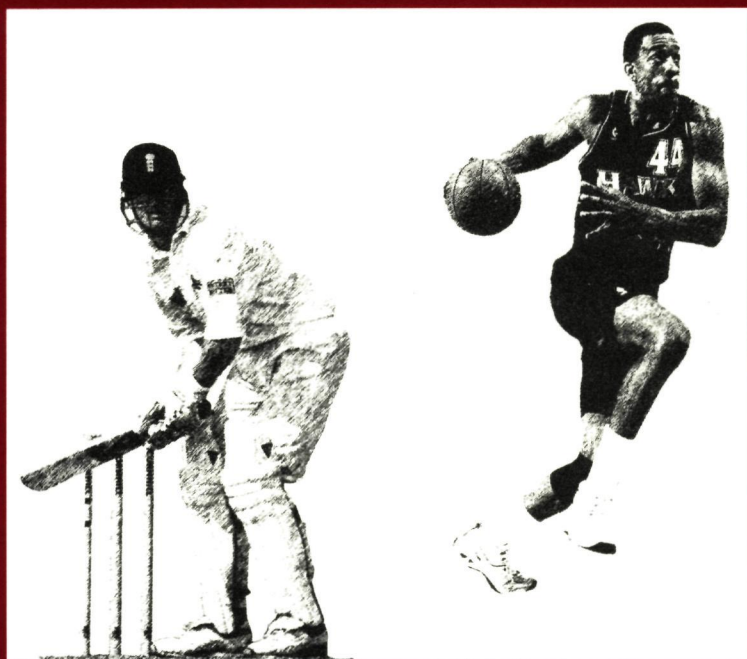


Monique van der Haagen

Caught between Norms

The English Pronunciation of Dutch Learners



CENTER FOR LANGUAGE STUDIES



Netherlands
Graduate
School of
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Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschap

Caught between Norms

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1. Introduction

In spite of the fact that in Dutch secondary schools the model of English taught is British English, and the pronunciation model is Received Pronunciation (RP), even informed laymen can be heard to remark that there seems to have been an increase in American-like pronunciations in the English of especially younger Dutch learners. Although it remains to be seen to what extent these laymen can distinguish a British from an American pronunciation, it is unarguably the case that at least some American features are present in the pronunciation of many pupils, leading to a hybrid form of learner English, often referred to as 'Mid-Atlantic'. The question arises, therefore, whether the RP model of pronunciation represents the form of English which carries the greatest prestige for today's Dutch students. If it is indeed the case that there has been a shift away from British English in the direction of American English, it is conceivable that the latter has come to represent a more attractive model for (younger) Dutchmen. It is this question which has prompted the investigation reported in this study. With the help of the research techniques that have been developed and successfully applied in sociolinguistic studies of language variation and change, it hopes to investigate exactly which American English features occur in the corpus of speech produced by a representative sample of Dutch secondary school pupils. In addition, it investigates what character traits these pupils associate with male and female speakers of the two varieties concerned on the basis of 'matched-guise' stimuli. Finally, it attempts to relate the production data to the results of a questionnaire about their attitudes as well as with the results of the matched-guise experiment.

This chapter will present a general introduction to the investigation and will discuss some of the relevant literature. Section 1.1 will discuss the position of English in Dutch education with particular reference to the choice of the variety of English taught. Section 1.2 will discuss previous (matched-guise) research into attitudes towards British and American English. In section 1.3 there will follow a discussion of the role of variability in first and second language, with reference to Labov's (1966) classic study of English in New York City and Dickerson's (1974) study of phonological variability in the speech of Japanese learners of English. Next, section 1.4 will briefly discuss the role of attitudes in L2 pronunciation acquisition. Finally, section 1.5 will outline the aims and scope of the present study and formulate the research questions.

1.1. Un peu d'histoire: (teaching) English in the Netherlands

The English language has a number of national standards of pronunciation. The pronunciation most commonly heard in the USA differs from that heard in England, which in its turn differs from the English spoken in Scotland. The existence of these various national standards leads to the question which of these standards should be taught in our schools. This question is not new, and has in Holland been addressed by, among others, Zandvoort (1959), Posthumus (1973), Broeders (1981), Gussenhoven & Broeders (1981), Tiemens (1988) and Dekker (1996), but it is, if anything, more relevant now than ever.

The accent taught in Dutch schools is, and always has been, RP. This situation arose out of the geographical proximity of the UK and the resulting political, economic and cultural contacts. Furthermore, until the Second World War Britain was a world power, and this position led to a close involvement within the UK in the teaching of English as a foreign language, and hence to the development of teaching materials and descriptions of the target language. This material was made widely available to any country that had historical or other ties with the UK.

After World War II, however, the United States of America rapidly gained in political and economic influence, and consequently its culture has come to dominate the British culture. This cultural dominance first became apparent in the readiness with which American products and novelties were received, in the Fifties American films, cigarettes, chocolate and vocabulary (to name but a few) were greatly admired by the young. Furthermore, the older generation was extremely grateful for the American and Canadian assistance in Holland's liberation and also looked with admiration to the US. However, it took a little longer for the American accent to become generally accepted and no longer to be regarded as inferior to British English. As late as 1971 Pyles notes that

“most cultured Europeans have no great admiration for American speech, regardless of how much they may be awed by the softer aspects of our (= the American) way of life as this is represented to them by those who write our advertising copy – certainly not great enough for them to have any desire to use it or to substitute it for the British standard now taught in their schools. British speech continues to have far more prestige, and few Colonial Europeans – not to mention the English themselves – have any desire or inclination to speak any other variety. As a German candidate for the doctorate in English once remarked to me in an unusual outburst of frankness, American speech simply lacked ‘Eleganz’ (1971 230-231).”

We shall see below that this negative opinion of American English is still maintained by some people, and that some of the subjects in the present study, too, still said things like “British English is more polite” (see appendix 10).

However, General American (GA) has become the language of popular music and, as Trudgill (1983) has demonstrated, for certain British pop singers, too, /æ/ became the norm instead of /a:/ in words like *fast* and *dance*, postvocalic /r/ is always pronounced, the vowel in *hot* becomes unrounded, and *little* and *better* have flapped /t/s. Furthermore, on television, this is the variety most frequently heard in this country.¹ The Dutch don't believe in dubbing, all foreign films and television series are shown in the original language. As a result, American culture has permeated Dutch society; its influence can be seen and felt everywhere, from baseball caps worn backward to designer jeans with holes, and from Madonna in bed to McDonalds at the table. This has resulted in a situation where Dutch learners are exposed to two major prestigious varieties of English, the one being the formal classroom norm (RP), while the other is frequently heard in informal situations, as through the media, films and pop songs.

Already in 1959 Zandvoort posed the question whether in our teaching we should take American English into consideration. Posthumus (1973: 332) answers this question affirmatively because he recognises that RP is not necessarily the superior variety. He also notes that "it cannot be denied that an RP pronunciation harbours the potential danger of unfavourable reactions."² By unfavourable reactions he means reactions by British native speakers who may associate RP with 'social pretentiousness', but Dutch learners, too, may of course have equally negative reactions. Zandvoort's question takes on a whole new meaning when we consider the social stereotype of RP as a 'posh' or 'stuffy' accent from the learner's point of view. If learners react negatively to RP, it may be time to start looking for a standard of pronunciation to which they will respond positively. And this may well be GA. On the other hand, RP also has evident connotations of 'correctness' and 'politeness'. In a recent investigation among 25 Dutch teachers of English, Dekker (1996) found that 88% preferred to speak RP and none chose GA. When asked for the reason for this preference, one subject said "I think that RP sounds nicer, more meticulous and more polished than GA", while another said "RP is beautiful, the norm. GA is not English". In reply to the question what they thought their students should speak, the preference for RP dropped to 28%, again no one chose GA and all others just wanted a reasonably 'good' pronunciation.

¹ The television programmes on Saturday August 9 1997 may serve as an example. Seven Dutch channels, showed between 8 pm and 1 am: 7 American films, 2 American drama series, 2 Australian drama series, 1 American documentary, 1 British documentary and 1 Brazilian film, the rest of the programmes was Dutch. Out of 35 hours, 16 were Dutch, 2 Portuguese and 17 English, of which 15 were American English.

² "men kan niet ontkennen dat het RP-accnt potentieel het gevaar in zich bergt van ongunstige reacties."

The discussion about which variety should be taught in the schools has not been confined to RP or GA. Other varieties have been proposed as candidates for an educational model, notably Polite Scottish (as being less complex) and a synthetic form, like Christophersen's (1960) International Standard English. However, RP has maintained its position as the model, if only for practical reasons: almost all teachers have been trained to speak RP, British based materials are still being produced almost daily and the geographical proximity of the UK makes it more likely that learners (and teachers) will have personal contacts with Britons than with Americans.

1.2. Attitude studies

Since part of our investigation concerns the determination of social attributes associated with the two varieties of English, we will briefly discuss the results of some previous research into social evaluation of accents of English. One way of uncovering such attitudes is to use one or more semantic scales, whereby each scale is paired with a (large) number of statements about or descriptions of the concept and judges are asked to rate the applicability or appropriateness of these descriptions to the concept. In the case of language attitudes, such semantic scales are usually applied to spoken samples of the language or dialect under investigation. These spoken samples are commonly obtained by means of the *matched-guise* technique, developed in Canada by Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum (1960).³ In a matched-guise, one single bi-lingual or bi-dialectal speaker reads a piece of prose in the varieties under investigation. In many cases, subjects are asked to rate these varieties on a number of bi-polar scales, such as *good-bad* or *beautiful-ugly*, also known as *semantic differentials*. Certainly when more than two samples, or a distractor voice are used, subjects are generally not aware of the fact that they are judging a single speaker.

