‘Norwegian-English’: English native speakers’ attitudes to Norwegian-accented English.

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Summary in Norwegian

Denne masteroppgavens formål har vært å se på engelskmenn sine holdninger til nordmenn som snakker engelsk med ulik grad av norske fonologiske spor i engelsken sin, med Recieved Pronunciation som modell. I all hovedsak har studien handlet om to lydopptak der to nordmenn snakket engelsk med en ganske kraftig norsk[1] uttale, en uttale som kan minne veldig mye om Torbjørn Jagland sin uttale, og to andre lydopptak der to nordmenn snakket engelsk med en mye mindre merkbar norsk uttale. Recieved Pronunciation var modellen for uttalen i lydopptakene som inneholdt en lite merkbar norsk uttale. En rekke engelskmenn vurderte lydopptakene med nordmennene som snakket engelsk og svarte på et spørreskjema. Svarene kan kategoriseres innenfor kategoriene prestisje og selskapelighet. En lang rekke studier, som man kan lese om i Chapter 3, indikerer at brukere av standarddialekter/-aksenter ofte blir sett på som mer prestisjefulle enn brukere av dialekter og aksenter som ikke er standard, når språket er eneste faktor. Prestisjefulle dialekter og aksenter skårer ofte noe lavere på selskapelighet, spesielt i Storbritannia. Dette bildet inkluderer også Engelsk med en utenlandsk uttale, der engelskbrukere fra i-land som oftest er rangert høyere enn engelskbrukere fra u-land. Videre viser undersøkelser at man kan oppnå høyere prestisje-evalueringer hvis man har en mindre tydelig utenlandsk engelskuttale enn en kraftig utenlandsk engelskuttale, mens studier på selskapelighet på dette området er mer mangelfulle.

Som en av hypotesene i denne oppgaven forutså, ble nordmennene som hadde færrest norske fonologiske spor i engelskuttalen sin ble sett på som mest prestisjefulle. Ingen konkluderende resultater ble funnet for selskapelighet. Nordmenn er i følge resultatene relativt godt ansett generelt sett. Ingen nordmenn var særlig negativt evaluert på noen områder uansett engelskuttale.

Oppgaven undersøkte også om nordmennene på lydopptakene fikk bedre tilbakemeldinger hvis respondentene visste de var norske kontra hvis de ikke visste de var norske. Dette greide ikke oppgaven å få svar på.

Oppsummert, resultatene i masteroppgaven indikerer at man som nordmann kan bli sett på som flinkere, smartere, mer ambisiøs og høyere utdannet hvis man snakker «bra engelsk»[2] enn hvis man snakker engelsk med en kraftig norsk uttale, som f. eks Torbjørn Jagland. Men engelskuttalen til personer som Torbjørn Jagland betyr ikke at man får negativ prestisje, nordmenn er generelt sett godt ansett, i følge resultatene.

[1] Med norsk menes øst-norsk. Se Chapter 3.
[2] Det vil si engelsk med få norske fonologiske spor, med en uttale tett opptil RP.

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Christoffer Hordnes

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List of abbreviations

RP – Received Pronunciation/Standard British English

GA – General American

UK – The United Kingdom

USA – The United States of America

NZE – New Zealand English

NYC – New York City

AAVE – African American Vernacular English

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and scope

The aim and scope of this thesis derives from a December day in 2011 when Torbjørn Jagland once again handed out the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo. His speech and vocabulary were excellent, but Norwegians mocked his 'poor' English pronunciation, with the media leading on in the criticism. People typically said that he was a disgrace to Norwegians, that he could not speak English and that he made us Norwegians look like fools (See Chapter 2). The whole situation felt embarrassing for me, because it most of all reminded me of witch hunting and bullying. That was when I wanted to discover what English people[3] really thought about Norwegians who spoke English like Torbjørn Jagland, also compared to Norwegians who spoke English with a less noticeable Norwegian accent.

The aim of this thesis is to give insight into what English people think of Norwegians speaking English, and how this view varies depending on the foreign-accentedness. How will a Norwegian speaking heavy Norwegian-accented English be perceived compared to a Norwegian who has only a light Norwegian accent in his or her English, thereby sounding more as a Standard British English speaker? Will Norwegians speaking English with a very heavy Norwegian accent be subject to stigmatising and mockery by English people? Are Norwegians esteemed in general by English people? The thesis aims to discover English attitudes towards Norwegians speaking English by using the matched guise and verbal guise techniques, with two speakers reading a text two times each. The first time the speakers read the text, they read it with a high presence of Norwegian phonological tokens (See Chapter 3). The second time they read it, they apply very few Norwegian phonological tokens, aiming for Received Pronunciation (RP)[4]. I have called the accent applied here 'close to RP'[5] as both speakers do have Norwegian phonological variants present. However, they aim for RP, and the accent is therefore called 'close to RP'. Prosody is not taken into account in this thesis. The study is mainly focused around the two categories *Prestige* and *Sociability*, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The thesis also aims to discover some more general attitudes held by English people towards Norwegians; whether or not Norwegians are seen in

[3] With *English people*, this thesis refers to people who are native to England only.
[4] Received Pronunciation (RP) is used as the term for Standard British English. For more details, see Chapter 3.
[5] 'Close to RP' is to be understood as the accent Speaker A and Speaker B apply in recording 5 and 6. See Chapter 3 for more information

a more positive light than people from other European countries. The results will be compared to results from existing attitudinal studies, presented in Chapter 2.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

1. How will the Norwegians speaking with accents close to Standard British English be evaluated for *prestige* compared to the Norwegian speakers with a high presence of a Norwegian phonology present in their English?

2. How will the Norwegians speaking with accents close to Standard British English be evaluated in terms of *sociability* compared to the Norwegian speakers with a high presence of a native phonology present in their English?

3. How will the evaluation of the speakers be affected depending on whether the respondents are told that the speakers are Norwegian or not?

The three hypotheses relating to the research questions are the following:

1. Norwegians speaking with accents close to that of Standard British English (RP) will be assigned a higher *prestige* than those who exhibit a stronger presence of their Norwegian phonology in their English.

Hypothesis 1 relates to research question 1. This hypothesis is motivated by the normal trend observed in language studies, where standard accents are usually rated higher when it comes to prestige than what laymen would call accented speech. This includes both L1 and L2 accents. The Standard British English accent is defined as Received Pronunciation (RP) in this thesis.

2. Norwegians having a high presence of a Norwegian phonology in their English speech will be perceived as more *sociable* than Norwegian speakers using an accent close to the Standard British English accent with very few Norwegian phonological tokens.

Hypothesis 2 relates to research question 2. This hypothesis is motivated by the fact that many Englishmen do not know very much about Norwegians. This means that Norwegians are likely to be categorised in a Scandinavian group; a collective category for Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Norwegians and Scandinavians are generally seen as friendly and educated, and there are not many seriously negative stereotypes connected to Norwegians. Attitudinal studies often show that RP is downgraded on sociability traits, whilst rural accented English speakers, in the UK at least, are perceived as more sympathetic[6] than Standard British English speakers and are evaluated high in terms of sociability. Given the positive connotations associated with Scandinavia, I believe this may also be true for Norwegians. This hypothesis has little backing from previous studies reviewed in this thesis, but I believe the somewhat rural charm heavy-accented Norwegian-accented English might have will cause speakers of this accent to be evaluated higher in terms of *sociability* than Norwegian speakers of the 'close to RP' accent due to RP's poor ratings on *sociability*.

3. If the respondents are told that the speaker is from Norway, the evaluation is likely to be more positive overall compared to if the speaker is not told that the speaker is from Norway.

Hypothesis 3 relates to research question 3. This hypothesis is motivated by my belief that Norwegians are seen in a more favourable light than people from countries such as Germany or Russia. If the respondents are not told that the speaker is Norwegian and guess that the speaker is from another country, the speaker is likely to receive evaluations based on stereotypes from the country he or she is assumed to come from and is thus likely to be downgraded with regards to prestige and sociability. This is because Norway and Scandinavia hold no real negative stereotypes and are associated with wealth and friendliness, so telling the respondents that the speaker is Norwegian is likely to result in a somewhat more positive evaluation of the speaker.

1.3 The structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of five chapters which cover various aspects of the study. The introductory chapter is the current one and has introduced the thesis. Chapter 2 is a theoretical chapter and

[6] *Sympathetic* refers to *sociability* and is to be seen as another word for *sociable* in this thesis.

presents previous attitudinal studies. To provide insight into the field of attitudes and what it is, this chapter also outlines the basics of attitudes and how language is connected to attitudes, which is relevant to understand and discuss the study. Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the study and the various phonological variables concerned. In Chapter 4, the results are presented in the first section and then discussed and problematized in the last section. Finally, Chapter 5 provides a summary and the thesis' conclusion, also suggesting some ideas for further research.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter will present a theoretical background for the present thesis. The chapter is structured so that one first gets a brief introduction to what an attitude is and how it works, and then how attitudes to language work. This is vital to understand the main part of the theoretical background and the study itself. The main part of the theoretical background deals with attitudes towards English and foreign-accented language, with the most focus on foreign-accented English. As attitudes toward English and foreign-accented language/English are intertwined, one needs to understand both fields to be able to see the current study in a larger context.

For future reference, an accent is separated from a dialect by it being mainly different from other accents in terms of phonology, including prosodic and segmental features. A dialect differs from another dialect also because of syntax, morphological structures, lexicon and semantic meaning in addition to prosodic features and segmental features (Lippi-Green 2008: 42-43). The term *variety* is in this thesis used to describe both dialects and accents, including various 'Englishes', such as British English or American English.

2.1 Attitudes

What is an attitude? Depending on what you read, you will get many different answers. Thurstone (1931:18-20) defines an attitude as 'affect for or against a psychological object'. In other words, positive or negative affections towards something decide your attitude towards it. Allport (1954:18-20), on the other hand, states that an attitude is 'a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person, or object, in a particular way'. As evident, this definition says that attitude is not only affect but also something related to thought and behaviour. Oppenheim (1982:39) claims attitudes are:

> A construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour.

Oppenheim's definition is about attitudes as a psychological construct that can not be observed directly. This means that in order to interpret someone's attitude, or even your own, you must pay attention to emotions, beliefs, opinions or even more physical signs such as

verbal reactions. Accessing attitudes can thus be a difficult task because so much remains hidden in one's mind, and it can be hard to define an attitude (Garrett 2010:19-20). A more recent definition of attitudes by Sarnoff (1970) is even more precise than the formerly mentioned ones. 'A disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects'. In other words, an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object, be it languages, persons, politics or countries (Sarnoff 1970:279). Sarnoff's definition is the definition this thesis will adopt.

Attitudes can take the form of habits, values, beliefs, opinions, social stereotypes and ideologies. More specifically, attitudes can be discussed in terms of three components: behaviour, affect and cognition, although the connection between those three components and attitudes is debated. Recent research suggests the three formerly mentioned components are triggers and causes of attitudes, such as the activation of an attitude might cause an emotional reaction and the other way around. Cognition refers to beliefs about the world around us and the relations between objects of social importance, such as believing that speaking standard language might give you a better chance to get a job. Affection is the feelings you have for an object, how strongly you feel for or against it. The behaviour component means that one may have a disposition to act in a certain way; we take action. Exemplified, the behavioural component causes an action such as going to a protest march because you feel strongly (Affect) for the cause, and you believe the cause will result in improvement. But behaviour is a controversial issue; there is not always congruity between behaviour and attitude (Garrett 2010:23-26).

A well-known study on the behavioural component was carried out in the 1930's by La Piere (1934). The USA was then a country filled with prejudice towards people from the Far East, including China. La Piere travelled around the USA with a Chinese couple for two years, visiting a large number of accommodations, restaurants and cafes. They were refused service once. Upon their return, La Piere sent questionnaires to all the accommodations and restaurants/cafes, asking if they would accept Chinese as guests at their establishment and received answers from more than half of them. 92 per cent and 91 per cent of them stated that they would *not* accept Chinese people at their establishment, despite their actual behaviour when the Chinese couple actually visited their establishment (La Piere 1934). There is an obvious incongruity here between attitude and behaviour, leading Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) to propose the *Theory of Reasoned Action*, a theory discussing *intentional* behaviour. A number of factors can intervene between intended and actual behaviour, such as normative beliefs about how other people will react to the intended behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein

1980:26-28). Consider the following example: You come from a culture where burping at the dining table is expected and considered polite. Visiting Europe, you know that burping at the dining table is considered very rude. According to your attitudes, the body needs to get rid of air, and burping shows how well you enjoyed the meal, so you decide to disregard the European norm and will burp regardless of what the custom is. During a dinner with some business associates, you eat and drink and finally feel the urge to burp. Knowing that the other people around the table will think you rude and you will lose face and perhaps even business opportunities, you avoid burping. Social constraints made you change your behaviour from your intended behaviour. Another example is when a person is afraid of snakes. Speaking about the phobia will not necessarily bring forth a behavioural effect but if the snake is present when you speak about it, you are more likely to get a behavioural effect (Garrett 2010:24). In addition to contextual constraints, there is also the need for ability and skill to perform the behaviouristic part. Not everyone has the ability to start a revolution even though they support it, and most would not have the skills required to organise and rally people to his or her cause. (Garrett 2010:27:28) All this gives credit to the Theory of Reasoned Action; that behaviour does not always reflect attitude.

To measure people's attitude to something, for example, to Norway, we would have to define what those people mean by Norway. What *is* Norway to those people? Would it be the Noble Peace Prize? Would it be the beautiful Norwegian nature? Would it be living in Bergen for five years? Would it be living in Hammerfest for five years? It seems as if the term *Norway* could in itself be problematic because it would be subjective to each and every one person in the group and therefore the attitudes from each person would be attitudes to something different. We would need to find out what the participants' definition of what Norway is by interviewing them, asking them about the experiences and feelings about Norway and look for patterns in the results. This would help to discover which facets decide what Norway is for each person, and their manifestations of attitudes towards Norway (Garrett 2010:20-21).

2.1.1 What decides our attitudes

An attitude is learned and in some cases inherited. An attitude is not normally inherent; it is something we learn (Tesser 1993:22). Although, I would argue that some feelings such as compassion and love can be inherent due to instincts and genes, which a study in the USA and Australia on twins may partially support. The study shows that both genetic heritability and

social environment may contribute to forming attitudes (Alford et al 2005). The general trend seems to be that researchers believe attitudes are mostly learned, and two major sources for attitudes are personal experiences and our social environment, including the media (Garrett 2010:22-23). Very simply put, we learn attitudes via a number of processes, such as by observational learning. We observe others and what the consequences of their behaviour are. Instrumental learning is another process, where we watch the consequences of attitudes and see if these attitudes bring rewards or penalties to us. Parenting a child is one situation where instrumental learning is relevant. Parents may approve or disapprove of an attitude the child is in favour of and thus the attitude of the child may be influenced (Garrett 2010:22).

The media has a huge potential as it can shape our attitudes to, for example, minority groups. The general view of a said minority group can be changed depending on how that group is portrayed in the media, something which is especially true in the US given the role television plays there. A negative portrayal can be very damaging to the group's image whereas a positive portrayal will lift the status of the group and perhaps portray them as 'one of us', meaning that the group will be viewed like everyone else (Mitchell 2010:224-225). Further on, Mitchell (2010) investigates how L2-speakers are portrayed in American television series, with an emphasis for Latinos. Mitchell is worried about how a Latino character is portrayed in an episode of the series *How I Met Your Mother*. The episode is called *We're not from here*. The name of the episode really describes the attitudes involved. Some of the classic stereotypes about Latinos are brought forth, such as passion and relaxation. In the end, the Latino behaviour portrayed comes out as anti-social behaviour. This behaviour is not expected from an American and the Latino character is thus portrayed very negatively. The Latino character is alienated as different from 'normal Americans', portraying him as somewhat simple-minded, as he is using simple forms of speech. The other characters suggest that they should use 'big words' to discuss things when he is present, because he will not understand 'big words'. This might also indicate a link to a child, portraying him as less intelligent than others. In contrast to the Latino character, the American woman who is having an affair with him responds to his anti-social behaviour by pulling out a gun, smoking cigars and eating red-meat to further enhance the American in her, creating a distance between Americans and Latinos. In summary, this may well reinforce negative stereotypes about Latinos in the US, using both language and actions as proxies for identity (Mitchell 2010:237-238). This is an example of how the media can influence attitudes towards entire groups of people.

Summarising, attitudes are something everyone has. Attitudes help shape our view of objects and ideas around us and can be influenced by everything from habits to the media. Since attitudes are mostly unconsciously learned and they to a certain degree decide what we do, think or say, sources of attitude influence can have great impact on people's lives.

2.2 Attitudes to language

'When you talk to someone, you start to form opinions about them, sometimes solely on the basis of the way they talk' (Chambers 2003:2-11). Whenever you speak on the phone with a person you have not seen before, you have within few seconds or minutes drawn a cognitive picture of who they are. You determine if they are male or female, what country they come from, perhaps even the region they come from, and perhaps you decide based on what you hear whether or not if the person is nice, intelligent, rude, stupid, etc. Perhaps you can envision the person in your head. Language is thus a powerful instrument and our attitudes to different varieties of language can influence the way we perceive people (Meyerhoff 2006:54).

2.2.1 Language and Culture

Language is connected to culture, a reality called *cultural identity* (Kramsch 1998:65). In the past, when the nation states of Europe were settling and ridden by a strong nationalism, language was a weapon to be used to unite the country through a common language and thereby a common culture. When internal conflicts loomed, the national language became a battleground for its symbolic and close connection to culture (Joseph 2004:358-359). This was very true, for instance, for the French revolution. During the French revolution, Standard French went hand in hand with French culture, and an attempt to eradicate French dialects was made (Kramsch 1998:72).

Today, it is widely believed that there is a close connection between the language spoken by a social group and their identity. By speaking, we signal to the world where we come from, perhaps our social status and social group. Accent, vocabulary and speech patterns identify your own identity and speakers in general as members of certain discourse communities. We either take pride from belonging to a group or we create distance between

us and a certain group (Kramsch 1998:65-66; Tamasi 2010:119; *Voices*[7], reported in Garrett 2010:172-178). The above means that we draw on cultural and social stereotypes, using language as a trigger when we meet new people. A social group can be everything from your close-knit network of friends, social classes, Asians, humans in general, car owners, people of certain ethnic belonging, females, people from a particular country or region, New Yorkers, book readers, etc. It can be virtually anything as long as the group shares certain features that put them in the same category. When you hear a New York accent, you may immediately draw on New York stereotypes, negative or positive. Social categorization tends to exaggerate similarities, creating stereotypes shaped by collective and individual functions. Such stereotypes can be that poor people are lazy; it can be physical appearance; typical occupations for a certain group, habits, trustworthiness, etc (Garrett 2010:32-35). Stereotyping can thus be seen as a cognitive device used to systematise our social environment, creating homogenous categories easily recognised. Exaggeration can be seen as a by-product of this, making it easier to distinguish between various social groups (Kristiansen 2001:137).

Attitudes to languages can play a role in all aspects of a language. Punctuation, spelling, words, accent, grammar, pronunciation, languages and dialects are all areas where the 'right' or 'wrong' choice can make a difference in attitudes towards the person(s) connected to it (Garrett 2010:2). Even such a thing as your personal name can affect how people judge you. A name which is negatively evaluated can make people have dispositional negative attitudes towards bearing that name. Or positive attitudes towards a person whose parents picked the 'right' name, either decided by phonoaesthetic features or stereotypes connected to the name (Garrett 2010:2-4).

Harari and McDavid (1973) considered the social stereotypes associated with various names. Stereotypes are merely cognitive shortcuts. They found out that people who hear the name James for example, group that person in a subjective category with other James' and then by association judge a new James they meet by the stereotypes connected to the other James' they might know. Further on, their study indicates that names being more common and judged more attractive will provide more positive stereotypes, whereas rarer and less attractive names will be judged more negatively (Harari and McDavid 1973).

Names are of course not the only kind of words that can affect our attitude to the person connected to them. We can use a certain set of expletives in various settings to

[7] *Voices* is a survey reported in Coupland and Bishop 2007 and Garrett 2010 and will be referred to in this manner throughout the thesis.

influence a situation (Garrett 2010:4). Research on communication and accommodation gives reason to believe that we have a tendency to adjust our style of communicating depending on who we talk to and who is listening. If we are talking to a person who uses a lot of obscenities and it is someone we want to gain approval from, we might very well be more inclined to increase our own use of obscenities (Bradac et al 1987:5). Political correctness too is an arena where the wrong words might get you into trouble even without using obscenities. We have to watch our vocabulary not to offend any social groups, for example by calling black people Negros, which is not politically correct (Garrett 2010: 6-7).

Non-standard accents in general have always been problematic in some contexts, depending on the country. Simply having an accent other than the standard means you can be deemed unfit for jobs, like a news reader in BBC. There is a long tradition for speech therapists or tutors who run courses where you can learn to get rid of your accent in favour of a 'proper' standard accent. Many immigrants in the US seek out these kinds of courses in order to escape remarks and discrimination, feeling they have to face social and career barriers because of their accent (Garrett 2010:13; Section 2.2.3; Lippi-Green 1997:139-142)

2.2.2 Attitudes to speech styles

The speech style itself can be decisive. A range of communication features depending on each and every person may have an effect on the attitude towards that person, regardless of whether one is using a standard accent or not. Earlier studies have shown that a person who has a high degree of latinate words in his or her vocabulary in English will be favourably evaluated in terms of intelligence and formality, whereas a rich Germanic vocabulary in English will give higher ratings in terms of informality and trustworthiness (Garrett 2010:88-89).

Lexical diversity is another feature that might influence the attitude towards a speaker, but more research is needed to establish how this works. Accent is none the less found to be the most potent variable compared to lexical provenance and lexical diversity (Garrett 2010:89-90). Another communication feature that the speaker has somewhat control over is speech rate. A speaker with a quick speech rate will be rated more competent, upping his status. Solidarity ratings will also climb up to a certain point where the rating will fall (Garrett 2010:90-91). Combined with young age, a slow speech rate can devastate solidarity ratings but the same is not so true for older people. This may be because we expect older people to

speak slower while we expect a young person to have a quicker speech rate. Overall, the accent itself seems to be the most potent factor for deciding attitudes (Garrett 2010:95-96).

When it comes to speaker variables influencing how a speaker is perceived, a speaker's physical appearance might be relevant, but there is not sufficient research to establish this. Physical appearance seems mostly to be a factor when the person's appearance can give hints about the speaker's social class. Surveys done in France indicate that a person identified as a low status member by his physical appearance will be evaluated more favourably when he or she uses the standard accent compared to when using a non-standard accent, relative to a perceived middle class speaker. Social class seems to be the most important factor and studies do show that telling the respondents about a speaker's social class can have an effect, especially when it comes to solidarity when you see incongruity between status accent and actual status. High status accent found on low status speakers upped their solidarity ratings, as did high status speakers using low status accents. Accent is still the most important factor (Garrett 2010:91-94). Gender may also be an important factor in language studies, which is further explained in Section 2.3.

2.2.3 The idea of standardisation

Graddol and Swann (1988:102) cite Norman Tebbit, former Conservative Cabinet Minister:

> If you allow standards to slip to the stage where good English is no better than bad English, where people turn up filthy…at school…all those things tend to cause people to have no standards at all, and once you lose standards then theres no imperative to stay out of crime.

