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Euro-English Accents- Pride and Prejudice

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C-level essay in General Linguistics
Spring Term 2005
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	Introduction		1
	1.1	Research interest	1
	1.2	Purpose	1
2	English Background		2
	2.1	Across the world	2
	2.2	In Europe	2
	2.3	In Sweden	3
3	Language and Identity		3
	3.1	Euro-English origins	3
	3.2	Euro-English findings	4
	3.3	Personal and group identity	4
	3.4	Connection between identity and language	5
	3.5	Consequences	6
4	Language Attitudes		7
	4.1	Social factors	7
	4.1.1	Cultural stereotypes	7
	4.1.2	Contact	7
	4.1.2	Caveat	7
	4.2	Responses	8
	4.3	Attitude Research	8
	4.3.1	Theoretical	8
	4.3.2	Practical	9
	4.3.3	Ground for this study	10
5	Hypotheses		10
6	Method		11
	6.1	Variables	11
	6.2	Material	11
	6.2.1	Recordings	11
	6.2.2	Speakers	12
	6.2.3	Questionnaire	12
	6.3	Participants	13
	<i>Table 1</i>	13
	6.4	Procedure	13
7	Results		14
	7.1	Hypothesis One	14
		<i>Tables 7.1.1, 7.1.2, 7.1.3</i>	
	7.2	Hypothesis Two	16
		<i>Graphs 1-9</i>	
	7.3	Hypothesis Three	20
		<i>Table 7.3.1</i>	20
		<i>Table 7.3.2, 7.3.3</i>	21
		<i>Table 7.3.4</i>	22
8	Discussion		23
	8.1	Summary of results	23
	8.2	Implications	23
	8.3	Limitations	26
	8.4	Conclusion	27
9	Literature		28
10	Appendix		30
	10.1	The Rainbow Passage	30

10.2 Attitude scale	30
10.3 Identification task	31
10.4 Non-contact identification	32
10.5 Contact identification	33

Abstract

This study considered whether or not 20 female Swedish high school students (the ‘listeners’) responded differently to and to what extent were able to correctly identify nine European female non-native English speakers and if contact amounting to more than one month with a foreign culture affected their responses. The connection between identity and language, Euro-English and attitude studies serve as a background to an 18 question 6-point Likert scale language attitude survey based on power, solidarity, and competence qualities. The resulting data revealed that differences were perceived by listeners and that the amount of contact may somewhat negatively affect attitudes, scoring and accent identification.

1 Introduction

1.1 Research Interest

Like many other mammals, human beings are complex social animals that are fundamentally built to rely on the group for survival while still possessing the skills to endure alone. Although our metacognition skills may distinguish humans from other groups of mammals, our lack of, among other things, sufficient fur, has left us at a disadvantage in the natural environment and thereby even more dependent on a well-structured and effective social network. Individuals are fundamentally aware of the social hierarchy surrounding them and of their place in it. It is no wonder then, that upon meeting unknown people, we both consciously and subconsciously listen and look for clues displaying rank so that we know how to behave (Trudgill, 2000).

A person's language often serves as a sort of index, or 'scent marker' if you will, of one's life by displaying geographical and social origin, as well as some of one's ideas and opinions. It is apparent in the animal kingdom that scent markers, vocalizations, and similar cues incite a response in the listener and help to determine whether a stranger is friend or foe. As territorial animals, what kind of reactions do strange and different accents provoke within us, the listeners? Is our response based on previous contact with a particular group and the stereotypes associated with them? Does the amount of time we've spent abroad in general affect our reply? And without the sensitive olfactory organs of other mammals, how accurately can we actually identify these vocal 'scent markers'? Are we able to discriminate between them, and most importantly, do we truly recognize our own? As the world continues to contract, we have the opportunity to interact with more and more people outside of our own flock than ever before. How do we react to them and how will they react to us?

1.2 Purpose

The main aim of this study is to investigate the response of non-native English speakers, specifically, Swedish female students, towards European (female) foreign accents in spoken English. Are there differences between the attitudes towards different accents? In that case, is the difference in perceived *Power*, *Solidarity*, or *Competence*? What kind of hierarchy is created? How capable are Swedish high school students of correctly identifying a particular accent as coming from a particular country including their own? And does spending time in a foreign country affect the attitudes and judgements made?

2 English Background

2.1 Across the world

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact start of the English language's rise to its current status of fame and fortune, but historians and linguists often link it to coincide with the start of the British Empire and colonization of parts of Africa, Asia and the Americas. English is the mother tongue of Great Britain, the United States of America, Ireland and many countries formerly gathered under the British crown. English is not, however, the world language with the most native speakers, but rather the one with the most *total* speakers (Svartvik, 1999). The global spread of English has quickly surpassed that of former power languages such as French and Latin.

English is not only the language of Shakespeare and Mark Twain; it is the language used around the world in air traffic control, travel, movies, music, business, science and technology. English is being used more and more frequently in the inter-communication between two, three or more non-native speakers; that is to say, the world is using English to communicate with each other, not just with America, England, and other countries where English is native (Smith, 1983). Although English continues to be the cultural language of native speakers, it has lost its cultural baggage abroad. It is commonplace to discuss politics in English without regard to the British or American standpoint and possible to protest, in English, against the influence of English upon one's native tongue.

2.2 In Europe

While large portions of the globe came under the influence of English between the 16th and 19th century, this was not really the case in Europe. Not until after World War II did English truly begin to flourish, sweeping across Europe at an uneven pace, starting in the west and spreading eastward after the fall of the Iron Curtain. It was also around 1945 that American English began to exert a stronger influence than its predecessor from the British Isles. Since that time American English has dominated the European and world scene primarily through influence of media, technology and power while British English has predominated the educational systems. Internationalization and increased mobility have also played their part and as Cevoz & Jessner noted "It requires little linguistic sensitivity to note the omnipresence of English in Europe today"(2000, p. 24). Currently English is one of 20 official languages of the European Union yet enjoys a privileged status as one of three working languages and as the unofficial status quo. Surveys financed by the EU have shown that it is the most used and most learned language with an entire 31% knowing English well enough to hold a conversation (Europa website, 2004). Despite current and probable future opposition, English will undoubtedly continue to play an important role in Europe and in European cooperation.

2.3 In Sweden

In comparison with the rest of Europe, Sweden has long had an advantage concerning English. As some of the first countries in Europe to require English as the first second language learned, Sweden and other Scandinavian countries are well known for their proficiency. With ready access to quality educational material, British English was the standard taught for many years. This requirement has since been revoked and though still largely British-influenced, schools now teach American and other varieties of English as well. English is used daily in business, in higher education and even in many parts of public life.

3 Language and Identity

3.1 Euro-English origins

The English language is often considered a cultural byproduct and export of England and America - a language, like others, inseparable from its literature and history. In many universities and other institutions, the demand and desire exists that learners of a second language should try to produce as near-native pronunciation as possible. This has been supported by studies that have shown that native listeners respond more positively to lightly or unnoticeably accented speech. For the majority of learners, this task is impossible and therefore, the feasibility and need for this goal, at least in English, is being reevaluated (Dalton-Puffer, et al., 1997).

English today functions as an international language, a 'free agent' in society. Released from cultural constraints, many non-native speakers agree it is no longer necessary to imitate the pronunciation (or other language features) of the standard varieties but instead have begun to mark English as their own. Accordingly, English in Europe is losing its foreignness and becoming nativized. This does not, however, deter from that fact that English still must be understandable, pertinent, and accepted by the community (Smith, 1983).

In Europe widespread use is leading to one or more non-native varieties dubbed "Euro-English" or European English (Modiano 1996, Crystal 1995 in Cenoz & Jessner, 2000) which differ from standard native varieties of English. These new varieties of Euro-English are similar to other "New Englishes" in that they are not the result of a pidgin but rather education and exposure. As Crystal (2003) mentioned, it is a divergent variety of English that appears when different nationalities communicate in English. They will adapt and modify their speech while still exhibiting features (i.e. interference) from their native tongues. If these speakers are European, the result is an original variety of 'Euro-English.' What makes these new varieties different from standard English varieties is the mother tongue interference normally called 'errors' by native speakers and English teachers is not

a limitation, a distraction, or a hindrance. Instead, these 'errors' become standardized, regular and accepted as part of a nativised European English .

Another explanation for the appearance of "Euro-English" is the fact that language is the primary vehicle for a culture; it is the wisdom of centuries passed on and preserved generation to generation. When a language meets with death it is not replaced by a new linguistic culture but rather compromises between the old language and the new one, creating a new variety that is neither one nor the other (Kramsch, 1998). Certainly this is somewhat the case with the Euro-English varieties; in a similar fashion speakers move their language features and accent over into spoken English in order to stamp themselves as belonging to that particular group (and not a native English one) thus creating a new variety that is neither English nor their mother tongue - it is Euro-English.

3.2 Euro-English findings

In studies concerning Euro-English, several different results have been documented. Some studies have shown that speakers prefer their own nativised English over standard varieties, for example Amsterdam English. Broeders and Gussenhoven at Nijmegen University in the Netherlands presented a study in which they presented several English accents as models for new students, among them RP (Received Pronunciation), Scots English, and "Amsterdam English" (cited in Ketteman, 1993). The students' attitudes showed clearly that "Amsterdam English" was received positively while RP was not very popular. "This sort of attitude, i.e. showing preference for an indigenous variety, even though another variety may be more prestigious, is concordant with sociolinguistic findings in English-speaking communities" (Kettemann, 1993, p. 141).

However a study done by Dalton-Puffer, et al, in Austria in 1997 with university students of English showed just the opposite. The standard native English accents, such as RP and General American, were clearly preferred over the non-native versions. However these results also displayed the importance of personal contact and experience with a language. Clear preference was shown for the native varieties to which the students had had most

access to during their schooling and during study abroad/home stays. The students with more exposure to native speakers of English in their native environment had much more personal, situation-based reactions (rather than rigid stereotypes) than those who did not have exposure.