The matched-guise technique is most commonly used in a first language (L1) context to measure attitudes to different regional dialects of a language (e.g. Giles, 1970) or to different national standards of a language, such as Canadian French versus continental French (Bourhis, Giles & Lambert, 1975). Relatively few studies have measured the evaluations of non-native speakers to varieties of English, and those that have, usually included reactions to L1 accented varieties of English (e.g. Egyptian-accented, El-Dash & Tucker, 1975, Dutch-accented, Broeders & Gussenhoven, 1979, Chinese-accented, Forde, 1995; German-accented, Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck & Smit, 1997). Of course in these studies, a pure matched-guise was impossible, because there are very few native speakers

³A more extensive description of the technique and the measuring scales can be found in section 4.1

of English who can also do a convincing L1 accented guise, so that in those studies more than one speaker was evaluated. This is known as a verbal-guise technique, and although there is no real *guise*, in that all speakers only produce native varieties, this term is used because all other features, such as subjects listening to recordings of the same passage and rating these recordings on semantic differentials, are the same as in a matched-guise. The rest of this section will discuss a number of attitude studies that applied the matched-guise or the verbal-guise technique to British and American English.⁴ We will also discuss two questionnaire studies relevant to the present investigation.

In a classic experiment, Giles (1970) took the matched-guise test to its extreme. One speaker produced no less than 13 accent guises (RP, French, GA, Irish, South Wales, 'affected' RP, Northern England, Italian, Somerset, German, Indian, Cockney and Birmingham). His subjects were 177 schoolchildren, aged 12 and 17, in south-west England and south-west Wales. The guises were rated on three 7-point scales: *aesthetic*, *communicative* and *status*. Overall, RP was rated the highest (2.7) and the ratings of the rest of the guises was in the order in which they are presented above. It turned out that GA, which was accorded the third position on the status scale, after RP and affected RP, was rated considerably higher for communicative content than for aesthetic value. We can question the validity of an experiment in which one speaker produces as many as thirteen guises. However, in 1971 Giles repeated the investigation (briefly described in Giles & Powesland, 1975) with thirteen authentic recordings of the accents under investigation and with slightly older subjects (University students). In spite of the possible introduction of artefacts due to idiosyncratic features of different speakers, the ranking was virtually the same.

A study which in many respects is similar to Giles' experiments is Ball (1983), which was conducted in an Australian setting. Subjects rated a number of Australian, British, American and non-native guises on scales relating to competence, integrity and social attractiveness. It was found that RP was upgraded for competence and integrity, but downgraded for social attractiveness, which in an Australian setting is not wholly surprising. There was also a marked tendency towards 'self-hatred', similar to the one van Hout (1989) found in Nijmegen. The American guise took an intermediate position.

In the United States, Shuy & Williams (1973) measured the attitudes to five varieties (RP, GA, Detroit, Southern and Black). 620 informants were asked to rate these guises on 12 semantic differentials. A factor analysis showed a resolution into four factors: VALUE (frequently termed 'evaluation'), COMPLEXITY (with scales such as easy-difficult), POTENCY and ACTIVITY. On the complexity factor, RP scored highest, and in fact RP received extremely high

⁴An extensive overview of studies investigating attitudes to varieties of English can be found in Mobarg (1989: 4-52).

ratings on all four factors, especially, perhaps unexpectedly, for ACTIVITY! It is interesting to see that although usually three factors are used in speech evaluations, in this experiment four factors appeared. Later research by Berenst, Domseiffer & Wamels (1980), too, suggested that sometimes a fourth dimension is used in evaluating speech. They label this dimension 'correctness', and Berenst (1983: 32) says that from this "we could perhaps conclude that judges of language usage feel the need for greater differentiation in their judgements in order to do justice to the typical situation associated with language use, namely the fact that there exists a clearly standardised norm and deviations from that norm"⁵

Outside an English speaking setting, El-Dash & Tucker (1975) compared the appropriateness of RP and GA, along with Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic and Egyptian English, in a number of situations in Egypt. Subjects belonging to a number of age groups (Grade school pupils aged 11 to 12, High school pupils aged 15 to 16, National University and American University students aged 21 to 26) were asked to rate five speakers on four 6-point scales. *intelligence*, *likeability*, *religiousness* and *leadership*. Overall, GA was better appreciated than RP but Arabic and Egyptian English scored highest on all scales. RP-speakers were judged significantly less *likeable* than speakers of all other varieties. In this study the subjects were first asked to name the varieties they heard. Hence they in fact judged the guises in two ways: firstly they attached their stereotypical notions about the varieties they thought they heard, and secondly they evaluated the guises *per se*. A comparison made of the ratings that were correctly identified with those that were not correctly identified revealed a positive prejudice towards British English and a negative prejudice towards American English.

"Individuals correctly identified as Americans are rated somewhat higher than those incorrectly identified as Americans, and the reverse is true for British speakers. ... students have certain preconceived notions of what Americans and Britishers are like which are not completely in agreement with their judgement from voice cues of actual Americans and Britishers, especially for intelligence and leadership" (1975. 46).

In a sense, we might say that they like American speech better than they think they do and like British speech less than they think.

In a questionnaire study among 128 grammar school teachers and 353 learners, Wyler, Blume, Petter & Spinas (1982) investigated the position of RP and GA in Swiss schools. On the whole, the teachers preferred RP, but there was

⁵"Men zou hieruit voorzichtig kunnen concluderen dat beoordelaars van taalgebruik behoefte hebben aan een grotere nuancering in hun oordelen, zodat ze recht kunnen doen aan de typische situatie m.b.t. taalgebruik, namelijk het bestaan van een duidelijk gestandaardiseerde norm en van afwijkingen daarop"

a marked difference between the older and younger teachers, half the teachers aged 36 and under would prefer to teach GA. Of the learners, who had all spent a year as exchange students in the USA, 20% reported that they were criticised by their teachers for using GA forms, but that their friends admired them for it and tried to imitate their accents. Based upon informal comments the informants had written on their questionnaires, the authors drew up a 'check-list', which was presented to 20 'non-experts'. Unfortunately this check-list was not included in their publication, but the authors present their main findings as (1) that American English is considered more natural, colourful and melodious than British English, (2) that American English should be acknowledged for economic, scientific and cultural reasons, (3) that GA can be difficult to understand but that it is easy to speak and (4) that British English is both easier to understand and more beautiful.

Another questionnaire study was done by Flaitz (1988) in France. She asked a representative group of 145 shoppers to fill out a questionnaire containing questions about, among other things, their attitudes to speakers of English in general, and about their reactions to British and American English. The latter was done by means of 10 semantic differentials. On the whole, RP was rated higher than GA, the largest differences being that GA was seen as much louder and less elegant than RP, while GA was considered more direct and faster than RP. Flaitz claims that the latter two qualities are both negative, directness because "the French are generally thought to respect more nuance and circumlocution than do English speakers. Some argue that this is what made French a suitable language of diplomacy in the pre-World War I era" (1988: 172). And she considers speed a negative quality because she "assumes that rapidity of speech is associated with a possible lack of concern for careful enunciation as well as style and selection of words" (1988: 174).

In Austria, Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) measured the reactions of 132 university students of English to five accents of English: RP, near-RP (a woman who came from the south of England and who had lived in Austria for 20 years and had some slight Austrian features in her accent), GA, weakly Austrian accented British English and weakly Austrian accented American English. The subjects were asked to rate these speakers on 12 semantic differentials, to rate the appropriateness of the guises for radio presenters and to indicate how well they could become friends with the speakers. On all scales RP was rated highest, near-RP and GA were rated about equal and slightly lower than RP, followed by Austrian American. Austrian British was evaluated the most negatively. The finding that RP was evaluated the most positively was partly due to the fact that two-thirds of these subjects had chosen to study British English and only one third had opted for American English, and it turned out that those studying British English rated RP higher than GA, while the students of American English preferred GA, though they were less negative about RP than the students of

British English were about GA, “maybe thereby revealing a (stereo)typical American attitude” (1997: 126)

In the study that stood at the birth of the present project, Broeders & Gussenhoven (1979, Broeders, 1981) investigated the attitudes of Nijmegen University and Amsterdam teacher training students of English to seven varieties of English (RP, GA, Dutch-accented English, Cockney, Australian, Yorkshire and Scottish). First, subjects were asked to rate the attractiveness of seven recordings of the same story (for obvious reasons not matched-guise). The order of attractiveness is the order in which the varieties appear above, be it that there were some differences between the ratings of the Amsterdam and the Nijmegen students.

Finally, the study by Dekker (1996) mentioned previously not only consisted of a questionnaire, but also of a matched-guise test among teachers. This was the same test as used in the present study: twelve guises (six RP and six GA) produced by eight native speakers (four Britons and four Americans) were rated on sixteen scales. Factor analysis showed a resolution into four factors, which she labelled STATUS, DYNAMICS, PROGRESSIVENESS and NATURALNESS. The American guises scored positive and highest on all factors except status. The British guises scored highest on the status factor and almost as high as the American guises on the naturalness factor. However, they scored below neutral on the dynamics and progressiveness factors. The high ratings of the American guises is very interesting in view of the fact that 88% of her subjects said they liked RP best. This seems to demonstrate that the matched-guise technique really uncovers hidden attitudes.

