakic & Steffens 2013: 48) highlight the presence of attitudes to English, in both Europe and the rest of the world. There has also been critique of the continually growing presence of English throughout the world. 'Globalisation impacts on language policy overtly and covertly. In much of Europe, competence in English is becoming a prerequisite for access to higher education and employment, in tandem with preferred norms of communication in a national language.' (Phillipson 2007: 70) The increasing requirement of English abilities could be negative as it has the potential to prove a dominant force over minority languages, thus eventually 'killing' other languages.

2.3.4 Relevant studies

We now turn to relevant studies which have been carried out with primary focus on the English language. This will primarily be studies which are concerned with English spoken in inner circle countries, though other countries will also be included. Detailed discussion of relevant foreign-accented or non-native varieties will be discussed in section 2.4. A vast amount of research has been conducted on the different varieties of English spoken in countries where English is considered the native language of the population. Great Britain and the US have seen most focus, but other countries have also seen a fair share of research. In addition, RP and SAE are often included as varieties in research aimed at non-standard varieties. Certain focus will therefore be on typical findings in studies of English in the inner circle. The UK and the US will receive most attention, as these are the two varieties most relevant for the attitudes to English in general. More specific dimensions and topics will stray too far from the original scope of this thesis.

2.3.4.1 The matched guise technique

Earlier research has shown a clear tendency for RP to score higher on several dimensions than other varieties. Giles (1970) found that the respondents rated RP higher than other varieties on all dimensions when the stimulus was vocal. The three dimensions were '… "aesthetic", "communicative" and "status"… '(212) One of the explicit aims in Giles (1970) was to investigate the potential advantages with a matched guise technique. Therefore, the researcher used both vocal and conceptual stimuli (see below for details). The data showed that there is large variation in results between the two types of stimuli, thus indicating the potential advantages of a matched guise technique. Giles (1970) is particularly interesting as it also concerns itself with other tendencies which are relevant in the present section. Barring the dominance of RP in the study, other important tendencies are also apparent. The N. American guise[3], which assumedly is the same as a Standard American English guise, was rated higher than the urban varieties found in the UK. Hence, we see a tendency which is also apparent in other studies (e.g. Coupland & Bishop 2007) However, this particular result was only achieved when the stimulus was vocal. Respondents were significantly more positive towards RP when they evaluated the variety conceptually (i.e. they were presented with RP as a *concept* rather than actually listening to an RP guise), and they also evaluated American English much less positively when the stimulus was conceptual. When the stimulus was vocal (i.e. respondents

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[3] The American variety was rated equally to a French variety. This will however not be discussed in detail.

listened to an RP guise), RP received less positive (but nonetheless positive) evaluations than when the stimulus was conceptual. In addition, the American guise was judged far more favorably when the stimulus was vocal. This may seem to indicate that RP is perceived as 'better' on a conscious level by respondents, but this perception may not manifest itself when respondents are actually exposed to RP guises. Comparing this with the apparent result for American English it could seem as if respondents had a conscious and subconscious favorable attitude towards RP, whereas they had only a subconscious favorable attitude to American English.

The item 'accent identical to your own' (Giles 1970:218) received high ratings, and even surpassed RP on the dimension of communicative content. Unfortunately, this item was not present in the vocal stimulus due to the difference in regional environment: respondents '… from both a S.W. England and a S. Welsh comprehensive school [were used].' (Giles 1970: 214) Worth noting however, is that in both cases of stimuli urban varieties were significantly downgraded. This is a tendency which is rather common and has also been seen in numerous other studies. In addition, the urban varieties were judged less negatively (but negatively nonetheless) when presented conceptually than when the stimulus was vocal. This could be seen as respondents being more positive towards varieties in general when they are presented with varieties conceptually but have different attitudes when they are exposed to the varieties. Elaborating further on the role of RP in attitudinal research of English, Garrett et. al. (2005) refer to the fact that:

> One repeated finding [in studies conducted the past two or three decades] has been that British English [RP] … has been accorded high social status (judgments of prestige, level of education, intelligence, etc.) but relatively low value in terms of social attractiveness or solidarity (friendliness, sincerity, warmth, etc.). (211)

Giles (1970) did not include dimensions of solidarity. However, his findings were still valid when Garrett et.al. (2005) conducted their study, thirty-five years later. These attitudes towards RP are still in effect today.

2.3.4.2 Urban and rural varieties

Another interesting attitudinal tendency mentioned above is that in the UK, urban varieties tend to be systematically downgraded (e.g. Coupland and Bishop 2007, Hiraga 2005). This

tendency is not maintained in the US except for specific urban varieties, such as the New York City one (e.g. Preston 1998). The case of New York City can be said to be an exception. It is nonetheless one of the most recognized varieties in the US: 'The great majority of our informants report that when ever they travel outside of the city, they are quickly identified as New Yorkers' (Labov 1966: 28)

In the US speakers of southern varieties of American English are systematically downgraded. This trend, to a certain extent, contradicts the findings in studies of speakers in the UK – rural speakers found on the British Isles are usually judged favorably, at least on certain dimensions. Preston (1998) reveals another existing phenomenon in the US: southerners themselves consider their own variety to be less correct than respondents from other speech communities do. The former do, however, consider their variety to be more pleasant than other varieties. These results show a similarity to studies which reveal negative scores for RP on the solidarity dimension. The systematic downgrading of urban varieties in the UK co-occurs with certain other tendencies. The standard varieties receive higher scores on traits of status whereas rural varieties show high scores on dimensions of solidarity. This is also an existing phenomenon in the US. In a study involving standard as well as urban non-standard varieties and non-native varieties of English , Ball (1983) found that among Australian respondents 'Liverpool speech was viewed as indicative of the least competence, the Italian guise as also fairly incompetent, the German as rather more competent and Received Pronunciation as considerably more competent than the others.' (174) Furthermore,

> The results are consistent with what would be expected on the basis of research conducted in North America and Britain, in as much as that Received Pronunciation (the pan-Anglophone standard) is associated with high competence, but social unattractiveness, whereas the local vernacular is associated with incompetence and slightly greater social attractiveness. (Ball 1983: 177)

Certain tendencies are also clear concerning the relationship between RP and SAE; while RP traditionally has, and still does, score higher on dimensions of culture and status, there is a clear tendency for American English to receive more positive scores on traits related to solidarity. Stewart et.al. (1985) found that 'Whereas RP speakers were viewed to have significantly more status than American speakers, they received lower solidarity ratings.' (101)

What we have established so far is that urban varieties are usually evaluated least favorably by respondents, at least in the UK. In terms of the dimension of status, standard varieties tend to score significantly higher than all other varieties, and historically RP has received most favorable judgments on the status dimension. RP does not usually score positively on the dimension of solidarity, however. There is some difference between the US and the UK in terms of how rural varieties are perceived – in the US rural varieties are systematically downgraded. In the UK, however, rural varieties are seen with some positivity on certain dimensions and are not necessarily systematically downgraded but rather perceived as better than standard varieties on certain dimensions (usually solidarity).

2.3.4.3 Societal treatment studies

One particular societal treatment study may shed some light on the presence of Standard American English, namely that of Lippi-Green (1997). 'Broadly speaking, the approach [of societal treatment studies] is seen in terms of the 'treatment' afforded languages and language varieties within society, and to their users.' (Garrett 2010: 142). In her study, Lippi-Green (1997) examined 371 character's speech in twenty-four movies: 'Each of the 371 characters was analyzed for a variety of language and characterization variables.' (86) The data from the study included other interesting results than those of language, such as gender stereotyping and racial stereotyping. For the sake of attitudes to English, however, language stereotyping is of most interest. Lippi-Green (1997) found that 'Around 20 percent of US English speakers are bad characters, while about 40 percent of non-native speakers of English are evil.' (92) From this finding alone it appears that language is used as a means for building Disney's characters, and it is rather obvious that non-native varieties are overrepresented in this realm. In the study's summary, Lippi-Green (1997) states that:

> Close examination of the distributions indicates that these animated films provide material which links language varieties associated with specific national origins, ethnicities, and races with social norms and characteristics in non-factual and sometimes overtly discriminatory ways. Characters with strongly positive actions and motivations are overwhelmingly speakers of socially mainstream varieties of English. Conversely, characters with strongly negative actions and motivations often speak varieties of English linked to specific geographical regions and marginalized social groups. (101)

As Lippi-Green (1997) shows there is a tendency for speakers of one particular variety – Standard American English – to be favored. This relates closely to the notion of standard varieties' perceived superiority. Disney uses people's favorable attitudes towards this specific variety as well as their less favorable attitudes towards other varieties to build and define character's roles in their movies. The relevance of this Lippi-Green (1997) is important as it shows how a block-buster institution both enables and promotes a language hierarchy in society.

2.3.4.4. English in comparison to other languages

An interesting domain is that of English compared to other languages. In general, speakers of English, especially speakers of a standard variety, will be perceived as having more status and competence than speakers of other languages. The study of Montreal respondents attitudes towards English and French conducted by Lambert et. al. (1960) is of interest in this matter. The study was carried out by using a matched guise technique where the speakers were bilingual. The languages in question were English and French. The number of respondents was 130: 64 speakers of English and 66 speakers of French. What is significant for this particular study is that '… the finding that French Ss [subjects] also evaluate English guises more favorably is as unexpected as the finding that these Ss judge French guises less favorably than do the English Ss.' (Lambert et. al. 1960: 48). There were several possible explanations of this data. The researchers noted, for example, that there was a '… greater probability of finding English people in more powerful social and economic positions in the Montreal community, both samples of Ss might [therefore] more likely think of an English speaker as having higher status …' (Lambert et. al. 48-49) Lambert et.al (1960) illustrates how English is perceived in comparison to other languages. While the study is several decades old, it nonetheless serves the purpose of showing how favorable attitudes towards English may actually be, even among non-native speakers of English.

2.3.5 English in language teaching

Some mention of language teaching of English and the following status English receives from language teaching is necessary. Since English is taught as a foreign language in numerous countries, these countries' educational institutions will construct, maintain and enforce certain

attitudes to language. The impact of these attitudes may manifest itself to anything from which spelling method preferred (e.g. British English or American English) to which variety of spoken English is focused on. Within the frame of learning there exists, due to the global role of the English language, a pronounced motivation to learn English. Furthermore, the incentive is, especially in Western countries, significantly higher than that for learning other languages at the same level of proficiency. This point is most easily illustrated by referring to a specific country where the speakers of the native language primarily reside within the country, and the native language does not affect the rest of the global world.

In Norway, English has a special status and Norway is part of the expanding circle. In the general purpose section of the English subject curriculum it is stated that 'English is a universal language … [and] to succeed in a world where English is used for international communication, it is necessary to be able to use the English language and to have knowledge of how it is used in different contexts.' (English subject curriculum). While English has its own curriculum, there is a collective curriculum for other foreign languages. Instead of the grandiose description of English, the foreign language curriculum merely states that 'Language opens doors.' (Subject curriculum for foreign languages). The curriculum of the Norwegian school institutions shows a clear preference for English over other foreign languages, and English also receives *far* more focus and time in Norwegian schools. This shows a clear tendency for more positive attitudes towards English than other foreign languages; within the subject curriculum English is not even explicitly labeled as a foreign language (although it, per definition, is).

A present-day attitude, which has been in existence for some time, towards English is that it is not owned by any particular country. Halliday et.al. (1964) pointed out that

> English is no longer the possession of the British, or even of the British and the Americans, but an international language which increasingly large numbers of people adopt for at least some of their purposes, without thereby denying (at least in intention) the value of their own languages; and this one language, English, exists in an increasingly large number of different varieties. (293)

This particular attitude towards English is still on the increase. It is no longer, and has not been for some time, the case that English is 'owned' by native speakers of English (or anyone at all for that matter). Due to the continuous increase of globalization and the role of English in this globalization it becomes difficult for any particular country or speakers to 'own' English.

Also, 'American forms of English are now accepted, either side by side with British forms or even in preference to them …' (Halliday et.al. 1964: 293) points to the increase of American English, a phenomenon seen in other studies (e.g. Bayard et.al. 2001). In the last 50 years, there has been an increase of tolerance of other varieties of English other than those of native speakers. Coupland (2009) mentions that '…linguistic varieties referred to as 'standards' and 'dialects' are coming to hold different, generally less determinate and more complex, values in a late-modern social order.' One could hypothesize that in the future, both varieties considered standard (RP and SAE) will be seen as equal varieties as other, non-native varieties. However, in the present globalized society there are forces working against each other. Certain groups continue an approach of prescriptivism, such as the SGEM. Other authors oppose prescriptive views, such as Halliday et.al. (1964) and most linguists in general. Many linguists will agree to the existence and increased social status of varieties spoken by native speakers of English. An interesting point is that recent findings may challenge what is defined as 'standard' as well an increasing acceptance for non-standard varieties of English.

2.3.6 Linguists and difference of opinion

While most linguists agree on many things, they too have different opinions. Lippi-Green (1997) explains this in a rather eloquently manner: 'Linguists do not form a homogenous club. Like any other group of scholars divided by a common subject matter, there are great rivalries, ancient quarrels, picky arguments, and plain differences of opinion.' (7) To elaborate on this I will refer to Quirk (1990), who suggests the need for a standard variety of English. He claims that he would, if he had not yet, '… acquire English precisely because of its power as an instrument of international communication.' (10) Quirk (1990) considers the numerous varieties of English in existence problematic. The main focus is how English should be taught – or which variety teachers of English should attempt to enforce. Quirk goes so far as saying 'I would be particularly annoyed at irrelevant emphasis on the different varieties of English when I came to realise they mattered so little to native speakers of English …' (Quirk 1990: 10). Randolph Quirk all but discredits use of any non-standard variety of English. He does, however, have a pedagogical reasoning for his views: foreign learners of English would benefit from learning only a standard variety, he claims. One could understand the advantages by having to learn and learn about only one variety. It is rather clear, however, that Quirk (1990) has an outspoken prescriptive perspective of the English language in general. This is unfortunate as Quirk is a well-known linguist who harbors what one might say are attitudes a

linguist should not have. It is nonetheless interesting that even a linguist may have attitudes of this kind, as it shows how diverse attitudes to English may be. Kachru (1990) strongly disagrees with Quirk, and even notes that '…Quirk's major points cannot be accepted in terms of the sociolinguistic reality of world Englishes, and how these cannot be supported by the linguistic history of other major languages of the world.' (8)

In section 2.3 I have attempted to discuss and explain attitudes to English. While attitudinal perspectives of English vary greatly, we have seen several tendencies. Within the study of attitudes, tendencies are the closest we may achieve; we may never fully account for people's private attitudes. People lie and mask their true attitudes and beliefs for several reasons. Matched and verbal guise techniques attempt to conceal their actual research intentions. While scientists argue for the success these techniques have obtained, attitudinal research is not a natural science. Nonetheless, we are able to pinpoint certain tendencies. As with attitudes to language in general, the standard varieties are favored and imposed by institutions. Inner circle varieties are still considered socially superior to other varieties, and the other two circles more often than not strive to obtain a manner of speech close to that of the inner circle. The inner circle also has its own hierarchy where the standard varieties are considered to be of higher rank than other native varieties of English. Studies have shown that there exist different hierarchies in the US and the UK; while UK respondents systematically downgrade urban varieties, US respondents evaluate (southern) rural varieties less positively. Some studies indicate the continued dominance of RP on the dimension of status, while others show a tendency for SAE to take the place of RP. There is data which seems to indicate the increased acceptance of non-standard varieties, though this is an ongoing process.