3.3 Personal and group identity

Contradictory results like those above are not uncommon. They can be at least partially explained by the social identity theory which states that "people will exhibit a preference for the variety of language that is associated with their most salient in-group" (from Lambert, 1967 cited in Bresnahan, et al., 2002, p. 608). Both of these studies reflect the importance of one's social network and of one's personal and group identity. Identity is a term borrowed from the realm of social psychology and is defined as "a person's mental representation of who he or she is" (Bernstein, et al, 1994, p.608). A person's identity results from a basic tension between the necessity to be similar to those around us, *group identity*, and a simultaneous desire to feel unique, *personal identity*. A group is characterized by two or more people with not only physical but also functional interaction. Groups are also important in establishing values and norms and therein impose a social impact on the individual depending on the strength, immediacy, and number of the group. Both personal and group identities differ along lines of gender and culture.

Group identity may be based on any of several possible factors; among the most salient factors are ethnicity, nationality, and religion. Trudgill (2000) expressed the point that people have a much easier time identifying themselves as "Jewish" or "Black" rather than "Lower Middle Class." Language, however, "may be or may not be included in the group's cultural bag. According to the subjective view, group members more or less consciously choose to associate ethnicity with language" (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 15).

3.4 Connection between identity and language

In the general society, there is commonly believed to be a natural connection between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group's identity, e.g. Italians

speaking Italian. Indeed even an accent may be more important than speaking the language itself as seen in the comment of a boy participating a study on Breton. He was asked whether being able to speak Breton was a necessary part of being a Breton. He replied, *”No, it’s much more important to have the accent, that way you know straight away that someone is Breton”* (Hoare, 2001, p.78). Through their accent and other features of their dialect, speakers identify themselves and are identified as members of this or that speech/discourse community. Crystal wrote

”If you wish to tell everyone what part of a country you are from, you can wave a flag, wear a label on your coat, or (the most convenient solution, because it is always with you, even in the dark and around corners) speak with a distinctive accent and dialect. Similarly, on the world stage, if you wish to tell everyone what country you belong to, an immediate and direct way of doing it is to speak in a distinctive way” (2003, p. 144-145).

By using accents in speaking English, people bridge the gap between intelligibility and identity. They retain their group identity while communicating with the world at large.

This group membership gives them also *”personal strength and pride, as well as a sense of social importance and historical continuity from using the same language as the group they belong to”* (Kramsch, 1998, p. 65-66). Kramsch also stated that group identity is created through highlighting or blurring the lines of race, nationality, ethnicity, language, and so forth. This is even the case even for a minority language, regional or social, that may be highly valued by its speakers for any number of reasons. This close tie between the language and the social identity of ethnolinguistic groups is not to be overlooked though it is important also to keep in mind the following:

”there is not a one-to-one relation between identity and language. A distinct social, cultural, or ethnic identity does not always have a distinct language as counterpart, while groups with distinct languages may have largely overlapping identities. Furthermore, identities and languages are not monolithic wholes but are clearly differentiated, heterogeneous and variable. This makes their relation in specific situations even more intricate” (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 20).

3.5 Consequences

The strong social group identity created by language and other factors is not only important in social interaction and in identifying others as ‘the same’ but it also forms our judgements of others as ‘different’. This ultimately leads to a division of in-group and out-group, in layman’s terms: ‘us’ against ‘them’. Not only does our social identity shape our evaluations of someone in an out-group, they will also affect our evaluation of our in-group (Cargile & Giles, 1997). But how to determine and define which group someone belongs to? Human beings do not react on the basis of stimulus and sensory input alone but rather we interpret what we perceive and then react (Edwards, 1999). Perception is a cultural screen window in the mind through which all things filter. ”What we perceive about a person’s culture and language is what we have been conditioned by our own culture to see, and the stereotypical models already built around our own” (Kramsch, 1998, p. 68). We do not create our own attitudes; our attitudes are passed on to us by the generations before us and the society around us. These stereotypes are learned behavior, and persist; although they may or may not reflect the social reality, they are obligatory for our survival (Ladegaard, 1998).

4 Language Accents and Attitudes

4.1 Social factors

4.1.1 Cultural stereotypes

Appel and Muysken proposed that ”If there is a strong relation between language and identity, this relation should find its expression in the attitudes of individuals towards these languages and their users” (1987, p.16). This is also true for accents which are key in signaling someone as different or as part of an out-group. Language attitudes are not linguistic but social. People automatically and instinctively assign characteristics to speakers of a particular language or accent based on their stereotypes and beliefs about members of that community (Bonvillian, 2003). The level of *Solidarity* is typically highest

in languages geographically or culturally closest to one's own; the level of *Competence* in a language is associated with that people's reputation for hard-work and good education; the level of prestige or *Power* in language can typically be equated with the amount of riches and technology that the country has. It is natural that, for example, Swedes, have more positive attitudes to and stereotypes of those nations and peoples closest to themselves (say Norway and Denmark) - both geographically as well as culturally. Additionally, Nesdale & Rooney pointed out that language attitude research has shown that the most powerful accents in a community receive high marks in status and competence while lesser known languages and minority accents receive higher marks in solidarity and integrity (1996).

4.1.2 Contact

Contact and experience are obvious factors that affect our stereotypes and attitudes. Just as one breaks the cycle of prejudice through exposure and knowledge, one can "liberate people from such prejudiced discourses" by exposing them to linguistic diversity (Kubota, 2001, p.49). Much exposure today happens naturally. Chambers (2002) cited the power of mobility as a powerful linguistic force today and it is undeniable that face-to-face interactions, personal contact, and broad international experiences are happening between more and more citizens of the world. Not only are our knowledge and understanding increasing but consequently our attitudes are also altering and changing course. Markham noted that in regards to his research on accents "Experience with or awareness of foreign and native accents must also play a role" (1997, p.100). Markham also pointed out that both specific familiarity with a particular non-native accent as well as broad experience with non-native speakers may help in identifying accent.

4.1.3 Caveat

In a study by Boyd (2004), the relationship between accents, attitudes and stereotypes is questioned. She pointed out that in order to have an attitude towards a speaker based on their accent and one's own stereotype of that culture, one must first be able to correctly identify that speaker's first language/cultural identity. While her results showed clearly that

while native Swedish speakers could quickly and correctly judge the degree of accent of a second language Swedish speaker, they were only able to correctly identify two accents (and therein cultural identities/first languages) of the participants. Both of these languages, Finnish and German, are languages with a long historical connection to Sweden. She also proposed that English and French accents in Swedish would be correctly identified by Swedish speakers but that accents from languages other than these four would be difficult to identify (even for trained phoneticians). While Boyd's study focused only native speakers' ability to identify accents, it is reasonable to assume the same principal applies to non-native and second-language speakers.

4.2 Responses

Affective and cognitive reactions may occur when one's emotions and reactions are connected to a particular person or situation (Cargile and Giles, 1997). Both the Austrian study by Dalton-Puffer, et al. and the Dutch study by Broeders and Gussenhoven mentioned earlier displayed similar effects - a preference for that which one knows and feels comfortable with. Dalton-Puffer also cites a Japanese study (Chiba, et al , 1995) in which students rated the accents they recognized most easily (those that were most familiar) most positively (though not their indigenous variety). These conflicting results coincide with the social identity theory that people prefer their most salient in-group but are not immune to contact factors. The amount of experience and exposure are powerful factors regarding attitudes. A study done by Byrnes, Kiger, and Manning in 1997 showed that, among other things, the amount of experience a teacher had working with minority language children positively affected their language attitudes.

4.3 Attitude Research

4.3.1 Theoretical

The term 'attitude' and the study of attitudes are both borrowings from social psychology. Edwards wrote, "Because language is one of the traditionally important social markers, it is not surprising that the study of attitudes has a central position in the social psychology

of language” (1999, p.1). People have reacted to and evaluated different accents, dialects and languages since the beginning of mankind’s verbal history. Historically, two theoretical approaches are discussed regarding the study of language attitudes. The first one is the behaviorist view, in which attitudes must be studied by observing the responses to certain languages in actual interactions. Conversely, the mentalist view says that attitudes are an internal, mental state, which can explain certain forms of behavior. The mentalist view has been the one most widely followed and employed in language attitude research as it is most conducive to surveys and interviews.

4.3.2. Practical

One of the first groundbreaking attitude studies was made by Lambert in 1960 presenting the ‘matched guise’ technique, i.e. the same speaker presented as ‘native’ in one or more varieties. Since then many dialectal and bilingual studies have followed in a similar strain. While the ‘matched guise’ technique is still often used, it is often removed due to lack of authenticity and poor feasibility on the part of the speaker.

Indeed language is such a powerful social force that listeners, even small children, perceive and interpret linguistic and paralinguistic variation in messages as indicators of both personal and social characteristics (Cargile & Giles, 1997). Magen (1998) cited research (Flege & Hammond, 1982; Flege, 1984) that showed that listeners could detect a foreign accent after exposure to a sample of speech as short as 30 ms. However, there is no research that states how long it takes for a listener to recognize or identify a foreign accent. In most language attitude studies listeners are asked to rank or evaluate speakers on qualities relating to prestige, power, or social attractiveness by asking questions like ”How ‘friendly’ is this person” or ”how ‘educated’ does this person sound”? The results of language-attitude studies are based on the premise that languages (or linguistic varieties) are objectively comparable and intrinsically and inherently equal and the differences in subjective evaluation of speech fragments are not caused by differences in aesthetics or logic but rather by the differences in the social position of the listeners and the imposed norms their culture has bred within them.

Piske, et al, (2001) stated in their review that it appears the accuracy of a non-native speakers pronunciation is dependent on the L1. They also stated that studies have shown that read speech was judged to be more strongly foreign-accented than spontaneous speech samples. Furthermore, Markham wrote that "If listeners are told that all speakers are non-native, then it seems likely that listeners will tend towards hearing accent. If they are told that native speakers are present in the sample, then some listeners may err on the side of caution and be inclined to give all speakers slightly better scores" (1997, p.99). There are some questions as to the reliability of participants' scoring but Magen (1998) cited sources that stated untrained listeners perform reliably when judging foreign accents although experienced listeners can sometimes be more so.