Standard language ideology is a very important concept in the field of language attitudes. Many languages, such as English, German, French and Spanish, are believed by their respective speakers to have a spoken standardised form. This standardised accent is often based on the official written form of the language, which is considered to be the standard written form of the language (Milroy 2001:530; Meyerhoff 2006:37; Kramsch 1998:74). Often associated with high prestige, standard accents tend to be connected with the speech of high status speakers. In Germany, for example, most speakers have command over both a local vernacular variety of German and the Standard German accent. Standard German is something they are taught at school for use in public settings, for example, when speaking or writing in public (Meyerhoff, 2006:37). For Norway, this is partially true. Most speakers learn to write Standard Norwegian (Bokmål), whereas 10-15 per cent learn to write Nynorsk, but Norwegians generally use their own vernacular accent when speaking (Vikøren 2012).

The idea of *correctness* seems to be a very important element in standard-language cultures. The standard accent is upheld as the correct one, whereas non-standard accents in that country are considered incorrect. In such countries, it is common sense that the standard accent is right and speakers of non-standard accents are wrong; they are not speaking properly and need to learn how to do so (Milroy 2001: 535). The desire to keep language pure and unchangeable is ever present; it becomes a totem of the national culture or culture group. Some countries, such as France, even have national language academies (Kramsch 1998:75). As a result of this, standard accents generally attract higher prestige than non-standard accents (Billings and Giles 2004:194-195). Non-standard accents, on the other hand, can in many contexts receive higher ratings for solidarity, social attractiveness and integrity. This is true for many accents in the USA and the UK (Billings and Giles 2004:195).

In a verbal guise study, Kristiansen (1997) studied attitudes to varieties of Danish by creating an audio-recorded message played at a cinema. The message was played in Standard Danish, Copenhagen Danish and mild and broad varieties of Zealand Danish. The cinema was located in a middle-sized town 50 miles south of Copenhagen, on the island of Zealand. Standard Danish is here traditionally associated with correctness and high status, used much in the media and taught in school. Copenhagen is related to its urban working class whereas Zealand varieties are more localised and generally associated with older people in the countryside. The latter variety does not have many variants that are found in younger people's speech. In the study, behavioural participation was measured by counting how many respondents filled out the questionnaire per sold ticket to the movie, with a variation of 5 different films generally attracting different audiences. Overall, Standard Danish received a much higher cooperation, sometimes up to 50% more cooperation with certain audiences. However, amongst younger respondents living in the town in question, attitudes to Copenhagen Danish seemed more positive (as mentioned above, they were also more negative to Zealand varieties) than the other age groups. This demonstrates Copenhagen's power as a regional centre, confirming the results found in England on regional dialect levelling (Kerswill 2003:14). This means that urban regional accents are spreading out via other nearby urban centres (Kerswill 2003:9). Young speakers in Kristiansen's survey also favoured the mild local variety, rejecting variants associated with the broader rural Zealand variety (Garrett 2010:79-82; Kristiansen 1997:291-305). This shows how the Standard variety in Danish commands a higher authority and more prestige than non-standard varieties.

In El-Dash and Tucker (1975), Classical Arabic speakers in Egypt were judged more intelligent than speakers of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, also showing how a standard variety

is evaluated with higher prestige than non-standard varieties (El-Dash and Tucker 1975). Yet another survey done in France involved accents from Paris, Provence, Brittany and Alsace using respondents from all four regions, further grouping the respondents in age groups; one with mean age twelve; one with mean age thirty two and a last group with mean age seventy two. The Paris-accent is the Standard accent in France. Overall, Paris-accented speakers were considered to have the least accented speech and were also rated highest in professional appeal. Age differences were important as the oldest age group was more generous in their judgement of the accents. However, Provence was judged as the most accented variety but was at the same time rated second just behind the Paris-accent on professional appeal. This, according to Giles and Paltridge, is because of the social connotations connected to the Provence accent, despite it being considered very accented by Frenchmen (Giles and Paltridge 1984; Garrett 2010:72-74). As shown earlier in this section and in Section 2.3, English also shares the standard ideology; the idea that one should speak correctly. This ideology is linked closely to social groups and classes, and can be seen as a way of judging the status of the speakers rather than the language itself.

Speaking the standard accent or an otherwise prestigious form is a way of being stereotyped in a favourable way on a number of personal dimensions, especially along those dimensions connected to competence, relative to non-standard speakers of the same language. It is normal for Standard culture societies that non-standard speakers should be taught how to speak 'properly'; the standard and the prestige variety. This is in order to reap the benefits of speaking a culturally valued variety (Bourhis et al 1979). In regard to this, ideological beliefs concerning standard and non-standard accents seem to be socially constructed (Bishop and Coupland 2007:75-76). This belief is supported by Bourhis et al (1979), who describe and compare the *Inherent Value Hypothesis* versus the *Imposed Norm hypothesis*. The supporters of the Inherent Value Hypothesis argue that the Standard accent in standard language societies is the standard because it is esthetically better. This is argued against in Bourhis et al (1979) where the Imposed Norm hypothesis is claimed to be the likely explanation for why the Standard accent in standard language societies is upheld as correct and considered better than non-standard varieties. In two surveys on French language, European French speakers were perceived as more intelligent and likeable than the working and middle class French Canadian speakers. French Canadians were perceived as more intelligent and educated by a European French speaker when they changed their accents from a Canadian French to a more European style (Bourhis et al 1979). A similar survey regarding the French language was also done in Wales to test the Imposed Norm Hypothesis. Thirty-five Welshmen with very little

knowledge about French were subjected to a listening test. European French (EF), educated Canadian French (FC) and working-class French Canadian (FCJ) were the accents they heard, along with filler voices in between the different French accents. The respondents were asked to rate them on 9-point rating scales. Most recognised that the speakers of the French accents were French, but no significant differences between them were seen. This does suggest that for French Canadians, the accents in question have salient and distinctive social meaning but to an outsider who does not know anything about the culture and social meaning of the accents in question, the differences were not there (Bourhis et al 1979). Even if the Imposed Norm Theory is not fully tested, researchers such as Kristiansen (2001) and Tamasi (2010) support the fact that accents are socially diagnostic, thoroughly linking social identity, social stereotyping and language (Kristiansen 2001:130).

Moreover, surveys on grammar suggest the same as Kristiansen (2001) and Tamasi (2010) because grammar is central in Standard language. Grammar is overt and easily distinguishable. There is a long range of non-standard grammatical features that some people frown upon (Garrett 2010:9; Tamasi 2010:32). The usage of grammar is easy to govern in the society by Standard accent speakers as it is codified by grammar books and dictionaries, making all other forms illegitimate (Milroy 2001:547). In a study by Donaher (2010), teachers participating at the National Writing Project summer institute were asked to 'grade' several sentences containing various degrees of deviations from Standard English (General American in this case). Not surprisingly, deviations from standard grammar was something all teachers reacted strongly against with comments such as 'Bad grammar is bad grammar, even if it used every day' (Donaher 2010:32). Examples of what is called bad grammar in English are features such as double negatives, non-standard use of the apostrophe and subject-verb agreement (Garrett 2010: 8-10; Donaher 2010:24). There is a close connection between non-standard grammar and the people who speak it. Speakers with non-standard grammar may be triggers of social stereotypes connected to language, and the speaker might be judged based on his or her grammar. One has in many ways failed to speak 'properly' and may thus be judged as someone who is less intelligent (Garrett 2010:10; Preston 1996:58).

The Standard accent in general seems to have gotten its status through the status of its speakers (Bourhis et al 1979). Demanding people to speak correctly and the fact that the Standard accent is often seen the correct way of speaking can be seen as a political act. This determines who stands where in the social hierarchy, and one can use standard language to gain rhetorical power over non-standard speakers, deploying language to achieve your aims as

linguistically superior and thereby superior. In this sense, ideologies govern the use of language (Joseph 2004:348).

2.2.4 General attitudes to national and minority languages

There is a common belief that some languages are not advanced enough to fulfill the role of a modern language. These language roles can be literature writing, talking about modern things and that the grammar is not advanced enough. This is then reflected back on its speakers who then might be stereotyped negatively (Garrett 2010:10-11). Even in ancient Greece, everyone whose language was not Greek was labelled barbarians by the Greeks, showing how central language was to defining who was civilized and correct (Carr 2013).

Harlow (1998) explains how the Maori language is claimed by some not to be good enough in today's society because it has to borrow words from other languages in order to express new ideas. Negative attitudes towards a minority language might lower the incentive for members of that specific speech community to learn the language and in the worst case scenarios, languages can die out, languages such as Welsh in Wales and Maori in New Zealand (Harlow 1998).

As mentioned earlier, language can also be a tool to rally national feelings. In melting pot areas such as Quebec, Louisiana, Belgium, New Mexico, Wales and not least former colonies, language is and was used as a tool to make the land English/French/Spanish and so on. Colonial powers would use their language to dominate, supplanting other languages and thus other cultures. The speaker of the imposed language would hold authority over others. In regions such as Wales and Quebec, where Welsh and French speakers have felt threatened culturally and politically by English, Welsh and French are today experiencing a resurrection (Kramsch 1998:75:76).

Summarising, language can be a proxy for cultural values. The moment a person opens his or her mouth and utters words of communication, his or her language, word choice, speech rate, accent and ethnic status might affect how he or she is perceived by the listeners. Speakers of Standard accents within a language tend to be seen as more prestigious than speakers of non-standard accents within the same language, although some argue that this is due to aesthetic dimensions. Standard accent speakers may use language to claim authority over non-standard accent users, especially those who are connected to stigmatized ethnic groups, regions or social classes. This has been done ever since the national states emerged,

often to impose a set of norms and values on the non-standard accent group, and as a tool to boost the national feeling with the reasoning 'one language, one nation'. This, however, means that discrimination over language does happen.

2.3 Attitudes to English

2.3.1 A brief historical overview

> And certainly our language now vsed varyeth ferre from that whiche was vsed and spoken whan I was borne…. Certaynly it is harde to playse euery man by cause of dyuersite & change of langage.
> (Caxton 1490:1).

As early as in 1490, the man who introduced printing in England, William Caxton, was commenting on contemporary language of his day and had great influence on introducing a Standard language in England (Melchers and Shaw 2003:1). Towards the end of the fifteenth century, a Standard language in England began to emerge but before this, English had been extremely varied with regard to grammar, vocabulary and spelling, and there was no Standard English variety existing in neither written nor spoken form. Then from the late fifteenth century onwards, London fuelled the standardisation and became the role model for the Standard accent due to its important status as the capital. Influential people lived here and this was where the royal court and the whole administration for the country were. The close proximity of Cambridge University is also believed to have played a role in establishing London as the norm for writing, not to mention the invention of printing (Melchers and Shaw 2003:4-5; Nevalaien and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003:38-39). However, the first English spelling and grammar dictionary which codified the language was not written until 1755 by Samuel Johnson. This paved the way for a long range of dictionaries up to our time, commanding correctness. As for Standard English pronunciation; it was not brought up and standardised until the end of the nineteenth century, using public schools to promote the prestigious Standard accent (Melchers and Shaw 2003:4-5). As is evident, the notion of speaking 'correctly', or standard, has a long history in English.

In today's English world, a long range of countries with English as a native language all lay claim to their own English variety due to British and American influence all over the globe through colonies and present day globalisation (Crystal 2003:74-79).

2.3.2 Non-accent: A myth

Accent reduction courses support the idea of non-accent, in other words, Standard English. A long range of such courses exist today, in order for speakers of stigmatised varieties to get rid of their non-standard accents and learn to speak 'proper' English, which usually is the Standard accent and often seen as without an accent. Elimination of accent is guaranteed in some advertisements, which is nearly impossible, but the media does not seem to separate rather outrageous claims from reasonable claims, often supporting accent reduction (Lippi-Green 1997:141-142). The media's role in attitudes to English will be further discussed in Section 2.3.6.

In a folk linguistics study by Niedzielski and Preston (1999), respondents from various regions in the USA were given maps of the USA and asked to draw dialect zones, which means the respondents drew their own dialect maps. The Midwest, the area thought by respondents to contain speakers of the Standard accent, General American (GA), was thought to be accent-free by many respondents from both the North and the South (Niedzielski and Preston 1999:58-63). Evidently, there is a strong belief that there is such a thing as an accent-free Standard English, a non-accent. According to Lippi-Green (1997), non-accent is a myth. It is a pool of ideals held up by a collective conscience, governed by abstract norms which users more or less conform to (Milroy and Milroy 1991:22-23; Lippi-Green 1997:41). None the less, the domain of Standard English is already established as the language of the educated; the language of those who are believed to know better. It is seen as superior to non-standard accents (Lippi-Green 1997:41). In one way, one might say that if society believes that there is such a thing as accent-free English, then that belief might make it true. Language is what society makes it to be.

2.3.3 Attitudes to English in the UK

As mentioned earlier, language can in many ways be seen as closely connected to social status, with language being like a proxy for stereotyping people, a way of recognising social classes and other groups of people sharing the same variety or accent. One can categorise the accents in English into standard, rural and urban accents, very roughly speaking (Milroy 2001).

Voices (reported in Garrett 2010:172-178) was an interactive and multi-faceted webpage with links to various radio and television broadcasts, aiming to provide findings on contemporary British language attitudes towards British accents, as well as some foreign-accented English accents including GA. 34 accents were evaluated and over 5000 respondents participated (Bishop and Coupland 2007:76-77). Gender proved to be a powerful variable amongst the respondents, with women having a tendency to award accents in general higher prestige and social attractiveness ratings. Knowing that women tend to use more standard variants than men, this is surprising. However, women did not favour their own speech in the same way as men, who seem to have more of an accent pride, giving higher scores than women to their own accents. Scottish respondents were most proud of their own accents. Age was also a factor; the older the respondents were, the more disposed they were to the belief that people should speak properly. As a result, older respondents were generally more positive to RP. Region also proved to be an important factor in the way that the region the respondent came from would affect his opinions on English accents (*Voices*, reported in Garrett 2010:172-178).

Hiraga (2005) investigated British attitudes to urban, rural and Standard English in both the US and Britain. This study is unique due to its wide British perspective on American regional accents compared to British regional accents. All the respondents were from the Southern part of England, an area seen by many as having a preferable accent according to British speakers. There were six speakers from 6 different areas. Alabama and West Yorkshire represented areas of rural accents, whereas New York City and Birmingham represented areas of urban accents. Both rural accents are heavily stigmatised in their respective countries due to their sharp social stratifications. RP and GA represented the Standard accents (Hiraga 2005:289-296). The results were clear; RP and GA received the highest status rankings whilst the four other accents were all relatively similarly evaluated, with Birmingham-accented English at the bottom. In regards to solidarity, Yorkshire-accented English and GA came out on top out of the 6 accents, with Alabama-accented English third. Both urban accents received the lowest ratings. Combining all traits, the standard accents came out on top, the rural second and the urban varieties last (Hiraga 2005:297-299). The British respondents judged the American varieties in the same terms as they did the British varieties regarding Standard, rural and urban, grouping and ranking them the same way. This may well be because of the knowledge about the social connotations connected to accents found in the USA (Hiraga 2005:301). GA came out high on both prestige and solidarity despite the norm that says that a variety that is rated high in the status dimension will be rated

low on the solidarity dimension (Hiraga 2005:299). Hiraga thinks this is due to GA being outside the British society; it has no class connotations associated with it; it is not marked. One respondent explains why he or she thinks GA is good: 'I quite strongly dislike the American accent, but I think I would prefer to speak with that than a regional dialect'. This comment was representative for most respondents, showing how GA is considered outside the British social connotations linked to their own urban 'working class' accents. Thereby, GA is regarded as a better way of speaking than urban-accented British, to avoid the social connotations (Hiraga 2005:304-306).

The Standard English accent in Britain, RP, is seen as the legitimate way of speaking in the UK. Standard forms reap high scores in terms of prestige and correctness (Milroy 2001:547-548), and established ideologies have constructed Standard English as the 'authentic' variety, something sociolinguists resent (Bishop and Coupland 2007:74). Rural accents in the UK tend to get high sympathy ratings whereas urban accents tend to be denounced and score low on everything. Milroy (2001) says that rural accents in the UK get sympathy because they are seen as part of English history; they have roots in the history of English. This legitimises rural accents; they are considered traditional (Milroy 2001:547-548). The rural accents of the UK are connected to a romanticised and nostalgic view of the country and the country life, thereby making language a proxy for culture. US rural accents spoken in the South on the other hand, are generally stigmatised and have no such romantic nostalgia connected to them (Hiraga 2005:301). The situation for urban varieties in the UK, spoken by the masses in the cities in the UK, is a different one. They were early seen as ignorant attempts to mimic the Standard accent in the UK and not seen as 'dialects' at all. This meant that the urban accents were early seen as a threat to Standard British English. Also, they are not seen as connected to early English language (Milroy 2001:547-548) and are connected to the working classes; the lower classes. As Trudgill (1983) said when he introduced the *Social Connotation Hypothesis*; 'It suggests that it is not possible to obtain uniform responses from listeners on the aesthetic merits of different accents unless their social connotations are the same for all concerned… Aesthetic judgements about language, that is, are just as much social judgements as those concerned with correctness' (Trudgill 1983:217-219). Urban varieties remain heavily stigmatised.

Another common belief in the UK is that America is ruining the English language. In a speech to the British Council in 1995, Prince Charles complained that Americans were corrupting the English language. In the same speech to the British Council in 1995, the British Council is an institution that promotes British culture and the English language, Prince

Charles claimed ‘Americans tend to invent all sorts of nouns and verbs and make words that shouldn't be. If the English don't protect their language, the whole thing can get rather a mess’ (Kellerman and O’Conner 2012). This attitude is shared by many in the UK; what is foreign is corrupt and barbarous. This logic is of course flawed as neither American nor British English is closer than the other to the English they both spoke when the two separated in the 16th century. The languages have both evolved in different ways. One could say that in some ways Americans have preserved 16th century language features better than the English, such as rhoticity. Generally, British people tend to give more attention to American English than the Americans do to British English. This might be due to the former British Empire having lost its former glory and influence. Today, the USA is the most dominant English variety in the world because of their relatively new super power status and being highly influencial in terms of media and science (Algeo 1998:176-182).

2.3.4 Attitudes to English in the USA

As for Britain, Standard English, General American (GA), is the dominating variety. It is the language of those who speak correctly (Lippi-Green 1997:56-57). GA is upheld as the language of the educated, and in *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary Tenth Edition* (1993), both written and spoken language are assumed equal in terms of how they are used and should be used (Lippi-Green 1997:53-54). The media also play an important part, as shown in Section 2.3.6, defining correct English. Educated people are used as an authority to define who speaks correct English. Who can debate the ‘fact’ that educated people know best what correct English is? Most Americans are, however, not educated (Lippi-Green 1997:54-56). Prescriptivism through prescriptive books has always been popular, judging by their sales numbers. A long range of books exist to ‘teach’ people how to speak correctly, fighting for a better English. Prescriptivist authors are fuelled by the idea of eternal correctness and resistance to language change. According to such authors, it is vital to speak correctly because of the need to have a clear language and thereby not be misunderstood. Speaking incorrectly is understood to be an obstacle that can impede understanding (Schaffer 2010:44-45, 82-84).

Cargile et al (2004) investigate the attitudes of Americans of both ethnic majorities and minorities towards GA and mild- and strong-accented AAVE. Every ethnic group in this verbal guise study ranked GA at the top for status, putting strong-accented AAVE at the bottom. All voices were female though, and the results could have been different if there had been male voices instead (Cargile et al 2004). Preston (1989) asked 26 college students to

draw a dialect map of the US including all the states. They would then rank the states by which state the most correct English was spoken in. The most correct English was found in North Central, New England, Colorado and Mid-Atlantic excluding New York State. There was most agreement about the North Central area, with less agreement towards the East. The South came out at the bottom, having the least correct English, according to the respondents. New York State also came out badly but opinions were more divided here, which Preston feels has something to do with conflicting stereotypes of New York City (Preston:56-57).

In a later survey by Niedzielski and Preston (1999), respondents from both the South and North Central were handed maps of the US with the states plotted in. They were then asked to draw dialect zones and comment on the dialects/accents used in the zones. By doing it like this, Niedzielski and Preston got access to direct attitudes to the people living there, through their accents (Garrett 2010:180). Some interesting results were seen, first of all that the Mid-West, including North Central, is considered accent-free both amongst Southerners and Northerners. 4 dialect zones emerge from the hand-drawn maps; the South; The North East; the Mid-West and the Western states including Hawaii (Niedzielski and Preston 1999:57-63). 'Hicks', 'Hillbilly' and 'the worst English of America' were comments typical of Northerners when they described the South, showing prejudice towards that region through language. Southerners themselves did rate the Mid-West as correct English, but they showed in-group solidarity and rather defined themselves in terms such as 'southern hospitality' and 'courteous', taking pride in their local cultural values. New York City, New Jersey and the South were generally seen as the least correct by all respondents (Niedzielski and Preston 1999:59-63). As for pleasantness, New York City and New Jersey mirror the stigmatised British urban accents amongst both Northerners and Southerners, resulting in some of the lowest scores for pleaseantness in addition to being seen as the least correct accent regions. The New York and New Jersey accents thus remain heavily stigmatised, lacking both prestige and social attractiveness (Niedzielski and Preston 1999:63-65; Garrett 2010:185-186). In this case, one could argue that region is a factor influencing language attitudes in the US. Accent is often seen as sloppy and the dominion of the uneducated, and people with an accent are believed to live in the South and in the NYC area, according to the results. The rest of the country seems to be speaking GA, an accent without an accent, according to lay people (Lippi-Green 1997:58).

As for language stigmatisation based on ethnicity, AAVE is a variety spoken by an uncertain number of African Americans in the USA, amongst a total of 42 million African Americans (U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S.

CENSUS BUREAU, The Black Population 2010:3). Pejorative attitudes towards AAVE resemble complaints about other stigmatised regional and social varieties; they target lexical items and grammar elements and more generally issues about purity, claiming authority over varieties that are 'wrong'. A very salient feature is the word *ask*, which can be pronounced [æks] in AAVE. Ridiculed and stigmatised as this variant is, many believe the inverted spelling is due to ignorance and sloppiness, as is the general consensus not only in the USA. People can say things like 'My husband came here from Germany and he learned how to say a-s-k, so why can't you?' Attitudes like this can be seen everywhere, even from people like the Mayor of NYC. The variant [æks] was in fact Old English, stayed through Middle English and is found in several regions in the USA and UK today. Criticism about AAVE extends to African American culture and values, for example, newspapers can complain about African American athletes, AAVE characters in movies and musicians being bad role models for the young generation by not speaking proper English. One's options as a black youth using the AAVE variety are limited unless one changes to GA. This is because AAVE is so heavily stigmatised, connected to ghetto talk and 'lazy speech' of people who can not speak properly. In a way, AAVE is seen as a rebellion against the white culture, and that is seen as unacceptable (Lippi-Green 1997:178-182).

As mentioned in Section 2.2.4, language is a political tool to make the USA English. As a result of the stigmatisation of AAVE, it is not only seen as a language by African Americans, but it is also seen as a style which many African Americans employ in situations where AAVE can be used to 'get down on it', to signal sympathy, to signal that you are one of them, whilst you would otherwise employ GA. Oprah Winfrey is one such user of AAVE as a style. This is especially true for black middle class speakers (Lippi-Green 1997:177-178,193-194). The white population in the USA seems to be ashamed of AAVE (Lippi-Green 1997:201).