Prescriptivism is still an existing phenomenon in present-day attitudes to language, and that is rather unfortunate. However, prescriptive views have declined and continue to decline, as acceptance of non-standard varieties increases. While attitudinal tendencies are shifting, the dominant role of the English language remains and increases. It is affecting more and more people. As will be discussed in the following sections, this is also in affect in other parts of the world where English has not had a historically strong position. Lastly, it is worth noting that we may see further acceptance of non-standard varieties. As tolerance for non-native varieties increase, there may eventually be a point where all varieties of English are seen as equal and that the present varieties which are deemed 'standard' are not perceived as socially superior to other varieties.

2.4 Attitudes to varieties of English

The varieties of English presented in the present thesis are Chinese English (CE) and Arabic English (AE). Kraut and Wulff (2013) conducted a fairly recent study which included both Asian- and Middle Eastern speakers (amongst others). The data showed large variation in attitudes towards the two varieties. Kraut and Wulff (2013) was conducted in the following matter:

> Seventy-eight native English speakers rated the foreign-accented speech (FAS) of 24 international students enrolled in an Intensive English programme at a public university in Texas on degree of accent, comprehensibility and communicative ability. Variables considered to potentially impact listeners' ratings were the sex of the speaker, the first language family of the speaker (Asian, Hispanic and Middle Eastern students participated), the speaker's proficiency level (students were enrolled in low-, intermediate- and advanced proficiency courses) and listeners' self-reported familiarity (low, medium or high) with FAS. (249)

Data from the study showed that the judges systematically downgraded speakers of Asian English on all dimensions. In contrast, Middle Eastern speakers were judged favorably on all dimensions, at least compared to the other two varieties included in the research. The results are rather interesting as they may show an existing tendency in attitudes to Asian English and Middle Eastern English. It would be bold, however, to state this based on one study alone. Several factors may influence the results – for example the judges were not informed of context (e.g. work-, social-, or educational context). The passage read by the speakers in Kraut and Wulff (2013) is, arguably, somewhat academic, though this will not be discussed in detail. The lack of context is relevant because Cargile (1997) found that context was an important factor for speakers of Chinese English (this study will be discussed further in section 2.4.1).

A possible explanation for diversity in attitudes towards the two varieties may lie in the speakers: if one of the variety's speakers were less intelligible than the other, this could have had impact on the data. Bresnahan et.al. (2002) found that in their study '…significantly more positive attitude was associated with intelligible compared to unintelligible foreign accent.' (177) The guises included in Bresnahan et. al. (2002) were American English and foreign accented English, both varieties with two speakers – one intelligible and one unintelligible. (Bresnahan et. al. 2002) Other than the finding of respondents' preference for an intelligible rather than an unintelligible foreign accent, it was also found that American English was

preferred over both foreign accents, which further supports the notion of standard varieties' perceived superiority (see section 2.2 and 2.3). In other words, the intelligibility of a non-native speaker is of significant value when comparing different varieties. While Bresnahan et.al. (2002) do not include the varieties of English spoken by the foreign accented speakers, one would assume that intelligibility across varieties has an effect.

Racial prejudice is of importance when researching non-native varieties of English. One may argue that due to events spanning from 9/11 up to present day may especially be relevant for the speakers of Arabic English, though negative profiling of Arabs is not a new phenomenon. On the other hand, Chinese people are often perceived as having great work ethic and as efficient workers. This is by no means to say that one group is more favorably stereotyped than the other, but stereotyping exists in all domains (and is arguably necessary for how humans structure their reality). Racial stereotyping will be discussed under the relevant varieties as it is seen as an influential factor for attitudes towards the respective varieties.

Certain linguistic features of both the influencing languages (that is, Cantonese and Arabic) as well as the varieties in question (Chinese English and Arabic English) will be discussed in the following sections. However, these discussions are by no means exhaustive. The aim for this thesis is not to address linguistic features of the varieties nor their influencing languages, but rather attitudes towards them.

2.4.1 Chinese English

The first guise included in the present study is Chinese English (CE). The term is meant to include one of the varieties of English spoken in China and which is influenced by (in particular) one Chinese dialect. For all purposes, Hong Kong English (HKE) is seen as representative due to the influencing language (Cantonese) and the raw number of speakers of the influencing language. The basis for this decision was the large amount of available research on HKE as well as the availability of HKE speakers.

HKE is a variety of English which many respondents will recognize as, at the very least, an Asian variety and also, quite likely, as a Chinese variety. Bolton & Kwok (1990) noted that 'Hitherto [in 1990], only a limited amount of research into the indigenization of 'Hong Kong English' has been attempted, although the importance of the English language to Hong Kong society is considered by many to be crucial.' (147) While this claim was made while Hong Kong was still under British control, the statement remains true to this day.

In order to discuss Hong Kong English some factual information about Hong Kong should be established. The official government webpage states that Hong Kong's population was 7.15 million in 2012 (GovHK, accessed 19 November 2014). Of these, 91% of the population was of Chinese descent and 89.5% of the population was speakers of Cantonese (GovHK). The two official languages of Hong Kong are Chinese and English. 'Because of the small size of Hong Kong and its considerable population, the population density is 6,340 km2.' (Setter et.al. 2010: 3) One may argue that a (very) high population density could provide certain homogeneity in terms of speakers. 'However, it should be recognised that, as it is an emergent new variety, features of Hong Kong English such as phonology are not always stable, and that there is wide variation amongst speakers in both intelligibility and similarity to other accents and varieties.' (Setter et.al. 2010:12) The high population density does not, in other words, necessitate homogeneity of speakers.

The main language of influence on Hong Kong English is Cantonese. Therefore, several linguistic features of Cantonese impact the variety of English spoken in Hong Kong. Chan and Li (2000) note that 'Partly due to the considerable typological distance between English and Cantonese, Cantonese speakers tend to find it difficult to master standard English pronunciation.' (67) In essence, then, one will expect to find significant deviations in HKE (compared to standard Englishes). There is great variation between HKE and standard varieties of English. HKE will be seen in contrast to RP in terms of linguistic dissimilarities. The number of consonant sounds in the two influencing languages is one point worth noting for example: in English there are 24 while there are only 19 in Cantonese (Chan and Li 2000). A difference of 5 consonants is significant, and it will likely create certain problems for native speakers of Cantonese when learning English. The difference in the number of vowels is also substantial: 'There are twelve and eight pure vowels in English and Cantonese, respectively, including both short and long ones' (Chang and Li 2000: 72) Another notable difference between English and Cantonese is rhythm: 'English has *stress-timed* rhythm … Cantonese, in contrast, has *syllable-timed* rhythm.' (Chang and Li: 2000:77, italics in original).

Connecting these differences to HKE, in Hung (2000)'…it was found that the typical HKE speaker operates with a considerably smaller set of vowel and consonant contrasts than in native varieties of English. In particular, there is no length/tenseness contrast in vowels, and no voicing contrast in fricatives' (337). Linguistic features of this sort could be argued to originate in the phonology of Cantonese. As with most countries the aim is for leaners of English in Hong Kong to achieve skills of English similar to either of the two varieties Standard American English or Received Pronunciation (Bolton & Kwok 1990). However, as

the discussion above indicates, this is rather rarely achieved. Instead, '…most language users speak English with a 'localised' accent of some kind, what might be called a 'Hong Kong' accent.' (Bolton & Kwok 1990: 150). This happens in most speech communities where the speakers are non-native speakers of English. The influence of Cantonese results in a distinctive variety of English, which is widely recognized.

Worth noting with regards to the distinctive characteristics of HKE is the problem Bolton & Kwok (1990) encountered when researching attitudes to HKE: 'Originally we had intended to carry out a 'matched guise [technique]', but because of the non-availability of a linguist or actor with the needed skills of mimicry, a direct verbal guise method was adopted.' (167). This, in essence, highlights the difficulties speakers of HKE may encounter: their native language is so different from English that is does not even enable adequate mimicking of the variety.

Hong Kong English is a fairly recent variety (Setter et.al. 2010). Still, there has been considerable research carried out with regards to HKE. A key finding is that of variation between speakers of HKE. Setter et.al.(2010) state that: 'The pronunciation of English in Hong Kong varies along a continuum from native-like British English Received Pronunciation (RP) and/or General American accent features to virtual unintelligibility outside of the Hong Kong environment.' (12). The impact of this statement is its focus on variation – in Hong Kong English, as in other varieties, there will be significant variation between speakers. Since a vast majority of speakers of HKE are native speakers of Cantonese, it will be expected that a number of linguistic features will be recurrent. 'The fact that native Hong Kongers speak with an identifiable accent means that they share a common underlying phonological system …' (Hung 2000: 337) means that there has to be clear shared linguistic characteristics of HKE, similarly to for example RP.

Lindemann (2005) found that Chinese English was quite familiar for her respondents (US undergraduates). One part of her research methodology was conducted in the following fashion:

… respondents were given a list of 58 countries and asked to rate the English of university students from each of these countries on how correct, friendly and pleasant they found it on a scale of 1 to 10. They were also asked to rate how familiar the English of people from each of these countries was to them using the same scale. (191)

Chinese English received a familiarity rating of 6.6 (Lindemann 2005). The variety was, in other words, familiar to the US respondents. This was the only dimension which showed positive signs for China, however: it received low ratings for correctness, pleasantness and friendliness (Lindemann 2005). In the other part of her study, Lindemann (2005) used a '…map-labeling task, [where] they [respondents] were each given a map of the world and asked to label it with descriptions of the English spoken by these students.' (191) The data from the map-labeling task was examined in several ways. One of these investigations included 'Descriptors of salient speech areas' (Lindemann 2005: 199). For China, several respondents reported that Chinese speakers of English 'Speak quickly, pronounce L's as R's' (Lindemann 2005: 199) This is very much in agreement with description of HKE. What is reassuring is that the respondents thought Chinese English to be rather familiar, which seems to indicate that they are at least able to correctly identify and recognize Chinese English speakers. In addition, respondents accurately described key phonological features present in Chinese English.

Another study of Chinese English by Cargile (1997) sought to examine the potential difference in ratings between a Chinese English guise and a standard American guise in different contexts. To investigate this phenomenon, both Anglo and Asian respondents were used. Two different ways of study were employed – one where the context was assumed to be a job interview and one where the context was assumed to be a classroom environment (Cargile 1997). The study showed rather interesting results:

> The nonstandard accent of a native Chinese speaker did nothing to affect estimations of his attractiveness, status or dynamism (not to mention the ratings of his employment suitability) in the context of a job interview. However, that very same accent did lead to lower estimations of attractiveness (relative to the standard accented speaker) in the context of a college classroom – a result consistent with previous studies of Asian-accented English. Thus, the present findings voice the importance of context in shaping listeners' responses to nonstandard accented speech. (Cargile 1997: 440-441)

One of the major aims in the study was to investigate the difference in ratings in different context. This, however, does not diminish the fact that the Chinese speaker was judged equally positively to the standard American English speaker in the context of a job interview. Cargile (1997) offers a possible explanation by noting that speakers of Asian varieties are associated with equal status as speakers of standard varieties are in work contexts. The findings in

Cargile (1997) serve to illustrate this particular tendency – namely that Chinese speakers are seen as having a great work ethic and are competitive in job markets. Worth noting, however, is that this phenomenon did not transfer from one context to another. Cargile (1997) showed that context does matter and that a Chinese English guise is more favorable in certain contexts. On the other hand, it is not necessarily the case that the Chinese variety is judged favorably in general. Coupland & Bishop (2007) found that their respondents provided low scores on both social attractiveness and prestige for the Asian variety included in their study.

Bolton & Kwok (1990) deserve a special mention for their study on 'Attitudes to the Hong Kong accent.' (167) In their study, the respondents were '…131 first-year students at the University of Hong Kong. (Bolton & Kwok 1990:167). The paper does not explicitly state that the respondents were from Hong Kong (though it is implied in the hypotheses), but one may nonetheless assume the speakers are of Hong Kong or Chinese origin. The findings are relevant both for attitudes to HKE as well as attitudes to English in general. What the data indicated was, amongst other things, that:

1. The two RP guises were only correctly identified by 54% and 48% of the respondents.
2. Even though they had problems identifying the RP accent, 65.1% of the speakers nonetheless wanted to '… speak English like a 'British native-speaker.'
   (Bolton & Kwok 1990:168)

This data does not show attitudes of other groups than the implied Hong Kong respondents towards HKE. However, it is equally important what the speech community itself think of its own variety of English. The two findings can also be interpreted as supportive of the results found in Giles (1970) where there was variation in results if a guise was presented conceptually. Setter et.al. (2010) provide another possible explanation for point 2 by stating that '…most Hongkongers aspire to attain an English proficiency level comparable to the standards of British and American English.'(110)

We have established that a Chinese English guise is both familiar (to US respondents) and judged favorably in a work context. Furthermore, we have seen that speakers of HKE themselves aspire to sound like a native speaker of English – according to Bolton & Kwok (1990), preferably a speaker of RP. Certain phonological features of both Cantonese and HKE have been discussed, Cantonese features which could explain the salient linguistic features

prominent in HKE. In accordance with Lindemann (2005) we may also argue that Chinese English is familiar to US respondents.

2.4.2 Arabic English

The second guise included in the present study is Arabic English (AE). The term is meant to include the English variety spoken in the Middle East, which is influenced by one or several of the many dialects of the Arabic language. Studies conducted on Muslims and attitudes towards and by Muslim speakers will also be included in this section. Speakers of Arabic English are not necessarily Muslim, nor is every Muslim a speaker of Arabic English. However, the scope of this paper will not enable in-depth discussion of the characteristics of these categories. The key point is that the variety of English in question is recognized as a Middle Eastern variety of English. Research of Arabic English is, in itself, problematic. Al-Issa & Dahan (2011) illustrate this by stating that:

> In a world rapidly changing through the efforts of globalization and its accompanying lingua franca, English, it is important to view how today's global English is affecting other languages, cultures and even identities. The Arab world is an understudied region of the world when it comes to this subject. Its importance, however, cannot be overlooked. (vii)

The issue remains, however, that it is problematic to examine Arab English because of lack of research. Nonetheless, sufficient studies and literature exists which enables discussion and study of attitudes towards Arabic English. In comparison to English in general as well as Chinese English/HKE, research of the field is rather limited, however.

Al-Issa & Dahan (2011) point to the fact that in the United Arab Emirates attitudes towards English are positive amongst the population and its institutions. However, it is noted that like in other parts of the world, English is advancing at the expense of other languages (Arabic in this case). Arabic does have certain advantages over other languages, though, because 'Arabic is the language of Islam, and the Quran, the Muslim holy book, was originally written in Arabic and all Muslims pray in Arabic.' (Al-Issa & Dahan 2011: 9) The problem with Arabic is its numerous dialects. In fact, the dialects of Arabic may be sufficiently different from one another that speakers of two different dialects may not be able to understand each other (Al-Issa & Dahan 2011). This could potentially enable the use of

English as a lingua franca where two speakers both actually speak Arabic, but their dialects are too dissimilar. (Al-Issa & Dahan 2011). As already mentioned in section 2.3.3 the problem of languages becoming endangered is also highly relevant in other areas of the world other than Europe, and one can easily relate to the worry of Arabic's future. Arab communities also attribute certain prestige to the English language: 'Already in the UAE there is a prestige associated with English use. Even parents admit to speaking English with their children in hopes they will grow up and be successful.' (Al-Issa & Dahan 2011: 11) In general, then, it would appear that there exists a certain positivity towards English in the United Arab Emirates. While English is seen as prestigious and important for the globalized world, it is nonetheless a potential threat to the Arabic language.