There are additional factors that may affect a listener's response. Non-linguistic factors such as context, topic, and relevance of the text may alter a listener's scoring. Degree of emotionality and humor may also factor in. Previous studies have also considered rate of speaking and musical ability among other things as possible and probable factors affecting attribute scoring.

4.3.3. Ground for this study

Since the start of language attitude studies in the 1960s, many new techniques, language groups, and factors have been explored. Edwards (1999) claimed that much evidence has been secured regarding the reactions of native speakers of English to various dialects and varieties of English. However there have been only a few studies made on the perception of non-native speakers of different varieties in English (Dalton-Puffer, et al., 1997). It is apparent that even fewer of these studies have been done comparing non-native English varieties with only non-native speakers as listeners and judges. This study aims to fill that gap.

5 Hypotheses

Earlier language attitude studies have shown that there is often a difference in response to speakers of different varieties based on a listener's stereotypes of the speakers and the social situation of the speakers and the listeners. The perceived *Power* of a speaker is normally associated with language varieties that have a lot of social power; the perceived *Competence* of a speaker is linked with that people's work ethic and assumed education; the perceived *Solidarity* is connected with those geographically and culturally closest to one's self. Similarly this leads to the first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: There is a difference in attitude to the English accents of speakers of different languages in regard to *Power*, *Competence*, and *Solidarity*.

Research has also shown that listeners show a preference for that which they are most familiar with, be it a native or indigenous variety of English. Markham noted also that specific or broad experience may impact a listener's judgements. Therefore, the second and third hypotheses read as follows:

Hypothesis 2: A listener's time abroad affects their attitudes towards the English accents of speakers of different languages in regard to *Power*, *Competence*, and *Solidarity*.*

Hypothesis 3: A listener's time abroad affects their ability to identify a speaker as coming from a particular country.*

**Note: "Time abroad" is defined as one month or more spent in a foreign country in contrast with less than one month spent in a foreign country.*

6 Method

6.1 Variables

These hypotheses have been tested quantitatively on a group of Swedish female high school students using recordings of non-native female speakers together with Likert-based

attitude scales and an identification task. The ‘matched-guise’ technique was not used in this study due to lack of feasibility and authenticity. The dependent variable (DV) for the study was the students’ responses on the attitude scales. Attitude scales are indisputably the most popular way to measure attitudes and these particular scales used in this study have been widely used in accent attitude studies before and have therefore been proven both reliable and valid. The independent variables (IV) were the students’ time abroad also called ‘contact’ (contact/no contact) and the speakers of the recordings (9 different non-native English accents). The experiment was a 2 (contact/no contact) x 9 (speaker ethnicity: nine different European accents) factorial design where both factors were fixed.

There were linguistic variables both phonetic and phonemic, as well as extralinguistic variables, that were uncontrolled and may have affected the results. Such linguistic variables resided primarily within the speakers used and included, for example, the number of mistakes and hesitations. Extralinguistic variables may have included those regarding the speakers or the participants (social, regional, political, religion), group (size, immediacy, influence), and situation (time of day, location). Two additional external factors that may have influenced the results was my own native English speaking before the recordings and during the experiment as well as the speakers’ earlier models, i.e. what variety of English they have been most exposed to during their education. Further factors that were not taken into account are the speakers' and listeners' knowledge and familiarity of English as well as their time spent in English-speaking countries.

6.2 Material

6.2.1 Recordings

The material for this experiment consisted of 9 recordings of the same text read by 8 European exchange students and 1 Swede (all female) studying at Växjö University during the spring term 2004. Their participation was voluntary. The text used is entitled ”The Rainbow Passage” (see appendix) and, in its entirety, includes all the sounds of English. In this experiment, however, only the first two paragraphs were used. These recordings were not altered or controlled in any way in regard to time, rate of speaking, or pitch in order to

produce the most natural recording possible. The speaking time for the first paragraph ranged between 30 and 46 seconds for each speaker while the time for the second paragraph ranged between 25 and 38 seconds. Also, each speaker was given the text to review for only a few minutes before recording with the possibility to ask questions about pronunciation or meaning. The result was a somewhat spontaneous reading by each speaker.

6.2.2 Speakers

These nine speakers were located, interviewed, and recorded within their residence halls. All 9 speakers were women between the ages of 21 and 31 currently studying at Växjö University. Excluding the Swedish speaker, they had been in Sweden for a time period of between 2 months and 1 year. All nine speakers were studying a subject other than English and had not studied English since high school. Questions were also asked that involved if, how, when, and where they had spent time in English-speaking or other foreign countries. Of the 9 speakers, 3 of them (Spain, Poland, Germany) had spent 2 months in an English-speaking country (vacation/working) while the remaining 6 had spent less than a month in an English speaking country. Also, the women from France, Poland, and Germany had spent one month or more in a non-English-speaking foreign country. All nine women classified their English as Intermediate or Advanced and agreed that they had a typical foreign accent in English for a person from their country. The recordings were placed in the following order: Germany, Portugal, France, Poland, Sweden, Spain, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands. No control was made for age of learning, years of formal instruction, learning aptitude, order influence, or for the fact that inclusion or exclusion of one voice or accent may affect judgements of those remaining.

6.2.3 Questionnaire

As further material for this study, I produced a packet of attitude scales (see appendix) that were mostly reduplicated from Evaluating English Accents WorldWide, (Bayard and Green, 2004). Each attitude scale included 18 characteristics covering *Power*, *Competence*, and *Solidarity*. Each quality is marked by the participants on a Likert scale

from 1 (not very) to 6 (very). I chose not to include Bayard and Green's four characteristics related to prestige.

The 18 qualities used are listed below under their appropriate heading:

POWER	SOLIDARITY	COMPETENCE
P1-Authoritative	S1-Humorous	C1-Reliable
P2-Dominant	S2-Cheerful	C2-Ambitious
P3-Assertive	S3-Friendly	C3-Competent
P4-Controlling	S4-Warm	C4-Intelligent
P5-Powerful Voice	S5-Pleasant Voice	C5-Hardworking
P6-Strong Voice	S6-Attractive Voice	C6-Educated Voice

In addition to the nine attitude scales (one for each speaker), I included a section on accent identification (see appendix). Twenty-two nationalities were listed in random order including the nine used in the survey. The instructions stated that the respondent must assign each speaker to which country seems most likely and where each country may only be used once. Finally, a demographic page was included asking for the participant's age, gender, ethnicity, as well as for the extent of their contact and experience outside of Sweden.

6.3 Participants

Participants for this study were female students in their first or second year within the International Baccalaureate Program at Katedralskolan, a high school in Växjö, Sweden in the spring of 2004. Participation was voluntary. In order to qualify for the study, the student must have been a Swedish citizen by birth or have moved to Sweden by the age of six. A total of 20 qualifying students listened to recordings and filled in the questionnaire. Of these 20 students, 10 reported that they had had more than one month of continuous contact with a foreign country (e.g. vacation, language studies). The remaining 10 did not report having more than one month of continuous contact. These two groups were designated Contact and Non-contact respectively. Furthermore, it is worthwhile to note

that the ‘contact/no contact’ factor is quantitative not qualitative. What kind of contact and international experience the listeners had, for example how many different contacts and what level of contact are not measured or controlled. There was also no differentiation made for whether the contact they had was with an English-speaking or non-English speaking country.

Table 1. Demographic information of listeners

	Contact-females	Non-contact females	TOTAL
Number	10	10	20
Average age	16.5	17.1	16.8
Minimum age	15	16	15
Maximum age	18	19	19

6.4 Procedure

Once the recordings and the questionnaire were complete, I contacted the head of the International Baccalaureate Program and decided on which classes would be most appropriate. Two English classes were chosen and we met accordingly. I was given the first part of the class to conduct the study, approximately 25 minutes. I was introduced to the class as a native English speaker living in Sweden. I then explained that my study was about perception of a speaker based on their voice, for example a stranger on the radio or on the telephone. They were not told that the speakers were all non-native speakers of English.

I reviewed and explained how to fill in the attitude scales and answered questions regarding the meaning of the qualities. I then played each of the recordings (first paragraph of the text) in the order mentioned earlier. I paused after each recording and waited for all the students to finish marking the scales. In an effort to avoid fatigue, I encouraged them repeatedly to keep paying attention. As an oral and mental ‘palate cleanser’, I also told them a knock-knock joke. I chose knock-knock jokes since they require an active response from the class. After completing the first nine attitude scales, the students were then given instructions for the accent identification section. They were

to listen to each speaker (second paragraph of the text) and then place the number of the speaker in front of their best guess for where that speaker was from. There was no space for "I don't know" and each country was only to be used once. Following these instructions, I played up the recordings with only a brief pause in which to say the number of the next speaker and to remind them they were required to write an answer. After this section was completed I asked the participants to complete the page of demographic questions on the back. As they completed this page, I collected the packets and answered any further questions that they had.

7 Results

7.1 Hypothesis One

Hypothesis 1: There is a difference in attitude to the English accents of speakers of different languages in regard to *Power*, *Competence*, and *Solidarity*.

Twenty complete packets were collected and analyzed in regard to the attitude scales for the 9 speakers. After totalling the average score for each of the 18 qualities for each of the 9 speakers, I was able to compose a total average for each of the speakers in regard to the three main attributes: *Power*, *Solidarity*, and *Competence*. A hierarchy of speakers for each of the main attributes is shown in the tables below. Clearly there were differences perceived by the listeners in regard to all nine speakers thus implying that Hypothesis One is true.