1.3. Variability in first and second language pronunciation

One of the aims of the present study is to investigate which GA features occur in the speech of Dutch secondary school learners. A useful tool for this is the concept of phonological variable, as used by Labov (1972: 43-69). Variable here has two meanings: variable in the methodological sense of “a property whereby members of a group or set differ one from another” (Ferguson 1981: 11) and in the sense that the pronunciation of these variables is not stable but variable, depending on a number of linguistic, social and personality factors. An example of an investigation into a phonological variable is Labov’s classic study of the use of non-prevocalic (r) as in *fourth* and *floor* in New York City department stores. In the middle of the 20th century, the traditional r-less pronunciation in NYC was ousted by the more prestigious r-full pronunciation which was usual in most parts of the USA. As a result, this (r) is variable, in that New York speakers sometimes do and sometimes do not pronounce it. In order to find out which social class pronounces the (r) in which situations, Labov asked shop

assistants in three large department stores (Sacks, Macy's and Klein) where he could find certain goods, knowing that the answer would be "fourth floor" He then pretended not to hear the answer, so that the assistants were forced to repeat themselves more clearly or carefully The pronunciations of *fourth* and *floor* were assigned a numerical value ((r) pronounced = 1, and (r) not pronounced = 2), and in this way Labov could obtain a (r)-index for the three stores He thus had a measure to compare speakers from different classes (corresponding to the three department stores), styles (first time and repetition) and linguistic context (pre-consonantal in *fourth* and word final in *floor*) Larger scale studies of the department store type have been undertaken by many researchers, including Labov himself A well-known early application of this new research methodology is Trudgill (1974), who studied a number of phonological variables in 5 social classes in 4 levels of styles in the city of Norwich

Variability in the pronunciation of variables may be a harbinger of sound change Studies like those described above have shown that there are two types of sound change One is typically led by members of the middle or upper-working classes, and involves the popularisation or spread of a non-prestigious variant to the middle classes In this way, non-standard urban speech is often seen to feed the development of the standard language (cf London to RP or Amsterdam to AN) A second type of change occurs when the middle classes decide to suppress a development which has somehow attracted unfavourable comment (stereotype) In this situation, a variant is so strongly stigmatised that speakers avoid it Only in the latter situation does the variant that is becoming more frequent, i.e. the standard variant, have overt social prestige In the former case, the reason for the increase of the variant must be due to what is called covert prestige, i.e. the sort of prestige that is associated with masculinity, toughness, breaking the rules, etc It has been found that variants that have covert prestige are sometimes overreported by men, while variants that have overt prestige are frequently overreported by women (Trudgill, 1972) This overreporting is established on the basis of two types of test one records which of two variant pronunciations are actually used by the speaker, while the second records the pronunciation the speakers say they use Overreporting of a given variant occurs when speakers claim to use it more frequently than they factually do We will apply a variant of this methodology in our investigation of the use and appeal of GA and RP variants by our Dutch subjects

Phonological change occurs broadly in one of two ways In one way, the change is gradual and indiscriminate with respect to the morpheme in which it takes place For instance, a subtle phonetic adjustment in the quality of a particular vowel phoneme, such as may possibly currently be the case for RP /e/, which seems to be getting opener, may well be exceptionless ('Neogrammarian change') In other cases, in particular when the change is more clearly

phonological, change often takes place per morpheme or word, a pattern known as lexical diffusion (Chen & Wang, 1975, Kiparsky, 1988, 1995)

A pattern of lexical diffusion has also often been found in second language acquisition. L. Dickerson (1974) and W. Dickerson (1976) have shown that the variation in correct and erroneous forms that learners use actually shows a pattern similar to that found among native speakers' use of dialect and non-dialect forms, and that the acquisition of correct forms over time follows a similar route to that of language change. For example, Japanese learners of English acquiring /z/ who were measured at three times, at first show a very low /z/ index, mainly using /s/, but at time two the index has gone up and at time three it has gone up further. And just as dialect speakers use more non-standard forms in free speech than in reading passage style, the learners use more non-standard, i.e. erroneous forms in free speech than in reading passage style. This insight has resulted in a wealth of research into variability in second language acquisition (see Preston, 1996, for an overview), and current research suggests that variation is systematic, and that it "is possible to model language acquisition as continuous change over time" (Berdan, 1996: 236).

Both because of the variability found in sociolinguistic research, and because of the variability found in SLA, we expect that in our investigation there may be cases where lexical diffusion occurs. Thus, we may find that there will be more GA pronunciations of *dance* than of other words containing that variable, because it is a word that features frequently in pop-songs since it is a favourite topic, and even British singers will pronounce it /dæns/ (cf. Trudgill, 1983).⁶ However, since the present study aims to present a picture of the state of the English as spoken by school leavers, rather than the acquisitional development of Dutch learners, we do not expect lexical diffusion to be a developmental feature, but rather think it will be a sign of a change in the Mid-Atlantic variety of English spoken in the Netherlands.

1.4. Pronunciation and the learner

'Accent', or dialect, is a very individual characteristic, it is at the same time a part of one's personality and a mark of one's educational, social and/or regional background. Second language learners are therefore faced with the problem that in learning and speaking a new language they actually have to give up part of their persona. Of course this will not be equally troublesome for all learners, but studies by Lambert and others (e.g. Lambert, 1967) and diary studies (e.g. Bailey, 1983) have shown that some individuals can experience feelings of

⁶Actually, the word *dance* was only included in our corpus as a test item and was not scored, but it may serve as an example of the kind of lexical item that is highly susceptible to change.

anomie Quite apart from the question whether the learner is capable of acquiring a native-like pronunciation, some may (consciously) decide to retain an L1 accent as a means of preserving their identity, though others may actually set great store by sounding 'like the natives', especially when the L2 has a desirable social status or is attractive to the learner for some other reason. A third group of learners may decide that they do not want to sound like a native speaker of the standard or norm variety of the L2, because other varieties are more desirable. One could think of a learner of French opting for Canadian rather than continental French, or a learner of English who prefers American to British English, or Australian English to either of the other two.

All in all, there appear to be three options open to the learner acquiring an L2 pronunciation in an educational context in which one variety is taught as the model. They can (1) maintain a foreign accent so as to dissociate oneself from the host culture, (2) select a non-standard or different variety of the L2, or (3) try to sound like a native speaker of the variety taught. For Dutch learners of English, whose teachers almost invariably try to teach them RP, this means in practice that they can either try to sound recognisably Dutch and not adopt any of the RP phonological system, or they can aim at another variety of English (possibly GA), or they can aim at an RP pronunciation. The option a learner chooses is probably partly determined by their attitudes to the target language. Many contradictory claims have been made about the role of attitudes to the target language and its speakers in determining success in second language acquisition (for an overview, see Gardner, 1991). For example, it has been found that attitudes and achievement need not correspond, positive attitudes towards the target language do not necessarily lead to success in L2 acquisition while negative attitudes need not result in failure. However, others (e.g. Gardner & Lambert, 1959) have found that positive attitudes do lead to success.

Attitudes determine, or at least colour one's opinions of or one's behaviour towards language varieties. Obviously, attitudes are not fixed, they may change in the course of time because of new experiences with or insights into these social concepts. Some L2 learners, say Dutch learners of French, will at first have little or no direct contact with the target language and culture. Their attitudes to French are at first probably neutral or coloured by stereotypes. Dutch learners of English on the other hand will be fairly familiar with the target language because of the frequent use of English in the media, and thus will have encountered (possibly stereotypical) portrayals of, if not personal contact with, a number of English-speaking cultures. Although their attitudes are likely to be relatively fully developed at an early stage, they are just as open to change.

One of the reasons that positive attitudes towards the target language and culture need not lead to success is that the competence to behave consistently with the attitude may be absent. A learner may find RP very beautiful and English people very friendly, but may still be unable to acquire the grammar or

accent, they may have no aptitude for language acquisition or be so daunted by notoriously difficult English sounds (like /ð/ or /æ/) that they decide to give up. Furthermore, it is a combination of attitudes, rather than one single attitude, which determine (language) behaviour, and some of these may conflict with one another. Some of the relevant attitudes in L2 acquisition are attitudes to the L2 *per se*, attitudes to the L2 as group symbol, attitudes to acquiring an L2, and attitudes to the learning situation and the teacher. Finally, social norms may be in conflict with personal attitudes and are equally important to success in L2 acquisition. For example, Filipinos and Singaporeans tend to have negative attitudes to English and its speakers, but at the same time good English is socially desirable and hence aimed at (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Other norms that play a role in language behaviour could be the teacher's, the school's and general educational norms. A Dutch learner of English may have negative feelings about Britons and/or the way they speak English, but the school norm still dictates a British rather than an American Pronunciation.

1.5. Aims and scope of the project

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the main aim of this study is to investigate which features of American English occur in the pronunciation of Dutch younger learners. With the aid of methodology developed by urban dialectologists, it is possible to quantify the influence of American English and to determine whether some features are more readily adopted than others, and if so, what the reasons are behind this. It could be the case that certain features are intrinsically more attractive, or a shibboleth for group membership, or simply better known. For this part of the study a corpus of speech was obtained from a representative sample of secondary school pupils, as well as their opinions on eleven phonological variables.

As discussed in the previous section, the learner's attitude to the target language can be one of the determining factors of the success of L2 acquisition. Little is known about the attitudes of Dutch learners to British and American English, and if indeed attitudes determine (wholly or in part) the learner's success in acquiring the L2, and more particularly its pronunciation, it would be useful to uncover these attitudes. For this reason a matched-guise test was included in the study. Although our investigation has a purely descriptive aim, the results of this matched-guise test, and indeed the subjects' pronunciations and their opinions on the phonological variables could have implications for the future of teaching English in the Netherlands. If, for example, many pupils were to prefer GA to RP, and their pronunciation demonstrably has American influences, we might have to think again about the roles of RP and GA in the schools.