Some phonological features present in Arabic are noteworthy for their influence on Arabic English. According to Khalil (1996; in Jaber & Hussein: 2011: 7, italics in original)

> …there are some English consonants which [do] not have counterparts in Arabic such as /p/, /v/, /g/ and the flap /r/. In addition, English has twelve vowels while Arabic has a trianglage vowel system that consists of three pairs of short and long vowels. Hence, some English vowels do not have counterparts in Arabic. Therefore, Arab learners of English as a second language will experience some difficulties in producing these consonants (for example, to say *pat* they might pronounce /bat/ instead of /pat/.

As with Chinese English the language of influence will inevitably have some impact on the production of AE. Arabic will be assumed to be the language of influence for speakers of Arabic English.

The racial prejudice towards Arabs in general will be expected to have an impact on people's attitudes towards an Arabic English variety. 'Negative images of Muslim men and women pervade the global mass media: Muslim women are shown as being submissive and backward and Muslim men are often represented as terrorists.' (Mahboob 2009:175) Racism towards Muslims is neither new nor uncommon. Racism will not necessarily manifest itself in action from speech alone, however. Usually there are other cues present such as appearance and context. One of the respondents in the Niedt (2011) study addresses this phenomenon; she says that 'It's more the appearance, if you look like an Arab. But the language is…maybe 40 percent, 50%, but not the whole thing…' (13). What should also be taken into account are the unfortunate negative connotations associated with the terms 'Muslims' and 'Arabs'. Presently, the problematic presence of ISIS in the Middle East contributes to further negative profiling of

Arab people. One must take into account the possibility for respondents and other laypeople to judge an Arabic variety of English based on the present negative portrayal of the Arab population. Niedt (2011) highlights this effectively:

> Amir's [one of his respondents] story echoes a common idea bred from certain kinds of media: Arabic (especially when spoken by men) is equated with terrorism. Moreover, it shows the disregard Americans can have for Arabic speakers, whether joking or serious, by openly making such comparisons to them. (12)

Swacker (1976) conducted a study in which she used four voices in her test sample:

> Two of the four were native speakers, one used general midland, network-standard type, speech with no pronounced regional or class grammatical markers. The other had a strong east-Texas pronunciation and employed such regional markers as multiple modals, "ya'll", and absence of adjectival morphemes. To this pair two with foreign speech were added (both were native speakers of Jordanian Arabic, a language calcuilted to be unfamiliar enough to not have built-in stigma). One speech sample was devoid of easily recognizable regional markers although it was clearly a foreigner speaking American (not British) English. The other voice, while every bit as foreign— spoke with a number of Texas regional markers (16)

Furthermore, all of the speakers were male and the respondents were native speakers of American English. Unfortunately, no tables or any statistical information were provided in the paper. The author does present and discuss the results, however. The foreign speakers were both evaluated negatively, and especially the speaker '…with heavy use of regionalisms' (Swacker 1976: 16). Furthermore, the author discusses the possibility for native speakers to be judged unfavorably if they attempt to sound '…"too native."' (Swacker 1976: 17) The article provides us with at least one valuable piece of information: speakers of Arabic English are evaluated more negatively than speakers of native English by respondents who themselves are native speakers of English. In accordance with attitudes to English in general, this appears rather obvious.

Attitudes towards English by Arab communities is an interesting topic which requires certain attention. Malallah (2000) conducted a study in Kuwait where he examined attitudes of

university students towards the English language. Three of the aims for the study were to investigate attitudinal dispositions:

1. Students' attitudes toward learning English.
2. Students' attitudes toward the English language.
3. Students' attitudes toward native speakers of English.
   (Malallah 2000: 22)

Overall, the results were positive: the students had favorable attitudes toward learning English, the English language and native speakers of English (Malallah 2000). With respect to 3. Malallah (2000) argues that '…Kuwait students admire English speakers intellectually and academically. This maybe because English speakers (mainly from USA and UK) helped to liberate Kuwait form the Iraqi invasion.' (29) This theory can be seen as introducing potential non-linguistic features to the equation, and shows the importance of context in language attitudinal research. It has, at least by Western media, been claimed that Islamic countries and communities are reluctant to learn and teach English because of the westernization the English language may lead to. This is, however, disproved by both Malallah (2000) and Al-Issa & Dahan (2011): the population of both Kuwait and United Arab Emirates are positive towards English and do not see it as a threat to their Arabic culture or identity.

A recent study carried out by Ahmed et.al. (2014) sought to investigate the attitudes of Malaysian students towards several non-native varieties of English. One of the included varieties was an Arabic variety, more precisely an '…Arabic accent which is spoken particularly in Iraq-Baghdad'. (Ahmed et.al. 2014: 185) In addition, three varieties of Malaysian English were included, as well as two native varieties of English (one American and one British) (Ahmed et.al. 2014). The overall results showed that Malaysian respondents considered the non-native varieties to be superior on all dimensions. The data contradicts earlier research in which native varieties are judged more favorably than non-native varieties. From Ahmed (2014 et.al.) alone, it would appear that Malaysian students favor Arabic-accented English over native varieties of English. Ahmed et.al. (2014) do offer some potential explanations of this phenomenon; most emphasis is put on the notion of in-group solidarity where respondents will align themselves with a variety which is more similar to their own. The favorable judgments of Arabic English could be explained by the fact that '…nowadays many Iraqis come to Malaysia either to work or to pursue their studies at Malaysian universities.' (Ahmed 2014:188) The Arabic accent would in other words be both familiar and

perhaps associated with favorable traits by the respondents. This particular study indicates a positive perception of Arabic English in general, at least by non-native speakers of English.

Jaber & Hussein (2011) found when comparing native speaker's judgments of the non-native varieties Jordanian English, French English and Japanese English that the Jordanian English guise was significantly more favorably evaluated. Both the Jordanian male and the Jordanian female received higher score than both other varieties on all dimensions. In addition, 'The data showed that only 30.5% of the French speakers and 23.5% of the Japanese and 80% of the Jordanians "were fluent". ' (Jaber & Hussein 2011: 83) The study is interesting because it challenges earlier research which has shown that French-accented English is judged rather favorably (e.g. Giles 1970). Overall, the Jordanians were perceived as having high status and also as more suitable for specific, high status employment (e.g. medical employment). One cannot overlook the fact that Jaber & Hussein (2011) show positive signs for native speakers' perception of Arabic English.

This section has discussed attitudes toward Arabic-English by native speakers of English as well as attitudes by Arabs towards English. As in the rest of the world, Arab communities are experiencing influence of English in the globalized world. English is becoming increasingly important as a language of communication in Arab countries – both in institutions and in people's everyday lives. The theorized potential for English to achieve status as a lingua franca between speakers of Arabic due to the severe differences between dialects may be seen as a threat, just as the influence of English is seen as a threat to minority languages in Europe (see section 2.3.3). What the discussed studies have shown is that Arabs themselves attribute significant value to the English language. They are positive towards learning the English language, as well as the English language itself and its native speakers. The western media claimed notion of Middle Eastern communities to demonize English must be said to be false. Even though there is a certain degree of racial prejudice present towards Arabs in the present-day western world, this does not seem to manifest itself to a large degree in attitudes to Middle-Eastern speakers of English: the Middle-Eastern speaker guise was, after all evaluated more favorably than both Hispanic and Asian speakers (see discussion of Kraut and Wulff (2013) in section 2.4). Overall, attitudes to speakers of AE are positive in the research presented in the present thesis. AE speakers are considered competent and easy to understand. The Jordanian speakers in Jaber & Hussein (2011) were *much* more positively evaluated than the other speakers included in the study. It seems, then, that the western media's demonization of Arabs does not affect perception of their variety of English.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Choice of varieties

The two varieties examined in the present thesis were Chinese English (HKE) and Arabic English (AE) which have been presented in section 2.4

Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11 people of Middle Eastern origin have seen unfair racial profiling and outright racism based on the actions of a very small minority of the Arab world. I wanted to see if this discrimination also exists solely based on linguistic features of Middle Eastern speakers. Furthermore, it was of interest to see if this exists in a community such as the Norwegian one.

My motivation for studying attitudes towards Chinese speakers of English was different. China is an existing (or emerging, depending on how one defines it) superpower. If the world's lingua franca were to be determined by the number of present native speakers the globalized world would be speaking Mandarin instead of English. I considered it of interest to examine what Norwegian respondents think of a variety of English which is spoken by so many people.

Other motivations for investigating these two varieties include the findings of Kraut and Wulff (2013) as well as the research of Cargile (1997) (see section 2.4.1 for details) Lastly, I had some personal motivation in relation to investigating some dimensions; my own personal experience is that Norwegians usually find Arabic English speakers to be more fluent in English and perceived as more competent solely due to their speech than speakers of Chinese English are. I wanted to investigate if the findings of Lindemann (2005) (see section 2.4.1 for details) were similar for Norwegian respondents.

The choice of varieties was also partly based on the available spoken texts. Since I had no speakers of the relevant varieties available in person I had to choose from a set of sound-files. In addition, I chose guises which were, in my opinion, representable for the varieties in question. Some of the guises available were for example of immigrants who had been living in a different country for most of their life. This would obviously limit the effect the language of their birth country had on their accent of English and I considered guises of this type to be unfit for the scope of the present thesis.

In addition, it was very important that the respondents were able to identify the varieties, at least to a specific geographical area. This was particularly true for the Middle Eastern variety. I was aware of the possibility for respondents not to be able to identify the precise origin of the Middle Eastern speakers. However, I was confident that they would at the

very least be able to recognize the variety as Middle Eastern English or as Arabic English. The Hong Kong English variety was assumed to be easily identifiable for the respondents, at least to the extent that they are able to identify it as Chinese. Hung (2000) claims HKE is '… just as easily recognisable as Indian, Singaporean or Australian English.' (338). I considered it sufficient that they were able to identify it as Chinese, however.

3.2 Respondents and general information

The numbers of informants for the questionnaire was 63 and 9 of these were then selected by a teacher to take part in a following interview. The number of female respondents for the questionnaire was 43, while there were 20 male respondents. There was, in other words, an uneven gender representation.

The respondents were all high school students with their age ranging from 16-19 years of age. Considering the prominent focus on the teaching of English in Norway (see section 2.3.5 for details) it was assumed the respondents were proficient in English and were able to correctly recognize the varieties. It was also expected that the questions in the questionnaire (see appendix 3) were sufficiently clear and concise. The interview questions (see appendix 4) were also assumed to be clear, and since they were open questions they enabled more in-depth answers. Also, I had the possibility of providing more detailed explanations in an interview setting had any problems arisen.

In order to test the hypotheses both a questionnaire and interviews were used (see section 3.3 for details). To reach the desired depth in the research the questions in the questionnaire were closed while the interview questions were open. Both methods were carried out in the respondents' native tongue (Norwegian) to ensure minimal external linguistic interference. In order to avoid fatigue for the respondents both the questionnaire and the interviews were designed to be brief yet sufficiently exhaustive. Certain logistical factors also played a minor role due to the availability of respondents. For instance each group of respondents was only available at a given time at a given date which meant that the questionnaire part of the research had to be carried out on three separate occasions. The entire research was carried out with the respondents being anonymous and the only personal information asked of them was their gender.

The questions concerning terrorism were considered sensitive in both research methods. The respondents could show large variation in their responses based on which of the two research methods was used. It was, for example, possible that the respondents answered

the terrorism question in the questionnaire but refused to discuss the topic during the interview. Refusing to discuss a topic was in itself considered interesting, however. Although this was certainly a possibility it was not assumed that the respondents would refuse to answer any sensitive questions. It was more likely for the interviewees to answer delicate questions evasively, but refusing to answer a question altogether did not seem probable.

To increase the validity of the research, two distractors were also used. The distractors were two speakers of Dutch-accented English – one female and one male. These were chosen due to their limited similarity with the relevant varieties. For the present thesis the specifics of the distractors are insignificant, but they were nonetheless an important part of how the research was conducted.

3.3. Research methods

In order to explain and discuss the present thesis' research accurately it will prove beneficial to first include the theoretical framework for the two applied research methods.

3.3.1 Indirect approach: The verbal guise method

The present study has used the *verbal guise method*. The most advantageous aspect of a *verbal guise research method* is its potential to address people's private attitudes (Garrett 2010). This was my primary reason for using this particular method. Research using a *verbal guise method* includes several speakers speaking different varieties, which may or may not read the same text. A *verbal guise method* is a modified version of the matched guise method in which one speaker reads the same text in different guises. An important advantage of the *verbal guise method* is that is aims to avoid some of the potential disadvantages found in a direct approach (see section 3.3.2 for details). In the present thesis this is particularly relevant for the problem of *social desirability bias* (see section 3.3.2 for details). According to Garrett et. al. (2003) 'Questionnaires can offer more anonymity for respondents than interviews. Possibly […] this reduces the likelihood of responses being affected by social desirability. (34)

As with all research methods, the *verbal guise method* also has certain disadvantages. Garrett (2010) discusses several limitations of the matched guise method. The *verbal guise method* originates from the matched guise method and several of these limitations will therefore be present in research using a *verbal guise method*. For this thesis the *salience question* and the *perception question* (Garrett 2010) is of most relevance. Garrett (2010)

argues that the *salience question* is problematic due to the fact that '…providing respondents with the repeated content of a reading passage presented by a series of voices may exaggerate the language variations and make them much more salient than they would normally be outside the experimental environment.' (Garrett 2010: 57). It is in other words possible that the two varieties investigated in the present thesis are perceived by respondents as more dissimilar than they are outside of their natural environment. However, for this thesis the 'drawbacks' of the *salience question* are seen as an advantage due to the *perception question*, a question which '…concerns whether we can be sure that respondents identify each voice as representing the area that the researchers themselves believe it to represent.' (Garrett 2010: 58). I would argue that the *salience question* diminishes the effect of the *perception question* in the present thesis and is therefore an advantage for the present research. The present thesis aims to investigate attitudes towards two specific varieties, and it is of great importance that respondents are able to accurately identify the varieties.

An additional problem is that of the neutrality question. The passages read in a matched guise technique are designed to be factually neutral. This also goes for verbal guise methods using same passages but different speakers. Garrett (2010) argues that '…the concept of a "factually neutral" text cannot be assumed to be unproblematic.' (59) Researchers may believe that speakers are reading a neutral text, but this is not necessarily perceived equally by respondents. In fact, it is argued that a factually neutral text does not exist due to the fact that the same spoken utterance could be interpreted differently based on the speakers' age, gender, variety etc. (Garrett 2010). It is impossible to avoid the problem of text neutrality in research using a verbal guise technique. One must therefore be aware of the potential disadvantage of not being able to create or find a neutral text. Lastly, some texts, we can assume, may be more neutral than others.

3.3.2 Direct approach: Interviews

The present thesis uses interviews as the direct approach method. A direct approach aims to address people's overt language attitudes (Garrett 2010: 39). It is, arguably, '…the most obvious way to get at people's attitudes […] to ask them what their attitudes are.' (Garrett 2010: 39). Direct approach studies are often conceptual in the sense that they present respondents with concepts which they respond to (e.g. 'Chinese English'). For obvious reasons, direct approaches enable respondents to consciously hide their true attitudes. Since they are aware of what exactly is being asked of them there is always a possibility for

respondents to either mask what their real attitudes are or just blatantly lie about them. Direct approaches aim to elicit respondents' conscious attitudes (in contrast to indirect approaches). Attitudes gathered from direct approach research are therefore assumed to reflect respondents' attitudes *which they are willing to share*. Furthermore, Kristiansen (2009; in Garrett 2010: 43) mentions that conscious attitudes usually disclose some sort of community held stereotyping. Exploring people's conscious attitudes is advantageous as they will often reflect general attitudes which respondents are aware of and are usually comfortable with. To a certain extent conscious attitudes can be said to reflect stereotypes which are considered socially appropriate by the respondents' general community, thus showing a potential tendency of how the community perceives specific attitudes.