Hawaiian Creole English is another socially stigmatised variety of English in the USA. Spoken by some 10-30% of the population in Hawaii, primarily Hawaiians of native origin, it is a rule governed system with the status of a language. As with AAVE, it is considered 'lazy talk' by Standard speakers and thought to exist because its speakers have not learned to speak properly (Lippi-Green, 1997:119-120). This illustrates well how attitudes to language can have nothing to do with the language itself, but rather represents attitudes to a social group.

All in all, being seen as 'having an accent' by lay people in the USA can be highly stigmatising and seems connected to region, race and social status in the USA.

2.3.5 Other Englishes and attitudes

In Bayard (1990), attitudes to New Zealand English are investigated along with attitudes to other English varieties. Being a former English colony in an American-influenced zone, language attitudes are particularly interesting to observe. NZE can be classified into 3 varieties, *cultivated, broad* and *general,* according to Bayard (1990). GA, RP and Australian middle class accent were also evaluated. The results mirror other studies; RP commands high prestige amongst New Zealanders but little solidarity. GA is ranked highest on solidarity and also relatively high on prestige. What is interesting is that GA and RP prestige is higher than that of all NZE varieties, perhaps displaying a colonial inferiority. Even Australian English is ranked higher for solidarity, and also thought humorous (Bayard 1990:68-71, 89). Within the NZE varieties, we see some of the same pattern as in the UK and the US, with broad NZE scoring low on power and partially low on solidarity. Broad NZE is highly stigmatised, being connected to the Maori population and terms such as *loser*. General NZE comes out on top for power for the NZE varieties, whilst cultivated NZE in some categories is even ranked below broad NZE, which is lower than what earlier studies have suggested (Bayard 1990:88-94). This study partially supports trends found in Section 2.2.3 about standard ideology, also suggesting that varieties connected to ethnic minorities and lower social class are usually heavily stigmatised.

A Danish study (Ladegaard 1998) with Danish respondents using English as a second language reflects attitudes found in much of the English-speaking world, especially in the UK and the USA. All the respondents were either in secondary school, required to be acquainted with aspects of British and American society along with topics from other English-speaking countries, or they were university students studying English, expected to know quite a lot about inner workings of English-speaking countries and English language varieties from various English-speaking countries. The speakers in Ladegaard (1998) spoke RP, Scottish, Cockney, Australian and GA using the verbal guise technique, and the respondents were asked to rate them (Ladegaard 1998:253-257). With the RP variety scoring high on prestige and status, this Danish study is a mirror image of attitudes found in English-speaking countries in the world towards RP. The RP variety speaker scored low on social attractiveness. The urban variety (Cockney) scored low on prestige. The General American variety speaker received only top score on humour, whilst the Scottish variety speaker was seen as reliable and the Australian variety speaker as friendly and helpful (Ladegaard 1998:259-260). What is interesting is that even though many respondents did not recognise

the speakers' varieties, they still produced the same stereotypes as those in the English-speaking world, suggesting that the media through television and films have made Danes aware of social connotations connected to English varieties, though one could also suggest the Inherent Value Hypothesis (See Section 2.2.3). Ladegaard, however, suggests that stereotypes about different varieties are latent in Danes and that speech samples can evoke these stereotypes even if they can't recognise where the speakers come from. Results were generally the same for both the secondary school students and the university students, and the respondents generally found America to be exciting and different from their own culture, whilst England is seen as conservative and friendly and a model for academic language (Ladegaard 1998:261-270).

2.3.6 Media and its influence on language attitudes

Journalists and others working in the media hold an unusual amount of power and influence the lives of the public. They shape the news, they filter it and they present what they want the public to see as the truth. We see them as our role models, we let them set the standard for what is correct and we are not challenging their authority (Lippi-Green, 1997:151). Media's role in communicating social values and propagating and defending national culture is undoubtfully important in the UK and the USA. Cultural homogenization and sharing the same general values are emphasized by English media in the USA and the UK. A survey by Chomsky and Herman (1988) confirmed the above; that the media inculcate the public with mainstream values and beliefs using propaganda. Over time, media propaganda has become common sense truth, and language is such a common sense truth that the media influence. Language plays an important part, being a key to social groups and a national culture. The media tend to present language in the form of homogeneity, which means linguistic assimilation aiming for an abstract standard that seems natural to 'everyone' and is needed for the greater social good. The news presenter gets authority with his or her spoken language, a common language which is correct and proper (Chomsky and Herman 1988:133-137). The managing director of BBC made a comment on the language in 1924, in a speech known as *Broadcast over Britain*, demonstrating opinions which are still held today by others:

> One hears the most appalling travesties of vowel pronunciation. This is a matter in which broadcasting may be of immense assistance…. We have made a special effort to secure in our stations men who, in the presentation of programme items, the reading of news bulletins and so on, can be relied

> upon to emply the correct pronunciation of the English tongue…. I have frequently heard that disputes as to the right pronunciation of words have been settled by reference to the manner in which they have been spoken on the wireless… our responsibilities in this matter are obvious, since in talking to so vast a multitude, mistakes are likely to be promulgated to a much greater extent than was ever possible before
> McArthur 1992:109-110)

BBC takes the role of guiding the people in how to speak in the right manner, in order to avoid the confusion English speakers think occurs when everyone speaks their own dialect without directions on how to speak properly. In the USA, The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) took upon itself a similar role, to show the people how proper English should be spoken. NBC's logic was that communication needed to be effective, and efficiency is reached by speaking properly with 'good' pronunciation, the pronunciation all Americans would understand: GA. With this, NBC and BBC claimed authority over language upholding the correct and best way of speaking, setting the pace for English. Comments on correct English are still highly present in British and American media, containing opinions on bad English and the need to teach people how to free the speakers from bad language, with the speakers being 'prisoners of their own accents' (Lippi-Green 1997:134-139). As mentioned in Section 2.2.3, the media also tends to promote accent reduction courses to remove stigmatised accents in order to speak without an accent or with a favoured accent, such as a Standard variety. To promote accent-free speech is quite a bold statement as there is no such thing.

Children are also under pressure from media-channelled language attitudes. In two separate surveys, Dobrow and Gidney (1998) and Lippi-Green (1997) investigated animated Disney films and animated series for children from an American perspective. They both found that accent was a crucial identifier for the characters, a shortcut to establish them as good, bad, stupid, romantic, etc (Dobrow and Gidney 1998:117-118; Lippi-Green 1997:101-103). In Disney films, GA is associated with mothers and fathers, family values, heroes and other positive roles. 73.5 per cent of the US-speaking characters have a positive role, whilst this is only true for 57.6 per cent of British or other 'Englishes' characters. As for foreign-accented English, only 37 per cent have positive roles and a staggering 40.7 per cent of the foreign-accented characters are bad characters, compared to only 20 per cent when it comes to US-accented characters (Lippi-Green 1997:91-92). Foreign-accented speech is often used as a conveyer for the setting of the story in a foreign country but even then, most characters that would logically have a foreign accent speak GA or mainstream British English. GA and mainstream British English account for 65 per cent of all characters, with an additional 22%

speaking regionally or socially marked accents of British or American English (Lippi-Green 1997:87-89). Moreover, in Disney films, to be sexually attractive, the character seems to have to sound white and middle-class American or British. Foreign-accent is heavily stereotyped, with the French being heavily stereotyped as good with food and loose-hearted romantics (Lippi-Green 1997:97-100). AAVE speakers are heavily stigmatised and are portrayed in roles building on stereotypes. Male AAVE speakers are portrayed as unemployed; they daydream, love music and have no meaning in life. In addition, all AAVE characters appear in animal form rather than humanoid form, just like characters with a USA Southern accent, perhaps indicating they are not like white mainstream English speakers. This is excluding AAVE-speakers who slip in and out of GA and AAVE, using AAVE for comical effect. Lippi-Green feels that when children who do not normally have much contact with African Americans are exposed to negative stereotypes about African Americans, they get a distorted view of what it means to be black (Lippi-Green 1997:93-94).

Dobrow and Gidney (1998) show similar findings in their survey on 12 randomly picked American animated series for children. In this survey, the majority of the series used linguistic stereotypes to indicate a character's personality or status as serious or comic or villain or hero. Villains tended to use a foreign-accent or non-standard American varieties associated with low socioeconomic status and often regionally marked, but British English was also highly represented amongst villains, often with hyper-exaggerated salient features. Comical characters generally used socioeconomically marked American accents or foreign-accented English. British accents were never used with comical effect. Age and male gender were also marked linguistically. Young age was marked with middle-class teenage slang, and male voices associated with major heroes or villains were gruff and electronically altered to sound lower (Dobrow and Gidney 1998:112-117). All in all, Dobrow and Gidney (1998) find that their survey 'suggests that children's television relies heavily on language to mark characters' personalities (Dobrow and Gidney 1998:114). As in Lippi-Green's (1997) study on Disney movies, heroes use Standard accents (in this case, GA is the only Standard), and crooks use non-standard or foreign-accented English accents. This survey also shows that speakers of British English are stereotyped in a different way than in Disney movies; they are either pure evil or the epitome of elegance and refinement. In other words, they are often seen as snobs. Foreign-accented evil characters sometimes reflect former World War II or the Cold War enemies, with Slavic- and German-accented English. Generally, the use of accents in animated films reflects commonly held beliefs in American society and can further distort and stereotype the image of gender roles, ethnicity and otherwise people from lower

socioeconomic groups (Dobrow and Gidney 1998:117-118). The role of the media can be crucial when it comes to deciding and reinforcing language attitudes and stereotypes, being a role model for the public and claiming authority.

2.3.7 How language attitudes can affect your opportunities in life

Discrimination in the work place over language does happen. The General Accounting Office of the United States Government discovered that 10 per cent of their sample, 461,000 companies, reported that they discriminated on the basis of foreign accent or foreign-looking. However, from 1972 to 1994, only 25 cases of language-focused discrimination cases were brought to court in the USA, where the employer won 15 times. In the courtroom, communication problems are often brought up as a reason for firing former employees. In one such case, a judge discounted the testimony of a linguist who claimed that HCE was one of many varieties of English, telling the linguist that he was not an expert in speech (Lippi-Green 1997:153-160). A number of studies have been made on language and employment, and they show that intelligence and competence are factors that often matter when an employer is hiring, and accents which rate highly on intelligence and competence are usually Standard varieties. Standard accents were generally found to be preferred over non-standard accents, usually for non-manual jobs. A study in the UK showed that non-standard accents were preferred over Standard accents when it came to manual work. Specific accents seem to be regarded as appropriate or inappropriate for given job levels, indicating an accent hierarchy. This seems to be the norm (Garrett 2010:136-139).

Not mentioning cases with people who get fired from the educational sector because their English variety is considered incorrect by their employer (Lippi-Green 1997:161-162), the school system is an important place for contact between different language varieties. A number of studies have been done on how ones' language variety can influence evaluations on pupils' work in school. Race being a factor in the USA and class in both the UK and the USA, it was found in a study from 1977 in the USA that both class and race affected evaluations of students' work (Garrett 2010:129-130). At universities, a frequent complaint from students is that teacher assistants can not speak English properly. In one study, 40 per cent of the students avoided going to lectures if they were not satisfied with the lecturers' English (Garrett 2010:130-131).

Being a suspect or on trial for a crime are also arenas which can affect how people judge if you are guilty or not depending on your accent. In several studies, stereotyping by

accent was a factor for deciding if the person was guilty, linking it to social class and race. Speakers of urban accents were found to be guiltier of blue collar crimes while standard-accented English made one less guilty of the same. However, Standard-accented English made one seem guiltier of white collar crimes than working class speakers were judged to be (Garrett 2010:123-126). Seeing this, one could definitively claim that having the right accent in standard culture communities such as those in the USA and the UK can be essential for your options in life, potentially giving or removing options depending on your accent.

Summarising, native speakers of various English varieties may suffer stereotyping based on the English variety they speak. The English speech society is dominated by the Standard ideology, with General American and Received Pronunciation as the two dominating Standard varieties[8] in their respective countries and even in English-speaking countries outside the USA and the UK, reaping high prestige scores. English urban accents are disdained and heavily stigmatised throughout the English-speaking world. This view on English accents and varieties seems mirrored by L2 speakers of English. English language attitudes are heavily influenced by the media. In the end, the English variety an English native speaker uses may influence his or her options in life.

2.4 Attitudes to foreign-accented language

It is normal to distinguish between first language (L1) and second language[9] (L2) accents. L1 accents are native English accents, such as RP or Indian English. A L2 accent is a non-native language to the speaker, for example a Norwegian speaking English (Lippi-Green 2008:42). Within L1 and L2 accents, there are of course a great variety of accents, but the main difference is that L1 accents are structured variations in language and L2 accents are not. When a L1 speaker (English in this case) speaks, he or she will often have a particular phonology stemming from a certain area, influencing his English, representing that area or a combination of areas. The L1 speaker also has a number of variables at his or her disposal, signalling social meaning depending on which variants he or she uses. An accent is separated from a dialect by it being mainly different from other accents in terms of phonology, including prosodic and segmental features. A dialect differs from another dialect also because

[8] See Section 1.1 for the definition of *variety*.
[9] S*econd language*, in this thesis, is to be understood as the same as foreign-accented language.

of syntax, morphological structures, lexicon and semantic meaning in addition to prosodic features and segmental features (Lippi-Green 2008: 42-43).

A L2 accent is different from a L1 one also in the sense that the former refers to the speaker's native phonology intruding in his or her L2 accent in some degree, for example, when a native-Norwegian language speaker speaks English, and his or her Norwegian phonology intrudes in his or her English accent. A lay person would say a person with an L2 accent might sound German or foreign when he or she is speaking English (Lippi-Green 2008:43). It is nearly impossible for an L2 speaker to acquire L1 proficiency in the L2 language. Actually, once you pass the language acquisition stage, which is some time in adolescence, you will most likely never be able to acquire native proficiency. There are always some sounds which you will not master. An L1 speaker of the same language would most likely hear that you are not a native speaker (Lippi-Green 2008:45-51).

2.4.1 English foreign-language speakers' concerns about foreign-accented language

Derwing (2003) investigated immigrants' perceptions of their own pronunciation and what consequences speaking with a foreign accent could have for them. The study was conducted in Canada, and English was the language which they spoke with an L2-accent. The respondents all attended ESL classes and 100 were interviewed about their own experiences on speaking with an English L2 accent (Derwing 2003:547-550). The respondents were divided into 3 groups according to their ESL proficiency and all had a noticeable L2 accent, originating from a long range of different countries. The study also examined any differences between visible minority versus non-visible minority groups along with gender. The results showed that 97 per cent of the respondents believed it was important to pronounce English 'well', whilst 55 individuals responded that they thought their own pronunciation played a part in their communication problems. This illustrates very well their beliefs about correct pronunciation. They considered it to be a critical aspect of communication, even though only 55 per cent felt it impeded their own communication. Nearly two thirds of the informants felt they were not being discriminated on the basis of accent, whilst nearly one third felt they were. 95 per cent would like to speak English like a native speaker if they could. Because research suggests it is extremely hard to obtain a native L1 accent as adults; it is clear they have no real choice. Being a visible minority was also reported as having an effect on felt discrimination (Derwing 2003: 552-556). The majority of the respondents felt that Canadians

would respect them more if they pronounced English 'well', despite the fact that only a third felt discriminated. In the qualitative part of the interview, responses such as the following were seen:

- *They accept, they generally try to understand*
- *The people try to understand me but some people are not patient – most people are*
- *Canadians like accents*
- *They don't pay attention to you if your English isn't good.*
- *People make rude comments, they tell me that I should take pronunciation classes*
- *They don't listen as carefully to people who have an accent*

(Derwing 2003:557).

Some respondents could give examples from their daily lives where they felt they had been discriminated, such as 'When we had a car accident, the police didn't pay attention to what I said. They paid more attention the other women with whom we had the accident'. Another respondent said 'I ask bus driver a question. When he hear me in a different accent, he just say "no". He doesn't even look at me or say or explain to me which bus to take. He looked at me in a miserable way and say "no"'! There were many experiences like these, where the ESL learners had had bad experiences using an L2 accent. At the same time, the L2 speakers in the survey had problems pointing out what their own pronunciation problems could be if they wanted to sound more native-like, and the visible minorities were more likely to feel discriminated on the account of accent (Derwing 2003:555-560). Derwing (2003) points at numerous studies suggesting prosody has considerable importance to overall understanding. Prosody is rarely taught in ESL classes, unlike segmental features, and this might be one reason why few ESL learners in the study could point at what they could do to get more native-like pronunciation. The study concludes that achieving a native-like English accent for L2 speakers living in Canada is seen as important to be fully accepted in the community (Derwing 2003:560-562).

The negative view on one's own L2 accent can also be said to be true amongst Norwegians, where particularly Thorbjørn Jagland is the target of many critics due to his heavy Norwegian-accented English. This is because of his role as the chairman of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, representing Norwegians throughout the world. Norwegian media are full of comments on Jagland's 'awful' English with comments like 'Take a hint, Jagland.

People were applauding because they thought you were finished with your speech'[10] whilst other journalists have proposed that Jagland should rather give the speech in Norwegian and have a translator translate it to the audience (Lilleås and Ludt 2009). One of Norway's largest newspapers made a protocol for people to comment, asking people 'What do you think about Thorbjørn Jagland's speech?'[11]. The responses tend to contain remarks about his English accent, with comments such as 'Let us hope that Jagland uses Norwegian the next time he is handing out the Nobel Peace Prize. This was embarrassing – even though the content was pretty good', 'that poor English is not worthy for a man in his position. The content was ok but almost impossible to understand because of bad pronunciation' and 'this was embarrassing'[12]. Most comments contain negative remarks about his English, giving a picture of how Norwegians view English spoken with a heavy Norwegian accent (Verdens Gang 2009). This year's Nobel Peace Prize speech by Jagland attracted the same kind of negative remarks about his English from Norwegians in the media and especially on Twitter as in previous years. The negative view on his 'bad' language, however, seems to be focused on exclusively in Norway. Færås (2012) reports that he can not find any negative remarks about Jagland's English abroad. This negative view on heavy Norwegian-accented English in Norway seems to be shared by L2 English speakers in Canada about their own foreign-accented English, according to Derwing (2003), giving us a picture of how L2 speakers of English with different nationalities view their own foreign-accented English in an English language setting.

In Japan, the view on heavy-accented English spoken by people from the respondents' country seems to be the same as in Norway and Canada. McKenzie (2008) discovered that Japanese respondents' attitudes towards GA and RP compared to Japanese-accented English was much in favour of the two Standard native accents. Moderately accented Japanese English and heavily accented Japanese English were not favoured, with the heaviest accent being viewed the most negatively. This indicates that Japanese-accented English, and especially heavy Japanese-accented English, in Japan may be stigmatised by the Japanese (McKenzie 2008:74), much in line with how other nationalities rate their own foreign-accented English.

[10] Translated from Norwegian (Lilleås and Ludt 2009)
[11] Translated from Norwegian (Verdens Gang 2009).
[12] All three comments are translated from Norwegian (Verdens Gang 2009).

2.4.2 Native speaker attitudes to non-native accent and accent hierarchies

A long range of studies on attitudes to non-native accents from native speakers have been carried out. Brennan & Brennan (1981) did a study on Mexicans who used Spanish-accented English. They used an accentedness scale to measure accentedness. Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans read a text on tape, containing 18 phonological variables that would determine accentedness. Linguists counted the tokens and defined how accented the speakers were, finding 9 speakers with various degrees of accentedness. 60 adolescents from the Mid-West then rated the speaker's accentedness, coming fairly close to the ratings of the linguists. They also rated the speakers on 7 point scales to find out status and solidarity scores, discovering that a heavy accent usually meant low status, whilst no connection between accentedness and solidarity was found. It was also found that certain phonological variables were significantly correlated with status compared to other phonological variables. This means that social status, when it comes to Mexican-Americans in this study, can be predicted by certain phonological variables that may be particularly salient along with the degree of accentedness. Thus, a heavy accent gives lower status scores (Brennan & Brennan 1981). However, it is to be noted that speakers of Spanish-accented English in the US are consistently negatively stereotyped (Weyant 2007:704; Lippi-Green 1997:234). The results in the survey by Brennan & Brennan (1981) were mirrored by Carranza and Ryan (1975) when 10 Spanish-accented Mexican students were rated for status and solidarity by American respondents. Here too did a clear correlation between the degree of accentedness and status appear. The heavier the accent was; the more negatively the speakers were rated on both status and solidarity, further enhancing the theory that heavy foreign-accents are often downgraded in terms of speaker status (Carranza and Ryan 1975; Garrett 2010: 76).

Weyant (2007) carried out a similar study, where a range of college students were set to evaluate native English speakers and speakers with Spanish-accented English, using English as a second language. Weyant (2007) did not investigate rated accentedness as did Brennan & Brennan (1981). After the participants heard the recordings, each respondent was asked to write a paragraph about how a typical day in the speaker's life would be like and then rate the speaker on a scale with bipolar adjectives, determining the speaker's perceived status. In this survey, half of the respondents were asked to pretend that they were the speaker when answering, writing about a typical day of the speaker and in first person. The other half took the opposite perspective and wrote about the speaker in third person. Perspective was a significant factor for non-native speaker's capabilities and their status, putting the non-native

speakers almost on native speaker level if they wrote the text using the first person. Perspective seemed to greatly reduce negative stereotyping of the non-native speakers. The effect of perspective was non-existant when it came to the evaluation of native speakers. Perspective has also been used in other surveys to successfully reduce negative stereotypes, playing on empathy. In Weyant (2007), respondents who were not instructed to take the perspective of the speaker judged non-native speakers significantly lower on status traits than they did native speakers (Weyant 2007). Generally speaking, non-native speakers seem to be rated lower on status and competence traits as a general rule, with some exceptions (Weyant 2007: 703f).

In the English-speaking world, English accents are set in a status hierarchy with Standard accents coming out on top, with RP and GA usually dominating (Section 2.3.3; Section 2.3.4; Section 2.3.5). Foreign-influenced accents also seem to be set in an accent hierarchy, with the L1 language's Standard accent on top, at least when it comes to status and prestige. With language and accent being closely connected to culture (Section 2.2.1), accent can here too be seen as a shortcut for stereotyping people. Lippi-Green (1997) says that Asian-accented English along with Spanish-accented English are negatively viewed in the USA, where Asian is a category used by lay people for a whole range of Asian countries. The negative stereotypes towards Mexicans and Latin-Americans in general can generally be seen in connection to their status in the USA as illegal immigrants and their social status. Their role in the media is also often negative, portrayed as gangsters and pimps (Lippi-Green 1997: 233-237), although more positive roles of Spanish-accented characters have been broadcasted recently (Mitchell 2010:238).

On *The Escapist Magazine*'s (2010) off topic forums, one forum user made a forum thread called 'Which accents are the most and least attractive to hear the English language spoken in?'. This thread got almost 200 replies from users from all over the world and yields very interesting data from lay people. Respondents are divided into 3 groups in this thesis; *North American*, *British* and *Other*. *Other* is a category for people from other areas than North America and the UK who made a post. *Other* may also contain North Americans and British people who did not provide any information about their nationality. An overview shows that accents like Norwegian-, Swedish- and Dutch-accented English are almost never mentioned by posters not from Norway, Sweden or the Netherlands, and when those accents are mentioned by posters from the formerly mentioned countries, the view is almost purely negative. They seem to dislike their own accents whilst native English-speaking posters rarely

mention those accents. If they do, they comment that they can not understand why Swedes, Norwegians and Dutch people think their own English accents are bad.