The aims of the present investigation can be summarised by the following four questions

- 1a To what extent does the fact that outside the classroom Dutch secondary school pupils very frequently hear American English influence their English pronunciation?
- 1b Is the influence of GA equal in all the phonological variables, or are some variables more readily adopted than others?
- 2 What are the attitudes of these pupils towards (male and female) speakers of RP and GA?
3. Which variety do they consider the norm, which variety do they prefer and do they know the difference between the two varieties?
- 4 What conclusions may be drawn from the results with regard to the desirability of teaching one variety rather than the other?

Because it is possible that there will be differences in linguistic behaviour depending on regional background, type of education and on the gender of the subjects, the subjects were chosen such that these differences could also be investigated. This selection of the subjects will be discussed in chapter 2, along with the design and the procedure of the investigation. Next, chapter 3 will try and answer the first question. It will first present the data from the production test and will then analyse these data according to the subjects' background. This same general ordering will occur in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 will present and discuss the results from the matched-guise test and relate these results to the background variables, thus contributing to the answer to the second question. Then chapter 5 will address the third question, and will describe and discuss the results from three listening tests devised to test the subjects' knowledge of and preference for eleven phonological variables. Finally, chapter 6 will provide a brief summary of the main findings and will then address the fourth question.

2. Method

This chapter will discuss the method and materials used in the investigation into the pronunciation and attitudes of Dutch learners of English. This investigation consisted of a number of tests, and for each test there will follow a discussion of the aims, the considerations that have led to the format of these tests, and the procedure. Section 2.1 will provide a description of the subjects, section 2.2 will consist of a discussion of the design and procedure while section 2.3 will motivate the selection of the phonological variables that were chosen for our investigation and will provide a detailed description of the differences between RP and GA for these variables.

2.1. Subjects

In order to get a reasonably accurate picture of the situation regarding the English pronunciation in schools in the Netherlands, it was decided to select our subjects from four locations and from two types of education, equally divided over male and female subjects. Our subjects can therefore be split up into a number of subgroups which can be classified according to (1) region, (2) type of education and (3) gender. It was further decided to administer the attitude tests to a group of primary school children. The considerations that have led to the selection of our subjects and the subgroups will be presented in this order.

Region

The cities that were selected to represent the situation in the Netherlands are located in the north, the south, the east and the west. In the north we selected the city of Groningen, in the south Venlo, in the east Nijmegen and in the west Amsterdam. Except for Amsterdam these are all medium sized towns in which the school population consists of pupils both from the cities themselves as well as from the surrounding rural areas. All locations have distinct local or regional dialects recognisable to most Dutch listeners. Some of these are better liked than others, both by the dialect speakers themselves and by others. For Groningen, Hoppenbrouwers (1990: 206) reports that 62% of the mavo learners and 47% of the vwo learners like their own dialect, but he notes a difference between those coming from the town itself and those living in rural areas, the urban dialect is appreciated less than the rural one. For Nijmegen, van Hout (1989: 62-66) found that dialect speakers regard their own speech extremely negatively. Over 64% of

his native Nijmegen subjects claim they do not speak the local dialect and 82% are of the opinion that it is only spoken by lower class people or even down-and-outs. In Venlo, people speak a Limburg dialect, and that dialect is spoken by people from all social backgrounds and thus commands considerable prestige (Munstermann, 1986, Weijnen, 1966). And finally, the local dialect in Amsterdam enjoys widespread admiration, more so by men than by women, but is not deemed appropriate for use by radio and TV newscasters (Brouwer, 1989).

It has been claimed that the degree of ethnocentrism, i.e. the degree of preference for one's own ethnic group and language variety, influences one's attitude to other language varieties. Giles (1971), for example, found that Welsh speakers with a high degree of ethnocentrism rated non-standard varieties lower and the standard variety higher than speakers who were less ethnocentrically oriented. It is as yet unclear what effect ethnocentrism has on attitudes to foreign language varieties, but Broeders' (1981) findings in his investigation of attitudes of Dutch students of English in Nijmegen and Amsterdam to 7 varieties of English suggest that the effect may be similar to that found for native varieties, or in situations where one variety is a second language for part of the population (e.g. Lambert et al., 1960). Broeders found that the Amsterdam students rated the non-RP varieties, and GA in particular, higher than the Nijmegen students, and he suggests that this is due to a higher degree of ethnocentrism in Nijmegen than in Amsterdam. On the other hand, van Hout's finding of the low appreciation for the Nijmegen dialect would seem to contradict this claim. In any case, it will be interesting to see whether our subjects' evaluations of their own dialects are in any way related to their appreciation of RP and GA. For this reason they were asked whether they spoke a dialect and whether they minded that people could tell from their speech where they came from.

Type of education

We decided to select subjects from two different types of schools, *mavo* and *vwo*, because these schools provide different types of education, and since the aims of these schools are different, the attitudes of the pupils towards learning are likely to be different. Of those attending secondary education, 39.8% will go to a *mavo*, which provides four years of general education at an intermediate level.¹ The pupils tend to be practically, rather than theoretically minded, and around 70% of the pupils go on to vocational training while 10% will start jobs straight after leaving school. The *vwo* programme takes six years to complete and aims to prepare its pupils for university and therefore attracts more theoretically minded pupils. Only 14% of the Dutch secondary school

¹ All the statistical data in this section come from the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS 1994: 463 & 467) and are based on pupils who started their secondary education in 1989 which is the last cohort the Bureau investigated.

population is made up of vwo learners, and there are relatively few vwo pupils who come from working class backgrounds, only 5.5% of those performing unskilled labour send their children to vwo, as against 32.4% of those in the professional groups. The social background of the mavo population, on the other hand, is much more heterogeneous, around 40% of parents from all walks of life send their children to a mavo.

Because it was expected that pupils who were about to leave school would be more independent than pupils who were in 'mid-education', and would have decided what kind of English they would want to speak irrespective of what their teachers had taught them, it was decided to select final year pupils (i.e. 16-year-old mavo learners and 18-year-old vwo learners). Thus, we would also get some insight in the kind of pronunciation with which they would leave their formal training and start their further education (which, on the whole, does not include any formal instruction in English) and their professional careers. Of course, the vwo subjects had had two more years of instruction than the mavo learners, and consequently the level of their English would be even higher than it would have been if we had opted for the same age groups. It is questionable if 16-year-old vwo learners can really be compared to 16-year-old mavo learners, because the former tend to be less mature in that they are still firmly grounded in the school system, with all its norms, while the latter are about to move on. Importantly, the purpose of our investigation, which is to present a description of the state of affairs in Dutch schools, was better served by comparing the performance and attitudes of pupils at school-leaving ages, in each case after they had completed their basic teaching programme.

Gender

Attitude studies have shown consistently that men and women have different patterns of attitudes and usage. (For a detailed discussion of the literature see e.g. Coates & Cameron, 1988, Smith, 1985). Women tend to use more standard forms and have a lower opinion of non-standard varieties than men. Since Broeders (1981) found the same results in his investigation in Nijmegen and Amsterdam, we expected that this would also be the case for our subjects. So it was decided to try and get approximately equal proportions of men and women in each subgroup. In each location we selected a single class in each of the schools (the average class size is 25 pupils), it turned out that of the 204 subjects exactly half were female.

Young pupils

Because we were interested to know at what age attitudes to RP and GA develop, and in particular whether young children have developed any attitudes towards GA and RP at all, independent of formal training, one group of 34 primary school pupils from grade 6 (aged 9 to 10) were selected. Research has shown that

children of that age do know the difference between prestige and non-prestige varieties, but are relatively indifferent to the implications, i.e. they do not consider speakers of one variety superior or inferior to speakers of another variety (Day, 1982, Labov, 1966)

Our group of primary school pupils was tested shortly before the summer break, because after that break they would start their first English classes. In order to measure the effect of pronunciation norms imposed by the school and its teachers, we would ideally have liked to be able to find a group of subjects who had had no formal teaching of English but were of the same age as the others, so that the factors age and amount of exposure would be controlled for. In the Netherlands, however, this is impossible, since all children from the age of 10 or 11 onwards are required to learn English. So the best we can do is to compare the attitudes of the younger subjects who have had no formal training in English to those of the older subjects.

Although there is likely to be variation in the attitudes of the older subjects depending on which part of the country they come from, we felt that because the younger pupils generally appear not to judge language varieties as being inferior or superior (their own or those of others), their own linguistic background is not likely to play a role in their judgements of RP and GA, and hence that one single group would suffice.

2.2. Design and procedure

In order to answer the questions presented in chapter 1, we had to (1) find a quantitative measure of GA influence on the pronunciation of Dutch learners, (2) find out what the attitudes of these learners are to speakers of RP and GA, and (3) discover their opinions about the different pronunciations of certain phonological variables and whether or not they were able to recognise these pronunciations. Therefore, three different tests were administered to the 204 subjects:

- a production test,
- a matched-guise test,
- an evaluation and recognition test

In all cases, the tests were administered in the order given. The reason for this was that by having the interviews first, the subjects would not have heard any of the taped materials, which might otherwise have influenced their own production. Neither would they be able to know what the purpose of the investigation was. After they had completed all three tasks they were given a questionnaire which provided us with some additional data on the subjects.