Direct approaches have several potential pitfalls. The disadvantages are not necessarily absent in indirect approaches, but an explicit aim for indirect approaches is to minimize the downsides of the direct approaches. The most prominent disadvantage is, for the present thesis, the *social desirability bias* (Garrett 2010), that is '…the tendency for people to give answers to questions in ways that they believe to be "socially appropriate".' (Garrett 2010: 44) I expected both questionnaire-respondents and interviewees to show, at the very least, some social desirability bias. The guaranteed anonymity serves as a step to minimize this potential disadvantage (Garrett 2010). Furthermore, I expected this bias to be more dominant in the interviews due to the more direct nature of a direct approach.

Social desirability bias is a recurring problem within attitudinal research. Other potential disadvantages with direct approaches include acquiescence bias, characteristics of the researcher(s), asking hypothetical questions, asking multiple questions and asking strongly slanted questions (Garrett 2010). The only aspects which will be discussed further in the present thesis (see below) is the problem of asking strongly slanted questions and asking hypothetical questions.

A potential problem with the present thesis was the questions concerning terrorism. 'Terrorism' is in itself a loaded word and it is expected that respondents will react differently to questions concerning terrorism than to more neutral questions. However, I considered it impossible to omit the term 'terrorism' or 'terrorist' from the wording of questions. Rephrasing the questions could have caused unnecessary confusion. In addition, wording the sensitive questions differently would inevitably have made the questions less clear than intended. One may argue that even the terms 'Arabs' or 'Arabic' could be slanted to some degree, especially in the often negative stereotyping of Arabs in the present-day western world. The research was carried out only weeks after the tragic terrorist attacks in Paris

(January 7th 2015), which could have further impacted the respondents' reactions to the terms. Some measures were taken to minimize the loaded words in the questions. For example, the questions dealing with terrorism were introduced last on the questionnaire and during the end of the interviews. This was done in order to ensure that the respondents were not under the impression that the prime research topic of the thesis concerned terrorism. *Social desirability bias* did, in the case of the present thesis, manifest itself in the respondents wishing not to appear racist or prejudiced in any way. I originally anticipated that the respondents would consciously evaluate their answers particularly with regards to questions related to Arabs and Arabic English speakers.

Asking hypothetical questions is another potential pitfall in direct approaches (Garrett 2010), a pitfall which could manifest itself in the sense that respondents might actually act differently in a real setting than they would when answering a question concerned with *what they would do* in a hypothetical setting (i.e. LaPiere in section 2.1.3).

According to Oppenheim (1992) interviews are advantageous as they enable respondents to give more complete answers. Furthermore, open-ended questions have the potential to provide answers which the researchers did not necessarily predict. Another advantageous factor is the possibility for researchers to explain the questions if needed (Oppenheim 1992). For this thesis the interviews were exploratory, which '…is essentially heuristic: to develop ideas and research hypotheses rather than to gather facts and statistics. It is concerned with trying to understand how ordinary people think and feel about the topics of concern to the research. (Oppenheim 1992: 67) The aim for an exploratory interview is that it should be free-style and enable as much spontaneity as possible (Oppenheim 1992). I aimed to minimize my own role in the interview and would rather have the respondents speak as much as possible.

3.4 Research in the present thesis

3.4.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire part of the research was conducted on separate occasions (i.e. January 26th, 27th and 29th) for logistical reasons. The groups of respondents varied to some extent in the sense that one of the respondents groups had taken a more advanced English course than the others. I nonetheless assume that this was insignificant for the research in this thesis; it was unlikely that they had extensive knowledge of the two varieties in question. I therefore considered the respondent group overall to be fairly homogenous. Furthermore, the groups

varied in size. Two of the groups were of similar size, while the third group was significantly smaller. The questionnaire had eight questions, and the questionnaire was identical for all speakers. The respondents were given one copy of the questionnaire for each speaker (i.e. 6 copies in total). As a precaution the questionnaire was introduced with a few guidelines to avoid possible misunderstandings. The questionnaire is included in the appendix (see appendix 1 and 2), both in its original language as well as in its English translation. Informants were given two minutes to fill in each individual copy of the questionnaire after they had listened to each speaker and were asked to only fill in one copy of the questionnaire per speaker. The questionnaire was designed using a seven-point semantic differential scale. A semantic differential scale '…need only involve using equidistant numbers on a scale (e.g. 1 to 7) with semantically opposing labels applied to each end (e.g. friendly/unfriendly).' (Garrett 2010:55). The respondents were instructed to fill in the questionnaire after they had listened to each sound file. The order of speakers is as follows:

1. Chinese male
2. Arabic female
3. Dutch male (distractor)
4. Chinese female
5. Dutch female (distractor)
6. Arabic male

To avoid fatigue for the respondents, each speaker spoke no longer than 45 seconds. In addition, the response time given for each questionnaire was 2 minutes. In essence, this meant that the research session itself took no longer than 20 minutes. Barring certain unexpected events I assumed that the entire questionnaire part of the research was to take no longer than 30 minutes.

3.4.2 The interview

To investigate the respondents' attitudes in greater detail interviews were also conducted. A group of interviewees were selected from the original respondent group (i.e. they had previously completed the questionnaire). Interviewees were selected by a teacher to avoid any interference on my part. Ultimately this meant that all members of the third group of respondents for the questionnaire were interviewed. As with the questionnaire, the interviews were in Norwegian to lower the level of potential misunderstandings and/or external linguistic

interference (see appendix 3 and 4). The nature of an interview enables and presupposes certain variation in questions as well as answers. By this I mean that while the questionnaire was closed, the interviews were open. To enable comparison between separate interviews as well as comparison between questionnaire and interviews the questions asked in the interviews were nonetheless consistent between interviewees. It was, however, impossible to maintain the same level of consistency between interviews as in the questionnaire part of the research. It occurred on several occasions that I had to specify what exactly I meant with a certain question as the interviewees were not sufficiently familiar with the relevant concept(s). One could argue that this may be unfortunate, but I considered it to be an advantage due to the possibility of exploring responses further if necessary. An interview is in essence a conversation, and I made an attempt to conduct the interviews as informally as possible. It was, in my opinion, more likely for an interviewee to reveal their true attitudes if the interview was as informal as possible without straying from the topic(s) of discussion.

I had initially considered recording the interviews. Certain advantages may be achieved by recording responses – for example, it would be beneficial to exactly retrieve an interviewee's response to a question or an interviewee's thoughts on a specific topic. However, I deemed it more beneficial to discard the use of a recorder. There are several reasons for leaving out a tape-recorder from interviews. The most prominent reason is that people do not generally like being recorded. A dislike of being recorded could further manifest itself in interviewees being more attentive to what they are saying, thus potentially masking their attitudes (even) more than they normally would. Due to the nature of certain questions (specifically the questions concerned with terrorism), I sought to minimize external factors which could make interviewees provide answers which they deemed more socially appropriate than answers which revealed their actual attitudes. In other words, recording the interviews did not seem desirable as it could influence the responses. I wanted to investigate the respondents' attitudes (or, at least, which attitudes they were willing to share) also in the interview part of the research. Thus I wanted to diminish any potential external interference.

It is also worth noting that people could be more reluctant to show their real attitudes in interviews than in questionnaires (see section 3.3.2 for details). The interviews too were anonymous. However, interviewees generally feel that interviews are more personal and that they are not as anonymous as when filling in a questionnaire, regardless of the interviewer's guarantees. It is furthermore of importance that the interviews (unlike the questionnaire) do not mask the true research intention; respondents are presented with concepts which make it clear what is being investigated. The interviewees were asked to elaborate on their answers

after they had answered each question so that I could further examine the reasoning behind their answers. In other words, the original answer was first extracted followed by a query for an explanation as to why they gave the answer that they did.

The interviews did not last more than ten minutes. This was mainly for two reasons: 1) the interviewees did not have unlimited time and 2) I thought it favorable to limit the time for each interview as I did not want to risk fatigue on the part of the respondents. The interviews were individual to avoid any form of peer pressure and to enable clear separation between each individual interviewee's answers.

3.5 The passage read by the speakers

All speakers read the same text. The text itself is given in full in appendix 5. 'The paragraph is written in English, and uses common English words, but contains a variety of difficult English sounds and sound sequences. The paragraph contains practically all of the sounds of English.' (Weinberger 2014). It is, in other words, an explicit aim for the design of the text that it should include a sufficient amount of English sounds and sound sequences to enable comparison between varieties of English. Furthermore, the text itself was, in my opinion, fairly neutral. As mentioned earlier it is arguably impossible to create a completely neutral text, but there were no obvious pitfalls in the particular text used in the present thesis' research. In addition, there were no overly complicated words. By this I mean that the text does not include words which are usually found only in certain contexts (e.g. science). A presence of overly complicated words could create unnecessary problems for speakers, especially for non-native speakers of English. The same is also true for unnecessarily long words; there were none of these either in the text. In my opinion the text was well-suited for research such as in the present thesis.

4 RESULTS

The results pertaining to the questionnaire will be presented first, followed by a presentation of findings pertaining to the interviews. In order to make the results as clear as possible they will be presented in relation to which hypothesis they were related to. Data pertaining to the interviews will be presented in a different manner than data pertaining to the questionnaire due to the difference in nature of the two applied research methods. In presentation of the questionnaire data gender related result will also be presented. It is worth mentioning that some items on the questionnaire did not have all respondents providing an answer. This was primarily due to some students being late for class. I would argue, however, that it is unproblematic due to the minor number of cases where it occurred (the lowest number of responses for a token were 58). Data for the entire respondent group will be presented in figures and data related to respondents' gender will be presented in tables.

4.1. Questionnaire results

4.1.1 Hypothesis 1: Respondents associate Arabic English with terrorism.

The question testing this hypothesis was question 8: 'How likely is it for this speaker to commit acts of terrorism?'
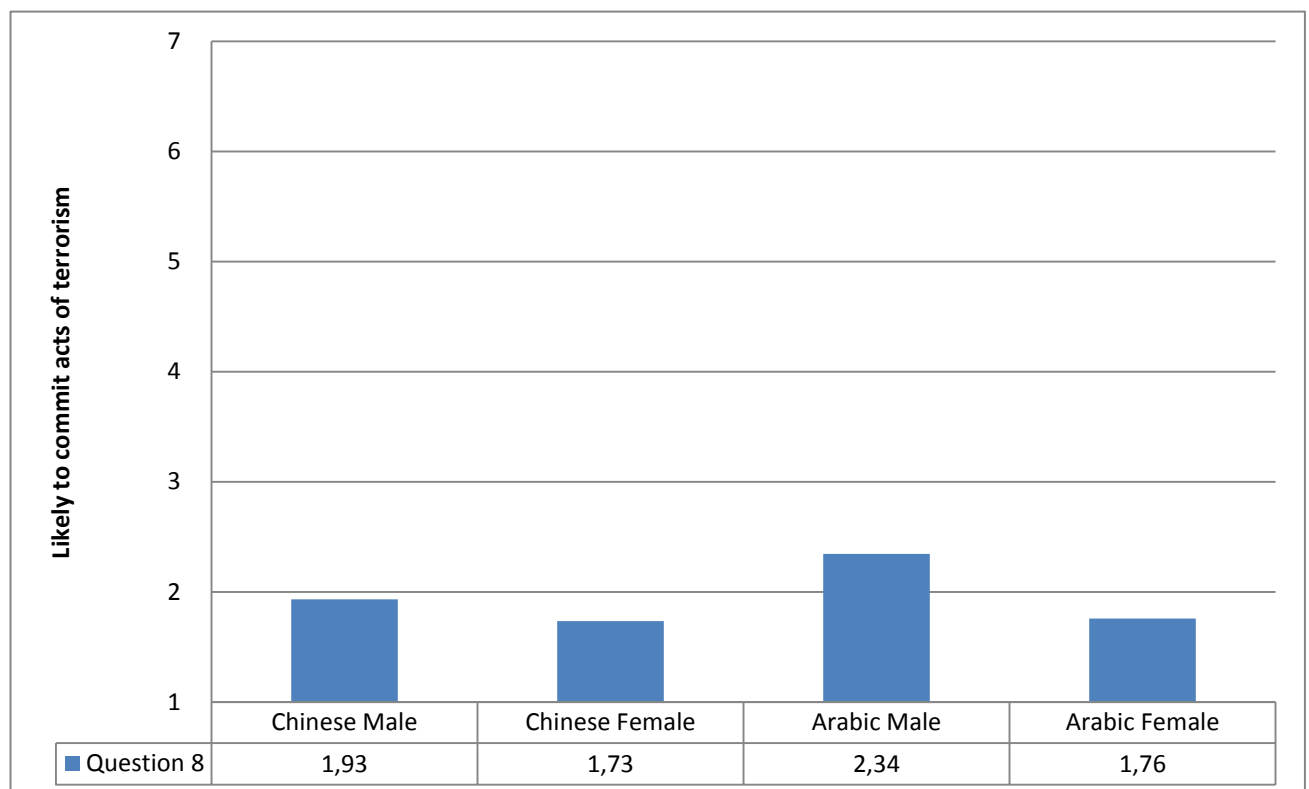

	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
■ Question 8	1,93	1,73	2,34	1,76

Figure 4.1: Probability of speakers to commit acts of terrorism.

Figure 4.1 shows that the Arabic male speaker was perceived as being more likely than the other speakers to commit acts of terrorism by a rather large margin. The Chinese Male speaker was perceived as being more likely than the two female speakers to commit acts of terrorism. The two female speakers received roughly equal evaluations as to how likely they are to commit an act of terror. Overall the token on the subject of terrorism received low ratings compared to all other questions in the questionnaire with scores well below the threshold considered neutral. The exact numbers were gathered by using a standard method of calculation for an average score. Every numerical response was summarized for all present respondents, and then divided by the number of present respondents. For example: the number for the Chinese Male (1.93) was reached by summarizing all responses on that specific question for that particular speaker, which yielded 112. This sum was then divided by the present number of respondents (which was 58). 112 divided by 58 = 1.93.

Table 4.1: Gender differentiated responses for probability of speakers to commit acts of terrorism.

Respondents	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
Male	2,10	2,05	2,95	1,91
Female	1,84	1,61	2,00	1,63

Table 4.1 shows that male respondents systematically rated all speakers higher than the female respondents did. The responses for the Arabic male speaker showed particularly high numbers, with the difference in score between the two genders' responses approximating 1 point (female respondents gave the Arabic male speaker a rating of 2 and the male respondents gave him a rating of 2.95). The difference in responses for the other speakers was smaller. Both genders of respondents perceived the two male speakers to be more likely to commit acts of terrorism than the female speakers.

4.1.2 Hypothesis 2: Respondents associate Hong Kong English with tourism.

The question testing this hypothesis was question 2: 'How likely is it that this speaker is a tourist?'