Table 7.1.1 : POWER

Table 7.1.2: SOLIDARITY

Speaker Number	Country	Score	Speaker Number	Country	Score
4	Poland	4.03	7	Austria	3.74
9	Holland	3.10	9	Holland	3.46
7	Austria	2.99	5	Sweden	3.29
6	Spain	2.97	6	Spain	2.91
5	Sweden	2.15	8	Italy	2.79
3	France	2.07	4	Poland	2.63
8	Italy	1.92	3	France	2.56
1	Germany	1.79	2	Portugal	2.54
2	Portugal	1.65	1	Germany	2.33

Table 7.1.3 : COMPETENCE

Speaker Number	Country	Score
7	Austria	4.24
4	Poland	4.2
9	Holland	3.66
6	Spain	3.63
1	Germany	3.3
5	Sweden	3.05
3	France	2.99
2	Portugal	2.77
8	Italy	2.44

Speaker number 7 (Austria) and speaker number 9 (Holland) scored highly on all three attributes. Speaker 4 (Poland) received high marks in *Power* and *Competence* but lower in *Solidarity*. Speaker number 6 from Spain placed fourth in all three hierarchies. The Swedish speaker (5) received an average middle placement in *Power* and *Competence* though higher in regard to *Solidarity*. The Portuguese speaker (2) received poor average ratings in all three categories. Speaker 1 (Germany) placed poorly in the *Power* and *Solidarity* hierarchies but noticeably higher in *Competence*. The Italian (8) and French (3) speakers were generally placed in the lower part of the three hierarchies with an exception for the Italian speaker's *Solidarity* which placed fifth.

Furthermore, by analyzing these data in regard to average scores, some interesting differences can be noted. Six countries (Austria, Poland, Holland, Spain, Germany and

Sweden) scored above 3.0 regarding *Competence*. These should be countries associated then with a good work ethic and good education. Regarding *Solidarity*, three countries (Austria, Holland and Sweden) scored above 3.0. These should then be countries that are perceived as geographically and culturally close to Sweden, part of the 'in-group'. The range of scores for *Solidarity* was the smallest - 3.74 high to 2.33 low, a difference of 1.41. Perhaps this can imply a notion of a 'united' Europe?

As mentioned earlier in this work, language attitude research has typically shown that high marks in competence go to powerful accents while higher marks in *Solidarity* go to less known languages and minority accents (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996). These results regarding *Solidarity* concur well with this premise while the *Competence* results leave some question marks. Both Holland and Austria as well as Spain place high in both hierarchies. Is it possible that they can be minority accents with a lot of power? In general, however, I feel these results regarding *Competence* and *Solidarity* meet expectations and reflect to some degree reality.

In regard to *Power*, however, only Poland and Holland scored above 3.0 while three countries (Italy, Germany and Portugal) scored below 2.0. This was the only category where scores dipped under 2.0. Average scores for *Power* spanned the largest range - a difference of 2.38 between the highest and the lowest. Typically countries that are rated high in *Power* are those associated with social and material power. Poland and Holland are generally not considered 'big contenders' in Europe or in the world while Italy and Germany, along with France and Spain are. One possible explanation is the idea that the true '*Power*' lies within the Superpower - America and to a lesser degree other native English countries. I also feel that Germany's low scores may be on account of being first. Additionally the listeners' ability in identifying each accent may have impacted the scores (see 7.3).

7.2 Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis 2: A listener's time abroad affects their attitudes towards the English accents of speakers of different languages in regard to *Power, Competence, and Solidarity*.*

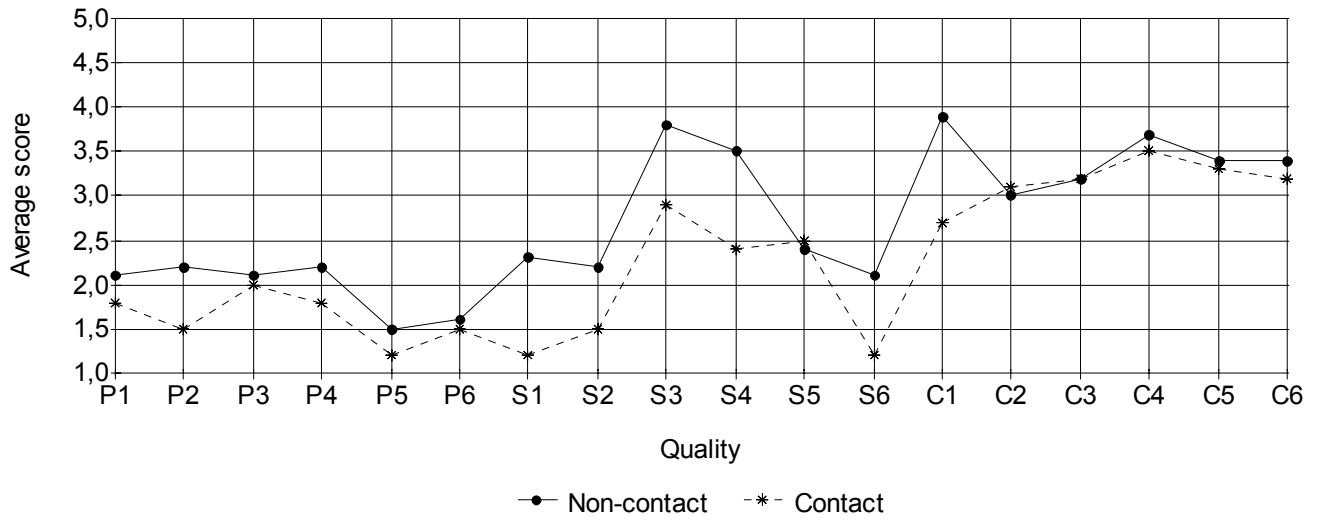
Of the 20 total packets collected, 10 were denoted as 'contact' while the remaining 10 were denoted as 'non-contact' according to the listeners' own remarks. Within the non-contact group, data for each of the 9 speakers and their 18 qualities were collected and grouped. An average score for each of the qualities for each of the speakers was recorded. The process was then repeated using the 10 contact packets. The average scores for each quality in regard to the particular speaker have been graphed below.

In the following nine graphs, the qualities are listed left to right on the x-axis with the help of the following:

POWER	SOLIDARITY	COMPETENCE
P1-Authoritative	S1-Humorous	C1-Reliable
P2-Dominant	S2-Cheerful	C2-Ambitious
P3-Assertive	S3-Friendly	C3-Competent
P4-Controlling	S4-Warm	C4-Intelligent
P5-Powerful Voice	S5-Pleasant Voice	C5-Hardworking
P6-Strong Voice	S6-Attractive Voice	C6-Educated Voice