Since for pragmatic reasons all tests were administered at the various schools, it was imperative to ensure that the subjects would not feel that the

investigation was in any way connected with their teachers and that they would not get graded for their performance. It was therefore decided that a small financial reward should be given. In order to disguise the true nature of the investigation, the subjects were told that the investigation was part of a large, international project, researching the pronunciation of English by people from different language backgrounds and that this investigation was necessary because of the status of English as a 'world-language'.

2.2.1. The production tests

The purpose of the production tests was to collect a corpus of English, as spoken by our subjects, which represented a variety of speech styles and a suitable number of instances of the phonological variables that were included in the investigation. This section will first motivate and describe the parts of the tests that correspond to the different speech styles. After that, it will provide information on the way in which the interviews were conducted.

Word List Style

As Trudgill notes, when subjects read out a list of words, their "attention is directed at a single item at a time, and at his pronunciation of that particular item" (1974: 48). This means that the style of pronunciation during the reading of a word list is the most formal, because the speaker concentrates on form rather than meaning. In our case the style is expected to be rather *schoolish*, because the subjects could be expected to do their best to read the list the way they had been taught by their teacher(s). This is precisely what we want, because the production tests were not intended to measure the amount of prestige attached to either variety, but rather the degree to which the subjects adhere to the norm.

A list of 33 lexical items was presented, and the subjects were asked to read them out as best they could. This list contained all the items that would also be used in two evaluation tests and a discrimination test (see table II below), each lexical item contained one and only one of the phonological variables listed in section 2.3, while each variable occurred in three different items.

Reading Passage Style

When reading out a passage of prose or any other text, subjects still tend to focus on the correct pronunciation, but they also have to pay attention to *what it says*. Consequently, more non-standard forms will appear in their pronunciation in a task like this. We asked our subjects to read out, "as if they were reading to an English-speaking cousin", a short and easy humorous prose passage which was neutral in content, in that it could be set either in the UK or in the USA (see appendix 1). Again, all the phonological variables under investigation were

present in the text, although it proved impossible to ensure an even spread. This same prose passage was later used in the matched-guise test.

Free Speech

In investigations into language use, it has been shown that subjects will only use their own normal everyday pronunciation when they forget what the purpose of the investigation is. Labov's question "have you ever been in a situation where you thought you were going to be killed" is famous in this connection. We, too, would have liked to get some truly spontaneous speech, but since we are dealing with a second language in which some subjects found it extremely hard to express themselves, it proved impossible to create a situation where they could talk about a given topic in English. Another problem was that the only way to get spontaneous and realistic English speech is in a conversation with a native speaker. However, this was undesirable, since the variety this speaker would use could bias the results, as the subjects might accommodate to the variety concerned (see for example Beebe & Zuengler, 1983, Giles & Powesland, 1975; Giles, Taylor & Bourhis, 1973, Street & Giles, 1983). For these reasons we decided to ask the subjects to retell the story they had just read in their own words and then to tell a story on the basis of a set of pictures (see appendix 2). As with the reading passage and the word list, care was taken that most of the variables were elicited. However, it turned out that one variable, (-t) utterance final /t/, was never used.

Procedure

Each interview was held individually in a room in the school and was recorded. The interviews lasted anywhere between five and ten minutes. Before the subjects were called in they were given ten minutes to read the word list and the text and to familiarise themselves with the pictures. During the interviews the investigator did not speak any English so as not to influence or prejudice the subjects. However, if they asked questions about the pronunciation or translation of a word or expression these would be provided, but the subjects' version of these items would then be left out of the analysis.

2.2.2 The matched-guise test

The purpose of the matched-guise test was to elicit the subjects' spontaneous reactions to speakers of RP and GA and to discover what perceived characteristics of these speakers determine these reactions. This section will describe the matched-guise technique, motivate the choice of the speakers and the scales and discuss the procedure.

The matched-guise technique

The matched-guise technique is the most common tool used in research into the attitudes of groups of listeners to two (or more) varieties of the same language. Subjects are asked to rate a number of speakers on a variety of perceived personality traits. They are usually presented with audio-taped versions of a text read in the varieties of the language under investigation. What the subjects do not know is that in fact they are listening to only one bi-dialectal speaker reading both versions. This technique is used to control for speaker-specific variables such as apparent age, pleasantness of the voice, rate of speaking, etc. These speaker-specific features will, it is assumed, remain roughly the same in both versions, so that differences in subjects' reactions are a true reflection of different attitudes to the varieties in question, and not attributable to other factors. It appears that subjects generally do not notice that they hear the same person twice, especially not if detractor voices are used in between.

The speakers

Because both RP and GA are national standard varieties of English, we may regard them in a sense as different languages, and we actually needed bilingual, rather than bi-dialectal speakers. However, this type of bilingualism is not very common, in fact, it proved extremely difficult to find GA speakers who could convincingly produce an RP guise, and although there were a number of RP speakers who could do a reasonable GA guise (and there were some Dutch speakers who could do both), it was felt that it was essential to have at least one, and preferably more, *natural* GA versions. After all, if we had used only RP speakers, all GA versions would be *acted*, which we felt was undesirable, because we did not know to what extent this might influence the subjects' judgements. We therefore decided to use a 'hybrid-guise', and selected four native American speakers, and recorded two of them (a man and a woman) in two guises, the other two in only one, and four Britons, again only two of them doing both guises. This means that there are four native and two *acted* versions in both varieties (see figure 1), so that there were twelve voices to be rated, six of them RP and six GA.

In the final analysis, it will, of course, be impossible to compare the subjects' evaluations of the single guises because, as mentioned above, any difference in the subjects' evaluations might be attributable to speaker-specific features rather than to the variety they were speaking. Thus, we will not compare the evaluations of one RP speaker X to those of one GA speaker Y. However, Knops claims (personal communication) that already over a group of three speakers the speaker-specific features will even out if at least the age and gender of the speakers are the same. This means that we can make a valid comparison between the evaluations of a group of GA speakers to those of a group of RP speakers. It also means that there are enough guises to compare the RP women

with the GA women and the RP men with the GA men. We could still use the four real matched-guises to see whether Knops' claim that a group of three speakers is large enough to even out speaker-specific effects is true.

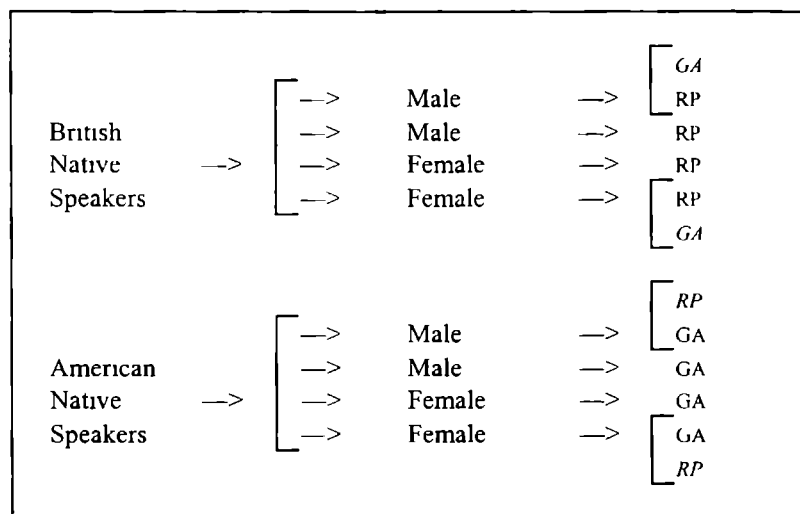


Figure 1 Schematic representation of how 8 speakers produced 12 guises. The *acted* guises appear in italics.

Unfortunately, because of the limitation that all speakers had to be in the same age group a number of interesting hypotheses could not be tested. One of these is that GA might be considered a desirable variety because of its association with *young and dynamic* speakers. This would mean that a young GA guise would be more positively evaluated than a young RP guise. On the other hand, because RP for most of our subjects is the norm, it is likely that an older RP guise would be more positively evaluated than an older GA guise, since subjects may feel that for older people RP is a more desirable variety (cf Gussenhoven & Broeders, 1981: 144-148). However, because of the restriction on the age of the speakers, this expectation could not be put to the test.

The authenticity of the guises was confirmed by ten linguistically naive native Britons and ten linguistically naive native Americans, who were asked to determine where the speakers originated from. All guises were correctly identified by all these subjects.