	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
■ Question 2	5,14	4,30	4,76	3,98
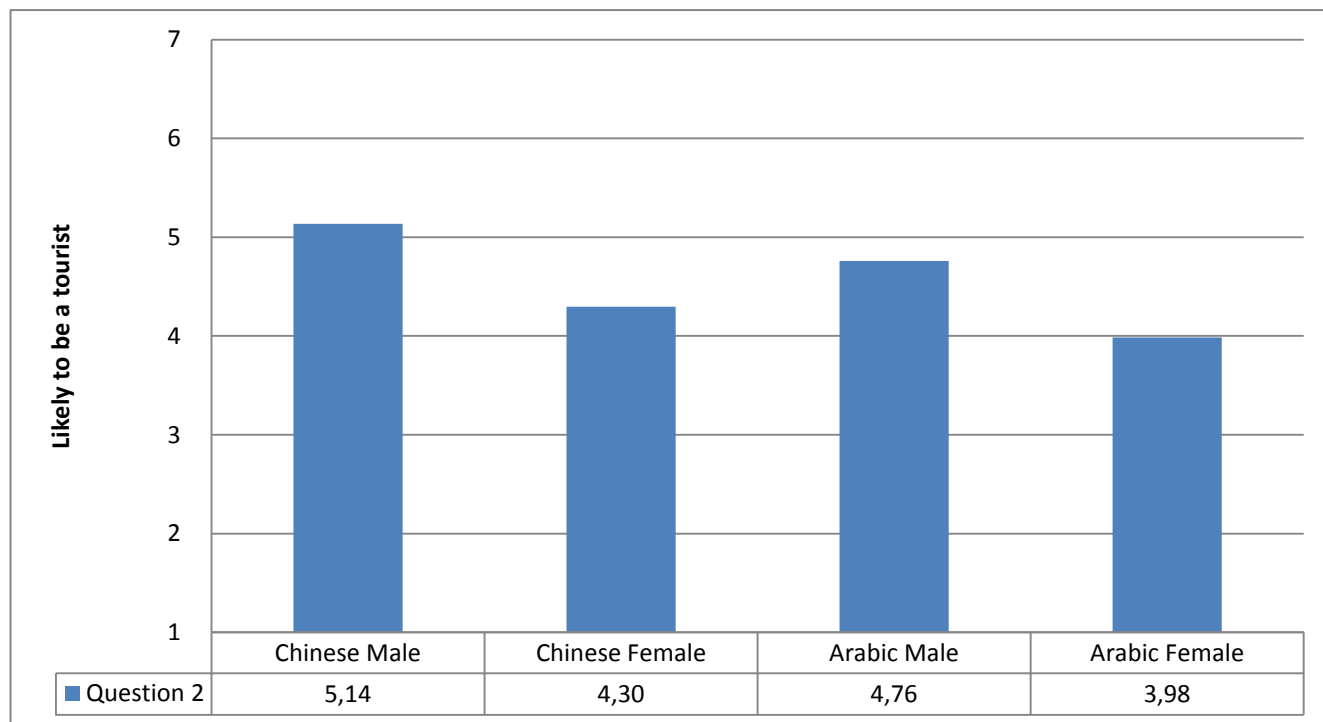
Figure 4.2: Association of tourism in relation to speakers.

Figure 4.2 shows that both male speakers were perceived as being more likely to be tourists than the female speakers. Furthermore, both speakers of Chinese English were perceived by the respondents as being more likely to be tourists than their Arabic English speaking counterparts. The Arabic female speaker received the lowest score overall while the Chinese Male speaker received the highest score of the four speakers. Both female speakers scored around the neutral point of the scale.

Table 4.2: Gender differentiated responses for probability of speakers to be tourists.

Respondents	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
Male	5,29	4,77	5,18	4,65
Female	5,05	4,03	4,53	3,74

Table 4.2 shows that male respondents considered all speakers to be more likely to be tourist than did the female respondents. Both groups of respondents considered the male speakers to

be more likely to be tourists than the female speakers. Furthermore, the male respondents evaluated all speakers to be likely to be tourists (i.e. all speakers received a rating of more than 4 from the male respondents). The gender differentiated data mirrors the overall data in the sense that both gender groups place the speakers equally (i.e. both gender groups consider the Chinese male to be more likely to be a tourist and the Arabic female less likely). Male respondents grouped the speakers more closely in the sense that they provided fairly equal scores for speakers of the same gender (i.e. they rated the Chinese male at 5.29 and the Arabic male at 5.18). The male respondent group also did this for the female speakers.

4.1.3 Hypothesis 3: Respondents evaluate Arabic English more favorably than Hong Kong English on the dimensions of a) comprehensibility, b) competence and c) fluency.

The questions testing this hypothesis were question 1: 'How competent do you think this speaker is?', question 3: 'How easy do you think it is to understand this speaker?', and question 4: 'How fluent is this speaker's English?'

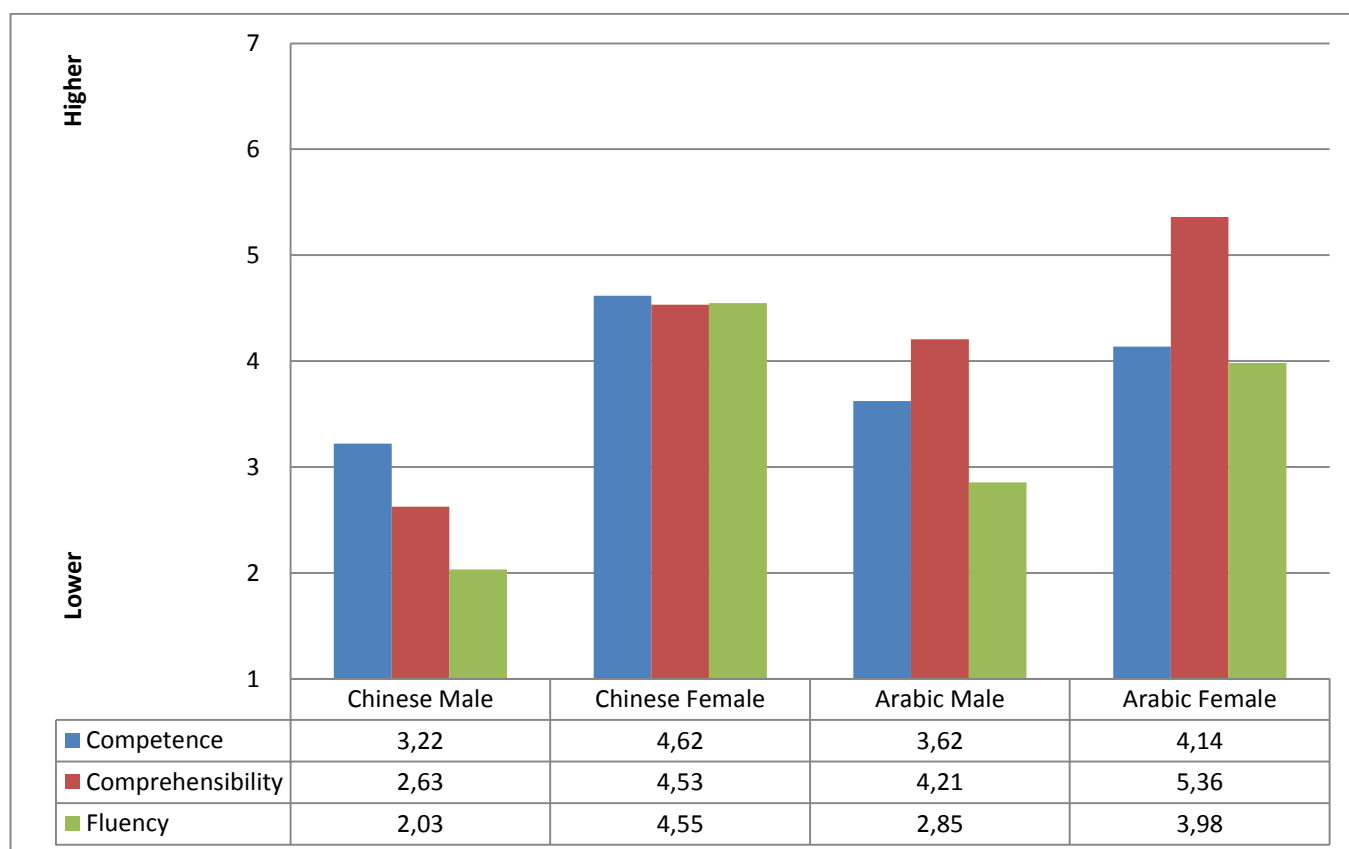|	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
Competence	3,22	4,62	3,62	4,14
Comprehensibility	2,63	4,53	4,21	5,36
Fluency	2,03	4,55	2,85	3,98

Figure 4.3: Ratings for competence, comprehensibility, fluency and familiarity.

Figure 4.3 shows that the female speakers received higher scores on all dimensions. The greatest variation in score is on the dimension of fluency, where the female speakers were rated much higher than the male speakers. The Arabic male speaker received higher score than his Chinese counterpart on all three dimensions. In particular, the Arabic male speaker was perceived as much easier to comprehend than the Chinese male speaker (a difference of nearly 1.6 points). The two female speakers did not see the same variation in score as the male speakers did. The Arabic female scored higher than the Chinese female on the dimension of comprehensibility by a rather large margin: the difference was roughly 0.8 points. The Chinese female speaker scored higher than her Arabic counterpart on both competence and fluency.

Table 4.3: Numeric ratings for competence, comprehensibility, fluency and familiarity based on respondents' gender.

Comprehensiblity	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
Male	2,33	4,26	3,96	5,43
Female	2,79	4,69	4,35	5,46
Fluency				
Male	1,81	4,22	2,59	3,71
Female	2,16	4,74	3,00	4,13
Competence				
Male	2,95	4,57	3,62	3,65
Female	3,37	4,64	3,63	4,38

Table 4.3 shows that male respondents evaluated all speakers more negatively on all dimensions than did the female respondents. The largest gap in scores is found with regards to the competence of the Arabic female English speaker where male respondents provided a score of 3.65 while female respondents provided a score of 4.38. Both respondent groups evaluated the Arabic female almost identically on the dimension of comprehensibility.

4.1.4 Hypothesis 4: Respondents consider speaker of Hong Kong English to be more favorable in a work context than speakers of Arabic English.

The questions testing this hypothesis were question 6: 'How well would this speaker fit in a work environment?' and question 7: 'How likely is it that you would hire this speaker if you were in a management position in a company? -

Work context

	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
■ Fit in a work environment	2,88	4,66	3,48	4,37
■ Likely to hire	2,72	4,33	3,19	4,02
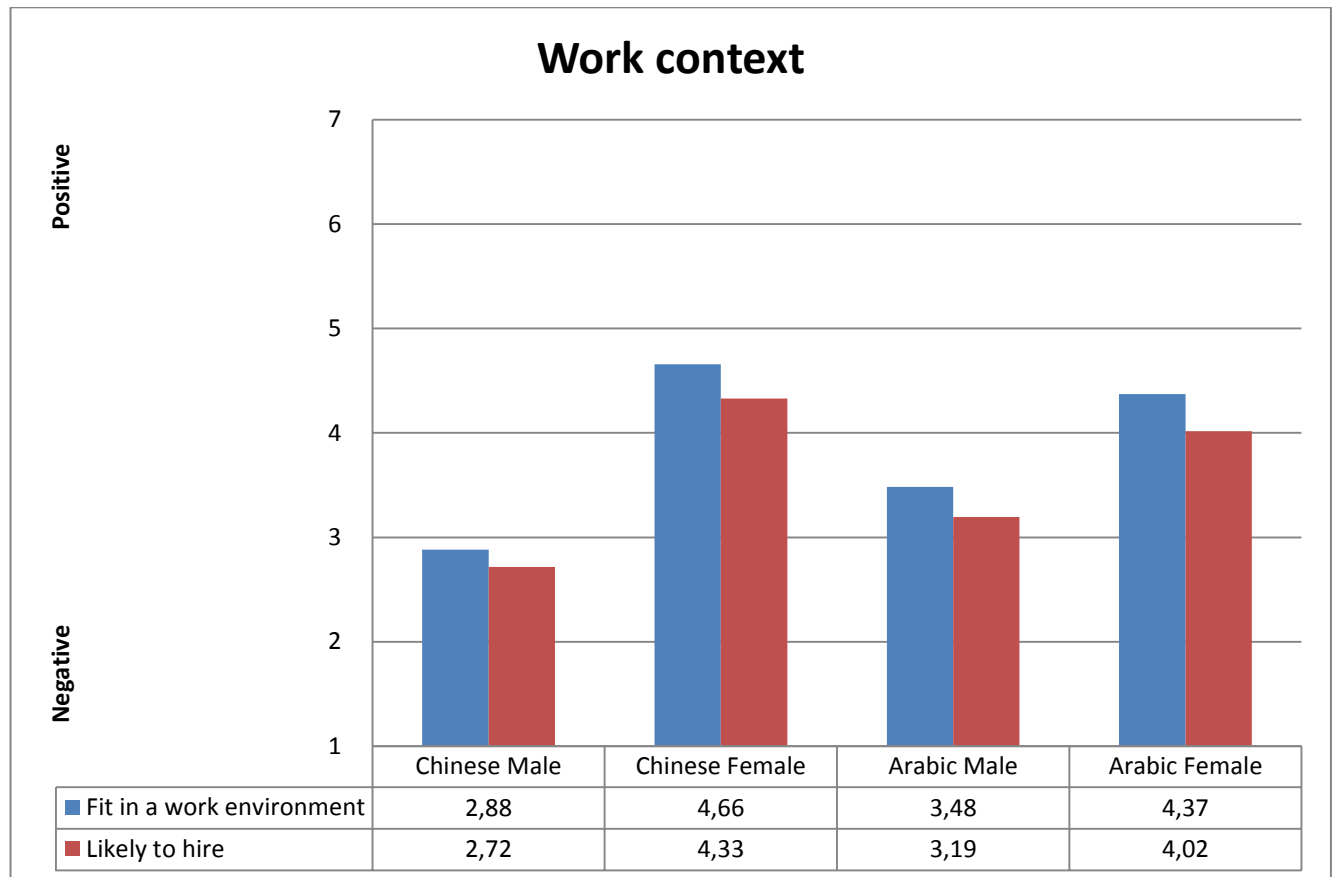
Figure 4.4: Work context

Figure 4.4 shows that both female speakers were perceived as fitting better in a work environment and that the respondents were more likely to hire the female speakers than the male speakers. The Chinese female received higher scores on both questions than her Arabic counterpart; the difference between the two female speakers was not large, however. The Arabic male speaker received higher score on both questions than the Chinese male.

Table 4.4: Numeric ratings for work association based on respondents' gender.

	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
Suitable in a work environment				
Male	2,67	4,18	2,91	3,70
Female	3,00	4,92	3,80	4,72
Likely to hire				
Male	2,57	3,91	2,41	3,45
Female	2,87	4,56	3,63	4,31

Table 4.4 shows that female respondents systematically upgraded all speakers both on how suitable they find the speakers to be in a work environment and how likely they were to hire the speakers. The difference between the gender groups was larger with regards to the Arabic speakers. Both genders favored the Chinese female for both dimensions. Male respondents were more likely to hire the Chinese male rather than the Arabic male.