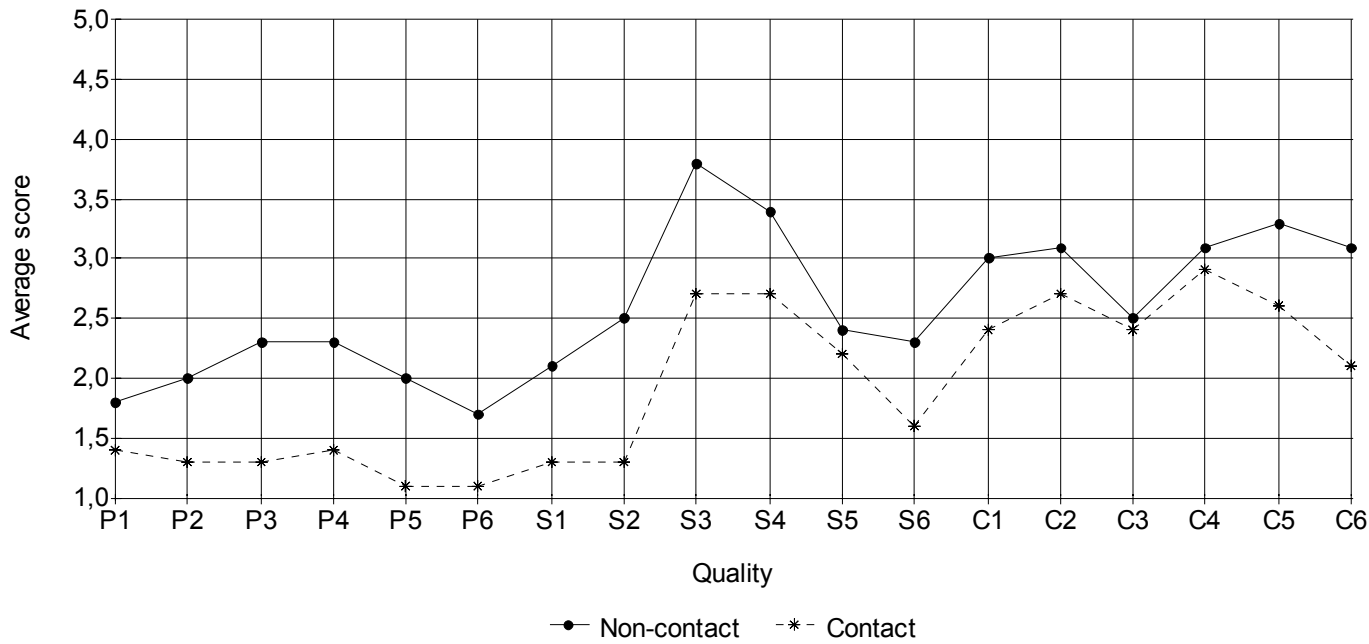
Speaker One

Germany



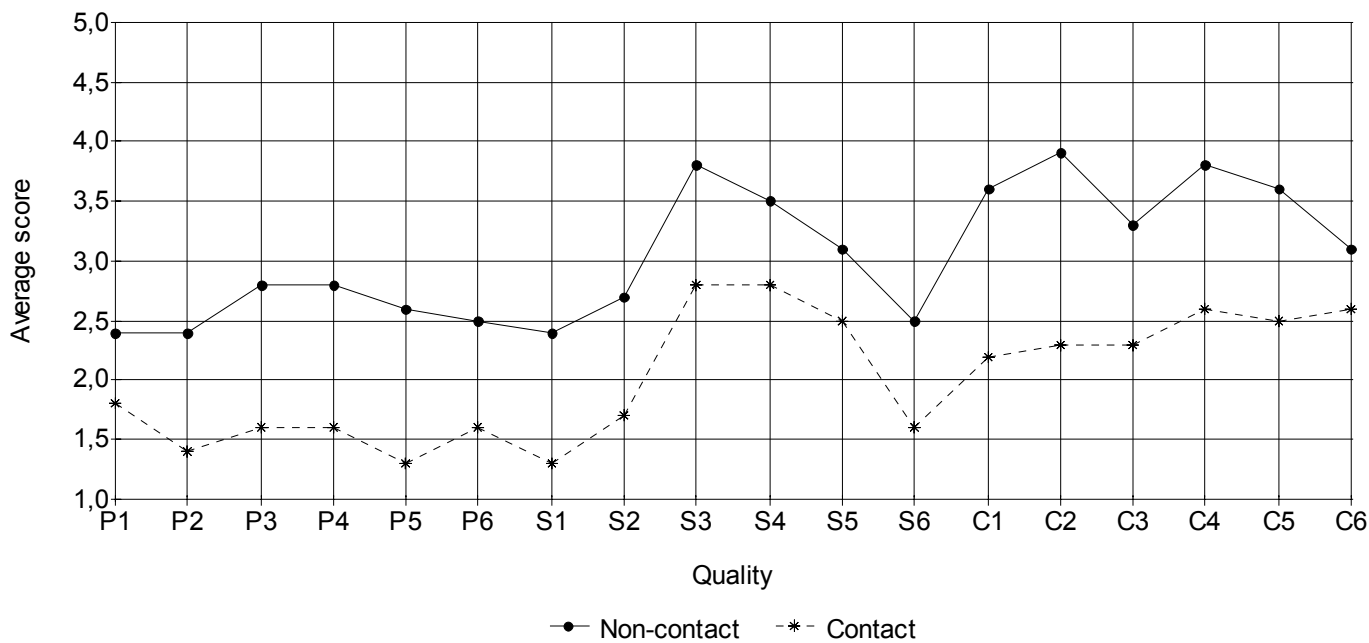
Speaker Two

Portugal



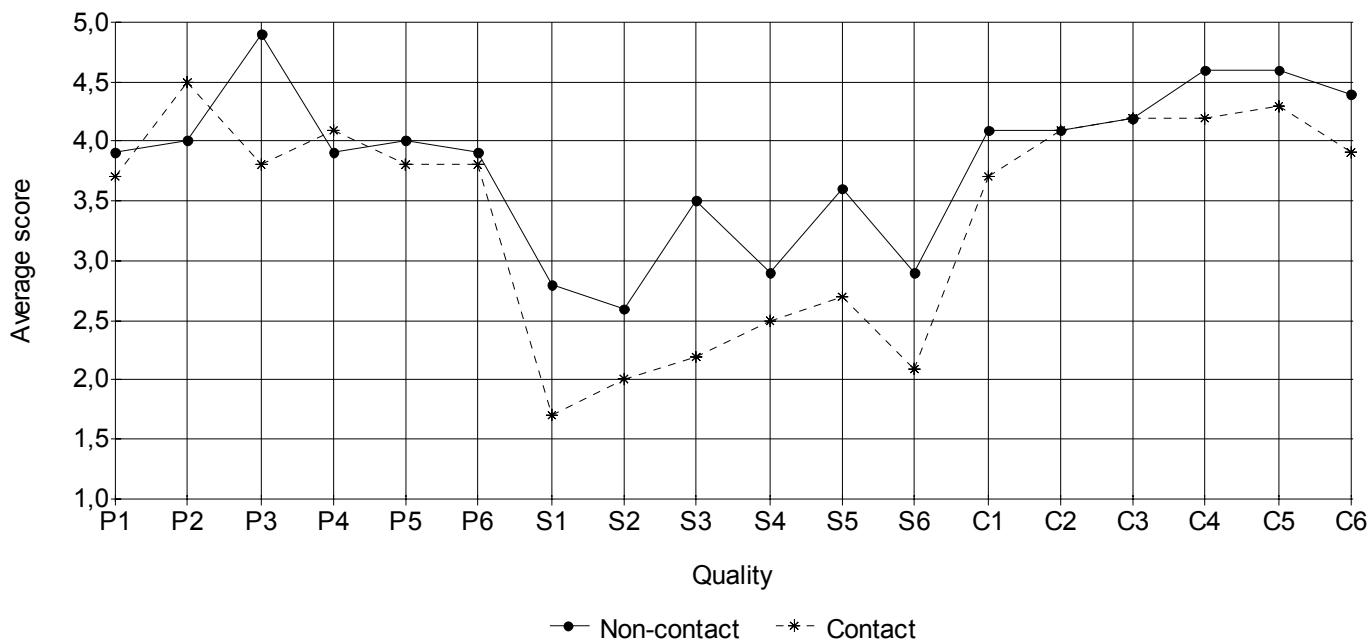
Speaker Three

France



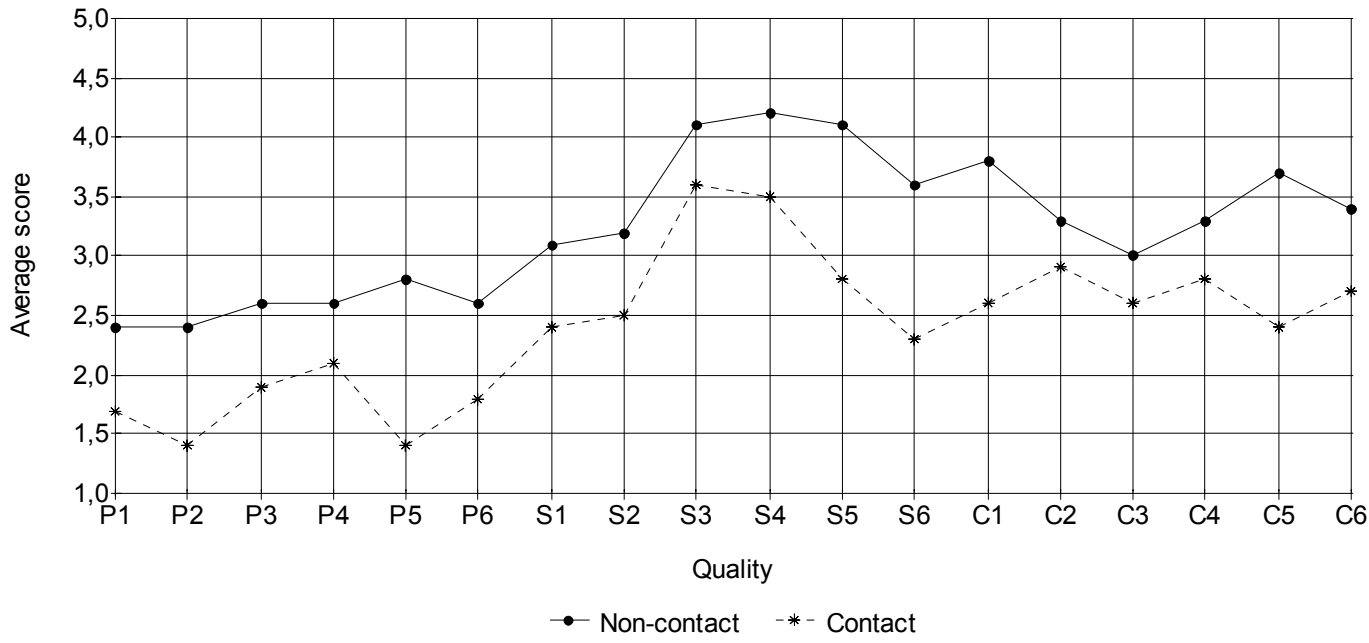
Speaker Four

Poland



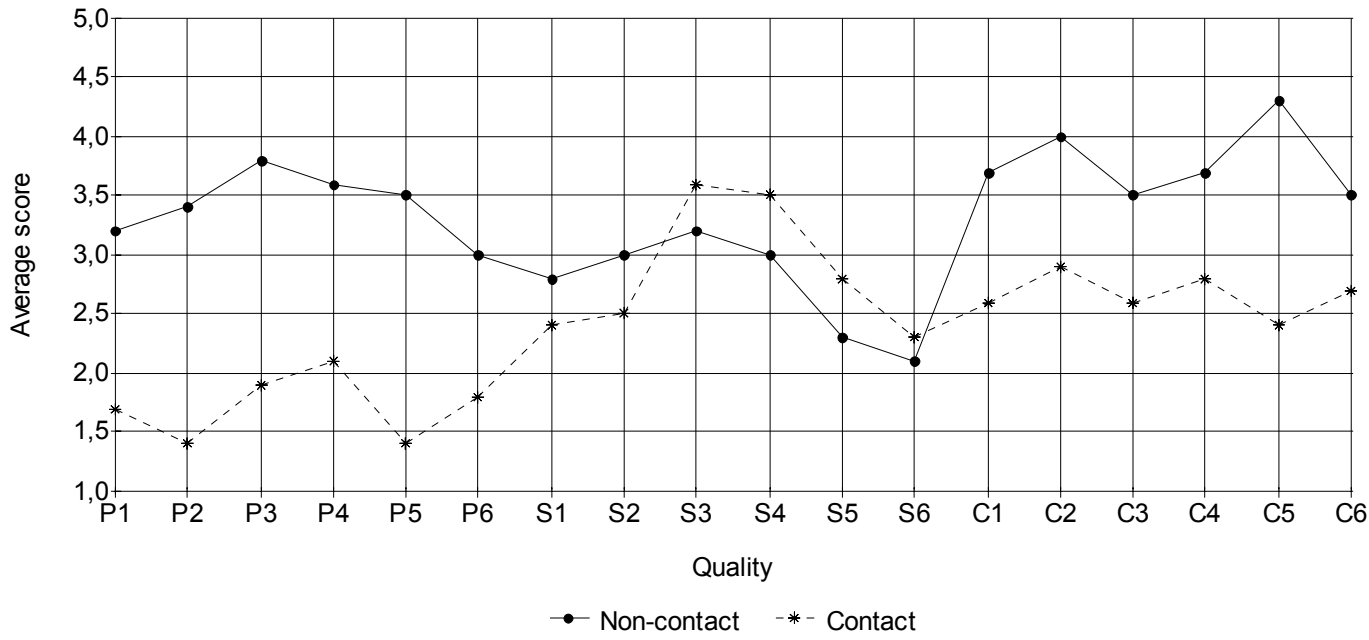
Speaker Five

Sweden



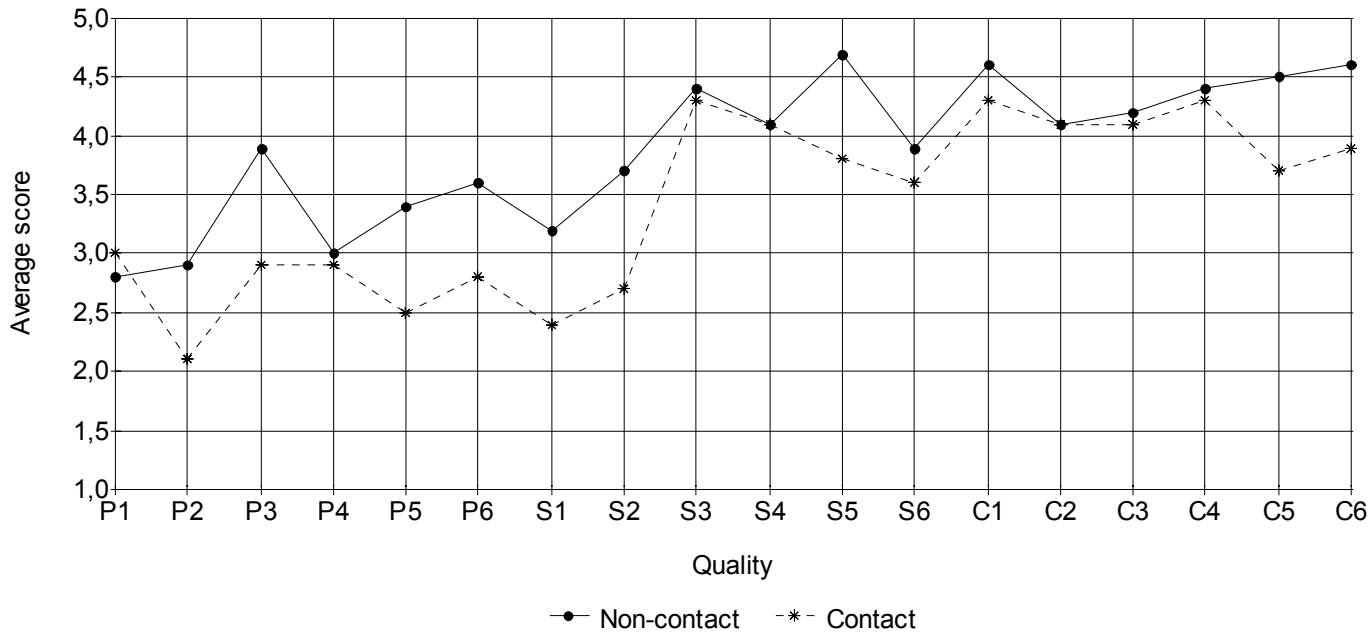
Speaker Six

Spain



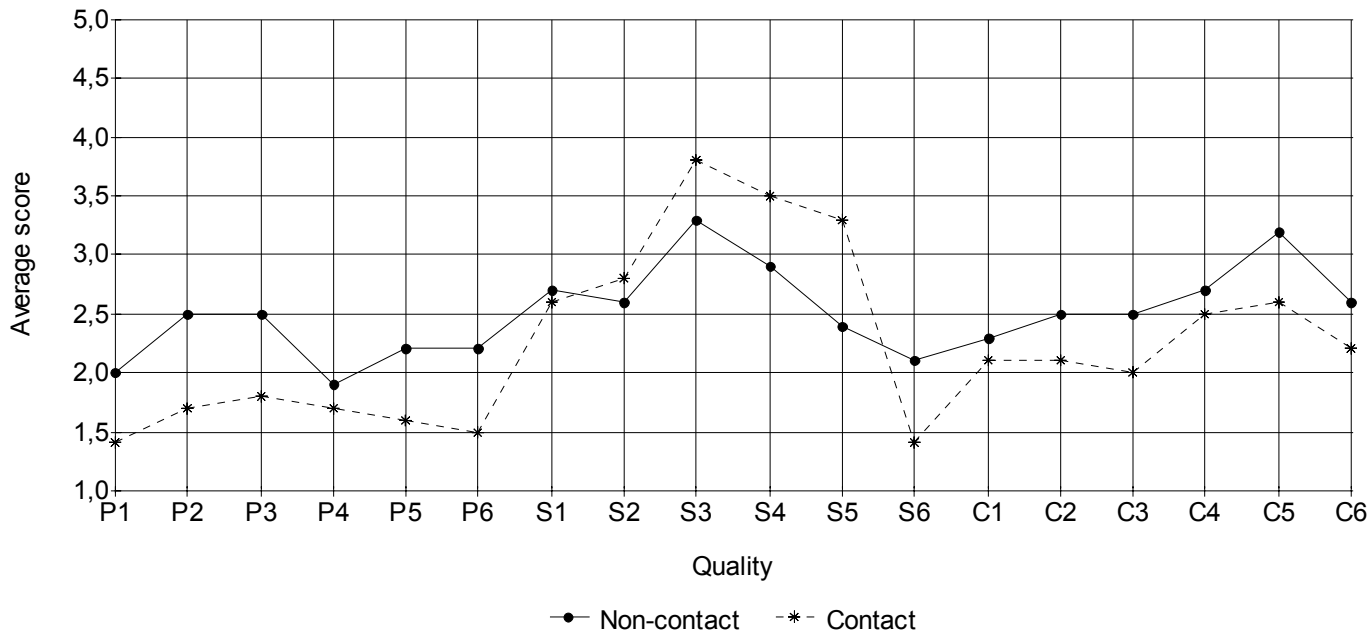
Speaker Seven

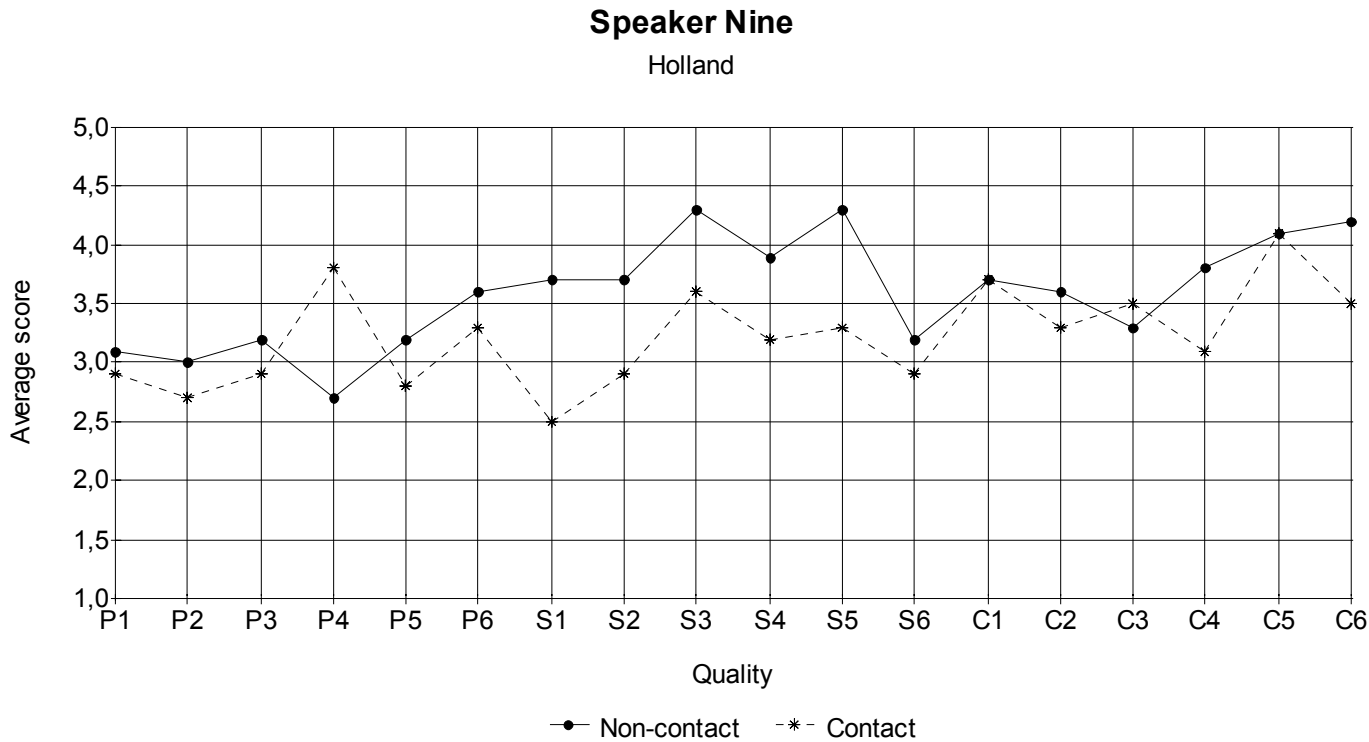
Austria



Speaker Eight

Italy





As seen by the information on the graphs, it is clear that, for the most part, the non-contact group gave higher scores to the speakers in regard to all three categories, *Power*, *Solidarity*, and *Competence*. There are, however, a few exceptions. Most notably, the reverse occurs in regard to speaker 6 (Spain) and speaker 8 (Italy) in reference to *Solidarity*; in other words, the contact group felt more *Solidarity* with these two speakers. There are also minor deviations to this pattern in a few other speakers, e.g. ‘Controlling’ for speaker 9 (Holland). This seems to suggest that Hypothesis 2 is perhaps true: A listener’s time abroad affects their attitudes towards the English accents of speakers of different languages in regard to *Power*, *Competence*, and *Solidarity*. More specifically, ‘time abroad’ as used in this study seems to result in lower, more negative scores. If this difference is only due to a listener’s international experience is uncertain and is probably highly dependent upon qualitative and quantitative factors.