The scales

All 12 guises were rated by the subjects on a list of 16 bi-polar semantic differential scales of the type *educated-uneducated*, *rural-urban*, etc. (the scales used in this investigation appear in table 1). The adjectives on these scales were

chosen such that they capture the three dimensions Giles (1971) has labelled PRESTIGE, ATTRACTIVENESS and INTEGRITY, and Zahn & Hopper (1985) call SUPERIORITY, ATTRACTIVENESS and DYNAMISM. These dimensions will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Table 1. The 16 scales used in the Matched-guise test in the order and polarity presented to the subjects with their English translations.

aardig	onaardig	<i>friendly</i>	<i>unfriendly</i>
ongezellig	gezellig	<i>not companionable</i>	<i>companionable</i>
ouderwets	modern	<i>old-fashioned</i>	<i>modern</i>
standaard	niet standaard	<i>standard</i>	<i>not standard</i>
dom	knap	<i>stupid</i>	<i>clever</i>
wilskrachtig	slap	<i>wilful</i>	<i>weak</i>
leidinggevend	ondergeschikt	<i>having authority</i>	<i>inferior position</i>
oneerlijk	eerlijk	<i>dishonest</i>	<i>honest</i>
passief	actief	<i>passive</i>	<i>active</i>
natuurlijk	aanstellerig	<i>natural</i>	<i>affected</i>
onontwikkeld	ontwikkeld	<i>not cultured</i>	<i>cultured</i>
geestig	saaï	<i>witty</i>	<i>dull</i>
plattelands	stedelijk	<i>rural</i>	<i>urban</i>
spontaan	geremd	<i>spontaneous</i>	<i>inhibited</i>
weinig geleerd	veel geleerd	<i>uneducated</i>	<i>educated</i>
dynamisch	niet dynamisch	<i>dynamic</i>	<i>not dynamic</i>

Not only did the scales have to be selected such that they would cover the three dimensions that are usually used in evaluating speakers, a further restriction was that the meaning of the adjectives should be stable and unambiguous, they must have the same meaning and emotional connotations for all subjects. For example, a scale like *blue-eyed* - *brown-eyed* would not be a good scale because some subjects may have either positive or negative feelings towards blue eyed people, while the feelings of other subjects might be neutral. Moreover, the items on both ends of the scale should be real opposites and range from a truly positive to a truly negative connotation with a neutral meaning in the middle. Thus *rich* versus *poor* is a good scale, whereas *sloppy pronunciation* versus *hyper correct pronunciation* (Blom & van Herpt, 1976), while clearly being a scale of opposites, actually has two negative ends with a positive (*normal pronunciation*) in the middle. One way of ensuring that the adjectives are truly bi-polar is the use of *not* or *un-*. Van Bezooijen (1985) observes that in some cases *not* and *un-* are not equivalent, for example, *not pleasant* may not quite be the same as *unpleasant*. However, she reports not having come across any investigation of the effect this non-equivalence may have on the validity of the

results, and in her study she uses both *not* and *un-* adjectives, as well as scales without either of them. We feel that in many cases real and unambiguous opposites which do not use *not* or *un-* can be found, such as *poor* versus *rich*, and *stupid* versus *clever*, while many *un-* adjectives are unambiguous, such as *uneducated* and *unsociable*.

Taking the above mentioned restrictions into consideration we selected 16 scales from a number of other semantic differentials that have been used in speaker evaluation research (e.g. van Bezooijen, 1985, Broeders, 1981, de Haan, 1987, Knops, 1984, Zahn & Hopper, 1985). The scales were offered in randomised order and half of them with the positive end and the other half with the negative end on the right hand side, so as to avoid a 'halo-effect', which means that subjects rate on one side of the scale only, because they discover a pattern. Nuijten (quoted in Boves, 1984) suggests a method for avoiding a 'halo-effect' and pattern formation; each scale is presented on a separate sheet of paper. The danger here, as Boves notes, is that subjects may accidentally turn two pages at once; moreover, both rating and scoring are rather time consuming this way. For these reasons he rejects this suggestion, and so do we. Van Bezooijen objects to randomly varying positive and negative ends because she found that subjects find this confusing and may accidentally give an opposite rating to what they intended to give. We felt, however, that if we gave the subjects proper instructions, and gave them ample time to familiarise themselves with the answer sheet, this confusion over scale poles need not occur. The number of points a scale should have is also an issue of debate, though most researchers opt for a seven-point scale. Although one would like to avoid subjects rating only in the middle area, which can be achieved by offering scales with an even number of points to force subjects to choose between positive and negative, it was felt that it would be unfair to ask people to express an opinion when they genuinely have no feelings about a certain aspect. So it was decided there should be a neutral mid-point on the scales and hence an uneven number. It was also decided to use a seven-point scale, since Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957-85) found that "Over a large number of different subjects in many different experiments . . . with seven alternatives all of them tend to be used and with roughly, if not exactly, equal frequencies".

To the sixteen scales listed in table 1, a further three seven-point scales were added on which subjects were asked to indicate.

- to what degree they would want to speak like the speaker,
- to what extent they thought they could become friends with the speaker, and
- what position in society this speaker occupied

The first question was intended to measure the attractiveness of that particular speaker's variety as a model for the subjects' own pronunciation. This need not necessarily be the same as the overall attractiveness of that speaker's guise. The second is a so-called SOLIDARITY SCALE (Knops, 1984) which, as she says,

“represents hidden norms in language evaluation”. The last question was added because, although we did not expect large differences in the subjects’ ratings since all speakers are university educated, it might prove that the subjects associate one variety with a different social standing than the other

Procedure

With the exception of the two tests in Nijmegen, all the matched-guise tests were held in relatively quiet classrooms in the various schools. In order for the subjects not to be disturbed too much by their classmates, all groups were split in half, so that each group listening to the tapes consisted of approximately 12 to 15 subjects. The tests were administered either by the investigator or by a colleague. The instructions to the subjects were read out so as to ensure uniformity. The tapes were played either over the school’s audio-system or over a Philips *Sound Machine*, while the Nijmegen groups came to the University of Nijmegen language laboratory and heard the tapes in individual listening booths.

Before playing the tapes the subjects were taken through the answer sheets and any scale they did not understand was explained to them. They then heard a test voice to familiarise themselves with the answer sheets and the scales. After this test voice they were given the opportunity to ask questions, then a second test voice was played (though this time the subjects were not told it was a test voice) and then the twelve real guises. The order of the guises on the tapes was reversed for the two subgroups so as to even out any effect of fatigue or boredom.

2.2.3 The Listening Tests

While in the matched-guise test we were looking at the evaluation of the varieties as a whole, in the preference tests we were interested in the subjects’ reactions to a number of specific phonological features. The question underlying this part of the experiment is fivefold:

- Do the subjects recognise a norm variety, and if so which?
- Which variety do they find more attractive?
- Do they recognise specific features that distinguish RP from GA?
- If so, are some features more easily recognised than others?
- Could it be the case that for some variables an RP pronunciation is attractive to the subjects while for other variables a GA pronunciation is preferred?

The method used in this part of the experiment is based on that of Labov and Trudgill in their urban dialect studies in New York and Norwich (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974); they produced two or more different pronunciations of one word, and then asked their subjects to indicate which (1) they thought correct, and (2) which they themselves used. The idea behind this double question was twofold. Firstly, it provides a measure of the subjects’ awareness of the

linguistic norm and "the extent to which informants are insecure about their own speech in so far as they characterise their own speech as incorrect" (Trudgill, 1974: 54). Secondly, a comparison of the subjects' reported use and their actual use of dialect forms leads to a measure of over- or underreporting, which can be seen as a manifestation of the covert or overt prestige attached to the dialect forms of certain variables or to the dialect as a whole.

The Labov/Trudgill approach had to be slightly adapted, because first of all the investigator is not a native speaker of either variety and cannot realistically and consistently produce a GA pronunciation. Secondly, this method can only be employed in a one to one interview situation, and with the number of informants in the present investigation this would be too time consuming. Thirdly, there is a real danger that the investigator's pronunciation may vary from interview to interview, hence rendering the subjects' reactions unreliable. It was therefore decided to produce an audio-tape on which 33 lexical items were pronounced alternately in RP and in GA by an actor who was a native speaker of GA and was coached to produce realistic RP pronunciations on these items. The 33 lexical items were the same as the ones that appeared in the word list in the production test. As said before, they were selected such that each item contained only one variable under investigation, and such that GA pronunciations could not be mistaken for RP pronunciations, or vice versa. Hence a word like *latter* would not appear; it contains two variables ((t), flapped /t/ and (r), postvocalic /r/) and the GA pronunciation might be confused with RP or GA *ladder*.

Evaluation tests

The preference test consisted of two parts. First the subjects were asked to indicate on an answer sheet which pronunciation they consider better (i.e. regard the norm). There were four possible answers to choose from: (1) pronunciation 1, (2) pronunciation 2, (3) "I can hear a difference, but I don't know which is better", and (4) "I cannot hear any difference". The third was included because it seemed quite possible that subjects really had no opinion as to which version is better, even though they could hear the difference.

The audio tape for the evaluation tests was produced by recording all the items a number of times, first in RP, then in GA. The best, i.e. the clearest and most convincing, recording of each RP and GA item was subsequently digitised. A randomised list was generated and the digitised versions were converted into analogue signals again and recorded onto an audio tape. By using this method we ensured that the pronunciation ultimately heard in all three parts of the preference test is the same, so that measured differences in reactions between the parts cannot be attributed to variations in the tapes. The order of the pronunciations was either GA-RP-GA-RP (e.g. *new* /nu:/-/nju:/-/nu:/-/nju:/) or RP-GA-RP-GA (e.g. *fast* /fɑ:/-/fæst/-/fɑ:/-/fæst/).

Because the spelling of some of the items might lead subjects to expectations about their pronunciation, it was decided not to present them with the written forms. With the exception of two items (*dictionary*, *territory*) all items appear in a list of the first thousand words (Weis, 1970), and the subjects could therefore be expected to know them. Besides, the subjects had already used the items themselves during the production tests.

In the second part of the test, the same tape was played and the subjects had to indicate which pronunciation they would prefer to use themselves. Again the answers they could choose from were (1) pronunciation 1, (2) pronunciation 2, (3) "I can hear a difference but I don't have a preference", (4) "I cannot hear any difference". We asked the subjects to express their preference rather than which pronunciation they actually used themselves, as they might conceivably claim not to use either. And even if they could say which pronunciation they normally used, we could not be sure that this choice was not dictated by their teacher's norm.