4.1.5 Hypothesis 5: Respondents consider Chinese English to be more familiar than Arabic English.

The question investigating this hypothesis was question 5: 'How familiar does this speaker sound?'
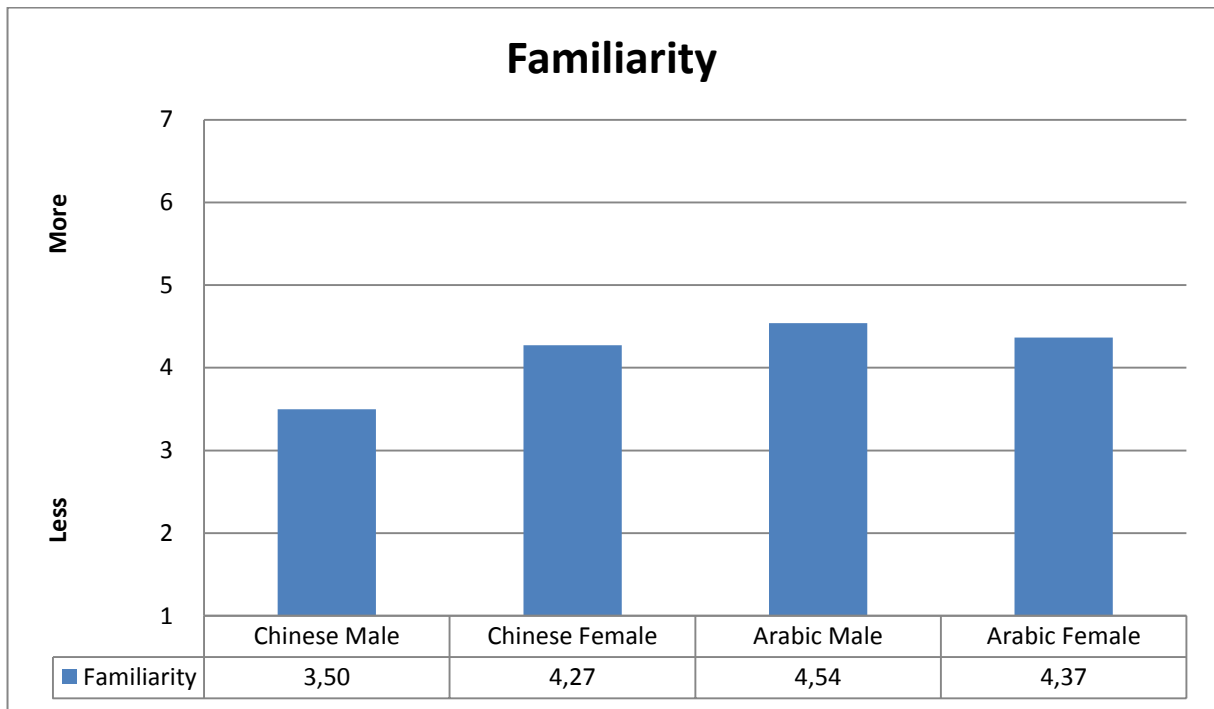
Figure 4.5: Responses for familiarity.

Figure 4.5 shows that the Arabic male speaker was perceived as being most familiar of all the speakers, followed by the Arabic female. The two Chinese speakers, then, were perceived as less familiar than their Arabic speaking counterparts, though the Chinese female received a score close to that of both Arabic speakers. Of particular interest is the Chinese male which was far less familiar to the respondents than the other speakers.

Table 4.5: Numeric ratings for familiarity based on respondents' gender.

Respondents	Chinese Male	Chinese Female	Arabic Male	Arabic Female
Male	3,55	4,26	4,43	4,24
Female	3,47	4,33	4,60	4,44

Table 4.5 shows that both genders are fairly equally familiar with the varieties. Male respondents were slightly more familiar with the Chinese male than the female respondents. Female respondents were slightly more familiar with all other speakers than the male respondents.

4.2 Interviews

Presentation of the data pertaining to the interviews will include quotations by the respondents. For reasons of anonymity these will not include a source.

4.2.1 Hypothesis 1: Respondents associate Arabic English with terrorism

The interview question testing this hypothesis was question 7: "Generally speaking, which variety of English would you expect a terrorist to speak?"

The interviews showed a division between interviewees who said that they would assume a terrorist would speak Arabic English and interviewees who explicitly stated that they did not want to conform to traditional stereotypes. The latter group consisted primarily of respondents who said they would '…prefer not to answer the question'. However, one respondent explicitly answered the question by saying that in order not to conform to traditional stereotypes she 'would say that speakers of Chinese English are more likely to commit acts of terrorism'. Most respondents who said that Arabic English speakers were most likely to be terrorists also made some mention of the media's role in this perception. Furthermore, a few respondents made note of the fact that most 'known terrorist organizations' are Middle Eastern. 'Because of all the attacks' was another explanation given for assuming Arabic English speakers were more likely to commit acts of terrorism.

The female interviewees were more inclined than the male interviewees to provide politically correct answers and/or explicitly refuse to conform to present-day stereotypes. For example, one female respondent said she had 'No opinion [on the matter]' because she considered it '…problematic to group things like that'. As a whole, most respondents were sure to provide some sort of explanation for their views on this question (e.g. 'that is the way media portrays it'). Several respondents also said that a terrorist could speak any variety of English, *but* that they were more likely to speak some sort of Arabic accented variety of English. None of the interviewees (except for the female responding that she would choose Chinese English in order to counter any stereotyping) responded that they would think a person likely to commit acts of terrorism would speak Chinese English rather than Arabic English. Furthermore, at least two respondents made specific mention of Anders Behring Breivik (a right wing extremist responsible for terrorist attacks in Norway) to back up their statements with regards to the claim that a terrorist could speak basically any variety of English.

4.2.2 Hypothesis 2: Respondents associate Chinese English with tourism.

The interview question testing this hypothesis was question 1: "Where do you think a tourist in Norway would come from?"

Most interviewees thought Asians in general to be more likely to be tourists than other groups. Chinese speech or Chinese people in general were not the primary association of the respondents in the interview group however; 'Japanese people' was a more dominant response given during the interviews. Interviewees were not uniform in their responses; there was a rather large spectrum in responses given to this question. Nonetheless, 'Asian people' was the most dominant answer. Several respondents also mentioned Germans as a common tourist group. Furthermore, several interviewees commented on the likelihood of Asian tourists to be very likely to take a great number of photographs (e.g. 'They [Asian tourists] photograph everything'). In addition, a few respondents made comments as to which groups were *not likely* to be tourists (e.g. 'not people from England'). Several interviewees related their perception of tourists to personal experience. A few respondents made particular note of a specific location (in Bergen) where they often saw Asian tourists ('I see them all the time on Bryggen'). There were no answers which only stated that Chinese people were a common tourist group. However, several respondents included China as one country of origin for tourists in Norway. For example, one respondent said that 'Germans, Chinese [people] and Japanese [people]' were dominant tourist groups. One particular respondent also noted that tourists would '…speak bad English' regardless of their country of origin.

4.2.3 Hypothesis 3: Respondents evaluate Arabic English more favorably than Hong Kong English on the dimensions of a) comprehensibility, b) competence and c) fluency.

The set of questions testing this hypothesis were part of question 2: "Which speakers do you think are easier to comprehend – Chinese English speakers or Arabic English speakers?", question 3: "Which of the two varieties is more competent?" and question 4: "Which of the two varieties do you think is more fluent?"

The interview responses showed no consistency as to whether one variety was more comprehensible than the other. Interviewees who said Arabic English was easier to understand generally did not offer specific explanations as to why they thought so, but would rather downgrade the Chinese variety instead: 'Asian speakers…their consonants are… a bit odd and

[therefore] makes it harder to understand them' was one response. With regards to responses which included some mention of Chinese English it was common for respondents to say something about the grammar of Chinese English in particular; e.g. some mention of their grammar (in general) or of Chinese people's pronunciation (for example pronunciation of consonants). These comments were both positive and negative. When asked about competence several respondents pointed to their answer regarding comprehensibility. A recurring theme with regards to competence was speech rate, which is how quickly respondents perceived speakers to speak. One respondent said that Chinese speakers are more competent '…because they speak faster and [she] feels that if someone speaks fast they master the language better and thus become more competent.' A male respondent noted that '…speaking fast is a sign of competence, in my opinion'. In addition, several respondents mentioned that China's economy played a role in their perception of Chinese English as being more competent than Arabic English: 'Chinese people are more competent in general due to their economy.' Also, 'China has a favorable relationship with the US' was one response. Most respondents considered speakers of Chinese English to be more competent, often basing their answers on the economic status of China. Some respondents made note of their own personal experiences with the two language varieties: 'An Asian guy who went to my class was really smart…'. The economic status of China was what the majority of pro-Chinese respondents referred to on the dimension of competence. For example, 'China has been noticed very much internationally due to [its] economy' was one response. Another respondent compared the two geographical regions by saying that 'China has a dominant economy […] while the Middle East is troubled by war'.

A majority of the respondents considered Arabic English to be more fluent than Chinese English. The interviewees who pointed out that Chinese English was the more fluent variety made mention of speech rate (for example 'Chinese English [sounds more fluent] because they speak faster.'). None of the respondents who thought Arabic English to be more fluent offered any additional explanation as to why they had that opinion, although several respondents made some mention of their personal experience without explaining it further. Roughly half of the respondents did not elaborate their answers, but merely provided an answer followed by 'it [the variety] just is [more fluent]'. It was common for interviewees to state that it 'Would depend on the person' for which variety they thought to be more fluent.

4.2.4 Hypothesis 4: Respondents consider speakers of Chinese English to be more favorable in a work context than speakers of Arabic English.

The interview questions testing this hypothesis were question 5: 'If you were responsible for hiring people in a company, would you rather hire a Chinese person or a Middle Eastern person?' and question 6: 'Which of the two varieties do you think is better suited in a work environment?'

Interview responses to the questions concerned with work context showed a tendency for respondents to compare the cultures where the varieties were spoken to their own. Respondents were more likely to hire and/or favor someone in a work environment if the culture of the speaker was similar to their own. 'Culture in Middle Eastern countries is more like ours' was the answer given by one respondent. One respondent mentioned that she thought Middle Eastern speakers assimilated better than Chinese speakers. The responses to related to the question about work environment were divided with no variety receiving significant preference. Those who said that they would prefer a speaker of Chinese English in a work environment would often include some mention of the economic status of China (see section 4.2.3). One respondent in particular also offered a response which included 'Arabs and Chinese are more likely to work in a bank.' Several subjects also gave answers which did not favor a specific group, but rather wanted to emphasize the importance of the individual. 'Would depend on the person' was a recurring answer, often followed by a preference for a specific variety.

4.2.5 Hypothesis 5: Respondents consider Chinese English to be more familiar than Arabic English.

The interview question testing this was the second part of question 2: "Which speakers of English do you think is easier to comprehend – Chinese English speakers or Arabic English speakers? Why? *Do you consider one of them to be more familiar than the other?*"

Several respondents based their answers on the three dimensions in hypothesis 3 (see section 4.2.3) when asked about familiarity. One respondent noted that since she was more familiar ('…had encountered it more') with Chinese English she also thought it was more comprehensible. There was a roughly equal division between respondents who found Chinese English more familiar and respondents who found Arabic English so. Overall interview

responses for this question were pretty straight forward – respondents offered little further explanation other than the fact that some of them had 'encountered it [a variety] more'. Another recurrent theme was that several respondents based their answers on the fact that were '…more used to hearing that variety'. A few respondents were hesitant in the sense that they had to think if they actually found one variety to be more familiar than the other. Overall interview responses for the last part of question 2 showed little diversity; most respondents merely stated that they either had encountered the variety they found more familiar more or that they had heard it more. They offered little more elaboration on their answers.

5 DISCUSSION

In this section the data will be discussed. Both data from the questionnaire as well as interviews will be discussed under the same heading of the hypothesis for purposes of simplicity.

It is important to be aware of the fact that there was a gap in the number of respondents for each gender. This could inevitably skew the gender based results. However, I would argue that the number of respondents for both genders was nonetheless sufficient to carry out the study.

5.1 Hypothesis 1: Respondents associate Arabic English with terrorism.

The results pertaining to the questionnaire corroborate this hypothesis at least to a certain extent. Overall both Arabic English speakers were perceived as being more likely to commit acts of terrorism than their Chinese English speaking counterparts (although this was not true when analyzing responses from each gender). However, the ratings for both female speakers were very similar. I contend that because the difference in ratings between the two female speakers was minor it is impossible to claim that the data strongly corroborates the hypothesis. On the other hand, the difference between the two male speakers is much clearer. This is not surprising as a majority of terrorists are assumed to be male, at least according to the media's portrayal of terrorists. What is particularly noteworthy in relation to this question (question 8: "How likely do you think it is for this person to commit acts of terrorism?") is the overall low scores received by all speakers. Not a single speaker was given a score over 3. I presume that this indicates that a) respondents do not perceive people in general to be likely to commit acts of terrorism or b) respondents are unwilling to reveal their true attitudes regarding such a sensitive question (see social desirability bias in section 3.3.2) or c) a difference in use of the neutral score (4) in the questionnaire. If a) is correct then a positive tendency in the present day world where the danger of terrorism is indeed present. On the other hand, I do not necessarily rule out possibility b). I would argue that the social desirability bias is very much in effect and that it is likely that this bias is much the reason for the gathered results. The male Arabic English speaker received a much higher score for the question of terrorism than all other speakers. There may be several reasons for this. For example, the male Arabic English speaker was, in my opinion, the speaker with the most easily recognizable accent of English due to popular movies and TV-series. Furthermore, he spoke rather slowly (compared to the other speakers). In addition, the female speaker of Arabic English spoke more fluently than the

male Arabic English speaker. Personally I considered the male Arabic English speaker to be very stereotypic for an Arabic speaker of English and his speech largely conformed to how Arabs speak English in popular movies.

A noteworthy finding was the considerable different responses in relation to gender. Female respondents evaluated all speakers to be less likely to commit acts of terrorism than the male respondents did. Female respondents, then, were more likely than male respondents to evaluate respondents favorably on question 8 ('How likely do you think it is for this person to commit acts of terrorism?). This is most notable for the male speaker of Arabic English, although it is true for the other three speakers as well. In order to explain this, it is necessary to bear in mind the findings in the interviews. Female speakers were much more inclined to be politically correct in their answers on questions concerned with terrorism. There were no male interviewees who neither implicitly nor explicitly made any mention of refusing to stereotype. While several male interviewees also explained *why* they gave the answer they did, they did not refuse to answer the question or 'Refuse to conform to traditional stereotypes'. Another interesting finding pertaining to the questionnaire data was that male respondents considered the female Chinese English speaker to be more likely to commit acts of terrorism than the female Arabic speaker of English.

An explanation to the data pertaining to the respondents' gender may be found in Trudgill (1983). Trudgill (1983) argues '…that women, allowing for other variables such as age, education and social class, produce on average linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men.' (161) In other words, females will more often than men conform to *socially acceptable* stereotypes in topics related to language. Furthermore, Trudgill (1983) notes that

> The social position of women in our society has traditionally been less secure than that of men. It may be, therefore, that it has been more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically and in other ways, and they may for this reason be more aware of the importance of this type of signal. (167)

It is possible that the female respondents were more aware of what 'socially inappropriate' answers could imply than the male respondents were, thus prompting the female respondents to provide answers which they deemed more socially acceptable.

The gender groups' responses show that male respondents perceive the Chinese female as being more likely to commit acts of terrorism than the Arabic female. The gap between the

two is not large, but nonetheless mentionable. This data does not corroborate the hypothesis and, quite frankly, I found it rather surprising. It could be the case that male respondents were less able to accurately identify the varieties than the female respondents were. The overall data shows that the difference between the two is minor, and, in addition, female respondents show the same tendency in their responses as the overall data shows. Another potential explanation could be that the systematic upgrade of all speakers on this question by male respondents compared to the female group could have given the difference in results. It could also be the case that male respondents simply liked the Chinese female better overall, but that could then be assumed to show on other dimensions (see data in in section 4.1.3 – 4.1.5) which it only partially does.