As for the best liked accents, Russian-accented English is the accent mentioned the most amongst both North Americans and British posters and also the second most often mentioned amongst *Other* posters. Although a few in all categories mention Russian-/Eastern European-accented English in negative terms, it is clearly one of the favourites and mentioned in positive ways by many posters. Little is mentioned by the respondents about why this is, so maybe the stereotypical evil Russian of Lippi-Green's (1997) study on animated Disney films has been weakened. German-accented English seems to be controversial amongst respondents in all categories, but is still the second most popular foreign accent amongst posters from the UK. German-accented English is also the accent mentioned the most together with Mexican-/Hispanic-accented English and Asian-accented English in negative terms for *Other*, but is also mentioned the third most amongst preferred accents in the same category. An explanation may be that many respondents comment on gender. A male German English accent might be negatively evaluated whilst a female German English accent might be positively evaluated. Asian English accents along with Mexican/Hispanic English ones seem to be very much stigmatised and are the definitive losers in all three categories. Generally, not much reasoning is given for their choices except that they might think an accent 'horrible' or they dislike males having certain accents. Japanese-accented English seems to be an exception to the negative view on Asian English accents, with mixed responses, sometimes mentioned together with terms such as *cute* (*The Escapist Magazine* 2010). Gender might be a factor here as well.

French-accented English is an interesting accent in this forum thread. Being mentioned in negative terms the third most amongst North American and British respondents, it is also mentioned the second and third most in positive terms in the same two categories. As with German, gender might be of importance here, and gender is sometimes mentioned in connection with French, connecting female French accents with positive evaluation. In the category *Other*, French is almost exclusively evaluated positively and is clearly the most mentioned foreign-accent, being mentioned 50 per cent more often than the second highest evaluated foreign-accent: Russian/Eastern European (*The Escapist Magazine* 2010). Again, this might relate to gender and that French is somewhat stereotyped as the language of love (Lippi-Green 1997). Some respondents also commented that heavy accents were worse than lighter accents. The seemingly random forum thread on *The Escapist Magazine* (2010) seems

to be a pool into the soul of accent attitudes amongst lay people, mirroring surveys done by linguists.

In Australia, Nesdale and Rooney (1996) investigated 10-12 year old children's attitudes towards Australian English, Italian-accented English and Vietnamese-accented English. Again, the Asian accent was rated the lowest for status, even at the respondent's young age. They were apparently aware of the cultural aspect. Vietnamese immigrants in Australia tend to take low status jobs and this survey might reflect that. Italian-accented English was rated significantly higher on status than Vietnamese-accented English, with Australian English coming out on top (Nesdale and Rooney 1996).

In two larger studies by, one called *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010), and Giles (1970), the main emphasis was on British accents but some foreign-accented English accents were included. The findings are very interesting, giving us insight in how British people rate some foreign accents. As for prestige, French-accented English seems to be the highest rated foreign-accent in both surveys, getting almost as high prestige as the respondents' own accents. In Giles (1970), it is rated second highest, even higher than GA. It is only ranked sixth out of 16 in *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010) but is still the highest foreign-accented English. German-accented English is rated somewhere in the middle for both surveys, but higher in Giles (1970), ranking as high as GA and Scottish English. Asians and Caribbeans seem stigmatised, being rated about the same as speakers of the disliked British Urban varieties. Social attractiveness findings mirror the prestige findings somewhat, but French is upgraded quite substantially in both Giles (1970) and *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010) compared to the Standard British and American accents. Also Asian- and Caribbean-accented Englishes are somewhat upgraded on social attractiveness, though Asian-accented English is still viewed in a negative way. Caribbean accents are seen as socially more attractive than British urban accents, and even German in *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010) which is seen as the second least socially attractive accent out of 16. A variable in *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010) that proved to have an effect was gender. Females gave out higher prestige and social attractiveness ratings than men. Also worth mentioning is Spanish-accented English in *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010) which was rated about the same as German-accented English for prestige, but got its social attractiveness rating increased contrary to German-accented English which dropped. Spanish-accented English is seen as relatively neutral. Italian-accented English too, in Giles (1970), follows the pattern of Spanish-accented English, being just below neutral for prestige but is elevated somewhat in regards to social attractiveness (*Voices*, reported in Garrett 2010:172-176; Giles 1970).

Lindemann (2005) asked 213 American university students to label a map of the world with their own descriptions of 58 English foreign-accents spoken in 58 pre-defined countries. In addition, they were asked to rate the English of speakers from the 58 countries in a survey using Likert scales to get numerical scores on how correct, pleasant and friendly the accents were to the respondents. They were also asked to rate how familiar the English of the 58 countries was to them. Results showed that familiarity proved to be a frequent predicator for how correct, pleasant and friendly the accents were considered to be. Of the countries in the study, the English accents of China, Japan, India and Russia were all listed in top 15 for familiarity, but this did not result in the same high ratings for correct, pleasant and friendly English due to negative stereotypes. Those four countries were all rated below the median for at least one of the categories. The English accents of Western European countries such as Sweden or France were typically rated above the median, at least on correctness. The German English accent, though, was not seen as very pleasant or friendly, despite being familiar and relatively correct (Lindemann 2005). The table below shows how the countries were rated in total, excluding familiarity:

Table 2.1: Results from Lindemann (2005)

Table 2. K-means cluster analysis on correct (cor), pleasant (pleas), and friendly (friend) scores in 4 groups

Cluster Center cor/pleas/friend	Countries Included
8.4/8.2/8.2	**Most familiar countries of primarily native English speakers** (US, Canada, UK, Australia, Ireland, Jamaica)
6.5/6.7/6.7	**Less familiar countries of primarily native English speakers / with English as official language** (New Zealand, South Africa) **Western Europe** (Italy, France, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Netherlands) **Latin America** (Costa Rica, Brazil, Colombia)
5.8/5.9/6.1	**Central Europe** (Germany, Greece, Norway, Austria, Poland) **Latin America** (Mexico, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, El Salvador, Ecuador, Honduras) **Most familiar Asian countries** (India, Philippines, Japan, China) **Africa** (Nigeria, Kenya, Central African Republic, Egypt) **Israel**
5.1/4.8/4.9	**Less familiar Asian countries** (South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Vietnam, North Korea, Indonesia, Singapore, Pakistan) **Eastern Europe** (Russia, Romania, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Bosnia) **Middle East** (Morocco, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Afghanistan)

(Lindemann 2005:194)

As is evident, familiarity is often a factor for how an accent is rated in terms of being correct, friendly and pleasant. Also, a pattern is clear between foreign-accented English from Western countries in addition to some less negatively stereotyped Latin-American countries versus the so-called third world countries, including countries such as China and India. Eastern European English is not rated very highly. The tendency of familiarity having a reasonably large effect on evaluations reflects that the USA in recent years has had considerable contact with the familiar countries. This is through political bonds, immigration, commerce, or in other ways. Lindemann (2005) feels that countries such as Germany might still be connected to the Second World War and that led to their low ratings despite high familiarity. The same can be said for Russia, being a main foe during the Cold War. The media can be said to have influenced this. In addition to familiarity, socio-political factors seem to largely explain the patterns of the evaluation of the countries (Lindemann 2005:187-

195). Interestingly enough, we can see that Norway is not familiar to the respondents and thus drops to the median, lower than other Western European countries, but Western European countries are also in hard competition with English native countries, which are hard to beat on familiarity (Lindemann 2005:187-195).

In the map part of the study by Lindemann (2005), the previously named countries' English accents were commented on by 79 of the same respondents, describing what was salient about them. The respondents also drew out areas they felt had the same kind of English. Of the countries mentioned the most were China, Australia, Mexico, Russia, the UK, Canada, France, India, Germany and Italy. These were countries often described as part of bigger speech areas such as Asia or Latin America. Mexico and China both appear as the main representatives of their respective speech regions, Latin American and Asia/The Far East. Mexico, Russia and China are often mentioned amongst the non-English countries and all are seen as negatively stereotyped. In general, the respondents had many comments regarding the English of negatively rated familiar countries such as China and Mexico, with comments such as 'Speak quickly, pronounce L's and R's', 'Broken English' and 'Difficult to understand, hard time pronouncing many words w/r and l, many times forget to put plural "-s" on ends of words' for China. The English of Mexico received comments such as 'Fast', 'Slow' and 'Sloppy English' whilst the English of Russia attracted comments like 'Very thick accent, hard to understand'. Both the English accents of Germany and Russia attracted comments such as 'Harsh, broken, hard' and 'Hard sounds, very throat-like, tough'. France, a positively viewed country, got comments on its English accent such as 'Say words very poetic, sweet', 'speak arrogant, romantic' and 'Their English sounds prettier /more romantic/ nicer'. France and French-accented English are thereby portrayed as romantic and poetic, but also arrogant. Salient features and negative evaluation seem to go hand in hand in this study, which is also discussed in Section 2.2.1 and 2.2.4. French-accented English, despite its salient features, is still evaluated positively, showing that culture and relations play an important role (Lindemann 2005).

In summary, Asia and Latin America seem to be the most stigmatised speech areas in the survey, along with Eastern Europe. These speech areas all speak 'broken' English according to the respondents. All are characterised by salient features. The Middle East should also be mentioned here but is not the most salient group. Lindemann (2005) believes the negative view on the speech areas in question may be due to media influence, socio-political influence and students' negative experience with Asian lecturers' so-called bad English. Latin-American-accented English is connected to 'sloppy' English, casual English

and illegal aliens, thus causing a negative impression on their English (Lindemann 2005). Lindemann's (2005) results do not completely match those found in a forum thread in *The Escapist Magazine* (2010), where Russia-accented English is one of the most favoured accents. A weakness with Lindemann (2005) is that the respondents did not actually hear the accents spoken. Previous surveys show that hearing accents may evoke attitudes that the respondents were not aware of in the same way as when they are told to describe an accent without hearing it (Lie Loftheim 2013; Ladegaard 1998). This might have influenced the results.

An accent hierarchy seems to exist when it comes to status and partially social attractiveness, with regions such as Latin America and Asia at the bottom, often excepting Japan. Something which can add to understanding more of this hierarchy in addition to what has been discussed earlier about media, socio-political relations and etc, is how language is used in consumer advertisements around the world. Some languages are connected to certain stereotypes projected through the use of language. Where German-accented English is often connected to pleasantness of rural life and commodities, French-accented English seems to be connected to elegance, refined taste, attractiveness, fascination and charm. Italian-accented English is connected with appreciation for speed and simple elegance whilst Spanish-accented English is used to sell perfume with masculine charm and cars with female wild tenderness. A television commercial for fashion or an elegant perfume would want to use the French language even in a non-French country because of the associations French gives, reinforcing the image of the product being elegant and fashionable. Language is a cultural symbol, and these kinds of stereotypes can contribute to forming opinions about foreign-accented English (Garrett 2010:142-145).

2.4.3 Education

As Section 2.2.3 suggests, social stereotyping can happen due to the accent you use, and the education sector is a field where having the right kind of English accent can have an effect on evaluation for both students and teachers, according to Section 2.3.7. This is also true for foreign-accented English. In the USA, a frequent complaint about teaching assistants at universities is that their English proficiency is not adequate. Rubin and Smith (1990) showed that 40 per cent of the students in their study avoided going to classes with teaching assistants whom they deemed not to possess adequate English proficiency. In an audio test where students listened to moderately or heavily accented English, there was no difference in

comprehension. However, the most accented teaching assistants received lower ratings regarding how good they were as teachers. Comprehension was highest when the teaching assistant had a GA accent compared to foreign-accented English and even British English (Rubin and Smith 1990). Interestingly enough, Rubin (1992) had students listen to two lectures delivered by native-American English speakers speaking GA, but the students saw a picture of either a Caucasian woman or a Chinese woman whilst listening. This proved to have an effect; the students understood less when seeing the Chinese woman than the Caucasian one, despite the fact that the voice was the same. This suggests that it is not a matter of not being able to understand foreign-accented English, but rather having something to do with the cultural aspect (Rubin 1992; Garrett 2010:131).

In Sweden, Boyd (2003) investigated attitudes towards foreign-born teachers speaking foreign-accented Swedish. Five teachers were selected, coming from Hungary, Spain, Iran and Russia. 54 teacher trainers and principals were given short clips of all five teachers in a class room situation, putting emphasis on authenticity rather than uniformity. In terms of pedagogical skill, the judges did not find big differences between the five teachers. This study and another study by the same authors showed that the degree of actual and judged accentedness proved to be about the same. Segmental, phonotactic and prosodic features all played a role in predicting perceived accentedness, though prosodic features were less important in this study. Boyd (2003) claims that other studies have concluded differently, putting more emphasis on phonotactics and prosody in order to get a good pronunciation in a foreign-language. Results suggest that perceived teacher suitability seems to go hand in hand with the degree of accentedness in this study, despite the fact that the judges did not find any pedagogical differences between the teachers. Heavily accented Swedish proved to make the teacher seen as less suitable for teaching in the eyes of the judges. Grammatical correctness and lexical richness were not important factors, according to Boyd (2003). Boyd (2003) believes that country of origin for the speakers did not matter much as the judges most likely could not establish the country of origin. This is because Swedes have limited knowledge about languages other than those from neighbouring countries and traditional languages taught in school. Logically though, Russian-accented Swedish should be known well enough to at least be classified as Eastern European, not to mention that visible foreigness is a factor, which other surveys show. In the same study, Boyd (2003) asked pupils to comment on the teachers, and they confirmed many of the other findings in the survey. A typical reaction was that if Swedish teachers had problems with their class, it was due to insufficient training or insufficient experience. If foreign-accented teachers had the same problems, they lacked

adequate proficiency in Swedish, blaming the foreign-accent. The results from Boyd (2003) seem to indicate that teachers having a foreign accent are being language-discriminated in Sweden (and elsewhere), something Section 2.3.7 also supports.

2.4.4 Job-related discrimination over foreign-accented speech

Job-related discrimination based on foreign-accent does happen. As sections 2.3.7 and 2.4.3 show, it is likely that it happens in Sweden and the USA with foreign-accented teachers. In the USA, there has been a number of court trials about employees being fired over foreign-accented English, not having 'good enough English' to do their jobs well enough. 10 per cent of companies in the USA report having discriminated on the basis of being foreign-looking or having a foreign accent (Section 2.4.3). Also, a telephone study done in 1990 showed that 41 per cent of the employers discriminated on basis of foreign accent. Foreign-accented speakers were treated differently than native speakers. They were simply told the job was occupied, despite the fact that native speakers were told otherwise when they called about the same job (Hosoda & Stone-Romero 2010:114).

In 1992, five Filipino security guards lost their jobs at the Department of the Treasury building in San Francisco over a trifle when a Treasury official was not pleased with how they spoke. This was despite all of them having lived in the USA most of their lives and having plenty of experience doing their jobs. The case was taken to court and the Filipinos won, but the case still shows how foreign-accented language can cause discrimination at work (Lippi-Green 1997:226-227). Lippi-Green (1997) thinks this is due to 'otherness'; they were seen as Asian and different, with all the cultural associations Asians carry with them. The repeated negative attitudes and stigma towards Asians may be due to their history as former colonies. They were nations inferior to the western world, and they can still be said to be like a warehouse of goods and people to us. Lippi-Green (1997) claims that the reaction to a Norwegian or Italian security guard's accent in the same situation as in the example above would probably not have been the same, evoking different kinds of attitudes (Lippi-Green 1997:227). In the USA, people with Spanish-accented English are another group discriminated against in the job market, being connected to Mexico and other negatively stereotyped countries in that region (Lippi-Green 1997:228-237). There are no documented cases in the USA of native speakers from countries such as the Netherlands or Sweden being turned away from jobs because of their foreign-accented English, although those speakers face the same basic language problems as people with foreign-accented English coming from

stigmatised regions. Lippi-Green (1997) claims that all foreign-accents are not necessarily stigmatised negatively; it's mostly third world accents and accents from stigmatised regions (Lippi-Green 1997:238-239). In the USA, there have never been any language discrimination cases involving Europeans with accented English (Hosoda & Stone-Romero 2010:116).

Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010) also investigated the effect of foreign accents on employement-related decisions. The study was carried out in the USA and included two GA speakers, two French-accented English speakers and two Japanese-accented English speakers, one of each gender per accent. All foreign-accented speakers had strong accents and their names reflected their country of origin, which of course could be a factor. The applicants were evaluated in terms of employment suitability for both high and low status jobs. Low or high communication demands were also a factor. 286 college students were respondents and heard a stimulus tape of a mock job interview, using the verbal guise technique. The respondents displayed better comprehension skills when they listened to GA, whilst comprehension regarding French- and Japanese-English was the same. The French applicants were perceived to be just as qualified or even better qualified than the GA applicants in all settings, with the variables high and low status, and high or low communication demand. The Japanese-accented applicants were perceived as less suitable for all jobs except the low status job with low communication demands, despite that they spoke just as clearly as the French speakers. Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010) believe that the lower scores for the Japanese applicants may be due to stereotypes connected to Asians, though Japan is in a position of its own, being viewed more positively than other Asians. Asians may be perceived as cold, which might explain why the Japanese applicants were disfavoured for the jobs with communicative needs. These findings suggest that some foreign accents evoke more negative attitudes than others, supporting Lippi-Green's (1997) claim that accents linked to non-white skin colour are often viewed negatively. One weakness with this survey is that the names reflected the country they came from and possibly influenced the outcome. At least one study has shown that names can have an effect on evaluations, similarly to skin colour, working as a shortcut to establishing what culture a person comes from. Also, all participants in this study were seen as having nearly the same social status as Whites, which meant that none of the participants were really stigmatised. Another weakness with this study is the fact that the respondents were all college students, which means they might not be representative for those who actually make the decisions (Hosoda & Stone-Romero 2010).

As mentioned in Section 2.3.7, competence and intelligence are often predictors for job hiring. When studies show that negatively stereotyped foreign-accents and other foreign-

accents are devaluated on exactly those traits in various degrees depending on the country (Weyan 2007), one can only speculate what kind of challenges L2 speakers can be facing on the job market. Hosoda and Stone-Romero's (2010) survey showed that French-accented English-speakers were rated even higher than GA speakers for certain jobs, which supports the view that not all foreign-accents are negatively viewed. In addition, the degree of accentedness seems to influence prestige/status evaluations, which means that intelligence and competence are again downgraded with a heavier accent. This may mean that a heavy accent can make it harder to get a job in an L2 setting, depending on the country of origin. There is a general consensus that discrimination on linguistic grounds is quite widespread. However, there are studies suggesting that foreign-accent does not affect job chances, for example, Cargile (1997) found that ethnicity connected with accent did not have any effect on employment. On the other hand, many studies show that the accent does matter. This is confirmed by court cases where employees have been sacked over foreign-accented speech, but only if the employee is from a stigmatised native-region or minority. There seems to be an accent hierarchy that can also be linked to jobs. This also includes native non-standard language (Garrett 2010:138). Having a foreign accent from a stigmatised region can, however, be deemed more appropriate for low status jobs (Hosoda and Stone-Romero 2010:115). In total, research and statistics suggest that job discrimination over foreign accent does happen, but it is unknown to what extent.

2.4.5 Factors that can alter attitudes to foreign-accented language

Typically, when speakers have to deal with an accent which is foreign to them, they make a decision on whether or not they will accept the accent. *The Accommodation Theory* comes into play, and the person who meets an accent foreign to them will have to decide whether or not he or she will accept responsibility in the communication process, accommodating to converge with the other speaker (Meyerhoff 2006). When a native speaker meets an accent foreign to him or her, the native speaker's language ideology filters will often decide what attitude he or she will take towards the foreign accented speaker (Lippi-Green 1997:72). As Section 2.2.1 shows, it is often not so much about language as about the cultural stereotypes evoked by the person through the language. If, for example, the person is French, the native-speaker is more likely to accommodate and accept the French speaker than he or she would a Chinese speaker (Lippi-Green 1997:72-73). One way of improving stereotypes for stigmatised regions is through the media. The media holds a lot of sway over the public opinion and

repeated negative stereotypes about groups can reinforce already existing negative stereotypes (Section 2.3.6).

Carey et al (2010) investigated if familiarity with a speaker's pronunciation would affect the ratings in oral proficiency interviews, which means that the amount of previous exposure to a foreign accent could have an effect. In this survey, the speakers were speaking Chinese-accented English, Korean-accented English and Indian-accented English. The respondents were International English Language Testing System (IELTS) examiners situated at test centres in India, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand and Korea. The Indian centre consisted of mainly native Indians, where some had English as their first language and most had English as a second language. The remaining test centres employed mostly British raters, with some other European raters as well. All of the participants in the test centres were familiar with at least one of the foreign-accents spoken and were assigned to rate the speakers' pronunciation on a scale from 1 to 10. The results showed that familiarity with the accents was an important factor. Pronunciation ratings did increase significantly when the speakers were familiar with the accent. Also, the country the respondents were located in proved vital, as all test centres were familiar with at least one variety because of either sharing the language or having a strong connection to the speakers' country in other ways. For example, Chinese-accented English rated in Hong Kong gave significantly higher pronunciation ratings, much higher than any other variables in the survey. All in all, taking the pronunciation test in a country with the same language as your native language significantly increased the pronunciation ratings awarded. This suggests that knowledge about interlanguage phonology is important for how we rate people's English proficiency; though attitudes will naturally play a part as well (Carey et al 2010).

Being familiar with a foreign-accent seems to have the potential of being a factor also according to Bresnahan et al (2002). In this study, respondents were asked to take the role of a friend to the foreign-accented speaker they were rating on status, attractiveness and dynamism, whereas others rated the same speakers as if they were normal teaching assistants. This role play resulted in the 'friend' scoring higher on all accent conditions.

In Derwing (2003), as described in Section 2.4.2, some respondents were told to take the perspective of the foreign-speaker, writing a story from the speaker's perspective and rating him or her on likert scales. This too resulted in higher ratings, strongly indicating that when a person is familiar with a foreign-accent, the accent is likely to be evaluated more positively (Derwing 2003). Lindemann's (2005) findings suggest the same as the former; familiarity can be a factor for how English with a foreign accent is perceived. Having a less

noticeable accent is also something which might reduce negative stereotyping and increase status ratings of the speaker, as further described in Section 2.4.2.

To sum up, native Standard accents always seem to be winning against foreign-accented speech in the language areas that have been investigated. Behind the native Standard accents, a hierarchy of foreign-accents seems to exist, with possible language discrimination as a result. Speakers are often devalued based on how accented they sound and on their country of origin. Some surveys show that this can happen regardless of whether a foreign-accent is present or not, just as long as the speaker is perceived as foreign. Various degrees of accentedness within the same foreign-accent do seem to affect evaluations of the person especially when it comes to status and prestige, though the comprehension does not necessarily change. Comprehension of foreign-accented speech may be lower compared to comprehension when listening to a native Standard speaker, but some surveys suggest that this may be because the person is perceived to be foreign and different, and not because of the foreign accent. Language seems to be a proxy for the cultural values the speaker might represent.

3 METHOD

This chapter outlines the phonological variables used to define Norwegian-accented English and Received Pronunciation, which, as explained in Section 3.2, I deem Standard British English. The chapter also outlines the method used.