As said before, a comparison of claimed usage and actual usage of dialect forms leads to a measure of over- or underreporting. Overreporting occurs when subjects claim to use more standard forms than they actually do, and can be seen as an indication of overt prestige of the non-dialect (= standard) forms, the subjects are led by the fact that the standard form is 'better' and they report the usage they would like to be thought to have, rather than the one they actually have. Underreporting occurs when subjects claim to use fewer standard forms than they in reality do. This may be an indication of the covert prestige that is attached to the dialect, although the standard variety is seen as 'better' it is socially desirable to use the dialect variety.

Since we could not ask our subjects which pronunciation they themselves used, and since, moreover, both varieties under investigation represent standard varieties, a measure of over- or underreporting in the usual sense could not be obtained. We felt, however, that a measure for the degree of prestige that RP and GA have for the subjects can be got by comparing the subjects' answers to the question which version they think is better, i.e. their perceived norm, to their responses to the question which version they would like to use. For the reasons indicated above, we will not speak of over- or underreporting, but will use the terms *positive* and *negative* index differences, where a positive index difference occurs when a subject considers RP forms better, but claims to want to use more GA forms.

To arrive at these index differences, we first calculate indices for the two tests.² These indices range from 1, exclusive RP preference, to -1, exclusive GA preference. Let us, for example, consider the possible difference scores one subject might get on one particular instance of the variable (ah), i.e. the vowel in

²Details of these calculations are given in 5.2.1

the lexical set BATH, and the implications of these scores³ For the moment we will exclude the possibility that the subject claims not to have a preference or not to regard one version better than the other They only score either 1, i.e. RP, or -1, GA The following configurations are then possible

'NORM'	'WISH'	DIFFERENCE	INTERPRETATION
INDEX	INDEX	INDEX	
1	1	0	RP = norm, RP = preferred
1	-1	2	RP = norm, GA = preferred
-1	1	-2	GA = norm, RP = preferred
-1	-1	0	GA = norm, GA = preferred

Thus we see that the difference scores can range from -2 to 2, and that zero scores occur when a subject prefers the same variety as the one which he considers to be the norm, be that RP or GA We further see that positive scores occur when GA is considered more attractive and negative scores when RP is the more desirable model

Identification test

In the third part of the listening test, another tape was played on which the original recordings were copied in a different randomised order, this time twice in either GA or RP (e.g. /nu: /- /nu: /) or /fa: st/ - /fa: st/) The subjects were asked to identify each item as being either GA or RP They could also indicate that they did not know which variety it was Up to this point in the investigation the words *British* and *American* had not been mentioned at all, but now it was necessary to find out whether the subjects' expressed preferences had anything to do with their knowledge about the two varieties It was not unlikely that we would find the opposite to what El-Dash & Tucker (1975: 52) had found in Egypt, namely that Egyptian University students "have a lower opinion of what they think is American than they do of the actual speech of the Americans and that they think they like British speech better than they actually do" (for their method, see section 1.2 above)

Procedure

The preference and identification tests were held immediately after the matched-guise test (though the subjects were given a little time to take a deep breath) in the same classrooms in the schools and in the same sub-groups For these tests,

³Lexical sets were introduced by Wells (1982: xviii) and are groups of words which share the same vowel They 'are based on the vowel correspondences which apply between British Received Pronunciation and (a variety of) General American and make use of **keywords** intended to be unmistakable, no matter what accent one says them in'

too, the order of the items on the tape was different for the two sub-groups to even out any effects of fatigue. The instruction to the subjects for the part of the preference test in which they had to indicate which version they considered *better* was that they “should circle the version you yourself think best, not somebody else”. For the part of the preference test where the subjects had to indicate which version *they would themselves prefer to use* the instruction was: “suppose you wake up one morning and you find you can speak perfect English: which version would you then, in your perfect English, prefer to use, regardless of what your friends, family or teacher might think”. These instructions were presented orally, and all those other than the investigator who supervised these tests were instructed to use these formulations.

2.3. Phonological variables

This section will describe the phonological variables that were used in the production and preference tests. It will first present the criteria used for selecting the variables. Next, for each variable there will be a discussion of the difference between the RP and GA pronunciation, the effect of Dutch interference on the learners’ realisations of and criteria for deciding whether a given realisation should be regarded as an attempt at an RP or a GA pronunciation.

2.3.1. Selection criteria

Because for our subjects RP and GA are varieties of a foreign language, there are some restrictions on the distinguishing features that can profitably be investigated. The interference of the subjects’ native phonology in the production tests is likely to make a reliable identification of the variety the subjects are attempting to imitate very difficult. A case in point is the realisation of /æ/ in GA; it is slightly closer, tenser and longer than its RP counterpart. However, most Dutch learners use Polite Dutch (Algemeen Nederlands, AN) [ɛ] for GA /æ/ as well as for RP /æ/, in spite of the fact that AN [ɛ] is more open than /æ/ in many sub-varieties of GA and closer than RP /æ/, so that no matter how different GA and RP /æ/ are, this difference is not traceable in the pronunciation of the Dutch learner; that is, the vowel he or she produces cannot confidently be assigned to either a GA source or an RP source.

In spite of the problem discussed above, it appeared to be possible to select a fairly large number of variables whose variants were likely to be attributable to the influence of either one of the varieties. The following variables were ultimately selected. (t), (nt), (-t), (r), (yu), (ah), (o), (oh), (oo), (ary), and (en). Table II contains a list of the variables and the simplified forms of their most typical RP and GA pronunciations. In the production test each variable was given

an index 1 for RP-like and 2 for GA-like. A further index 0 was assigned to the variables (en) and (oo) when AN interference was such that we could not confidently attribute a pronunciation to either RP or GA.

Table 11 The phonological variables, their most typical RP and GA realisations and the items on the word list and in the preference tests

<i>variable</i>	<i>RP</i>	<i>GA</i>	<i>items</i>
(t)	/t/	/ɾ/	little, meeting, pretty
(nt)	/nɪ/	/n/	invented, plenty, twenty
(-t)	/t/	Ø	eight, light, paint
(r)	Ø	/ɾ/	dark, morning, nature
(yu)	/ju:/	/u:/	new, reduced, stupid
(ah)	/ɑ:/	/æ/	classroom, fast, wineglass
(o)	/ɒ/	/ɑ/	college, hockey, knowledge
(oh)	/ɔ:/	/ɑ/	lawn, small, talk
(oo)	/ɒ/	/ɔ/	across, often, soft
(ary)	/əɾɪ/	/ɛɾɪ/	dictionary, January, territory
(en)	/æn/	/ɛən/	dam, gang, grand

2.3.2. The variables

- (t)-1 = [t]
(t)-2 = [ɾ] or [d]

Items: *little, meeting, pretty*

The variable (t) is intervocalic /t/, which in RP, traditionally at least, is commonly realised as [t]. Although there are some RP speakers who realise /t/ as a single alveolar flap [ɾ], it was not expected that Dutch learners are aware of this. This alveolar flap is the most common GA realisation of (t), and to many non-Americans this is perceptually [d]. In AN /t/ is seldom voiced intervocalically, so that any voiced articulation, either [d] or [ɾ], may be attributed to GA influence. In view of Trudgill's (1986) findings mentioned above, it was expected that there would be a relatively large number of (t)-2 occurrences.

- (nt)-1 = [nt]
(nt)-2 = [ɲɾ], [n]

Items: *invented, plenty, twenty*

This variable is intervocalic /nt/ which in RP is realised as [nt] and in GA may be regarded as a "flap-release short nasal" [nɾ] (Trager & Smith, 1951: 32) or as a nasalised vowel plus a flap [ɲɾ] (Wells, 1982: 251). In the analysis of Wells the variable (nt) is in fact variable (t) in a special context. However, informal

observation suggested that there are learners who use (t)-2 and do not use (nt)-2. It was therefore decided to include it as a separate variable. Just as (t)-2 may perceptually be [d], (nt)-2 may be perceived as [n], i.e. non-articulation of /t/ but not a nasal flap. This is one of the realisations that might be expected to occur and is analysed as (nt)-2. In Dutch there is no nasal flap, so that [n] or [v̥r] usage may be attributed to GA influence

- (-t)-1 = [t]
(-t)-2 = Ø, [ʔt̚]

Items: *eight, light, paint*

The variable (-t) is /t/ in utterance final position, which in RP is audibly and in GA inaudibly released. It is also frequently replaced by a glottal stop [ʔ] (not to be confused with Cockney glottal stops in intervocallic position, as in *butter*). To the Dutch ear the non-release of /t/ sounds like no /t/ at all, so that zero pronunciation can be regarded as GA influenced. In AN, utterance final /t/ is always released.

- (r)-1 = Ø
(r)-2 = any realisation of /r/ and the r-colouring of vowels

Items: *dark, morning, nature*

This variable is postvocalic /r/ in coda position, which in RP is never, and in GA and AN nearly always pronounced. When speaking English, Dutch learners tend to always pronounce this postvocalic /r/, both because of transfer of the AN phonological system and because of the spelling. Furthermore, the fact that there is at least one national standard of English where this postvocalic /r/ is pronounced is likely to increase the number of /r/ realisations. For this reason we expected many instances of (r)-2 in our corpus, and rather than claiming that this is entirely due to GA influence we suggest that learners who do **not** pronounce postvocalic /r/, that is, pupils who use (r)-1, are highly motivated for RP.

- (yu)-1 = [ju:]
(yu)-2 = [u:]

Items: *reduced, new, stupid*

The variable (yu) is RP [ju:] and GA [u:] after /t,d,n/. Although this variable does not occur as frequently as, for example, intervocalic /t/ or postvocalic /r/, the difference between RP and GA pronunciations of (yu) are quite striking. For Dutch learners neither pronunciation of (yu) is problematic, except that incorrect assimilation of the preceding coronal consonant often occurs. This, however, does not affect our labelling of the variable: assimilation and [ju:] are considered instances of (yu)-1, yod-dropping is clearly (yu)-2 and all occurrences must be attributed to GA influence.