When it comes to the only minor difference between the two female speakers this data may have an explanation. The female Chinese English speaker had a fast speech rate, spoke clearly and rather fluently. While this was also the case for the female Arabic English speaker it is possible that the respondents to some degree perceived the two female speakers to be similar in terms of personality and therefore evaluated them equally. However, both female speakers disclosed clear phonological influence from their native languages in their English speech (i.e. they were both easily recognizable as Chinese and Arabic respectively). It is, in other words, possible that another explanation is more plausible than the respondents evaluating the two similarly. One explanation could be the dominance of male terrorists (at least according to the media). It could be the case that respondents did not associate the Arabic female speaker with terrorism due to the (apparent) lack of female terrorists. A further discussion of the gender ratio in relation to people committing acts of terrorism is beyond the scope of this paper. I contend however, that the media usually portrays terrorists as male and that female terrorists are rarer. An equally plausible explanation is the potential for respondents to have used the neutral scale differently. Respondents were instructed that a rating of 4 would be considered neutral. It was evident from the questionnaires that some respondents used this rating frequently while others did not. A combination of some respondents wanting to appear completely unbiased (i.e. rating a speaker at 1 on the question with regards to terrorism) and others wanting to appear neutral (i.e. rating a speaker at 4) could have skewed the results. While this is relevant for the all speakers on question 8 it could be particularly relevant for the two female speakers.

The interviewees primarily gave responses which can be divided into two different groups; those who responded that speakers of Arabic English were more likely to commit acts of terrorism and those who (either explicitly or implicitly) refused to conform to what they

termed 'standard stereotypes'. I had anticipated the potential problem for (especially) the interviewees to refuse to fully reveal their attitudes regarding the question of terrorism, so this was not very surprising. What is perhaps more noteworthy is the fact that the female respondents were much more inclined to refuse to answer the question and/or would explicitly or implicitly refuse to conform to 'traditional' stereotypes. The male respondents were, in general, more inclined to say what they meant or at least provide an answer. This relates to the findings from the questionnaire as discussed above. This part of the research is where the social desirability bias is most evident: respondents were not willing to share their attitudes on this topic as freely as they did with other questions. Furthermore, the (unavoidable) slanting of the question (see section 3.3.2) is obvious relevant for the interview question concerned with this hypothesis.

Fortunately I chose not to record the interviews. Already without the use of a tape recorder respondents were reluctant to discuss which variety of English a person more inclined to commit acts of terrorism would speak. I could only imagine which responses (or lack thereof) I would have received had I chosen to use a tape recorder. Several interviewees said that a terrorist could 'be anyone', which is indeed true. When prompted to answer more specifically, however, most respondents claiming it could be anyone would eventually lean towards an Arabic speaking individual. A few respondents referred to Anders Behring Breivik, which I found to be rather fair. It was, in other words, clear that it was common for interviewees to include their own personal experiences in their responses. It remains the case, though, that there was a majority of respondents who considered Arabic speakers to be more likely to commit acts of terrorism. There were no interviewees who claimed that Chinese speaking individuals were more likely to commit acts of terrorism than Arabic speaking individuals (except for the one interviewee which pointed to Chinese English for the sole purpose of avoiding stereotyping (see section 4.2.1)

I found the results to be mostly in accordance with what I expected, though I had not anticipated the similarity in score between the two female speakers. The only large variation in score was between the Arabic male speaker and the other speakers. Due to reasons already mentioned it is not surprising that the Arabic male was perceived as being more likely to commit acts of terrorism and I expected that he would receive the highest score on this particular question. I was surprised by interviewees refusing to answer the question pertaining to hypothesis 1, although this fortunately did not occur very often. It was apparent to me that during the interviews several respondents were uncomfortable with answering the question. I

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found slightly surprising that the Arabic female received such a low score on the question related to terrorism in the questionnaire and that the Chinese male received a higher score.

5.2 Hypothesis 2: Respondents will associate Hong Kong English with tourism.

The data pertaining to the questionnaire corroborates the hypothesis in the sense that both speakers of Chinese English were perceived as being more likely to be tourists than their respective Arabic English speaking counterparts. The Chinese male speaker of English was perceived as being more likely to be a tourist of all speakers, which could indicate that he was perceived as being most 'foreign' of all speakers. While both Chinese English speakers received higher scores as to the probability to be a tourist, the male Arabic English speaker received a higher score than the Chinese female English one. This could be due to the female speakers' skills in English; both spoke fluently, had a decent speech rate and were easy to comprehend. The two male speakers on the other hand spoke slowly (at least slower than the female speakers) and were, in my opinion, harder to understand than the female speakers. The Arabic male speaker was the slowest speaker of all four (and the sound file containing his speech had the longest duration). The Chinese female speaker of English did not score much higher than her Arabic English speaking counterpart. This was also true for the two male speakers.

What we see is a tendency for respondents to associate Chinese English rather than Arabic English with tourism. However, the difference between the speakers was not large and this is noteworthy. It could have to do with the individual speakers. However, the two female speakers were rather similar in the sense that they both had a rather quick speech rate, they were fluent (in English) and they were easy to comprehend.

The gap between responses for the two gender groups is also interesting. While both groups rated the speakers equally in relation to each other, the group of female respondents provided a lower score for every speaker than the group of male respondents. Unfortunately, I cannot provide any specific explanation for this finding. It is likely that this could be due to the more withdrawn nature of the female respondents throughout the entire research (i.e. they were generally more inclined to provide more neutral scores than the male respondents). These findings are arguably related to the data pertaining to hypothesis 1, where the male respondents evaluated the speakers more negatively than did the female respondents. In spite of the difference in gender based responses for the two groups for hypothesis 1, the data for hypothesis 2 is interesting. The question concerning tourism is significantly less politically and emotionally loaded than the question concerned with terrorism. More careful responses from

female respondents were not anticipated to impact other, less loaded questions. It is obviously possible that the difference in the number of respondents played a part in the gap between responses for each gender group.

As far as the interviews go the responses were clearer than those for the questionnaire. Since most interviewees offered an explanation which could (usually) be traced back to personal experience it is probable that the respondents had encountered more Asian tourists than Arabic tourists. What is worth noting, however, is that most respondents did not explicitly say that they thought *Chinese* people were more likely to be the dominant tourist group. Rather, they said that *Asians* were a dominant tourist group. Those who offered a specific Asian country of origin often mentioned Japan. It is unsure why they would explicitly claim that Japanese people were more likely to be tourists, although this could be due to specific personal experiences the respondents had had. It is worth noting that not a single interviewee made *any* mention of Arabs being probable tourists in Norway. While few respondents thought only Chinese people to be tourists, 'Chinese people' could be said to be included in the 'Asian' category. Furthermore, it is probable that the respondents would be unable to distinguish between a person from Japan and one from China Nonetheless, a few respondents did say that Chinese people would be likely tourists.

Responses which said that Germans were likely to be tourists are supported by statistical evidence. According to Norwegian statistics, German tourists are the most important tourist group in Norway (Innovasjon Norge, accessed 8 February 2015). It is in other words true that Germans are a dominant tourist group. The same statistical evidence also mentions Chinese people as an important tourist group in Norway, which indicates that the responses given in the interviews positively correlate the factual evidence. The statistics also show that Chinese people are a recurring tourist group in Norway. This also goes for other Asian groups.

Initially I was somewhat surprised by the data gathered from the questionnaire in relation to hypothesis 2; I had anticipated larger variation in score between the Chinese English speakers and the Arabic English speakers. There is indeed a certain variation in score which does corroborate the hypothesis; I merely had expected the variation to be larger. The interviews, on the other hand, showed results which was closer to what I had expected with none of the respondents associating speakers of Arabic English with tourism. This led me to further believe that the difference between conceptual- and vocal stimuli (see section 2.3.4.1) was of large importance in the present study.

5.3 Hypothesis 3: Respondents evaluate Arabic English more favorably than Chinese English on the dimensions of a) comprehensibility, b) competence and c) fluency.

The data pertaining to the questionnaire does not corroborate this hypothesis – at least not strongly. The Arabic English male speaker scored higher than the Chinese English male speaker on all dimensions. However, the female Arabic English speaker scored higher than her Chinese counterpart only on comprehensibility.

One interesting finding worth mentioning first is the systematic downgrading of the Chinese male in comparison to the other three speakers. The Chinese male speaker did not receive any scores above 3.5 on any of the four dimensions. It could be the case that the dimensions are related to each other and that a low score on one dimension (most likely comprehensibility) could handicap scores on the other dimensions. This does not seem to be entirely accurate, however, due to the difference in scores across dimensions given to the Arabic male.

For simplicity reasons each dimension will be discussed separately.

5.3.1 Comprehensibility

The data corroborates the hypothesis when comparing the gender pairs of each variety. The female speakers received the highest score on comprehensibility. The male Arabic speaker of English received a similar score to the Chinese female speaker of English, but the Chinese English male speaker received rather low ratings compared to the other three speakers. The female Arabic speaker of English received the highest score by a rather large margin which definitely corroborates the hypothesis. Out of all the data the score for the Arabic English female speaker on the dimension of comprehensibility was the highest found anywhere, which could indicate that respondents found her to be very easy to understand. On the other hand, the low score received by the Chinese male on the dimension of comprehensibility may indicate that the respondents found him much harder to understand than the other three speakers. The difference between the Chinese male speaker and the other three speakers is large; the Chinese male speaker received a score of 2.63 while the lowest of the three other speakers was the Arabic male with a score of 4.21 (see Figure 4.3). An interesting finding is the contrast in ratings for each gender group of respondents. Both female and male respondents rated the Arabic female English speaker similarly with the difference in score being only 0.03 (see Table 4.3) on the dimension of comprehensibility. This particular finding is interesting due to the fact that this was also the highest score obtained throughout the entire research.

The interview results do not corroborate the hypothesis on the dimension of comprehensibility. There was a roughly equal division between which variety of English the interviewees considered to be easier to comprehend, in addition to a few respondents saying that they were both equally comprehensible. Interesting in the interview results, however, is the fact that several interviewees provided more in-depth explanations for their views. One respondent said that Chinese English has a '…cleaner vocabulary' and that they often speak grammatically correctly. Furthermore, one respondent also included speech rate in her explanation thus indicating that speech rate could be an aspect taken into account when determining comprehensibility (e.g. Garrett 2010). One respondent claiming Arabic English to be more comprehensible made comments about how '…Chinese English speakers have different intonation [than native speakers of English]'. I also got the distinctive impression that interviewees usually compared the two varieties in question to standard varieties of English rather than to each other. Another respondent also commented on the 'Oddness of Asian speakers' consonants' (see section 4.2.3)

5.3.2 Competence

The data pertaining to the questionnaire does not corroborate the hypothesis on this dimension. The Chinese female speaker receives a higher score than the Arabic female speaker. On the other hand, the Chinese male speaker receives a lower score than his male counterpart. There is, in other words, not a consistent pattern in which one variety is evaluated more favorably than the other.

The largest gap in results between the two gender groups is found for this dimension. Male respondents evaluated the Arabic female speaker of English more negatively than the female respondents on the dimension of competence with the difference in score being 0.73. Comparing this finding with the fact that the two gender groups evaluated the Arabic female speaker almost identically in terms of comprehensibility indicates that high ratings for comprehensibility do not necessarily mean that a speaker is perceived as more competent.

An interesting finding in the interview data was the mention of economy in relation to competence. It could be the case that respondents often associate competence primarily with economic status and/or success. The dominance of the view that speakers of Chinese English are more competent found in the interview results may indicate that interviewees see China as a larger and more successful economic force than the Middle East. The data from the interviews does not corroborate the hypothesis for the dimension of competence. Further

worth noting is the fact that it appeared the respondents evaluated the two varieties differently when the stimulus was auditory rather than conceptual (see section 2.3.4.1).

5.3.3 Fluency

Due to the fact that the Chinese English female speaker received higher ratings than all other respondents including the Arabic English female speaker, the hypothesis cannot be said to be corroborated on this dimension. An explanation for the high score received by the Chinese English female speaker could be her speech rate; she spoke rather quickly. Earlier findings have shown that speech rate has an effect on how speakers are perceived (Brown 1980 in Garrett 2010). Furthermore, this could relate to the score given on the dimension of comprehensibility. However, the Arabic female also spoke reasonably fast. It was only the two males (the Arabic male speaker in particular) who spoke slowly. One could imagine that ratings for comprehensibility would influence the dimension of fluency, but this is not supported by the data: the Arabic female speaker received higher scores on comprehensibility than the Chinese female speaker.

With regards to the interviews, the responses were ambiguous. Both varieties received roughly equal favoring by respondents in the interview sessions. However, there was a clear difference between explanations for the answers. Most respondents who said that they considered Arabic English to be more fluent gave little or no explanation for their answers. 'It just does [sound more fluent]' was one reply. Another respondent who favored Arabic English on the dimension of fluency said that 'it [his answer] has to do with comprehensibility', although he did not elaborate on this even when prompted to do so. As with most answers in the interview setting, a common phenomenon was to relate answers to personal experience. On the other hand, respondents who considered Chinese English to be more fluent would frequently comment on the speech rate of the variety. One respondent specifically said that '…[Chinese speakers of English] speak faster and [therefore] sound more fluent [than Arabic English]'. In my opinion this could indicate that the respondents were more familiar with Chinese English than Arabic English due to their ability to correctly identify a rather dominant phonological aspect of Chinese English. This, as will be discussed in section 5.5, was not the case, however. The interview results cannot be said to corroborate the hypothesis as both varieties received a roughly equal mention on the dimension of fluency.

Gender based data shows that male respondents systematically downgrade all speakers compared to the female respondents on the dimension of fluency. Nonetheless, both gender

groups mirror the findings for the entire respondent group with regards to where they position the speakers.

5.3.4 My thoughts

The data related to hypothesis 3 was not as I initially expected. However, I found that the primary reason for the data not corroborating the hypothesis on all three dimensions was the scores received by the Chinese female speaker. Furthermore, the scores she received were not much higher than the scores received by the Arabic female speaker. This led me to consider the fact that the difference in scores could have been solely due to the nature of the speakers, rather than the varieties they spoke. For example, the Chinese female spoke faster than all three other speakers. This could have impacted how competent and fluent she was perceived by the respondents. It is somewhat speculative, however. On the other hand the difference in scores between the two male speakers corroborates the hypothesis on all dimensions.

I thought the interview data was very diverse. It was interesting that several of the respondents mentioned speech rate in their answers. What I found most notable in the interviews was the fairly consistent mention of China's economy in relation to the question related to competence. In my opinion this shows that competence is often compared to economic success.

5.4 Hypothesis 4: Respondents consider speakers of Chinese English to be more favorable in a work context than speakers of Arabic English.

The data pertaining to the questionnaire corroborates the hypothesis only for the Chinese female speaker. She received the highest score overall on both questions related to the hypothesis. However, the Arabic male speaker received higher scores than his Chinese counterpart. The results for the Chinese female speaker were expected, and could be due to her speech rate and general comprehensibility. It was also expected that respondents would prefer Chinese speakers of English in a work environment overall. However, the low score for the Chinese male speaker was not expected. Since the two male speakers are comparable to each other in terms of general English skills it is interesting that the respondents considered the Arabic male speaker to be more suitable in a work environment. The data could be related to the results found in hypothesis 5 for familiarity (see section 4.1.5). It would be probable for respondents to favor speakers whom they consider more familiar.