3.1 The linguistic variables and variants

3.1.1 Defining Norwegian-accented English

Norwegian-accented English can be defined both prosodically and phonologically, and as Section 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 show, both are important when it comes to the perception of accentedness in foreign-accented English. Despite the importance of prosody, this thesis will focus only on phonology for practical reasons. This is because I deem phonology sufficient to determine accentedness in this thesis. A number of other studies investigating foreign-accentedness have also considered only phonology when determining foreign-accentedness, for example, Hanley et al (1974) and Brennan and Brennan (1981). These two studies have concluded that considering phonological variables only is sufficient to determine the degree of accentedness. In Brennan and Brennan (1981), a panel of trained linguists determined that the number of 'accented' phonological variables in the audio recordings correlated with the respondents' magnitude estimates of the accentedness of the speaker. This shows that the frequency of certain phonological features can predict accentedness (Brennan and Brennan 1981:498-500).

To define Norwegian-accented English phonologically, this thesis employs a defined number of phonological variables where Norwegians typically use variants which are different from those of a Standard British English speaker. The variables in question are various consonants, monophthongs and diphthongs. When a Norwegian variant correlates with the General American accent's variant of the same variable, the token is not defined as a Norwegian feature. This is because the variant is not a Norwegian one in that case, but rather an American one and is thus not considered foreign in this thesis. Vowel length is not considered. The Norwegian phonological variants defined in this thesis are not necessarily representative for the kind of phonological variants, for example, a Norwegian from Bergen or Trondheim would use when speaking English. Norwegian variants in this thesis are to be understood as Eastern Norwegian variants, used mainly by Norwegians having an Eastern

Norwegian accent when speaking Norwegian. This is for practical reasons and because the Eastern Norwegian accent is the most prominent one in Norway. Both speakers of Norwegian-accented English (See Section 3.2.1 and 3.2.1) in the thesis are from Eastern Norway.

In this thesis, the following phonological variables have been considered relevant for defining Norwegian-accented English[13]:

1. The alveolar plosive consonants /t/ (fortis) and /d/ (lenis), as in *teen, twin, day* and *had*.
   - In Norwegian-accented English, /t/ and /d/ are often produced with a closure which is dental, realised as [t̪] and [d̪].
2. The dental fricative consonants /θ/ (fortis) and /ð/ (lenis), as in *bath, thank, this* and *mother*.
   - In Norwegian-accented English, /θ/ and /ð/ are often realised as dental [t̪] or [d̪], or they are realised as the alveolar plosive consonants [t] and [d].
3. The alveolar nasal consonant /n/, as in *Henry* and *lunch.*
   - In Norwegian-accented English, /n/ is often further dentalised, realised as [n̪].
4. The alveolar fricative consonant /z/ (lenis), as in *dismal* and *boys.*
   - In Norwegian-accented English, /z/ tends to be realised as the alveolar fricative [s] (lenis).
5. The postalveolar fricative consonant /ʒ/ (lenis), as in *measure* and *pleasure*.
   - In Norwegian-accented English, /ʒ/ is typically realised as the postalveolar fricative [ʃ] (lenis).
6. The post-alveolar approximant consonant /r/, as in *range* and *Eric*.
   - In Norwegian-accented English, this variable may be realised as the alveolar tap [ɾ], typically used word-initially and post-/e/ instead of the Standard British English variant, the alveolar approximant [ɹ]. Norwegian-accented English is typically rhotic, unlike Standard British English. Rhoticity itself is not considered Norwegian-accented English in this thesis because American English is rhotic.
7. The labial velar consonant /w/ and the labio-dental fricative consonant /v/ (lenis), as in *winner, which, viking* and *ivory.*

[13] The list including items 1-14 is compiled on the basis of Nilsen (2002) and is an adapted version of the original list.

- In Norwegian-accented English, /w/ is often realised as the labio-dental approximant [ʋ]. Additionally, /v/ can be confused with /w/, causing /v/ to be pronounced as either [w] or [ʋ]

8. The long central unrounded monophthong /ɜ:/ and the short open to open-mid central monophthong /ʌ/, as in *word, her, hut* and *but*.
   - In Norwegian-accented English, these two variables are often fronted and rounded, realised as the rounded close-mid front monophthong [ø], either long or short.
9. The rounded short open back monophthong /ɒ/, as in *was* and *stop.*
   - In Norwegian-accented English, /ɒ/ is often realised as the rounded open-mid back vowel [ɔ], especially when /ɒ/ is preceded by /w/, as in *was*.
10. The short close-mid back monophthong /ʊ/ and the close back monophthong /u:/, as in *rookie, should, neutral* and *shoe.*
    - In Norwegian-accented English, /ʊ/ and /u:/ are often fronted, both realised as the rounded closed central monophthong [ʉ], either long or short.
11. The central monophthong /ə/ in unstressed syllables as in unstressed *was* and *confirm*.
    - In Norwegian-accented English, /ə/ may be stressed and might result in a stressed monophthong.
12. The open central to close-mid front diphthong /aɪ/, as in *high* and *type.*
    - In Norwegian-accented English, the starting point is often further back and the end-point is too close and prominent, thus realised the diphthong [ɑi].
13. The close-mid front to central diphthong /ɪə/, as in *theory* and *here.*
    - In Norwegian-accented English, /ɪə/ may be realised as the long closed front monophthong [i:] or the long close-mid front monophthong [e:]. The open-mid front to central diphthong [eə] is also an alternative.
14. The open-mid front to central diphthong /eə/, as in *fair* and *bear*.
    - In Norwegian-accented English, /eə/ may be realised as the close-mid front to central diphthong [ɪə] or the long open-mid front monophthong [e:].

There are other phonological variables where Norwegians may use a Norwegian-accented variant instead of a Standard British English one, but they were not included because they were not deemed significant enough, or they were not represented in the text used in the study.

3.1.3 Standard British English (RP)

Standard British English is normally spoken by middle-class and upper-class speakers in Southern England, but speakers of RP can also stem from other parts of the country than just Southern England (Roach 2004). Standard British English is often given the name Received Pronunciation (RP), which is a fairly wide description, including a number of alternative varieties which can be seen as sub-varieties (Wells 1982:279-301). Other names for Standard British English are BBC English, Educated Southern British English and General British (Roach 2004). Trudgill (1999) claims that Standard British English is not an accent because it has nothing to do with pronunciation. However, he does acknowledge, contradicting himself, that Received Pronunciation is Standard British English, but argues that the opposite is not true. Trudgill argues that there are many Standard English varieties in the UK; much in line with what Wells (1982) claims. As is evident, the debate about Standard British English and RP is a minefield, but this thesis will consider RP as Standard British English. This is because a line has to be drawn and because a large number of studies have been done involving RP, considering it Standard British English (See Chapter 2). This thesis defines Standard British English phonologically according to Wells (2008).

3.2 The speakers

4 Norwegian speakers were used for 6 recordings. The speakers are called Speaker A, Speaker B, Speaker C and Speaker D. The recordings are named recording 1, recording 2, recording 3, recording 4, recording 5 and recording 6.

3.2.1 Speaker A

Speaker A is a Norwegian female English Master student at a university in Norway and is in her mid-twenties. She is from Eastern Norway and has an Eastern Norwegian accent when speaking Norwegian. Speaker A is the speaker on recording 1 and 5, using a heavy Norwegian-accented English accent on recording 1 and RP, or ‘close to RP’, on recording 5, using the matched guise technique.

3.2.2 Speaker B

Speaker B is a Norwegian female in her mid-fifties. She is from Eastern Norway and has an Eastern Norwegian accent when speaking Norwegian. Speaker B has lived in England for 1 year 35 years ago. Speaker B is the speaker on audio recording 2 and 6, using a heavy Norwegian-accented English accent on recording 2 and an accent 'close to RP' on recording 6, using the matched guise technique.

3.2.3 Speaker C

Speaker C is the speaker on audio recording 3 and is Norwegian. She is a female English Master student at a university in Norway and is in her mid-twenties. She is from the Southwest of Norway and has a Norwegian accent from that area. Her Norwegian accent is thus different from Speaker A and B, especially when it comes to the quality of /r/ and intonation. These traits are displayed in her English speech recording, and this is important to distinguish her Norwegian-accented English from that of Speaker A and Speaker B. Speaker C is a distractor to distract the respondents from discovering that Speaker A and Speaker B have two recordings each, using the matched guise technique. Speaker C is thus not subject to any analysis and is not relevant to this thesis.

3.2.4 Speaker D

Speaker D is the speaker on audio recording 4 and has a Norwegian accent in his English. He is a male English Master student at a university in Norway and is in his early twenties. Speaker D is from the West of Norway and has a Norwegian accent from that area, being different than the ones of the other speakers. Especially the quality of the /r/ and his intonation are different from those of Speaker A and Speaker B. This is evident in his English in audio recording 4, causing his Norwegian-accented English to be different from that of Speaker A and Speaker B. Speaker D is a distractor and is therefore not relevant to the analysis or the thesis in general.

3.3 Materials

The text which the speakers read was a modified version of *Comma Gets a Cure* (McCullough & Somerville 2000), consisting of 252 words. This text was designed to be red in about 1 minute and 30 seconds**.** The text was red in 1 minute and 30 seconds in recording 1; 1 minute 30 seconds in recording 2; 1 minute and 17 seconds in recording 5 and 1 minute and 30 seconds in recording 6. Wells (2008) definition of Standard British English was used for transcribing the text *Comma gets a cure* (McCullough and Somerville 2000). All Standard British English phonological features in the text were compared to the list of defined Norwegian phonological variants (Section 3.1), and the text was transcribed using the Norwegian phonological variables. Speaker A and Speaker B were in recording 1 and 2 coached to use the Norwegian phonological variants transcribed, reading the text 10-15 times each before a recording was chosen. If a Norwegian phonological token correlated with what Wells (2008) listed as General American, it was not registered as a Norwegian phonological token. Recording 5 is 13 seconds shorter than the others, despite numerous attempts of prolonging it. Note that a Norwegian-influenced prosody was also deliberately used in recording 1 and 2, though this is not something this thesis will not consider. Also worth mentioning is that Speaker B is a more hesitant reader than Speaker A.

A total of 322 potential Norwegian phonological tokens in the 252 word text is in this thesis seen as the maximum number of tokens a Norwegian with a very heavy Norwegian-accented English would produce the text, according to the Norwegian variants listed in Section 3.1. Table 3.1 below shows how many Norwegian phonological tokens for each category of Norwegian phonological variants that are considered in this thesis to be the Norwegian-accented English default when reading the text. The actual numbers of Norwegian phonological tokens for each phonological variant in question produced are then listed for recordings 1-2 and 5-6 in the same table.

Table 3.1: The distribution of Norwegian phonological variants amongst the speakers:

Norwegian Variants[14]	Maximum number of Norwegian tokens in the text	Recording 1 number of Norwegian tokens	Recording 2 number of Norwegian tokens	Recording 5 number of Norwegian tokens	Recording 6 number of Norwegian tokens
1.	81	68	57	0	3
2.	21	16	17	0	6
3.	35	35	33	2	6
4.	11	10	10	3	4
5.	1	1	1	0	0
6.	24	7	20	0	0
7.	36	18	25	0	3
8.	28	23	22	0	2
9.	12	8	10	0	2
10.	18	16	16	0	1
11.	34	24	25	0	2
12.	14	12	13	0	0
13.	2	2	2	0	0
14	5	4	5	0	1
Total:	322	244	256	5	31

The number of Norwegian tokens counted in each recording, shown in Table 3.1 above, is to be seen as a way of measuring how close to RP phonology the speaker is, and to measure the degree of Norwegian-accentedness. The higher the number of Norwegian tokens, the more Norwegian-accented the speaker will sound on the recordings. This relates directly to the hypotheses. Recording 1 contains 244 Norwegian phonological tokens, whilst the highest number of Norwegian phonological tokens possible, as defined in this thesis, is 322. Since the text contains 252 words, this means that there is about one Norwegian phonological token

[14] See list 1-14 of Norwegian variables in Section 3.1 for more information on the variables in table 3.1.

present in every word, making recording 1 sound very accented. Recording 5 contains only 5 Norwegian phonological tokens, which means the speaker has virtually no trace of a Norwegian phonology in her speech. Recording 2 contains 256 Norwegian phonological tokens, a very high number, which is about the same as recording 1. Recording 6, which is to be considered 'close to RP', contains 31 Norwegian phonological tokens. This means that every 8 words contains a variant which is to be considered Norwegian, making recording 6 contain a noticeable foreign accent, but far from as accented as recording 1 and 2. Recording 6 is problematic for other reasons, though (See Section 4.3.5).

Correctness is another way of establishing the degree of accentedness. This is interesting because the study has not considered any other variables than phonology. Correctness is further explained in Section 3.5.

3.4 The Method

The method used in this thesis is a combination of both a qualitative and a quantitative method. Qualitative research is in-depth data going beyond simply discussing numerical data in statistical ways. A number of data collection methods such as sociolinguistic interviews, diaries, verbal reports and open-response questions can be used to elicit qualitative results. Qualitative research has a focus on the participants, and how they experience a phenomenon, giving the researcher a better insight to see the reason behind the attitudes. The qualitative method can often be seen in folk linguistics studies, and the method focuses on respondents' ordinary and direct opinions, with an emphasis on the process rather than on measuring the results. In this thesis, the qualitative method is used in the open-ended questions that allow the respondents to comment on the reasons behind their attitudes. This is done by using direct questions by utilising questions such as asking the respondents to imagine how the speaker's life is, using a form of narrative inquiry. Triangulation is also used in this thesis to get different perspectives (Croker and Heigham 2009:5-19).

Quantitative research is focused on numerical and statistical data and measuring the results, gathering data by using proficiency test scores and closed questions. The numbers are then put in tables or graphs and can be used to statistically support or reject a hypothesis. In this thesis, the quantitative method is used through the *Likert Scale*, giving easily comparable results which can be measured numerically (Croker and Heigham 2009:136-137).

The questionnaire used in the survey is a combination of the *direct and indirect approach*. The Likert Scale part of the questionnaire consists of a number of statements with

numerical scales where the respondents plot in which of the two antonym adjectives they agree the most with, for example, 'The speaker sounds: Friendly 1-2-3-4-5-6-7 Unfriendly'. Other parts of the questionnaire contain direct questions, for example, 'describe in your own words how the speaker sounds.' and 'Is there anything you like or dislike about Norwegians? What is your general impression of them, if any?'. Garrett (2010) claims that the indirect approach is designed to discover covert attitudes to accents, subconsciously held attitudes towards an accent, using subtle and deceptive methods. The respondents are not made aware of what exactly they are rating. The indirect approach typically employs the Likert Scale and is often used in combination with the *matched guise technique* (Garrett 2010:39-41, 57).

The direct approach often employs direct questions about attitudes towards people and accents. This is done to elicit overt and direct attitudes. Respondents are typically asked questions directly about what they think about the issue at hand, with the questions leaving little doubt about what the researchers are investigating. Respondents are therefore asked explicitly what their attitudes are. However, one must take care to formulate the questions. Strongly biased questions containing potentially loaded words and asking multiple questions in one and same question are two elements one must consider. The *social desirability bias* along with *the acquiescence bias* are also important elements, though minimised in this study as none of the respondents knew me, and most did not know about me. Having the survey online also helped as the respondents never met anyone connected to the study face to face. *The interviewer paradox* was also minimised in this way (Garrett 2010:37-46).

The audio recordings were made using both the matched guise technique and the *verbal guise technique* (Garrett 2010:39-41, 57), using both indirect and direct methods, as mentioned earlier in this section. There are two different speakers, Speaker A and B, reading the same text. Each of the two speakers reads the text two times, using a Norwegian-accented English accent in one recording and an accent 'close to RP' the second time. Speaker C and D were, as mentioned earlier, distractors. The distractors were there to confuse the respondents, making them believe there were six different speakers rather than only four, with two speakers using matched guise.

The matched guise technique has been used in a large numbers of international studies and has taken a leading role in a number of language studies, allowing a fair degree of comparability between the findings. The matched guise technique means that one speaker makes two or more recordings reading the same text whilst using different accents with each recording. The respondent will be told that he or she is listening to different people. The method is often used in connection with the indirect approach and Likert Scales (Garrett

2010:39-42). Eliciting people's private and covert attitudes, the matched guise technique has several problems connected to it that can be problematic in this study. Salience is an issue, which means that the speakers might exaggerate language variations, making them much more salient than what they normally would be. Authenticity is another important element, as the speaker(s) mimic at least one accent, which means it might sound fake or artificial. The text itself is also a potential problem, as it might not be a neutral text to everyone (Garrett 2010:57-60).

The verbal guise technique is a variant of the matched guise technique and means that several speakers will read the same text rather than the same speaker reading the same text several times. This eliminates the salience and authenticity problem when comparing between two recordings which use the verbal guise technique (Garrett 2010:41-42).

3.5 The online surveys

The study was carried out by uploading a questionnaire with both closed and open questions, indirect and direct questions. Surveygizmo, an online survey host, hosted the online surveys, and the recordings were also uploaded. Two slightly different surveys were used. In Survey 1, respondents were not told that the speakers were Norwegian, whilst in Survey 2 respondents were be told before listening to the audio recordings that all speakers were Norwegian. Also, while Survey 2 respondents were told that the survey was carried out by a researcher at the University of Bergen before starting the survey, Survey 1 respondents were only told this after they had completed the survey. This was done to find out if the results would differ with respect to whether or not the speakers were known to be Norwegian. The respondents received a link to the survey and started by answering three questions concerning their gender, if they were a native English speaker or not, and their age. They then listened to the recordings and answered questions after listening to each speaker. A Likert Scale was used as part of the quantitative part of the study. The Likert Scale, presented in Section 3.4, consisted of 10 statements, and the respondents were asked to rate the speaker on a 7-point scale with each statement to see which of the opposing adjectives they agreed the most with. Marking the number 1 would indicate agreement with the adjectives on the left hand side of the screen, the positive ones, while marking the number 7 would indicate agreement with the adjectives on the right hand side of the screen; the negative ones. Marking the number 4 would suggest agreement with neither of the two adjectives but rather something in between. The Likert

Scale used in both surveys is displayed in Screenshot 3.1 below. Screenshot 3.1 is a modified screenshot of how it appeared to the respondents, edited to fit into this thesis:

Screenshot 3.1: The Likert Scale:

4. Please check the box which you agree the most with

This speaker sounds: *

Intelligent 1	2	3	4	5	6	Unintelligent 7

5. The speaker's accent sounds: *

Correct 1	2	3	4	5	6	Incorrect 7

6. The speaker sounds: *

Friendly 1	2	3	4	5	6	Unfriendly 7

7. The speaker sounds: *

Well educated 1	2	3	4	5	6	Uneducated 7

8. The speaker sounds like a: *

Leader 1	2	3	4	5	6	Follower 7

9. The speaker sounds: *

Rich 1	2	3	4	5	6	Poor 7

10. The speaker sounds: *

Confident 1	2	3	4	5	6	Unsure 7

11. The speaker sounds: *

Trustworthy 1	2	3	4	5	6	Untrustworthy 7

12. The speaker sounds: *

Outgoing 1	2	3	4	5	6	Introverted 7

13. The speaker sounds: *

Humorous 1	2	3	4	5	6	Boring 7

In Screenshot 3.1, statements 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10 have been combined in the category *Prestige* as they all relate to prestige. Statements 6, 11, 12 and 13 have been combined in the category *Sociability* as they all relate to social skills. Statement 5, referred to as *Correctness* in this thesis, is meant to be a measurement for how correct the speakers' English is from the respondents' perspective. Correctness is, as counting Norwegian tokens, a way of establishing the degree of accentedness and is important because this study does not measure or consider any variables relating to accentedness other than phonology. Correctness is included to see if a low number of Norwegian phonological tokens is considered the same as speaking correctly. Correctness is also a way to get numerical data on how accented the respondents perceive the speakers to be and is used in other previous studies (See Section 2.4.2). All statements except statement 5 are finally put together in a category called *Total Score*, to get the total score for each speaker. Statement numbers in Screenshot 3.1 are not representative for the Likert Scales for all speakers as the numbers displayed represent the total number of questions/statements up till this point. Screenshot 3.1 is taken from the Likert Scale in the online surveys following recording 1, and screenshots of the Likert Scales connected to recordings 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 have different numbers for each statement.

In the qualitative part of the questionnaire, a combination of indirect and direct questions was used to disclose more direct and informative attitudes towards each speaker. After replying to the Likert Scale, the questions below followed, and the respondent answered them for each speaker:

1. *How do you think the speaker's general situation in life is? (Occupation, family, location, hobbies, etc.)*
2. *Describe in your own words how the speaker sounds.*
3. *Is this a person you potentially could be friends with? Why/Why not?*

In addition to the questions above, Survey 1 also contained a fourth question to be answered in the qualitative part, a question which Survey 2 did not have:

4. *Where do you think the speaker is from?*

The question above was added in Survey 1 to see whether or not the respondents would guess the speakers to be from Norway. This is relevant because if too many people would guess the speakers to hail from Norway, there would be little difference between the surveys.

In Survey 2, after listening to all the speakers and answering questions about each speaker, two questions were asked about Norwegians. This was done to find out what the respondents knew about Norwegians, and what their direct attitudes towards Norwegians were. The questions asked were:

1. *All the speakers have been Norwegian. Do you know anything about Norwegians? If anything, what?*
2. *Is there anything you like or dislike about Norwegians? What is your general impression of them, if any?*

3.6 The respondents

The respondents were all English (See Section 1.1). They were recruited via a number of channels, and the largest group was recruited through Facebook. Norwegians acquaintances of the author of this thesis were asked to ask English Facebook friends to recruit their English Facebook friends to do the survey. This was done to secure that the respondents did not all know Norwegians. That would have decreased the representativity of the study as most English people do not know Norwegians. Another reason for recruiting English friends of English friends of my acquaintances was to minimise the acquiescence bias, eliminating the researcher as a factor. Other respondents were recruited on online forums where Englishmen frequent, and they were asked to send a personal message to me if interested. Also, a number of respondents were recruited via online games. In the end, to recruit enough respondents, I was forced to offer £10 to each of the last eight respondents in order to recruit them. Most respondents in Survey 1 were unaware of the study being Norwegian. This was to minimise any bias before starting the survey. Also, Surveygizmo, the host for the online surveys, has a function which allows one to see where the respondents are located. This was used to verify if they were from England and not from a different English-speaking country. 19 respondents completed Survey 1, and 16 respondents completed Survey 2. In total, almost 200 people clicked the links to the surveys but only 35 finished one of the two surveys.

Two responses were deleted from the sample because they did not seem serious enough. The two respondents wrote the same answer on all questions for all speakers, for example, ‘jjjjjjjj’, and they were thus deleted from the sample.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides the results of the online survey along with the discussion. The results will be presented in relation to the research questions and hypotheses. Both the quantitative and the qualitative part will be presented in turn.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Speaker A is the speaker in recording 1 and 5, and Speaker B is the speaker in recording 2 and 6. Recordings 1 and 2 contain Norwegian-accented English speech as described in Section 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, whilst recordings 5 and 6 contain an accent 'close to RP, also defined in Section 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. Recording 1 contains 244 Norwegian phonological tokens; recording 2 contains 256 Norwegian phonological tokens; recording 5 contains 5 Norwegian phonological tokens, whilst recording 6 contains 31 Norwegian phonological tokens. I will compare Speaker A's two recordings separately from Speaker B's two recordings. This is because the individual speakers are very different, and what is interesting is to see how the evaluations of the same person change depending on the accent.