These results appear to reinforce the point made by the conflicting studies (Dalton-Puffer, Broeders & Gussenhoven) mentioned previously in this text: listeners have a preference

for (read rate higher) the variety they are most familiar with. In the case of the non-contact group this would appear to be other indigenous Euro-English varieties. The inclusion of native English speakers as well as some non-European non-native English speakers would perhaps have allowed for a more certain analysis. This theory can be disputed since the contact group in turn must prefer more standard varieties. However as seen later in section 7.3, 7 of 10 'contact' listeners believed speaker 4 to be a native speaker of English (USA - 5, Ireland- 1,UK-1). A possible reason for this lack of agreement might be attributed to the fact that the contact group is rather heterogeneous in duration and location of their contact.

7.3 Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3: A listener's time abroad affects their ability to identify a speaker as coming from a particular country.*

The data from the identification task was grouped and analyzed and is displayed on the tables below. A complete table displaying all guesses for each group can be found in the appendix. Both the non-contact and contact group consisted of 10 listeners. This is a total of 10 guesses per speaker per group and a complete total of 90 guesses per group. In general there was very little agreement between the listeners and Swedish was the only language that was relatively certain throughout.

Table 7.3.1 Correct Guesses

Speaker -	Correct NON-CONT	Correct CONTACT
1. Germany	1	1
2. Portugal	1	0
3. France	3	0
4. Poland	0	0
5. Sweden	7	4
6. Spain	1	3
7. Austria	0	0
8. Italy	1	1
9. Holland	0	0
TOTAL	14	9
PERCENTAGE	15,5%	10%

Table 7.3.1 shows the total number of completely correct guesses. The non-contact group performed better on this task than the contact group, especially in regard to identification of the Swedish speaker. Seven of 10 in the non contact group identified the Swedish speaker correctly while only 4 of 10 in the contact group did the same.

Table 7.3.2 Correct guesses + geographically close guesses

Speaker -	GEO+correct NON-CONT	GEO+correct CONTACT
1. Germany	6	5
2. Portugal	3	1
3. France	4	1
4. Poland	1	0
5. Sweden	7	4
6. Spain	4	4
7. Austria	2	1
8. Italy	3	1
9. Holland	4	1
TOTAL	34	18
PERCENTAGE	37.7%	20%

The table above displays the number of guesses that were completely correct or geographically close to the correct answer. The 22 possible choices were broken into five geographical categories: Native English, North, East, South, and Central. The Native English countries included Ireland, the UK, Australia and the USA. (Note that none of the 9 speakers were native speakers of English). The North category included those countries typically deemed ‘Nordic’ countries: Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland. The East Category consisted of three countries that were formerly ‘behind the Iron

Curtain’: Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. The South category was composed of the 4 most southern countries each belonging to a geographic peninsula: Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece. The Central category was the largest with 6 countries: Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland. Again the non-contact group outperformed the contact group.

Table 7.3.3 Correct guesses + typologically similar guesses

Speaker -	TYP+correct NON-CONT	TYP+correct CONTACT
1. Germany	4	4
2. Portugal	3	1
3. France	7	2
4. Poland	0	0
5. Sweden	7	4
6. Spain	4	4
7. Austria	3	1
8. Italy	2	5
9. Holland	2	3
TOTAL	32	24
PERCENTAGE	35,5%	26,6%

In the table above the total number of completely correct guesses is combined with the number of guesses that reflect the same language branch as the correct guess. In the case of speakers number 1, 7, and 9 this branch is the ‘West Germanic’ and includes both Dutch and German (though English is also a member of this branch it has been excluded). For speakers 2, 3, 6, and 8, the branch that would credit typographically similar guesses is the Latin branch of the Italic languages. For speaker number 4 this branch was West Slavic and credit was also given for guesses of Czech. Finally for speaker number 5, the branch was North Germanic and credit was given for guesses of Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and Norwegian. Again the non-contact group out performed the contact group.

Table 7.3.4: Completely correct + geographically close + typologically similar

Speaker -	All NON-CONT	All CONTACT
1. Germany	6	5
2. Portugal	3	1
3. France	8	2
4. Poland	1	0
5. Sweden	7	4
6. Spain	4	5
7. Austria	2	1
8. Italy	4	5
9. Holland	4	4
TOTAL	39	27
PERCENTAGE	43,3%	30%

This final table represents a total calculation of completely correct answers combined with those geographically and typologically close to the completely correct answer. The non-contact group, according to this calculation, had a total of 43.3% correct guesses while the contact group had only 30% correct. Germany, France and Sweden, and to a lesser extent Spain, Italy and Holland are somewhat well represented here as would be expected as they represent some of the majority languages of Europe.

Regarding Hypothesis 3: A listener's international experience affects their ability to identify a speaker as coming from a particular country, this appears to be true but not in the way I expected. It would appear that the more international contact and experience one has has a negative affect on the ability to identify a particular accent - even their own! The non-contact group produced more correct or semi-correct answers than the contact group. The non-contact group also guessed fewer times that the speaker was a native English speaker [Ireland, United Kingdom, USA, or Australia] than the contact group, 5 and 15 guesses accordingly. In general however the guesses appeared scattered and almost random. A possible reason for this lack of agreement within and between the listeners might be attributed to the fact that the contact group is rather un-homogeneous in terms of duration and location of their contact. It may also have been impacted by fatigue, the length of the recording or other external factors.

8 Discussion

8.1 Summary of results

The purpose of this study was to investigate the responses to verbal scent markers. That is to say, to find if there were any differences in the response of Swedish female high school students to nine different female speakers of European accented English including a Swedish speaker. The results revealed that the speakers were indeed perceived and interpreted differently by the listeners. The nine speakers scored at varying levels within the categories *Power*, *Solidarity* and *Competence*. The speakers with Dutch, Austrian and Polish accent fared well in regards to the three qualities *Power*, *Solidarity*, and *Competence*. Portugal, Italy, France and Germany were rated generally low while Spain and Sweden placed somewhere in the middle. Time spent abroad, as defined and used in this study, also had an effect on the listeners' attitudes and responses as well as their ability to identify a particular accent. The contact group was seemingly negatively impacted producing lower average score responses as well as a lower rate of correct identification, even in regard to their own non-native English speaker [Swedish - speaker number 5]. There was no strong overall tendency to evaluate Swedish highly though the Swedish speaker's ethnicity was rather identifiable by the listeners.

8.2 Implications

The results of this study relate well with earlier studies and align with the social identity theory (section 3.3). Much like the Dutch study by Broeders and Gussenhoven and the Austrian study by Dalton-Puffer, the students in my study seemed to show a preference for the variety of language with which they were most familiar and was most pertinent to their 'in-group' of English speakers. The non-contact group would appear to place themselves in the categorical group of 'non-native' European speakers while the contact group does not. The question remains however if the contact group's 'most salient in-group' is native English speakers or other speakers of Swedish.

While there exists a strong link between language and ethnicity, it is not a one-to-one relationship. I believe both the listeners and speakers in this study may have responded, had they been asked, differently in regards to their 'grouping' and as to their strength as a

member of the ethnic group in which I have categorized them. Loyalty to and identity with one's in-group might occur at any level - local, municipal, provincial, regional, national or international. Most often, the strongest identity is found at the lower levels and then successively weakens as the in-group broadens. For example, a man from Malmö may have a stronger feeling of identity as a 'Malmö-ite' or as a 'Skanian' rather than a 'Swede' or a 'Scandinavian' while only somewhat identifying with the fact that he is, in fact, also 'European'.

These constructions are not only based on our personal history but also on functional interaction. In many ways it is not until we meet someone from an out-group that we are able to identify ourselves as part of a in-group. Note for example how few people relate to their identity as an 'Earthian'. In particular the speakers in this study, as exchange students, may be reevaluating their 'group' membership and redefining their identity based on new functional interaction. Their personal contact and experience, especially situation-based, may have drastically changed over the days, weeks, and months prior to the recordings as their identity may have shifted from a local level to a national level (e.g. a change from 'I'm from Barcelona' to 'I'm from Spain' except when meeting other Spaniards). Similarly, the listeners in this study may have different 'strengths' as to the various levels of their identities, e.g how European do they perceive themselves to be? These differences may have been caused by their contact with foreigners or their time abroad. In this study the non-contact group seems to identify more strongly with other European non-native English speakers while the contact group does not. While contact and time abroad may be a decisive factor in this difference there exist perhaps some difference 'at home' as well. Some of the students may have more contact with foreigners (for example immigrants) without ever leaving Sweden. This contact may potentially be even more intimate and frequent than of those who have spent time abroad.

Furthermore, the listeners' education may have an impact on their identity. The International Baccalaureate Program is used throughout the world and embraces multiculturalism. It is offered in several languages but most prominently in English. The

Swedish students who choose this program which is given in English would most likely have a particular predilection for English and internationalism and there by also an identity that lays at a level that is more national or international than local or regional. Surely these particular factors must impact one's personal identity, one's group identity, and therein a speaker's accent and a listener's reaction.

Our definition of our in-group and out-group is the base for forming many of our stereotypes. Many of the assumptions made in this study and earlier studies has been based on stereotypes. I have in this study assumed many stereotypes and not asked my listeners (or the speakers) for their actual perceptions. This may have had a bearing on their reactions. Perhaps Poland is indeed seen as a country with *Power* (though not typically on my list), Italians highly incompetent, and the Germans very different (no *Solidarity*) from the Swedes. Many of the stereotypes vary from country to country and even from region to region within the same country. Stereotypes are neither prone to, nor immune to revision but perhaps people are different as well in regards to how much their thoughts and reactions are steered by stereotypes and social norms. Stereotypes play an important part in our cognitive grouping skills and are unavoidable but we do have, as with our reactions, some consciousness and relative control of them. While our stereotypes about an ethnic group often include some feature of their speech, e.g. Japanese difficulty with English /l/ and /r/, stereotypes rest heavily on other perceptive skills such as sight (typical clothing or facial features). Which part of the stereotype is the most crucial or influential? I would hypothesize that watching a video tape of each of the speakers with the test may have highly influenced the response given in the first section and the accuracy of the identification task.