The gender-based data showed that female respondents systematically upgrade all speakers in relation to hypothesis 4. The only notable difference between the male- and female respondents is that male respondents were more likely to hire the Chinese male speaker than the Arabic male speaker. The difference in score in relation to this question was marginal, however.

The interview responses which included comparison of Arabic culture to Norwegian culture were in some sense surprising. Many Middle Eastern countries are considered fundamentalist and would in no sense be comparable to Norwegian culture. This is not to say that Chinese culture is more similar. However, the comparison in itself is of particular interest. It could be that the respondents compared the culture of Norwegian Arabs to Norwegian Chinese people and several respondents did comment on Chinese culture. In addition, several respondents made note of 'China's closer bonds to the western world, which is interesting. In my opinion the varieties themselves did not seem to matter, rather the relationship between the relevant varieties' and the respondents' culture was what the interviewees based their responses on. Furthermore, it was common for the respondents to make it clear that the most important fact in a work context was that the particular variety of English was easily understood by other colleagues. One noteworthy response was that 'they [Arabs] are easier to understand with a lower level of English skill [than Chinese speakers]'. This response indicates that the interviewee assumed a low level of English skill for speakers of both varieties.

A few respondents also mentioned economy when enquired about the dimension of competence. A work environment is obviously related to economy and these answers therefore require certain attention. The interviewees who mentioned economy also stressed that they considered speakers of Chinese English to be more competent. It could therefore be that these respondents associated competence with some sort of economic success (although this was an assumption they made entirely on their own). It is not, however, unreasonable to assume that competence has to do with economic success and/or at least is related to the work environment.

I did not understand why the Chinese male was rated as low as he was and, in particular, why he was rated lower than the Arabic male. I had anticipated that both Chinese speakers would receive higher ratings than their counterparts. In addition, I had thought that the difference between the two female speakers would be larger in favor of the Chinese female. What surprised me most in relation to hypothesis 4 was that several respondents considered Arabic culture to be comparable to Norwegian culture. I do not claim that Chinese

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culture is more similar to Norwegian culture, however. The surprising part is that culture was mentioned at all.

5.5 Hypothesis 5: Respondents consider Chinese English to be more familiar than Arabic English.

The data pertaining to the questionnaire does not corroborate hypothesis 5. Both speakers of Arabic English received highest score of the four speakers. In addition, the Chinese male speaker of English was perceived as being far less familiar than the other three speakers. One explanation could be the significantly larger immigration from Arabic speaking countries than China to Norway resulting in respondents being more familiar with the Arabic variety of English. For example there were several respondents who themselves had a Middle Eastern appearance. Although I assume them to be second- or third generation immigrants it is nonetheless a possibility that their families could have been immigrants. In contrast, there were no respondents with Asian appearance. Another possible explanation for the results could be popular movies, which regularly include speakers of Arabic English, especially action oriented movies located in or associated with Arabic countries. Several respondents gave an explanation claiming that the media was to blame for the stereotyping of Arabs as terrorists, which I assume also includes entertainment based media.

Interview data showed a roughly equal division between which variety respondents considered to be more familiar. The respondents based their answers primarily on own personal encounters meaning that they thought the variety which they had encountered most to be more familiar than the other. The lack of diversity and depth in answers found in relation to the question testing this hypothesis could indicate either that a) respondents considered it sufficient to only state their personal experience or b) they had some difficulty understanding exactly what was asked of them. I got the impression a) was more correct and that the respondents did not find it necessary to elaborate further.

Another interesting finding was the low level of variation found between respondents' genders on the dimension of familiarity. The low level of variation indicates that both genders are fairly equally familiar with the varieties. In data pertaining to the other hypotheses there was a larger discrepancy between the two genders' responses, which could indicate that familiarity is the dimension which the respondents are most in agreement. It could also mean that familiarity with a variety is rather consistent regardless of gender. In the gender based data we find the only point where one could argue that the data somewhat corroborates the

hypothesis on the dimension of familiarity. The male respondents gave the Chinese female speaker a score of 4.26 while giving the Arabic female speaker a rating of 4.24 (see Table 4.5). However, the difference in scores is marginal and the hypothesis cannot be said to be corroborated on the familiarity dimension.

I was surprised that the respondents found the Arabic speakers to be more familiar than the Chinese speakers. In particular, I had not expected that the Chinese male speaker would receive such a low score compared to the other three speakers. Furthermore, I had anticipated that interview responses would be much more in favor of Chinese speakers. The interview data could indicate that respondents are equally familiar with the two varieties when the varieties are presented conceptually. The gender based data was in some sense satisfying due to the fairly equal scores the speakers received across gender groups.

6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provides a brief summary of the findings as well as critique of the present study. The data differs in whether it corroborates the hypotheses or not and is worth mentioning in relation to the hypotheses in which the data does not corroborate the hypotheses.

6.1 Main trends

One apparent overall trend is that of evaluating the female speakers in the present study more favorably than the male speakers. This is true for most of the investigated hypotheses and the dimensions which they include. One may argue that this trend indicates a problem with the speakers and will be discussed in section 6.2

It is definitely a trend that the respondents perceive Arabic English as more likely to commit acts of terrorism, and especially a male speaker of Arabic English. Another trend is that respondents provide low scores for a slanted question such as the one related to terrorism in the present thesis. In the questionnaire this could possibly be a positive sign showing that the respondents perceive everyone as unlikely to commit acts of terrorism. However, the interview data shows that interviewees are reluctant to reveal their attitudes rather than having a positive perception. It is, to some extent, unfortunate that the Arabic male speaker receives the score he does because it does show that respondents conform to the traditional (negative) stereotyping of Arabs and Muslims. The marginal difference in score received by the two female speakers may indicate that the respondents primarily associate male speakers with terrorism.

Another trend is that speakers of Chinese English are indeed associated with tourism by Norwegian respondents – more so than their Arabic English speaking counterparts. Interviewees made frequent mention of China as a country where tourists in Norway often come from, however it was not often mentioned in isolation: some mention of Asian countries were usually involved in the mention of Chinese speakers as tourists. Statistical facts back up this perspective as fairly accurate, and it is assumed that respondents are in fact largely correct in their perception; Chinese people are a prominent tourist group in Norway.

It is impossible to say that there is a clear trend in favor of one variety for the dimensions of competence, comprehensibility and fluency. The data related to hypothesis 3 was ambiguous. What can be said, however, is that female speakers were upgraded on all these three dimensions and that it can possibly be a trend that female speakers are perceived as being more competent, comprehensible and fluent. It is nonetheless bold to state that female

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speakers are always perceived as more competent, comprehensible and fluent from data found in relation to only two female speakers in one study alone. A potential explanation for the findings pertaining to hypothesis 3 in the present thesis may be that speech rate has a marked impact on the respondents' perception of speakers on the abovementioned dimensions as both females spoke at a rather fast rate compared to the male speakers.

The trend found by Cargile (1997) did not pass on to Norwegian respondents: Chinese speakers of English were not perceived as better in a work context than Arabic speakers of English. The only trend found in the present thesis was that female speakers were favored in a work context. The Chinese male was evaluated most negatively with regards to work context.

On the dimension of familiarity the trend is that respondents are more familiar with Arabic English than Chinese English. From the present thesis' data it could be said that it is a trend that respondents are far less familiar with the Chinese male speaker than the other three speakers. However, I would argue that the data is insufficient to make such a claim.

Another trend worth mentioning is the systematic difference between gender groups. The female respondents are overall more positive than the male respondents. The female respondents upgrade all speakers on positive dimensions while providing lower scores for dimensions considered negative (i.e. likelihood to commit acts of terrorism). A potential explanation could be what was discussed in section 5.1.

6.2 Critique and improvements

After having conducted the study for the present thesis it is obvious that some aspects could have been improved. First and foremost it would probably have been beneficial to increase the number of both speakers and respondents. While increasing the number of speakers is a double edged sword due to potential fatigue for the respondents, I found that carrying out the research took shorter than expected. It could have been advantageous to increase the number of speakers by two: one for each variety. This brings a new problem to the table, however; this would create a skewed relationship between the speakers' gender. In retrospect I would nonetheless argue that having more speakers could have been beneficial.

As far as respondents go these could be more numerous as well as more diverse. Optimally there should have been far greater diversity, specifically in relation to age. It would have been advantageous to have several relatively homogenous respondent groups, each with a large number of respondents. In the present thesis there is only one respondent group which is, I would argue, *very* homogenous in the sense that the group members are at the same stage in

their lives as well as having, most likely, similar life experience and understanding of the world as a whole. This homogeneity could have been avoided with more respondent groups. Furthermore, one may argue that the present thesis is concerned with Norwegian high school students' attitudes towards Chinese English and Arabic English rather than Norwegians' attitudes in general.

The interviews could also have been more in-depth. Longer interviews could have been immensely beneficial. However, that would most likely mean changes would have to be made in relation to the respondent group; respondents in the present thesis were high school students meaning they had a limited amount of time. I did not make the assumption that they would be as willing to participate in the study had it been conducted in their own spare time. Rather, I was under the impression that the respondents saw the study, both the questionnaire and the interviews, as an interesting alternative to their usual school day. I would perhaps argue that the following is true for most respondent groups used in studies of this type: respondents are not as willing to give up their spare time as they are to giving up their 'work' time. The main point is that I would consider it beneficial to have longer and more in-depth interviews, regardless of potential problems this may bring.

It is apparent that female speakers are upgraded on nearly all dimensions which are considered positive. Barring the potential that respondents may simply like female speakers better than male speakers this leaves us with one possible conclusion: the female speakers had better English speaking skills than their male counterparts. An improvement with regards to this aspect of the research could have been made with better access to more proficient and suitable speakers and is a domain which could have seen improvement.

7 FUTURE RESEARCH

It is evident that the present study is only concerned with a minor part of the attitudinal contexts the research questions may be applied to. Further research can and should include larger numbers of respondents, as well as more in-depth interviews. It would also be beneficial to study different age categories. The respondents' age group in the present thesis is rather limited and is also problematic due to their arguably young age. One could, for example, argue that the interview responses in the present study are heavily influenced by the respondents' attempts to appear more politically correct than would be the case for older respondents.

Further research could also include respondents from similar communities (e.g. other Nordic countries) and other significantly different communities. Native English speaking communities' attitudes would also be of interest, at least to test some of the hypotheses. I have not come across any research concerned with American respondents' attitudes towards Arabic English in relation to the question of terrorism when the only input available is auditory. Nevertheless, such a study could be of particular interest due to the stereotypical portrayal of the US vs. terrorists.

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Arabic male http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=1784
Arabic female http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=23
Dutch male http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=57
Dutch female http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=770

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire original language

Spørreundersøkelsen er helt anonym, og ingen navn eller personlig informasjon vil bli brukt i noen sammenheng. Av forskningsgrunner vil det likevel være viktig at du oppgir kjønn.

I denne undersøkelsen vil du høre seks (6) forskjellige mennesker snakke engelsk. Nedenfor følger et spørreskjema hvor du skal svare på noen enkle spørsmål om hvert menneske. Spørreskjemaet er helt likt for alle seks lydklipp. Alle svar er valide, og undersøkelsen er helt anonym. Det er viktig at du svarer først etter du har hørt hele lydklippet. Spørreskjemaet skal besvares for hvert enkelt lydklipp, så du får til slutt seks besvarte spørreskjemaer.

Skalaen på spørreskjemaet går fra 7 – 1, hvor 7 er det mest positive svaret mens 1 er det mest negative svaret. Svaralternativ 4 er nøytralt. Sett en ring rundt svaret ditt, og sett <u>kun én</u> ring på hvert spørsmål.

Kjønn (sett ring):   Kvinne   Mann

1. Hvor kompetent tror du denne personen er?

Svært kompetent	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært lite kompetent

2. Hvor sannsynlig tror du det er at denne personen er en turist?

Svært sannsynlig	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært lite sannsynlig

3. Hvor lett syns du det er å forstå denne personen?

Svært lett	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært vanskelig

4. Hvor flytende snakker denne personen engelsk?

Svært flytende	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært lite flytende

5. Hvor kjent syns du talemåten til denne personen høres ut?

Svært kjent	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært ukjent

6. Hvor godt syns du denne personen hadde passet i et jobbmiljø?

Svært godt	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært dårlig

7. Hvor sannsynlig er det at du ville ansette denne personen hvis du var sjef for en bedrift?

Svært sannsynlig	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært usannsynlig

8. Hvor sannsynlig tror du denne personen er til å utføre terrorhandlinger?

Svært sannsynlig	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Svært usannsynlig

Appendix 2: Questionnaire – English translation

The questionnaire is completely anonymous and no names or personal information will be used for any purposes. For the research it will nonetheless be important that you provide information of your gender.

In this survey you will hear six (6) different people speak English. Below a questionnaire will follow where you are to answer a few simple questions about each person. The questionnaire is identical for all six sound files. There are no correct answers, and the survey is completely anonymous. It is important that you answer after you have heard the entire sound file. The questionnaire is to be answered for each sound file, so you will ultimately have six different answered questionnaires.

The scale of the questionnaire ranges from 7 – 1, with 7 being the most positive answer and 1 being the most negative answer. 4 is the neutral answering option.

Gender (indicate by circling):   Woman   Man

1.How likely is it for this person to commit acts of terrorism?

Very likely	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very unlikely

2. How competent is this person?

Very competent	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very incompetent

3. How likely is it that this person is a tourist?

Very likely	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very unlikely

4. How easy do you find it to understand this person?

Very easy	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very hard

5. How fluent does this person speak English?

Very fluent	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very little fluent

6. How familiar do you think this person's speech is?

Very familiar	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very little familiar

7. How well do you think this person would fit in a work environment?

Very well	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very bad

8. How likely is it that you would hire this person if were responsible for hiring at a company?

Very likely	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Very unlikely

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Appendix 3: Interview questions original language

1. Hvor tror du en turist i Norge ville vært fra? Hvorfor?

2. Hvilken engelsktalende mennesker syns du er lettere å forstå – kinesere som snakker engelsk eller arabere som snakker engelsk? Hvorfor? Syns du en av variantene er mer kjent enn den andre?

3. Hvilken av de to variantene er mest kompetent? Hvorfor?

4. Hvilken av de to variantene er mer flytende? Hvorfor?

5. Hvis du var ansvarlig for å ansette folk i et firma, ville du helst ansatt en kinesisk person eller en person fra midt østen? Hvorfor?

6. Hvilken av de to variantene syns du passer bedre i et jobbmiljø? Hvorfor?

7. Hvilken variant av engelsk tror du en terrorist hadde snakket? Hvorfor?

Appendix 4: Interview questions English translation

1. Where do you think a tourist in Norway would be from? Why?

2. Which speakers of English do you think is easier to comprehend – Chinese English speakers or Arabic English speakers? Why? Do you consider one of them to be more familiar than the other?

3. Which of the two varieties is more competent? Why?

4. Which of the two varieties do you think is more fluent? Why?

5. If you were responsible for hiring people in a company, would you rather hire a Chinese person or a Middle Eastern person? Why?

6. Which of the two varieties do you think is better suited in a work environment? Why?

7. Which variety of English would you expect a terrorist to speak? Why?

Appendix 5: The passage read by the speakers

Please call Stella. Ask her to bring these things with her from the store: Six spoons of fresh snow peas, five thick slabs of blue cheese, and maybe a snack for her brother Bob. We also need a small plastic snake and a big toy frog for the kids. She can scoop these things into three red bags, and we will go meet her Wednesday at the train station.