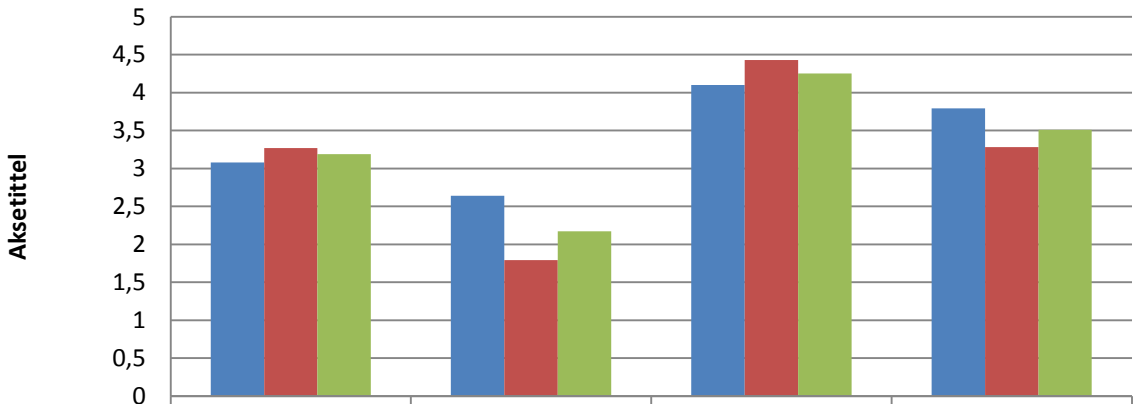
4.1 The quantitative study

This part contains the results from the part of the study using the Likert Scale. A score below 4 is considered a high score and means high *Prestige* or *Sociability*. A score above 4 is considered a low score and means low Prestige or Sociability. A score of 4 is considered neutral which is neither negative nor positive. *Total Score* in Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 consists of Prestige and Sociability ratings combined, excluding *Correctness*. Correctness is, as counting Norwegian tokens is, a way to establish the degree of accentedness, explained in Section 3.5.

4.1.1 Survey 1: Speaker nationality unknown

Survey 1 is the online survey where respondents were asked to guess the nationality of the speakers, and it attracted 19 respondents. The highest and most positive score possible is 1, and the lowest and most negative score possible is 7. A score of 4 is considered neutral. The results are shown in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: Survey 1: Speaker nationality unknown



	Speaker A, recording 1, 244 Norwegian Tokens	Speaker A, recording 5, 5 Norwegian Tokens	Speaker B, recording 2, 256 Norwegian Tokens	Speaker B, recording 6, 31 Norwegian Tokens
Sociability	3,08	2,64	4,1	3,79
Prestige	3,27	1,79	4,43	3,28
Total Score	3,19	2,17	4,25	3,51

The labels *Sociability*, *Prestige* and *Total Score* in Table 4.1 are further explained in Section 3.5 and 4.1. See section 3.3 and 3.4 for more information about Speaker A and B, and the recordings. As seen in Table 4.1, recording 1 contains 244 Norwegian phonological tokens; recording 5 contains 5 Norwegian phonological tokens; recording 2 contains 256 phonological tokens, whilst recording 6 contains 31 Norwegian phonological tokens.

Speaker A, on recording 1 (see Section 3.3 and 3.4), attracts a positive Prestige score of 3.27 and a Sociability score of 3.08, despite the high number of Norwegian phonological tokens. Her total score is 3.19, which is a somewhat positive score. This means that the speaker is seen in a relatively favourable light for both Prestige and Sociability, even with a a highly accented English.

On recording 5, Speaker A (see Section 3.3 and 3.4), has only 5 recorded Norwegian phonological tokens. Her Prestige ratings are considerably increased compared to recording 1, now being 1.79. This means that the accent on recording 5 is very prestigious. Her Sociability rating is 2.64, which is a relatively high score and a slight increase from recording 1's Sociability score of 3.08. Recording 5's total score for Prestige and Sociability is 2.17, with Prestige accounting for most of the increase from recording 1. This is a high score and Speaker A is seen in a very positive light in recording 5.

For Speaker B on recording 2 (see Section 3.3 and 3.4), the Sociability rating is 4.1, which means she is neither liked nor disliked. Recording 2 received a Prestige score of 4.43,

which is a slightly negative score. This means that her prestige is not great, and she is seen as slightly unprestigious. The recording contains 256 Norwegian phonological tokens, which is to be regarded as a strong phonological presence of a Norwegian phonology in the speaker's spoken English. Total Score received on recording 2 is 4.25, and this can be seen as a neutral score, and means that she is not stigmatised.

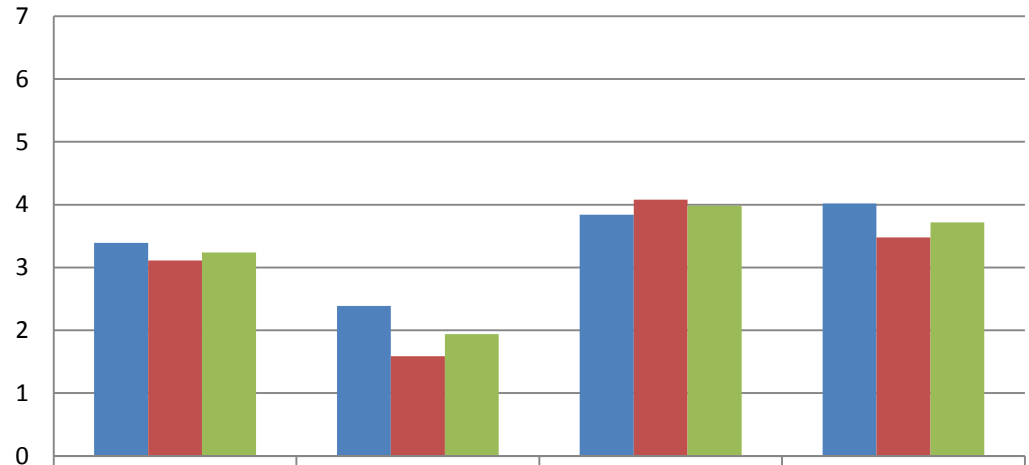
Speaker B's recording 6 (See section 3.3 and 3.4) contains 31 Norwegian phonological tokens, which means she has a somewhat noticeable foreign accent to the respondents, but the accent is not very strong if one looks at the phonological tokens alone. Compared to her recording 2, her Prestige score is increased, and she gets a score of 3.28 in recording 6, which is a positive score. This is higher than her Prestige score for recording 2, which received a slightly negative score of 4.43. Sociability scores are higher with Speaker B on recording 6 than they are on her recording 2, resulting in a score of 3.79 on recording 6. This means she is on recording 6 seen in a neutral, yet slightly positive light when it comes to Sociability. The total score for recording 6 is 3.51, which is a slightly positive score. She is overall seen in a somewhat positive light.

Overall, for both speakers, Prestige seems to be most affected by the number of Norwegian phonological tokens, whilst Sociability is affected too, though far from as much as Prestige.

4.1.2 Survey 2: Speaker nationality unknown

Survey 2 was the survey where respondents were told that the speakers were Norwegian and attracted 16 respondents. The results are shown in Table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2. Survey 2: Speaker nationality known



	Speaker A, recording 1, 244 Norwegian tokens	Speaker A, recording 5, 5 Norwegian tokens	Speaker B, recording 2, 256 Norwegian tokens	Speaker B, recording 6, 31 Norwegian tokens
Sociability	3,39	2,39	3,84	4,02
Prestige	3,11	1,59	4,08	3,48
Total Score	3,24	1,94	3,98	3,72

See section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for more information on the categories and the speakers/recordings.

Speaker A, on recording 1, attracts a Prestige score of 3.11, which is relatively positive. Even with 244 Norwegian phonological tokens, she is seen as somewhat prestigious. The Sociability rating is 3.39, which is also relatively positive. This means she is somewhat liked. The total score for Speaker A in recording 1 is 3.24, which is a positive score. The respondents see Speaker A in a relatively positive light in recording 1.

Speaker A's accent on recording 5 contains only 5 Norwegian phonological tokens. This means that her foreign accent is barely noticeable, if one takes only the listed Norwegian phonological variants into account. The Prestige score is very high, being 1.59. Speaker A is thus seen as very prestigious on recording 5. The Sociability score is given as 2.39, which is also a relatively high score. This means she is well liked. The total score for Speaker A's recording 5 is 1.94. This is a high rating and she is both liked and seen as prestigious, with a score considerably higher than in her recording 1.

Speaker B's foreign accent on recording 2 is very noticeable with 256 Norwegian phonological tokens. Recording 2 attracts a Prestige score of 4.08, which is neutral. She is seen as neither prestigious nor unprestigious. The Sociability rating is 3.84, which is also a fairly neutral score, which means she is neither liked nor disliked. The Total Score for

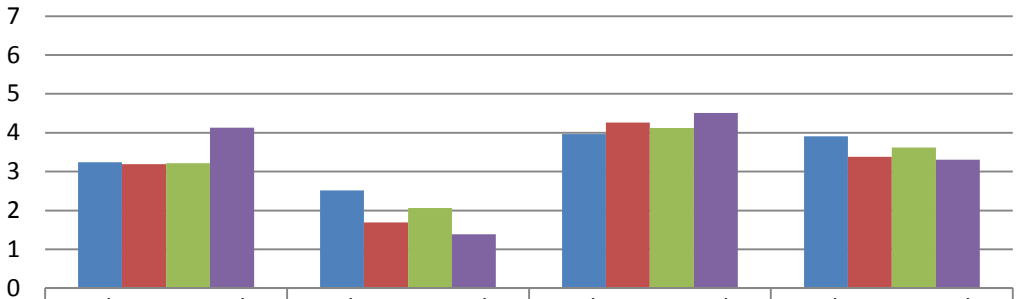
Speaker B on recording 2 is 3.98, which means she is seen in a neutral light, neither disliked nor liked.

Speaker B's accent on recording 6, which has 31 Norwegian phonological tokens, receives a Prestige score of 3.48, which is an increase from her recording 2. She is seen as somewhat prestigious, but not markedly. Speaker B's Sociability score is 4.02, which is to be seen as a neutral score. She is neither liked nor disliked. Recording 6 receives a total score of 3.72, indicating that the speaker is here seen in a neutral, yet slightly positive light.

4.1.3 Combined results from Survey 1 and 2

Combined, the 2 online surveys had 35 respondents. Table 4.3 shows the results from the Likert Scale part of study with both Survey 1 and Survey 2 results put together. Table 4.3 is shown below:

Table 4.3: Combined results of both surveys



	Speaker A, recording 1 , 244 Norwegian tokens	Speaker A, recording 5, 5 Norwegian tokens	Speaker B, recording 2, 256 Norwegian tokens	Speaker B, recording 6, 31 Norwegian tokens
Sociability	3,24	2,52	3,97	3,91
Prestige	3,19	1,69	4,26	3,38
Total Score	3,22	2,06	4,12	3,62
Correctness	4,13	1,39	4,51	3,31

See section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for more information on the categories and the speakers/recordings. Total Score in Table 4.3 is Prestige and Sociability combined, excluding Correctness. Correctness is not directly related to the hypotheses but is relevant as explained in Section 3.5. Results concerning Correctness will be presented in Section 4.1.4.

Speaker A, on recording 1, attracts Prestige and Sociability scores which are about the same, with 3.19 for Prestige and 3.24 for Sociability. The recording contains heavily Norwegian-accented English, with 244 Norwegian phonological tokens present. The results

indicate that Speaker A is on recording 1 seen as somewhat prestigious and is somewhat liked. Her Total Score is 3.22, and this is a positive score reflecting the view on the speaker.

Speaker A's accent on recording 5 contains 5 Norwegian phonological tokens, which means she does not sound heavily accented, if one takes only phonological variables into account. Her Prestige score is 1.69. This is a very high score, which means the speaker is seen as highly prestigious. Her Sociability score of 2.52 is a high score and means she is well liked. This is somewhat higher than the score received on recording 1. The total score for Speaker A's recording 5 attracts a score of 2.06, which is the highest of the four recordings. Overall, this means she is viewed in a positive way.

Speaker B, on recording 2, has 256 Norwegian phonological tokens in her spoken English. This means that she has a very noticeable and heavy foreign accent to Englishmen. Her Prestige score is 4.26, which is a neutral score. She is neither seen as prestigious nor unprestigious. Speaker B's social attractiveness in recording 2 is rated at a score of 3.97, which is a neutral score. She is neither liked nor disliked. The Total Score on recording 2 is 4.12, which is the lowest of all the four speakers.

In Speaker B's recording 6, she has 31 Norwegian phonological tokens, meaning she has a light Norwegian accent which is somewhat noticeable by the respondents. Her prestige score is set at 3.38, which means she is seen as somewhat prestigious. Speaker B on recording 6 is neither liked nor disliked, attracting a Sociability score of 3.91. This is a slightly higher score than in her recording 2. Her Total Score in recording 6 is set at 3.62, a somewhat positive score, meaning she is seen in a slightly positive light.

In summary, Speaker A is the speaker attracting the highest scores in general, with a few exceptions. There are big differences between the results from Speaker A's two recordings, especially for the scores regarding Prestige. Her recording 5 is rated significantly higher than her recording 1, for all categories. Speaker B's results do not yield the same noticeable differences comparing the results from her two recordings; recording 2 and recording 6. As with Speaker A, Speaker B's Sociability score is increased from the first recording to her second recording, but the difference is here nearly non-existant. Overall, both speakers attract higher Prestige when using 'close to RP' with few Norwegian phonological tokens. The results for Sociability for both speakers also show the same pattern, although barely noticeable for Speaker B.

4.1.4 Side note: Results from *Correctness*

Correctness was included to see if a low number of Norwegian phonological tokens was considered the same by the respondents as speaking correct English. Table 4.3 in Section 4.1.3 shows how Correctness scores relate to scores for Prestige, Sociability and Total Score. To a certain degree, one can say that Correctness follows Prestige for both speakers. Correctness scores for Speaker A (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5) were 4.13 for recording 1 and 1.39 for recording 2, whilst the Prestige scores are 3.19 and 1.69. Recording 1 had 244 Norwegian phonological tokens whilst recording 5 had 5 Norwegian phonological tokens. This means that Speaker A's accent was thought neither correct nor incorrect in recording 1, whilst her accent in recording 5 was thought very correct. For Speaker B (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), the Correctness scores were 4.51 in recording 1 and 3.31 in recording 5, whilst Prestige scores were 4.26 and 3.38. If Correctness scores dropped, Prestige scores dropped. The same was not true for Sociability for any of the two speakers. Speaker B was though to have a slightly incorrect accent in recording 2, whilst she had a somewhat, but not very, correct accent in recording 6.

4.2 The qualitative study: Direct and indirect attitudes towards Norwegian-accented English and Norwegians

The qualitative part of the study involved several questions relating to attitudes towards Norwegian-accented English, using both direct and indirect questions. Survey 2 also contains questions about attitudes towards Norwegians. See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for information on the speakers and the recordings.

4.2.1 Survey 1

Survey 1 respondents were not told that the speakers were Norwegian but were rather asked to guess the nationality of the speakers.

4.2.1.1 How do you think the speaker's general situation in life is? (Occupation, family, location, hobbies, etc.)

Respondents were asked how they thought the speaker's general situation in life was. For Speaker A's recording 1 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), the answers are all generally positive,

and the overall impression seems to be that the speaker is relatively happy. Speaker A's accent on recording 1 is a pre-defined Norwegian-accented English, as mentioned in Chapter 3.

- *Sounds to me like a student, happy with life. Maybe living at home with family. Nordic definitely.*
- *University student with a family living abroad.*
- *Probably a student living away from home, in Sweden or Scandinavia (possibly)*

The comments above combine two of the most mentioned elements, that the speaker is a student and has a family in one way or another. Also, the speaker is by a number of respondents guessed to possess a decent job but not a very prestigious one, yielding respondent comments such as these:

- *A confident speaker I would guess the speaker is possibly a teacher with a large family. Unable to comment on hobbies but she might hail from Norway.*
- *Journalist, maybe in a relationship, lives in Scandinavia. Not sure about hobbies but guessing she's from Scandinavia probably skiing.*

Teacher is mentioned by several respondents, and the general impression seems to be that Speaker A, on recording 1, is a student or a semi-professional, sometimes with family. The impression is overall positive and that the speaker is not overly ambitious.

Speaker A is on recording 5 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), where Speaker A employs a 'close to RP' accent, seen in a different light than that on her recording 1. A comment which describes the speaker's situation on recording 5 well is this one:

- *Pronunciation was perfect without any accent at all so I think this speaker is from a well to do background with a job in the city and a rich family. She probably plays polo.*

On recording 5, Speaker A is seen by many as a professional, and she is seen as ambitious through her long-term studying, her career and her prestige sports, such as polo and yoga. One respondent even says that she has a long-term hobby she is very good at. Speaker A, on recording 5, is generally successful and skilled in the eyes of the respondents. She is often seen as highly educated or on the way to being highly educated, living in the city. Two respondents think that the speaker is a doctor. A few respondents also mention specifically that she is rich, and some that she has no family:

- *I think she is maybe working fairly hard towards a goal and does not have much time for family or hobbies.*
- *Comes from a well off background and has many career options, choosing something that suits her ideals, probably not financial/legal services instead choosing something more wholesome and caring. She is Scandinavian but has been well educated in English so it is difficult to tell where from. She probably surprises people by playing some aggressive sport, otherwise she will regularly attend the gym/do yoga/classes etc.*

Other interesting comments about Speaker A on recording 5:

- *Doctor, Single, Norway*
- *She sounds like someone who would have a high flying job*
- *I imagine someone doing well in terms of occupation, family etc. but not necessarily a very happy person.*

To summarise, Speaker A, on recording 5, sounds like someone who would have a high flying job, according to the respondents.

Speaker B is, on recording 2 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), which is the recording where she employs Norwegian-accented English, by many mistaken for a man, when she is really a woman. The comments made by respondents are quite ordinary; the speaker is not seen as someone with extraordinary hobbies or a prestigious job. Several respondents think that the speaker does not live in the city, and many respondents believe the speaker to have a low prestige job. Few comments are marked positive, and there are several negative comments.

- *Low paid job, no children.*
- *Very poor and has had a hard life.*
- *Working class man I his 30's.*
- *I imagine someone with a balanced but not so variable life… Maybe someone who doesn't travel so much, has a few close friends rather than a lot.*
- *I think his situation in life is okay, with not too much stress.*

The comments above paint a picture of Speaker B, on recording 2, as a modest person with little ambition.

Speaker B is on recording 6 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), which is the recording where she employs a 'close to RP' accent with 31 Norwegian phonological tokens, seen by some as a student, and the speaker is also seen as a male by some. Few respondents mention

any family or friends, and those who comment on the speaker's job situation think her to be a teacher. Speaker B, on recording 6, is seen as somewhat solitary in the eyes of the respondents, with a non-prestigious job or studying at university. Two respondents think the speaker is rich, but two other respondents think she is poor.

- *Sounds like a teacher, a lonesome teacher.*
- *He sounded interesting, perhaps someone who enjoys being in his own company*
- *University student with rich parents*
- *I'm very unsure about this one, possibly learnt English pronunciation from BBC news broadcasts. Has worked hard but with sporadic guidance, suggesting an average education. I would imagine from a poor to middle class background, with that providing an incentive to work hard.*

The comments above are typical for those made about Speaker B on recording 6.

4.2.1.2 Describe in your own words how the speaker sounds.

Respondents were asked to describe how the speakers sounded to them. Speaker A, on recording 1 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is by some seen as sounding Scandinavian. Others comment that she sounds European and one respondent simply says foreign. The respondents recognise that the speech is accented, often in a positive way; describing the speaker as kind, confident, happy, friendly, outgoing and nice. The only slightly negative comment which can be read from the responses is *foreign*. Speaker A's accent on recording 1 is, as mentioned, Norwegian-accented English with 244 Norwegian phonological tokens. These are typical comments for Speaker A on recording 1:

- *She sounds competent patient and kind*
- *Well educated with a very strong Nordic accent. Confident and happy.*
- *Completely understandable and thoughtful about pronunciation/elocution. From the perspective of someone who grew up in Mansfield (England), her English is better than many native English speakers. Her words are sometimes emphasised in unusual places, but that sounds pleasant rather than irritating.*
- *She sounds educated, with a clear and somewhat confident voice and fairly strong accent and Germanic pronunciation.*

Speaker A's strong foreign accent on recording 1 is an issue amongst the respondents but is not seen as annoying or problematic. Quite the opposite. Only one respondent reports

that he has problems understanding her accent. A last comment from a respondent is a good pointer at how people might view other people in light of their accent:

- *The speaker sounds neither unfriendly or friendly. She* ***sounds like she has an accent.***

Speaker A is on recording 5 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), which is the recording she employs an RP-like accent with only 5 Norwegian phonological tokens, seen as a native English speaker by some respondents. Respondents think highly of her, but adjectives used the most are more connected to prestige, and there are very few adjectives describing her as a warm person in any way. The speaker is seen as confident, intelligent, well educated, successful, fluent, thoughtful, correct, professional, smart, knowledgeable, prim, proper, but also as posh by some. Two respondents think her sweet and cheerful. Some comments about Speaker A on recording 5:

- *She sounds very well-educated and successful. Sounds as though she is ambitious.*
- *Very understandable and with a post accent.*
- *Smart, confident, knowledgeable*
- *The speaker sounds as if they were raised in a wealthier family in Britain, with clear and sharp pronunciation.*
- *Excellent accent, intelligent, confident.*

Speaker A is thus seen as a professional, skilled and well educated on recording 5.

Speaker B is on recording 2 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), which is the recording where she employs Norwegian-accented English with 256 Norwegian phonological tokens, seen as someone who is not very confident. Typical characteristics are shy, nervous, unsure, softly spoken, aged and tired, struggling, not very confident, rural, calm, quiet, gentle and boring, illustrated by these comments:

- *Not very confident.*
- *Softly spoken, almost shy. Articulate.*
- *Articulate but somewhat lacking in confidence.*
- *Unsure but sounds to be aged and tired.*
- *Like he is reading and concentrating very hard on the text. A bit monotonous.*

Speaker B, on recording 2, is a woman but is seen as a man by some on this recording. Few respondents mention anything about difficulties of understanding the accent of the

speaker, but she is seen as a person out of place, lacking confidence and struggling with the text.

Speaker B, on recording 6 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), which is where she employs a 'close to RP' accent with 31 Norwegian phonological tokens, gets mixed responses from the respondents, although relatively positive. The speaker is seen as somewhat confident by some, and she sounds clear. She is also seen as fluent, confident, correct, arrogant, clear, friendly, unassuming, kind and loyal friend, rich, posh, scarred, quirky, quiet, a little under confident and nervous. Respondents say this about her:

- *He sounds friendly and unassuming. He sounds as though he would be a kind and loyal friend with a good sense of humour.*
- *Clear but quiet.*
- *Fluent, confident and correct, but arrogant as well.*
- *Confident and intelligent but a little under confident.*

The speaker is seen as kind and confident by the respondents, but at the same time quiet and nervous.