Another discussion raised by this study is if the goal of the speakers was to be producing near-native English or to simply make themselves understood. This goal may well fluctuate between the two options. In many ways, I feel this choice depends on the speaker's personality, their English ability, and, in particular, the specific situation. As I was recording the nine speakers, clearly they could be thought to be producing 'better'

English then than had they been unaware of the proceedings. In authentic social situations speakers should be more prone to communicate, to simply make themselves understood. It is only when evaluation comes into the picture that people, even native speakers, make an effort to produce correct English.

I believe that this choice can also be affected by the company kept. Anecdotally, I can state that many people feel awkward speaking a second or foreign language such as English with a native speaker. While it 'makes sense' to use English (especially when many native English speakers speak no other language), the non-native speaker is at a clear disadvantage. In a mixed ethnic group where no native speakers are present (and there is no other shared language), participants feel that English is a natural choice and that they are on a more even playing field. In a world where the number of non-native speakers of English continues to expand prolifically beyond the number of native speakers, it seems reasonable that more and more people will choose to simply communicate. The ambition and goal of speaking near native English will continue to deteriorate. If there were a change in the (political, economic and cultural) power of the world and the native English speaking countries were deprived of their high status, the prestige of the native accents would then most likely decline even further. This choice will be made by the people alone, although many institutions may continue to veer English education and usage towards the standard norms. Potentially there is even the possibility that the native standard Englishes will be coerced into adapting and adopting more features from non-native Englishes.

In making this choice between straight-forward communication and the ape-ing of native English, do people consciously or subconsciously display their origin? Are they aware of what particular features reveal their ethnicity? The speakers in this study perceived themselves as accented speakers. While they all acknowledged the fact that they spoke English with a 'typical' accent from their respective country, it is not sure their landsmen (and women) would agree. Nor is it certain that the rest of the world would agree that their accent was 'stereotypical' for their country. It is my personal experience that Swedes

are particularly partial to near-native English as opposed to ethnic (read Swedish) - accented English. Many Swedes laugh or are embarrassed to hear Swedish journalists or politicians speaking accented English while surely the French population would be in an uproar if Chirac began speaking fluent British English. I would venture to guess that many non-native speakers are at least somewhat aware of typical 'mistakes' made in English by people in their country and in perhaps a few other countries. These 'mistakes' in speaking English have often been pointed out to them by ostentatious English teachers or, perhaps equally often, the media and talented comedians. Much like stereotypes, we are able to exhibit some control over our language. While it is plausible for a non-native speaker to reach native-like language skills, it is neither always possible nor desirable.

An implication that has only briefly been mentioned in this paper is that of the relationship between first and second language. Boyd's study showed that native Swedish speakers were only able to identify the first language of certain non-native Swedish speakers. What impact does native and non-native language have? Many language attitude studies focus on this relationship or on that between two or more native dialects. There is a high level of certainty regarding reactions in dealing with a native language. This level of certainty seems to be much lower in dealing with a second or foreign language as in my study. A speaker is almost always certain of his or her mother tongue; some linguists would say that a native speaker can never be wrong. At what point does a non-native speaker claim the same sureness? Can he or she ever? It is, in my opinion, a matter of relevance to the speaker.

8.3 Limitations

Although it was the intention that any differences produced would be due to the speaker's ethnicity and accent in English, it is difficult to determine if these differences can, in fact, be attributed only to this variable. The results of this study, such as lower scores and performance of the contact group listeners, for example, may be due to factors such as: (1) the lack of homogeneity within the contact group, (2) a preference for standard varieties of English, or (3) within speaker differences.

Attitude studies based on language varieties contain many potential problem areas. Questions of validity, authenticity, and feasibility are common. This study attempted to limit some of the problem areas by using only young European educated women as speakers and a similarly restricted group of females as listeners but there are several areas that I chose not to control. One of the most prominent I believe is rate of speaking and prosodic range. These factors were allowed to vary under this study in the name of 'natural speech' but may very well have influenced the results. The age of the listeners is also problematic. As 16,17, and 18 year olds the listeners haven't had as much exposure as listeners who are older. Additionally the absence of a native speaker may also have influenced the responses of the listeners.

In repeating this study, I would choose fewer speakers (4-5) and allow the listeners to hear a more extended sound bite. Ultimately it would be interesting to follow the same format using video clips or other visual format, which would also potentially allow for use of Lambert's matched guise technique. I would also choose to use older and more experienced listeners. On an anecdotal note, the students' teacher performed exceedingly well regarding accent identification. In regards to the identification task, I would limit the number of choices or allow them to fill in their own. A more qualitative study that includes a discourse with the listeners about the reaction would also answer more questions regarding the links between attitude, contact, stereotypes, and language. It would also be interesting to reduplicate this study using different speakers from the same 9 languages.

8.4 Conclusion

This study makes a small significant contribution to language attitude research in Europe. Although there are many studies dealing with English accents and attitudes, nearly all of them have focused on the relationship between native speakers or between non-native and native speakers. The studies that involved only non-native speakers are rare. Even with the expansion and increasing influence of the European Union, there have been few studies done on the usage and consequences of nativised English in Europe. The EU faces many

challenges but one of the keys is a common system of communication accessible and usable by all its members. Though many propositions have been made for the future of language in Europe (including languages like Esperanto), English seems bound to prevail, at least for the nearest generations. If Europeans are to think, live and work as a collective group they will need to embrace all of the separate identities that create the whole. The strength of their identity as European must be increased. This means breaking down stereotypes, biases, and other resilient lines of division that lead to discrimination. A democratic Europe is one where *power*, *solidarity* and *competence* are equally distributed among its citizens.

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10 Appendix

10.1 The Rainbow Passage

When the sunlight strikes raindrops in the air, they act as a prism and form a rainbow. The rainbow is a division of white light into many beautiful colors. These take the shape of a long round arch, with its path high above, and its two ends apparently beyond the horizon. There is, according to legend, a boiling pot of gold at one end. People look, but no one ever finds it. When a man looks for something beyond his reach, his friends say he is looking for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

Throughout the centuries men have explained the rainbow in various ways. Some have accepted it as a miracle without physical explanation. To the Hebrews it was a token that there would be no more universal floods. The Greeks used to imagine that it was a sign from the gods to foretell war or heavy rain. The Norsemen considered the rainbow as a bridge over which the gods passed from earth to their home in the sky. Other men have tried to explain the phenomenon physically. Aristotle thought that the rainbow was caused by reflections of the sun's rays by the rain. Since then physicists have found that it is not reflection, but refraction by the raindrops which causes the rainbow. ...

10.2 Attitude scale

This person seems to be:

	<u>Not at all</u>					<u>Very</u>	
Reliable		1	2	3	4	5	6
Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Humorous	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Authoritative	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Cheerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Friendly		1	2	3	4	5	6
Dominant	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Assertive	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Controlling	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Hardworking	1	2	3	4	5	6	

This person's speaking was:

	<u>Not at all</u>					<u>Very</u>	
Pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strong	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Educated	1	2	3	4	5	6	

10.3 Identification task

What country is this person from?

Place the number of the speaker (1 to 10) in front of the appropriate country:

- ___ (a) Belgium
- ___ (b) Denmark
- ___ (c) Germany
- ___ (d) Greece
- ___ (e) Spain
- ___ (f) France
- ___ (g) Ireland
- ___ (h) Italy
- ___ (i) Finland
- ___ (j) Austria
- ___ (k) Portugal
- ___ (l) The Netherlands
- ___ (m) Sweden
- ___ (n) Poland
- ___ (o) Czech Republic
- ___ (p) Hungary
- ___ (q) United Kingdom
- ___ (r) Norway
- ___ (s) Iceland
- ___ (t) Switzerland
- ___ (u) USA
- ___ (v) Australia

10.4 NON-CONTACT IDENTIFICATION

speaker	1.GER	2. POR	3. FRA	4. POL	5. SWE	6. ESP	7. AUS	8. ITA	9. HOL	TOTAL
Belgium	1				1				2	4
Denmark						1	3			4
Germany	1	1		2			1		2	7
Greece				2				2		4
Spain		2	3			1	1			7
France	1		3					1		5
Ireland										0
Italy						3	1	1	2	7
Finland									2	2
Austria	2					1				3
Portugal		1	1	1			1			4
Holland		1	1	1			1			4
Sweden	1				7					8
Poland	1	4			1			1	2	9
Czech	1	1	1					2		5
Hungary			1	1		3		1		6
UK							1			1
Norway				1		1	1	2		5
Iceland										0
Switz.	1									1
USA	1			1	1					3
Australia				1						1
correct	1	1	3	0	7	1	0	1	0	

10.5 CONTACT IDENTIFICATION

speaker	1.GER	2. POR	3. FRA	4. POL	5. SWE	6. ESP	7. AUS	8. ITA	9. HOL	TOTAL
Belgium	1									1
Denmark		2							1	3
Germany	1			1				1		3
Greece			1	1		1			1	4
Spain	1		1			3				5
France								3	1	4
Ireland				1		1				2
Italy		1	1				1	1		4
Finland		1		1			1		1	4
Austria	1		1		1			1		4
Portugal						1	1	1	1	4
Holland	1						1			2
Sweden	2		1		4		1			8
Poland		2	2		2		1	1		8
Czech		1	1			1		1		4
Hungary	1		2			1		1		5
UK		1		1	1					3
Norway							1		2	3
Iceland		2				2	1			5
Switz.	1								3	4
USA				5	1					6
Australia	1				1		2			4
correct	1	0	0	0	4	3	0	1	0	