4.2.1.3 Is this a person you potentially could be friends with? Why/Why not?

Respondents were asked if they could imagine themselves being friends with the speakers. The respondents' answers are divided into three groups in this thesis: those who want the speaker as a friend; those who say *maybe*; and those who do not want to befriend the speaker. For Speaker A on recording 1 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), friendship was something most respondents would be interested in. She was seen as a friendly and nice person by the respondents:

- *Yes, she sounds friendly, open and intelligent and sounds quite easy-going.*
- *Certainly, I do not think communication would be a barrier, and I like all the Scandinavians I've met so far so I'm not going to be predisposed to dislike.*

Interestingly, two respondents are negative because of the accent:

- *No, accents annoy me.*
- *Maybe – I would struggle to understand her accent.*

Speaker A is on recording 5 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5) also seen as relatively friendly, but not as lovable as on recording 1. She is seen as a potentially good friend to many

of those who would befriend her because she is calm, friendly, rich, polite, but only about half of the respondents will definitively have her as a friend. Respondents are a bit more guarded towards befriending Speaker A on recording 5, and a few call her snobby and too cold. A few respondents would befriend the speaker 'If she would let me'. Some comments about the speaker:

- *Maybe. Again, she sounds a bit overconfident and abrupt. She could be a bit guarded but would be invaluable as a friend once you got to know her.*
- *Yes. Sounds polite and friendly.*
- *Yes, definitely, they sounded very rich☺ as well as very friendly.*
- *No – sounds a bit snobby.*

Speaker A, on recording 5, is someone many respondents could befriend but they are a bit more reluctant to doing so.

Speaker B, on recording 2 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), sounds friendly and calm according to some respondents, but several mention communication problems as a barrier for a friendship. A few find that the speaker is too old for them to befriend. Most respondents would befriend the speaker or consider befriending her, but almost a third say *no* for various reasons. These are typical comments:

- *No – I think she is much older than me.*
- *Yes, there is nothing in his voice or tone that seems unwelcoming. He sounds friendly and relaxed.*
- *Possibly, but there might be issues communicating.*

The comments made by respondents above are very representative for how Speaker B is perceived on recording 2 when it comes to friendship. The respondents are split in three groups, one group wanting her as a friend, another group says *maybe* and the last group does not think she could be a friend.

Speaker B, on recording 6 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), seems to be a love or hate person when it comes to friendship. The respondents either want to befriend the speaker because she sounds friendly, or they do not want to befriend her because she is seen as introverted, too gentle, arrogant, quiet or posh. These comments illustrate what the respondents think about her:

- *Yes, he sounds friendly and relaxed. A little unsure of himself but not overwhelming or controlling.*

- *No. The speaker sounds somewhat arrogant*
- *No – he sounds too introverted.*
- *Yes, sounds like a lot of my friends.*

4.2.1.4 Where do you think the speaker is from?

The respondents were asked to guess where the speakers came from. Speaker A was on recording 1 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5) identified as Scandinavian by most respondents and also Norwegian by half of the respondents. A few respondents mentioned Asia, Eastern Europe and South Africa.

Speaker A, on recording 5 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), was assumed to be a native English speaker by half the respondents, assumed to come from the UK. Australia, the US and South Africa are also mentioned. A handful of respondents think that the speaker is from Norway/Scandinavia, whilst the remaining mention Europe or do not specify.

Speaker B, on recording 2 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is an enigma to the respondents, with less than half of them guessing the speaker to hail from Norway or a Scandinavian country. The small majority make guesses spanning from Asia and India to Eastern Europe and the Baltic region, with three people guessing Germany.

Speaker B, on recording 6 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is a hard guess for the respondents. While some guess Norway or Scandinavia, most respondents believe the speaker to hail from other Europeans countries like Germany, the Netherlands or Belgium. With two exceptions, Speaker B, on recording 6, is seen as European, including Scandinavia, by all respondents. Along with speaker A on recording 5, Speaker B is on recording 6 characterized as ‘city’ by the same respondent. The same respondent who calls Speaker A and B urban on recording 5 and 6 responds ‘rural’ on the same question for Speaker B on recording 2. This is interesting because it gives insight to how Standard British English might be viewed compared to Norwegian-accented English.

In summary, the qualitative part in Survey 1 shows that Speaker A gets more favourable comments compared to Speaker B. Speaker B is somewhat upgraded when it comes to prestigious terms when she speaks with an accent ‘close to RP’ compared to heavily Norwegian-accented English. The same Prestige upgrade is true for Speaker A, but the difference between the two recordings is bigger here. On recording 5, Speaker A is seen as much more prestigious and ambitious than on her recording 1, where she can be described as warm and more of a family person. Few negative stereotypes are mentioned in relation to

Norwegian-accented English recordings. Speaker A and B are perceived very differently, but respondents are in general more positive towards Speaker A. See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for more information about the speakers and the recordings.

4.2.2 Survey 2

Survey 2 respondents were told that the speakers were Norwegian, and they were also asked what they thought about Norwegians in general.

4.2.2.1 How do you think the speaker's general situation in life is? (Occupation, family, location, hobbies, etc.)

When asked about the general situation in the speaker's life, Speaker A, on recording 1 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is generally seen in a positive light by the respondents. Most respondents believe her to be a student or an educated person in a good job:

- *The person sounds quite well educated and sounds like they are from a good background.*
- *She sounds like a student I think… Maybe a mature student, could be married or in a relationship.*

There are no actual negative comments connected to Speaker A on recording 1, and being in a relationship and family are two other factors relatively frequently mentioned by the respondents, as this comment shows:

- *I think she is earning a medium salary in a part time job around her family. Is perhaps the mother of 1-2 children, enjoys very much her family time with children, husband and friends and socialises a lot with friends. She maybe does a little fitness for herself when time allows, but is healthy. I think she lives not in a city but in the country.*

Speaker A, on recording 1, is thus seen as a student/professional, sometimes in a relationship or with family. She is educated and seemingly liked.

Respondents' views on Speaker A on recording 5 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5) can be summarised in a few words: rich, a good job, nice family and successful. Some respondents made comments such as these:

- *Her life is good. She seems like a confident person who has the ability to deal with things that happen to her.*
- *Big family lots of friends.*
- *Very crisply accented, so she sounds like she has had a very good education. Rich!*
- *The speaker's pronunciation indicates that she is from a rich family and has close ties with them.*

Speaker A, on recording 5, receives no negative comments about being arrogant or posh, comments RP might attract, but seems to the respondents to be a successful young lady.

Speaker B, on recording 2 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is by some simply seen as an older woman, whilst others think her to be a man. A general picture amongst many seems to be that the speaker lacks ambition and is not a very exciting person. Some think Speaker B, on recording 2 to be a student; others mention jobs such as doctor, manual labour, hard worker or a job related to studying foreign language. Some examples:

- *Lower class, manual labour job/poorly paid office worker.*
- *He might have a life that is not so interesting.*
- *I believe the speaker to be an English student who lives with his family and is possibly a quiet person. His hobbies are possibly more individual rather than group activities.*
- *Well educated. Sounds like he lives in Norway.*

This is the picture the respondents paint of Speaker B on recording 2, not mentioning family or friends especially: a solitary person of not overwhelming ambitions.

Speaker B, on recording 6 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is seen as shy by the respondents. She also lacks confidence and some believe her to be a man. Some mention that she has few friends but has a decent job. A few comments to illustrate the respondents' view of Speaker B on recording 6:

- *He seems like he is very shy.*
- *Good job but next to no social life, very introverted. Not close with family and only has a couple of friends.*
- *He seemed quiet and shy, so maybe a student. Probably intelligent, but not that privileged.*
- *I think his situation in life is very relaxed and learns quickly.*

Speaker B, on recording 6, is also seen as an older woman by some. The picture of her is relatively complex, with a mix of lack of confidence along with being intelligent and a poor social life.

4.2.2.2 Describe in your own words how the speaker sounds.

The respondents were asked to describe how the speaker sounded like. With Speaker A on recording 1 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), the accent is a big issue. Most respondents comment on the accent, whereas many say the speaker is very accented and very Scandinavian. Only one respondent struggles with understanding Speaker A on recording 1, and a handful of respondents comment on the pronunciation. Some examples of comments made about Speaker A on recording 1:

- *The pronunciation was good but the Scandinavian accent was very strong.*
- *The speaker has a strong accent and poor pronunciation. When the recording first started playing I struggled to understand and had to listen very intensely.*
- *She sounds educated and confident.*
- *Like she is just reading something that has been wrote for her, she has no interest in what she is saying.*

A number of respondents also think Speaker A, on recording 1, sounds confident, easy going, friendly, clear and intelligent. The picture of the speaker is that she is accented; some think she has a good pronunciation, but the responses are relatively positive. Most respondents seem to like Speaker A on recording 1.

Speaker A, on recording 5 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is seen as confident by several respondents. She was also seen as authoritative, knowledgeable, very fluent, excellent, very clear, good pronunciation, successful, perfect accent, clever, warm and open. To illustrate this:

- *Very fluent in English.*
- *In her late 30's – early 40's. If she is not working and her husband has a good job, she is the supportive wife and the one who socialises with him for this reason. If she is working she does have her own friends and colleagues that she likes to meet up with and take time out for herself in her very successful life occasionally. In this instance if she has family her husband would stay in with the children or*

she would get friends of family to babysit so she can have precious time back for her.

- *Speaker sounded very confident her words were clear and she came across very well.*

Speaker A, on recording 5, is seen as a confident and successful woman, and she is commended on her correct pronunciation and accent.

Speaker B, on recording 2 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), gets many comments about her accent and pronunciation. She is seen as intelligent, proper, nervous, tentative, hesitant, not confident, shy and quite unsure. Some comments made by respondents about Speaker B on recording 2:

- *Hesitant. Very strong accent but good pronunciation.*
- *The speaker is very hard to understand, has a strong accent and does not sound motivated to speak in English.*
- *They seem fairly nervous and tentative.*
- *Unsure about the topic, not confident to speak out loud.*

The general impression seems to be that Speaker B, on recording 2, has a strong accent and is not seen as very confident. *Shy* and *hesitant* are words describing what many respondents feel about the speaker.

Speaker B, on recording 6 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is by many respondents seen as someone quiet and lacking confidence. Respondents also think her intelligent, quiet, less confident, fairly fluent, clear, friendly, trustworthy, laid back, introverted, ok, soft voice, well spoken, poor accent, nervous, confident and unhappy. This is what some respondents think of Speaker B on recording 6:

- *Fairly fluent, but quiet and not overly confident.*
- *Speaker sounded quite clear but nervous and not very confident.*
- *A mixed accent, but again like one that could be from an English speaking country. Not very confident however, but sounds more like an introverted person, than the language being an issue.*
- *I think he is friendly, trustworthy and quite laid back. I don't actually know if he wants more out of life than he already has, maybe he is happy with his lot. He is fairly slim, and not really bothered about his looks. Natural, and probably likes outdoor sports.*

Speaker B, on recording 6, does not seem to be disliked, but she is seen as a bit introverted. The language is also commented upon, both in positive and negative terms, and many respondents believe the speaker is a male, while she is really a female.

4.2.2.3 Is this a person you potentially could be friends with? Why/Why not?

The respondents' answers are divided into three groups in this thesis: those who want the speaker as a friend; those who say *maybe*; and those who do not want to befriend the speaker. Speaker A, on recording 1 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), is somewhat popular with only a few saying clearly no. These people reason this with comments about her sounding boring. Some examples of what the respondents said about Speaker A on recording 1:

- *Yes. They sound like a nice easy going sort of person who I would have no problems getting on with.*
- *This person is someone I would not prefer to be friends with as she did not seem interesting.*

A small majority of the respondents would like to befriend Speaker A, on recording 1, because she sounds intelligent, easy going, friendly, enjoys life, nice, works hard to learn a new language and interesting. A small group of respondents are not quite sure but do not rule it out, and only one respondent reasons language as a possible barrier for a friendship, with a few more ruling out friendship for other reasons.

The respondents are very positive towards the prospect of befriending Speaker A on recording 5 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5). She is seen as easy to talk to, confident, outgoing, nice, very fun, easy to understand, accent is familiar, fun, outgoing and friendly. For several respondents, language is a factor that makes them want to befriend the speaker:

- *Yes, fairly confident and easy to understand everything she says.*
- *This person is someone I could potential be friends with as I would be able to have a clear conversation with. Furthermore, I believe that this person is very outgoing and confident from the sound of their voice.*

The overall impression is that Speaker A, on recording 5, is a potential friend, with confidence, fun and easy to understand as important factors.

Speaker B is, on recording 2 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), as mentioned earlier, seen as a male by most respondents who made any comments to reveal what gender they assumed

the speaker to possess. About half the respondents could see themselves as a potential friend of Speaker B on recording 2, saying the speaker spoke English well enough, and that she seemed nice, popular and friendly. Nearly half the respondents did not want to befriend Speaker B on recording 2, often because she sounded stern, quiet or they just lacked enough information to decide. Only one respondent mentioned language as a reason for possibly not befriending the speaker. These are typical answers from respondents on Speaker B, recording 2:

- *Yes because he speaks English well enough and seems nice enough.*
- *He seems like a very quiet person so no*

Speaker B is on recording 6 (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5) seen as a potential friend by less than half of the respondents. The reasons for the speaker being a potential friend are that the speaker sounds friendly, relaxed, nice voice and it is nice to meet people from different cultures. Comments made by respondents about Speaker B, on recording 6:

- *Yes, he sounds friendly and relaxed. A little unsure of himself but not overwhelming or controlling.*
- *No. The speaker sounds somewhat arrogant.*
- *No, they sounded too gentle for my lifestyle.*

The scepticism amongst nearly half the respondents towards befriending Speaker B, on recording 6, seems to be due to an impression of the speaker sounding arrogant, posh, introverted, too oldish and too gentle. A few respondents are not quite sure what they think. The respondents are divided mainly into two groups.

4.2.2.4 All the speakers have been Norwegian. Do you know anything about Norwegians? If anything, what?

The respondents in Survey 2 were asked if they knew anything about Norwegians. Generally, most respondents claim they know very little about Norwegians. Those who know something about Norwegians mention Vikings, Norwegian footballers, and that Norwegians are prestigious, educated, happy, friendly and healthy. Nothing negative is mentioned; all knowledge about Norwegians is angled in a positive light, except for the fact that some respondents connect Norway with being cold, if that can be seen as negative. Some examples of the comments made by the respondents:

- *A little but not much. They seem to be very family orientated, quite ambitious, very aware of environment and eco friendly. I think they in general are quite ambitious and like also to get a good balance between work and social / sports in their lives.*
- *All I know is they live in a very cold country.*
- *Nothing really.*
- *A little about the food and from what I have witnessed, a very friendly bunch.*

In summary, most respondents are not very familiar with Norwegians.

4.2.2.5 Is there anything you like or dislike about Norwegians? What is your general impression of them, if any?

This question is relatively similar to the former one, designed to get more information from the respondents about Norwegians from a slightly different angle. Generally, respondents mention Norwegians to be hard working, good humoured, friendly, clean country, slower pace, good economic climate, well educated, independent, confident, beautiful country and decent. Five respondents did not feel they knew anything to like or dislike about Norwegians, but the general impression from the rest of the respondents is positive. Some respondents made comments such as this:

- *Norwegians are stereo-typically quite friendly and they are known for being able to speak foreign languages well.*
- *Very independent and confident. Beautiful country, so why would they not be happy.*
- *I have never met a Norwegian.*
- *Very clean country. Good economic climate. Everything is about being close to nature. A slower pace of life than in England.*

These comments illustrate typical attitudes seen amongst the respondents. Most respondents see Norwegians as friendly, and some mention that Norwegians speak English well.

In summary, the respondents in the qualitative part of Survey 2 seemed to like Speaker A better overall. Speaker B is on both recordings seen as lacking confidence and is perceived as shy. However, Speaker B is seen as somewhat more prestigious on recording 6 compared to her recording 2, though the difference is not very big. Speaker A is well liked and seen as well off on both her recordings, but she is perceived as richer, more ambitious and more

prestigious on recording 5 than recording 2. In other words, she is seen as more successful in recording 5. Both speakers are upgraded somewhat on prestigious terms when they speak with a 'close to RP' accent compared to Norwegian-accented English, but there is no big difference when it comes to how well liked they are comparing the responses from both their recordings. See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for more information about the speakers and the recordings. Furthermore, accent is noticed and commented upon, but is rarely seen as a problem or annoying. As for the attitudes towards Norwegians, not much seems to be known about Norwegians. However, everything mentioned is overly positive and there are no negative comments about Norwegians. According to the respondents, Norwegians can be seen as somewhat prestigious, and they are well liked.

4.3 Discussion

In this section, the results will be discussed relating to the hypothesis and compared with previous studies mentioned in the theory chapter. See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for information about the speakers and recordings. 'Close to RP' is to be understood as the accents used on recording 5 and 6 with a low number of Norwegian phonological tokens, whilst Norwegian-accented English is to be understood as the accents used on recording 1 and 2 with a high number of Norwegian phonological tokens.

4.3.1 Discussion regarding Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1:

- Norwegians speaking with accents close to that of Standard British English (RP) will be assigned a higher *prestige* than those who exhibit a stronger presence of their Norwegian phonology in their English.

See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for information about the speakers and recordings. The quantitative data consists of the numerical data from the Likert Scales' of both surveys, which have been added together to form the basis for the discussion regarding prestige. This is because both surveys should be seen as one in this section. Table 4.3 (See Section 4.1.3) provides the quantitative data discussed. The quantitative data strongly suggest that there is a link between accent and prestige. Both Speaker A and B saw a significant increase in prestige ratings when they displayed few Norwegian phonological tokens, using what I defined as a

'close to RP' accent, compared to heavily Norwegian-accented English with a high number of Norwegian phonological tokens (See Table 3.1 in Section 3.3). At the same time, the correctness ratings confirmed that Norwegian-accented English sounded less correct to the respondents than the 'close to RP' accent. The increase in prestige ratings from Norwegian-accented English to the 'close to RP' accent increased from 3.19 to 1.69 for Speaker A, which is an increase of 1.5. The prestige rating can be said to have already been relatively high, with 3.19, indicating that Speaker A also held some prestige when she used Norwegian-accented English. For Speaker B, the same increase in prestige ratings from Norwegian-accented English to an accent 'close to RP' increased from 4.26 to 3.38, an increase of 0.88, which is a noticeable increase. The results from both speakers in the quantitative part of the survey suggest that accent was a factor for deciding prestige ratings, clearly indicating that the number of Norwegian phonological tokens may have played a part.

In the qualitative part of the survey, findings similar to the results in the quantitative part were found. For Speaker A, both recordings are evaluated in a relatively positive light regarding prestige. However, the perceived ambition level and level of success of Speaker A dramatically increases when she employs only very few Norwegian phonological tokens in recording 1 compared to a high number of Norwegian phonological tokens in recording 5. Adjectives such as *rich, smart, confident* and *successful* are used to describe the speaker when she employs a 'close to RP' accent, and overall, her life is seen as more successful by the respondents. Speaker A's life, when she employs Norwegian-accented English, is also seen as good; and she is perceived as educated and confident. However, where Speaker A is perceived as a teacher, a family person or a student when she employs Norwegian-accented English, she is perceived as e.g. a doctor, rich and with high ambitions and success in whatever she does when she uses an accent 'close to RP' with few Norwegian phonological tokens. In summary, she is seen as more successful when heard with the 'close to RP' variety, supporting the hypothesis.

Speaker B is not seen in the same prestigious light as Speaker A. Speaker B's 'close to RP' accent has more Norwegian-English tokens than that of Speaker A's 'close to RP' accent, with 31 versus 5 Norwegian phonological tokens. The accent difference is thus somewhat smaller between her Norwegian-accented English and her 'close to RP' accent. Thus, a smaller discrepancy between the results from Speaker B's two recordings than between Speaker A's two recordings was to be expected. Speaker B's Norwegian phonology is fairly noticeable in the recording where she employs an accent 'close to RP', whereas Speaker A's 'close to RP' accent has few traces of a Norwegian phonology, which means this

too may have influenced the lower prestige ratings for Speaker B compared to Speaker A. There are few signs of any respondents thinking Speaker B to be prestigious when she employs Norwegian-accented English, as mentioned in Section 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, with several respondents believing her to possess a low paid job. The speaker is somewhat upgraded by the respondents when she employs predefined Norwegian-accented English. Her job status improves, and she is perceived as more intelligent and better off in terms of money and job situation than in recording 2, but there is a clear lack of ambition. Speaker B is clearly seen as more intelligent and well off in terms of money and job situation when she employs an accent 'close to RP'.

As known, language seems to be a shortcut of social stereotyping (See Section 2.2.1). The attitudes shown towards Speaker A and B in terms of prestige by the respondents in the survey are supported by a number of studies. RP is evaluated highly in terms of prestige by British speakers. Milroy (2001), *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010) and Hiraga (2005) suggest that Standard British English, conceived as RP in all three studies, is very prestigious and considered to be the 'correct way of speaking' in the UK (Section 2.3.3). This is also supported in the thesis by seeing how the accent 'close to RP' scores higher prestige evaluations than the English spoken with a high presence of Norwegian phonological tokens.

Numerous studies on attitudes to English L2 accents compared to L1 ones support the claim that English L1 Standard accents are preferred over L2 accents with regards to prestige (See Section 2.4). Speaker A is perceived to be an English native speaker by a number of respondents in the present study when she uses the 'close to RP' accent. This accent is very similar to that of an English L1 speaker; thus she may be receiving many of the evaluations that a Standard British English speaker would receive. However, Rubin (1992) suggests that being perceived as a foreigner by English native speakers, despite having a Standard English accent, might downgrade prestige ratings for the individual. In this case, it is hard to know what had any effect on the results in the present study because not all the respondents in Survey 1 believed her to be an English native-speaker, and the results from each of the two surveys do not provide any explanation, as discussed in Section 4.3.3. The study is simply too small. Rubin and Smith (1990) Brennan & Brennan (1981), Weyant (2007), *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010), Giles (1970), Lippi-Green (1997), Rubin and Smith (1990) and Lindemann (2005) all suggest that the Standard English (in these cases; GA and RP) accent is considered more prestigious than all English L2 accents (See Section 2.4.2). A foreign-accent hierarchy seems to exist, and it can be said to be connected to socio-economic and political relations along with stereotypical portrayals of language and cultures by the media (See Section 2.4.2).

Eastern Europe, Latin-America and Asia tend to be regions negatively stereotyped by speakers of English, thus downgrading the former terms of prestige and sociability, whilst countries in most of Europe, excluding Eastern Europe, usually have few negative connotations connected to them, with some exceptions mentioned in Section 2.4.2. Norwegian-accented English, as part of Scandinavia and Western/Northern Europe, is not known to have any negative stereotypes connected to it, and Norwegians are generally liked. Therefore, it is not to be expected that we suffer low prestige or sociability ratings; quite the opposite (See Section 2.4.1 and 2.4.2).

Since the majority of the respondents were either told or they perceived that all speakers in this study were Norwegian, the degree of accentedness of the English L2 accent can be said to have been highly relevant to prestige in the present study. Both Speaker A and Speaker B were evaluated in considerably more prestigious terms when they displayed a low presence of Norwegian phonological features in their English than when they displayed a high presence of Norwegian phonological features. This is much in line with what English L2 speakers in Derwing (2003), McKenzie (2008), Verdens Gang (2009), Færås (2012) and Lilleås and Ludt (2012) believe is true about accentedness amongst L2 speakers of English (See Section 2.4.1). However, the results from the present study do not suggest that heavy-accented L2 accented speech attracts negative prestige as some of the formerly mentioned studies suggest. That degree of accentedness matters for English L2 speaker evaluation by L1 accent speakers is also supported by Carranza and Ryan (1975), Brennan & Brennan (1981), Rubin and Smith (1990) and Boyd (2003), which all suggest that speakers with heavy-accented L2 accents are evaluated lower in terms of prestige than speakers of L2 accents with a lower presence of a native phonology or prosody (Section 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). These findings support the results in the present study, suggesting that speakers of Norwegian-accented English accents with a high presence of a native phonology receive lower prestige evaluations by British respondents than speakers of Norwegian speakers with an accent ‘close to RP’, with a very low presence of Norwegian phonological features.

In light of the very clear results from the study, Hypothesis 1 is to be seen as corroborated. My study also fits in with previous research. Both the qualitative and the quantitative data for both speakers A and B suggest that an English accent with a high level of Norwegian phonological tokens is perceived as less prestigious than an accent ‘close to RP’ with a very low number of Norwegian phonological tokens.

4.3.2 Discussion regarding Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2:

- Norwegians having a high presence of a Norwegian phonology in their English speech will be perceived as more *sociable* than Norwegian speakers using an accent close to the Standard British English accent with very few Norwegian phonological tokens.

See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for information about the speakers and recordings. In the discussion following the quantitative data, results from both surveys are added together, and Table 4.3 (See Section 4.1.3) is to be understood as the foundation for the discussion. The quantitative results show that Speaker A is awarded a somewhat lower Sociability rating in recording 1 than in recording 5, 3.24 versus 2.52, suggesting that an accent 'close to RP' attracts somewhat higher Sociability ratings. The same is partially true for Speaker B, who is rated slightly higher in terms of Sociability when she uses Norwegian-accented English in compared to an accent 'close to RP'. However, the score for recording 2 is 3.97 and 3.91 for recording 6, which can be said to be the same score. The results from Speaker B suggest that speakers of Norwegian-accented English with a high presence of Norwegian phonological features are seen as just as sociable as speakers using an accent 'close to RP' with few Norwegian phonological tokens present. The results from Speaker A and B are not as clear as I would have wanted them to be. Based on the quantitative data, it is not quite clear how Sociability is affected by accentedness as only Speaker A displays any differences, but the results suggest that the differences for Sociability depending on accentedness are not as great as with Prestige.

In the qualitative part of the study, Speaker A is often perceived by the respondents as friendly and happy when she uses the Norwegian-accented English accent. From the respondents' side, this is not as much focused on when she uses an accent 'close to RP'. In recording 1, Speaker A is more often perceived as a family person and as a somewhat warmer person. An equal number of respondents see themselves as a potential friend of Speaker A on both recordings. The evaluations are more focused on the speaker sounding friendly and nice on recording 1 than on recording 5, where the respondents give more weight to other things, such as the accent being familiar and her perceived status in society. Accent is rarely mentioned as a problem in any of the recordings for Speaker A when she employs an accent 'close to RP'. Overall, one can say that she is seen as somewhat more sociable when applying

predefined Norwegian-accented English rather than when using RP; though the difference is far from comparable to the differences found with prestige.

Speaker B is overall perceived as a bit shy and introverted by the respondents in the qualitative part of the study, but still many think her to be friendly. This view of Speaker B goes for both of her recordings, 2 and 6. There is little mention about family at all. The overall picture of Speaker B by the respondents seems to be coloured by her age, her hesitant reading and the fact that quite a number of respondents believe her to be a male. Some respondents mention communication barriers as a hindrance for friendship, but overall, there is no big difference between the 2 recordings in how the respondents see Speaker B in terms of Sociability. She is not disliked but not really liked either. It is hard to see if the respondents preferred any of the two recordings in terms of sociability for Speaker B, and one can only conclude that there is no noticeable difference in Speaker B's case. This does not quite correspond to the findings for Speaker A in the qualitative part of the study, who is seen as somewhat more sociable by the respondents when she applies predefined Norwegian-accented English.

A number of studies suggest that Standard English accents, RP in particular, are often downgraded by respondents in terms of sociability compared to other English accents. Ladegaard (1998), Bayard (1990), Hiraga (2005) all support the above, in Section 2.3.3 and 2.3.5. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that RP might have attracted mediocre sociability ratings in the present study. Few surveys comparing RP and foreign-accented English in terms of sociability have been made, but Brennan & Brennan (1981) did not find any links between the degree of accentedness and solidarity amongst Spanish-accented Mexican students who were evaluated by American respondents. Solidarity is, by the way, a term that can be seen as almost a synonym for sociability (See Section 2.4.2). However, Carranza and Ryan (1975), also investigating Mexicans using Spanish-accented English, found that the heavier the accent was; the more negative the speakers were rated for solidarity (See Section 2.4.2). As is evident, the results from Brennan & Brennan (1981) and Carranza and Ryan (1975) are in conflict, and it is unclear whether or not the degree of accentedness has an effect on sociability from the perspective of English native speakers.

Taking a different perspective on sociability, Lindemann (2005), *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010), Giles (1970), *The Escapist Magazine* (2010), Lippi-Green (1997) and Stone-Romero (2010) all suggest that certain regions and countries are more liked or disliked than others and that English foreign accents may receive quite high sociability ratings (Section

2.4.2 and Section 2.4.4). Both Lippi-Green (1997) and *The Escapist Magazine* (2010) suggest that Norwegians are not disliked in any way.

As mentioned in Section 2.4.5 and 2.4.2, Lindemann (2005), Weyant (2007) and Lippi-Green (1997), Meyerhoff (2006), Bresnahan et al (2002) and Carey et al (2010) believe familiarity to be a factor for how well an English foreign-accent is evaluated. English foreign-accents from familiar countries, which have no negative stereotypes connected to them, seem to be evaluated in more positive ways, both for prestige and sociability (See Section 2.4.5 and Section 2.4.2). As neighbour countries and having a long history of interaction, it is reasonable to believe that Norway is a relatively familiar country to respondents from England, although most people do not seem to know a lot about Norwegians.

In total, the studies mentioned above suggest that Norwegian-accented English is likely to be seen in a positive light. The present study also gives some evidence for this, but there is no real evidence in the present study which supports hypothesis 2 and suggests that speakers of heavily Norwegian-accented English are evaluated more preferably in sociability terms than Norwegian-accented English with an accent 'close to RP' with very little trace of Norwegian phonological features. The results are also somewhat conflicting; with some results supporting hypothesis 2 and others rejecting the hypothesis. One thing is the same for all the results though; namely that the difference in sociability evaluations between Norwegian-accented English accent and the 'close to RP' accent is not very large. Hypothesis 2 is not corroborated.

4.3.3 Discussion regarding Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3:

- If the respondents are told that the speaker is from Norway, the evaluation is likely to be more positive overall compared to if the speaker is not told that the speaker is from Norway.

See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 for information about the speakers, the recordings and the two surveys. Survey 1 is the survey where speaker nationality was unknown to the respondents, whilst Survey 2 was the survey where speaker nationality was known. Comparing the quantitative results from the two surveys, the differences in the results for Speaker A's recordings are very minor. Speaker A received more or less the same results from both

surveys when speaking Norwegian-accented English. This might be due to the fact that most respondents guessed her to be Norwegian or Scandinavian in Survey 1, or that the perceived origin did not matter. As for Speaker A's 'close to RP' accent in Survey 2 (Speaker A was believed to be a native English speaker by around one third of the respondents in Survey 1.), ratings are slightly higher in all categories than in Survey 1. However, the differences are minor here, and it is hard to establish anything based on Speaker A's results in the two surveys for any of the two accents.

The differences between the quantitative study results for Speaker B in Survey 1 and Survey 2 are also very minor. Speaker B, when she uses Norwegian-accented English, receives slightly higher scores in Survey 2 where her nationality is known than in Survey 1 where her nationality is unknown. This might indicate that she is more liked when she is known to be Norwegian, but she receives different results when she uses an accent 'close to RP'. Here, she receives slightly better results for Survey 1, where her nationality was not known. The reason for this is unknown; maybe she sounds like she is putting on a failed posh accent when she employs the 'close to RP' accent, or the differences are just random. This means that the quantitative results do not really point in any one direction for Speaker A and Speaker B, and the differences in the results are minor.

The qualitative study results from Survey 1 and 2 show that Speaker A (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5) is treated quite similarly by the respondents in both surveys when she uses Norwegian-accented English. She is seen as friendly, nice and confident in both surveys, and also as a student or a semi-professional/professional, often with a family. One difference seen between the two surveys for speaker A when she uses the 'close to RP' accent is that somewhat more people would want to befriend her in Survey 2, when her nationality is known. This might indicate that she is more interesting to the respondents when they know she is Norwegian. As for comparing the responses for both surveys for Speaker A when she uses an accent 'close to RP', the results are similar when it comes to prestige, but there is a difference in terms of sociability. She is seen as successful when she uses the 'close to RP' accent in both surveys, but the general impression by the respondents is that she is more sociable in Survey 2, which is the survey speaker nationality was known. Respondents give her somewhat more credit for being a warmer person, and more respondents want to befriend her in Survey 2. In Survey 1, many respondents think twice about befriending her because she might be too ambitious and prestigious for them. This change in attitudes towards befriending her is interesting and can be taken as a sign that she is more approachable when she is known to be Norwegian. The fact that around half the respondents in Survey 1 guessed Speaker A to

be a native English speaker when she used the 'close to RP' accent, with most of those believing her to be English, might be reflected in the results. No respondents made comments on her sounding posh or arrogant in Survey 2, and she is more often seen in a relationship and with a family. This gives support to the minor change one saw in the quantitative results for Speaker A's 'close to RP' accent. It seems that the negative associations connected to RP are erased, or decreased, when the respondents are told that the speaker is Norwegian.

In the qualitative part of the study, Speaker B is treated relatively similarly by the respondents in both Survey 1 and Survey 2 when she uses Norwegian-accented English (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5). However, some differences are present. As for prestige, Speaker B, when she applies Norwegian-accented English, is seen as somewhat more educated and prestigious in Survey 2 than in Survey 1. Survey 1 comments are very one-sided; there is little mention about education, knowledge or prestigious jobs, whilst several Survey 2 respondents do mention Speaker B as a student or an educated person. However, she is not seen as very ambitious. Therefore, one can say that respondents knowing that Speaker B was Norwegian had an effect on perceived prestige when she used Norwegian-accented English. There is no difference between the two surveys when it comes to sociability; she is seen as a solitary and shy person in both recordings. The fact that she is perceived to be a man by many might have affected the results and to a degree overridden accent as a variable.

As for Speaker B's recording containing the 'close to RP' accent (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), the two surveys yield very much the same qualitative results. Her prestige level is perceived to be somewhat higher in Survey 1 compared to Survey 2, as more respondents see her as somewhat confident, and she seems to be assuming more of the normal prestige stereotypes connected to RP in Survey 1. This is not expected though; most respondents do not guess her to be Norwegian or Scandinavian in Survey 1. She is not perceived to be a native English speaker by the respondents in Survey 1 and would therefore not be likely to adopt prestige attitudes held by British respondents towards Standard British English speakers, as mentioned in Section 4.3.1. As for sociability evaluations for Speaker B when she uses the 'close to RP' accent, there are no differences in the qualitative part of the results from the two surveys. She is not seen as a family person and is seen as shy and solitary in both surveys, and whether or not they know if she is Norwegian has no effect.

There are few previous studies supporting the claim that Norwegians are seen as more prestigious and sociable than people in other European countries or Standard British English speakers. Judging from findings on *The Escapist Magazine* (2010) and Lippi-Green (1997), Norwegians, unlike people from several other countries, including several European

countries, seem to be relatively liked by English people (Section 2.4.2 and Section 2.4.4). This might suggest that Norwegians are possibly seen as prestigious by English people. Knowing that Lindemann (2005) and Weyant (2007) support the claim that being familiar with a foreign-accent increases prestige and sociability ratings, there is reason to believe that Norwegians are likely to be liked by English people (Section 2.4.2). This is because Norway is a neighbour country of the UK, and because the two countries share a common history. Norwegians are then likely to be more familiar to English respondents than, for example, Austrians. However, Norway is a small country on the fringe of the world and despite being a neighbour country of the UK, English respondents are likely to know more about, for example, Spain and Spaniards because Spain is a much larger country. Spain is more important and visible to English respondents. Therefore, it is uncertain how much being a neighbour of England matters, Norway being relatively small and unimportant. It is hard to know how familiar Norway really is to English respondents. In Survey 2, respondents were asked about Norwegians in general and things respondents disliked or liked about Norwegians. The results from this part of the survey support the view that Norway might not be very familiar to English respondents, but all things known about Norwegians are positive. There are no negative connotations to Norwegians in this part of the study, and we are generally seen as educated and friendly. This is reflected in the results from the qualitative parts of this study; there are few negative comments from the respondents about the speakers taking part in the study.

Overall, evaluation of Speaker A when she uses the 'close to RP' accent is somewhat upgraded in terms of sociability in the qualitative part when her nationality is known to the respondents. The quantitative results are not very clear for Speaker A, but it is worth mentioning that she is with an accent 'close to RP' seen as slightly more prestigious and sociable when her nationality is known. This might suggest that Speaker A is seen as more sociable when she applies an accent 'close to RP'. However, Speaker B is rated slightly lower by the respondents in the quantitatively section of the study when her nationality is known to be Norwegian. In the qualitatively section of the study, it is impossible to establish any pattern on behalf of Speaker B. This means that Hypothesis 3 has not been corroborated in a large degree. Norwegians are liked and seen as educated in general, and some results indicate that Norwegians are preferred over other nationalities, but it is hard to see this reflected in the results as a whole unless one cherry picks the results one wants. Speaker A was seen in slightly more positive ways when known to be Norwegian, which do support the

hypothesis, but Speaker B does not show the same trend. This might be because Speaker B had a number of non-linguistic variables connected to her, explained in Section 4.3.6.

4.3.4 Correctness discussed

See Section 4.1.4 for results on Correctness, along with Table 4.3 in Section 4.1.3. As seen, Correctness seems to determine how high the Prestige score will be to a certain degree. For both Speaker A and Speaker B (See Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5), Prestige and Correctness scores increase going from heavy Norwegian-accented English to 'close to RP'. Speaker A, in recording 5, is perceived to have a very correct accent, looking at the Correctness score. This is also true when one takes the Norwegian phonological tokens into account. Only 5 tokens were present in Speaker A's 'close to RP'; a very low number. However, Speaker B is harder to assess. Despite having a considerably lower amount of Norwegian phonological tokens in her 'close to RP' accent than in her Norwegian-accented English, 31 versus 256, her increase in Correctness ratings is not nearly as big as it is for Speaker A. It is to be expected that a low number of Norwegian phonological tokens would be seen as considerably more correct than a very high number of Norwegian phonological tokens. Her Correctness score increases from 4.51 with Norwegian-accented English to 3.31 when using the 'close to RP' accent. This increase is far from the increase Speaker A is subject to, going from 4.13 with Norwegian-accented English to 1.39 when applying the 'close to RP' accent. This means that whether or not Speaker B's accent is perceived as correct or not by the respondents, is not necessarily the same as defining accentedness using only the Norwegian phonological variants I have used in the study. For Speaker A, this is not a problem, and it is reasonable to assume that a low number of Norwegian phonological tokens is the same as having a correct English accent when the non-Norwegian phonological tokens are those of RP. Speaker B is further discussed in Section 4.3.6.

4.3.5 Attitudes towards Norwegians and Norwegian-accented English

As opposed to what Norwegians in Verdens Gang (2009), Færås (2012), Lilleås and Ludt (2009) and *The Escapist Magazine* (2010) believe, the present study suggests there are extremely few negative connotations to Norwegians speaking English with a heavy Norwegian accent. The quantitative results show that neither Speaker A nor Speaker B is stigmatized in any way when they display a high presence of Norwegian phonological tokens

in their English. Speaker A is even seen in a relatively positive light when applying Norwegian-accented English. The quantitative results suggest the same; accent is rarely an issue and Norwegians speaking English with a high presence of Norwegian phonological tokens are not stigmatized. The impression of Norwegians in general is positive. Norwegians should not be ashamed of their spoken English; it is highly understandable and not disliked. However, the study does suggest that Norwegians can be seen as more prestigious if they display few Norwegian phonological tokens in their spoken English.

4.3.6 Self-critique

This thesis has a number of weaknesses that should be mentioned. These weaknesses are caused by the limitations and choices that had to be made in the study, including the variables that I was not able to control. First of all, Speaker B was very problematic as there were too many non-linguistic and other linguistic variables at play. This is confirmed by the Correctness ratings, indicating that the respondents do not perceive her to have a very correct accent despite the relatively low number of Norwegian phonological tokens (See Section 3.3.4). She was too hesitant a reader; she sounded unsure of herself and was by many respondents perceived as a man. Due to this fact, and that she was likely to be perceived as a feminine and hesitant man, this might have influenced the results for Speaker B in a negative way. All this is true for both of Speaker B's recordings and may have influenced the results significantly, as respondents commented on this in connection with her both recordings, and she is rated considerably lower than Speaker A in all categories. All the extra variables that seem to have affected the evaluation of Speaker B makes one consider if the results from Speaker B should be made invalid.

Secondly, the respondents were too few and might not be representative for English people. The two surveys had 35 respondents combined, and the numbers are too low to compare the surveys with each other without skepticism.

Thirdly, the acquiescence bias may have mattered, although this was minimised in this thesis as the researcher rarely was in direct contact with the respondents. One of the two surveys made the respondents aware that the study was being conducted in Bergen, Norway, whilst there is reason to believe that at least some respondents in the other survey were told by their recruiters that the study was Norwegian. This is despite the fact that I asked all my recruiters not to give away my nationality as the author of the study. The fact that most respondents knew the study was Norwegian might have had an effect on the results.

Further on, matched and verbal guise studies have a number of weaknesses, mentioned in Section 3.4. The matched guise technique does not allow speakers to produce authentic speech in all recordings because the predefined Norwegian-accented English was not a natural accent for any of the speakers, but rather a product of the researcher's needs. The speakers were instructed how to speak predefined Norwegian-accented English. In addition, reading a text is a very formal way of speaking and is a variable possibly affecting the results.

Also, prosodic elements in the audio recordings were not controlled. This is a weakness because one can not be sure if the prosodic elements were exaggerated or played down by Speaker A and Speaker B compared to their phonological elements.

In addition, Speaker A's speech rate in recording 5 is around 16% faster than in the rest of the recordings. This may have had a slight effect on the evaluations, especially for prestige, and is a variable in addition to accent.

Lastly, regarding Hypothesis 3, when asked, most respondents guessed Speaker A to be Scandinavian or Norwegian when she exhibited Norwegian-accented English in recording 1 in Survey 1. This means that some of the differences between the two surveys were eliminated, as all respondents in Survey 2 knew she was Norwegian and most respondents in Survey 1 assumed she was Norwegian or Scandinavian. Thus, some of the foundation for the comparison in Hypothesis 3 is lost.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of the findings and conclusions

The main aim of this study was to disclose English attitudes towards Norwegian-accented English, and the focus was on how Norwegians with a heavy Norwegian-accented English would be perceived compared to Norwegians who spoke English with a less noticeable Norwegian accent, thereby sounding more as a Standard British English speaker. In the process, general attitudes towards Norwegians were also found.

The findings were very clear for both speakers when dealing with *prestige*; Norwegians using an accent this thesis defines as 'close to RP'[15] are seen as more educated, richer, more ambitious and etc. than Norwegians who have a high presence of Norwegian phonological tokens in their English speech. They were thought to hold better jobs and were generally seen as more successful in life. That being said, neither of the speakers were considered to hold negative prestige when they applied Norwegian-accented English; Speaker A was seen as somewhat prestigious in this context. This suggests that if one as a Norwegian has an English accent with few Norwegian phonological tokens present, one can potentially benefit from this in various aspects of life compared to one who has an English accent with a very high presence of Norwegian phonological tokens present (See Chapter 2).

As for attitudes towards *sociability*, the results were not clear. Speakers[16] of Norwegian-accented English could not be said to have been disliked in any way, and the general attitude towards Norwegians and Norway was that we were liked and seen as friendly, but this study did not provide enough evidence to conclude in any way how respondents' attitudes to sociability were affected by the degree of accentedness with the speaker.

Norwegians in general seemed to be liked and were seen as educated by English people, but there was little in the results that suggested that Norwegians were seen as more prestigious than people from other countries. With regards to sociability, there are some indications that Norwegians may be rated higher than people of other nationalities, but there are also indications of the opposite. Further studies would be needed to establish this.

Finally, the negative attitude many Norwegians have to the spoken English of people such as Torbjørn Jagland seems unfounded. Nevertheless, one might benefit in terms of

[15] See Section 1.1

[16] Speaker A and B, see Section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5.

prestige from having a less noticeable Norwegian-accent in one's spoken English, according to this study.

5.2 Future research

The present study is the only one done on Norwegian-accented English with regards to accentedness so far. Overall, there are limited English attitudinal studies which include Norway and Norwegian-accented English, and there is much yet to be discovered. Suggestions for future research could be based on Lindemann (2005), discovering how familiar Norway is to English people and how this affects their attitudes towards Norwegians. Future research should also include Norwegian-accented English in studies not having to do with familiarity, such as Lindemann (2005), with studies such as *Voices* (reported in Garrett 2010) and Giles (1970) as models. Also, it would be interesting to see if a Norwegian English accent would suffer job-related discrimination compared to other foreign English accents, but also based on the degree of accentedness within Norwegian-accented English. Lastly, follow-ups to my own study would be fairly simple to do, and it would be interesting to understand more about how various degrees of Norwegian-accented English affect attitudes towards us. This should be done on a larger scale and could include more than just two degrees of Norwegian-accented English.

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Appendix 1: The online survey(s)[17]

What is your age?

What is your gender?

Are you a native English speaker?

Please check the box you agree the most with.

1. The speaker sounds:
   - Intelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unintelligent
2. The speaker's accent sounds:
   - Correct 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Incorrect
3. The speaker sounds:
   - Friendly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unfriendly
4. The speaker sounds:
   - Well educated 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Uneducated
5. The speaker sounds like a:
   - Leader 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Follower
6. The speaker sounds:
   - Rich 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Poor
7. The speaker sounds:
   - Confident 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Unsure
8. The speaker sounds:
   - Trustworthy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Untrustworthy
9. The speaker sounds:
   - Outgoing 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Introverted
10. The speaker sounds:
    - Humorous 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Boring

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[17] The actual surveys had a different layout; this is merely a list of the questions. Screenshot 3.1 is a screenshot of how the Likert Scale looked like in the actual survey.

Please answer the following questions:

1. How do you think the speaker's general situation in life is? (Occupation, family, location, hobbies, etc.)
2. Describe in your own words how the speaker sounds.
3. Is this a person you potentially could be friends with? Why/Why not?
4. Where do you think the speaker is from?[18]

_____-

(The questions below were only asked in Survey 2)

5. All the speakers have been Norwegian. Do you know anything about Norwegians? If anything, what?
6. Is there anything you like or dislike about Norwegians? What is your general impression of them, if any?

[18] This question was only asked in Survey 1.