- (ah)-1 = RP /ɑ:/, AN /ɑ/ or /a:/

(ah)-2 = GA /æ/, AN /ɛ/

Items *classroom, fast, wineglass*

This variable is the vowel we find in Wells' (1982) lexical set of BATH words, where RP has /ɑ:/ and GA has /æ/, (for an extensive list of common lexical items in this set, see Windsor Lewis, 1968, 1971) The use of /æ/ for /ɑ:/, in words like *dance* and *ask* is probably one of the most salient features of GA and most Dutch learners are aware of it. It has also become so widely used that some learners find it hard to remember which pronunciation they are supposed to use. As noted before, the AN common realisation of both GA and RP /æ/ is [ɛ], but this does not interfere with our labelling here, any [æ]-like pronunciation by the subjects is regarded as (ah)-2, and influenced by GA.

- (o)-1 = RP /ɒ/, AN /ɔ/

(o)-2 = GA /ɑ/, AN [ɑ], [aː], unrounded and/or open

Items *college, hockey, knowledge*

- (oh)-1 = RP /ɔ:/, realised as [o], AN /ɔ:/, realised as [ɔ:] as in *rose*

(oh)-2 = GA /ɔ:/, realised as [ɒ:] or [ɑ:], AN /ɔ:/ unrounded and/or opener than *rose*

Items *lawn, small, talk*

- (oo)-1 = RP /ʊ/

(oo)-2 = GA /ɔ:/

Items *across, often, soft*

Because of the rather complex distributional differences between RP and GA with respect to the variables (o), (oh) and (oo) they will be discussed together. The variable (o) is the vowel in the lexical set LOT, (oh) is the vowel in the lexical set THOUGHT, and (oo) is the vowel in the lexical set CLOTH. The distributional and realisational differences between RP and GA on the one hand, and the AN realisation of the various phonemes on the other can best be demonstrated in a diagram (see figure 2)

In RP, THOUGHT and CLOTH are distinct and have /ɔ:/, realised as [o], and /ʊ/, respectively. The vowels in CLOTH and LOT are the same (/ʊ/), while PALM, like BATH (see (ah) above), has /ɑ:/ In GA we can distinguish two varieties, which may be termed *conservative* and *advanced*. In the conservative variety, THOUGHT and CLOTH are homophonous and realised as [ɒ:], which is more open than RP /ɔ:/ LOT and PALM, too, are homophonous and have /ɑ:/ In the more advanced variety of GA, all phonemic oppositions between the four lexical sets have been lost, THOUGHT, CLOTH, LOT and PALM all have /ɑ:/ We decided to use the more conservative variety of GA in all the listening tests (preference, identification and matched-guise) and maintain the opposition between THOUGHT and CLOTH on the one hand and LOT and PALM on the other. The only motivation for this is that the more advanced variety is as yet restricted to some

western and midwestern states of the USA (notably California) and Canada, while the conservative variety seems to be still more widespread. However, Wells (1982: 473-475) sees what he calls the THOUGHT-LOT merger as a sound change in progress (following Bailey, 1973: 19), and so perhaps this situation will change rapidly.

RP	GA		AN-RP	AN-GA	VARIABLE
ɔ:	/ɔ:/ (= [ɒ:]) or /ɑ:/	THOUGHT	ɔ:	ɑ(:) [ɒ:]	(oh)
ɒ		CLOTH	ɔ:	ɔ:	(oo)
		LOT	ɔ:	ɑ / ɑ'	(o)
ɑ:		ɑ:	PALM	ɑ(:)	ɑ(:)

Figure 2 The distribution of the vowels in the lexical sets THOUGHT, CLOTH, LOT and PALM in RP and GA⁴

Dutch speakers of English generally replace all instances of /ɔ:/ with either AN /ɔ/ as in *sok*, or the more open marginal AN phoneme /ɔ:/ as in *rose* and *garderobe*, and replace instances of /ɒ/ with AN /ɔ/, which is somewhat closer than RP /ɒ/.

We decided to include the lexical sets LOT (variable (o)) and THOUGHT (variable (oh)) as variables, as it is in these categories that we expect to find measurable differences. The Dutch pronunciations of the (o) variable are relatively easy to assign to either (o)-1 or (o)-2, any unrounded and/or extremely open /ɑ/-like vowel is (o)-2, all other realisations are considered (o)-1. The Dutch pronunciations of (oh) are assigned (oh)-2 if they are opener than AN /ɔ:/ or unrounded to an /ɑ/-like vowel, while all other realisations are assigned to (oh)-1.

It is difficult to decide whether a given Dutch pronunciation of the variable (oo) is an attempt at an RP or a GA pronunciation, since both RP /ɒ/ and GA /ɔ:/ are replaced by AN /ɔ:/ . It was decided that only those pronunciations by subjects who clearly have either /ɒ/- or /ɑ/-like vowels will be assigned (oo)-1 or (oo)-2 respectively, all other realisations will be assigned (oo)-0 and left out of any further analysis.

- (ary)-1 = [rɪ] or [əɾɪ]
- (ary)-2 = [ɛɾɪ] or [ɔɾɪ]

⁴Figure based on Gussenhoven & Broeders (1976: 190)

Items *dictionary, January, territory*

This variable occurs in the suffixes *-ery, -ary, -ory* where the penultimate vowel in RP is either schwa or elided, while GA has a full vowel [ɛ] or [ɔ]. For Dutch learners full vowel quality may be appealing, either because of the spelling or because they have a tendency to speak very carefully, with few weak forms. And although similar Dutch words have primary stress on the penultimate syllable, it was expected that most learners would know that this is not the case in English.

- (en)-1 = RP /æn/
- (en)-2 = GA /æn/ realised as [ɛ̃ən]

Items *dam, gang, grand*

This variable is the realisation of /æ/ before nasals which in many sub-varieties of GA, particularly on the east coast, is not only lengthened and nasalised, as in RP, but also raised and for many speakers diphthongized to [ɛə] (cf. Wells' 1982: 477-479 discussion of 'BATH Raising'). Furthermore, it is a tenser vowel than its RP counterpart. Because Dutch speakers of English replace all instances of /æ/ with AN /ɛ/ a reliable identification of (en)-1 or 2 becomes very difficult. The variable (en) was included, however, since there was the off-chance that there might be a sufficient number of subjects with a 'good' pronunciation, i.e. a pronunciation that is relatively free from AN transfer, to make valid observations about GA influence. Also, we felt that most subjects would recognise this variable as being different in RP and GA and should therefore at least be included in the listening tests. And if we want to be able to compare preference to performance we should at least have some indication of what the subjects do. It was decided that only non-raised very RP-like realisations will be labelled (en)-1, only raised and lengthened and/or diphthongized and/or excessively nasalised realisations will be labelled (en)-2, and all other AN [ɛ] realisations will be labelled (en)-0 and left out of further analysis.

2.4. The questionnaire

Supplementary information which could not otherwise be elicited was obtained by means of a questionnaire (see appendix 9). This contained questions about the subjects' language/dialect background, about the amount of exposure they had had to English outside the school, which variety their teachers used, the importance they attached to a good pronunciation of English, and direct questions about their attitudes to GA and RP. The questionnaire was filled out directly after the final listening test.

3. Pronunciation

This chapter will report on the data from the three production tasks: reading a word list, reading a short story and a free speech task. As mentioned in section 2.2.1, these data were obtained during individual interviews in the various schools. The subjects were given ten minutes to prepare, after which their production was recorded onto audio tape. During the interview the investigator did not speak any English, except when subjects asked for words, but these words were not scored. For most subjects, this task was not too problematic and some subjects were rather good at it. Overall, the vwo learners performed better than the mavo learners, which is to be expected, given that the vwo has a higher educational level, and final year pupils from vwo have had two more years of English than the mavo learners. Eight mavo subjects were unable to perform the free speech part, due to lack of vocabulary.

One methodological point should be raised here. Especially in the two Amsterdam schools (and especially in the mavo) there were quite a few pupils from ethnic minorities, mainly Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese. In order not to appear to be discriminating against them, and so as not to deprive them of the opportunity to earn ten guilders, these pupils participated in all the tests. However, all pupils were asked where they were born and what their first language was, and if their first language was not Dutch their data were not included in the analysis in any part of the investigation. This was done because for the production test we only wanted native speakers of Dutch, since certain features of GA were likely to occur due to L1 transfer. And if we want to be able to compare production to proclaimed preference, only the preferences of those subjects who had participated in the production test could be used.

This chapter consists of six sections. Section 3.1 will discuss and justify the method of scoring the pronunciations, and will explain the way in which the results are presented. These results will be presented and discussed in sections 3.2 to 3.4: the results from the word list in 3.2, those from the reading passage in 3.3 and the results from the free speech task in 3.4. Section 3.5 will present and discuss regional and social variation in the overall pronunciation. Finally, section 3.6 will conclude with a summary of the main findings.

3.1. Scoring

As mentioned in section 2.3, the scoring of the subjects' pronunciations was done by assigning either an index 1, for RP-like, or 2, GA-like, and in exceptional cases an index 0 if the L1 transfer was such as to make it impossible to decide what variant a subject was aiming at. These zero indices were excluded from any calculations, because we are only interested in the pronunciations of those subjects who used recognisable RP or GA variants. The criteria for scoring a variant as either 1 or 2 are also outlined in 2.3. All scoring was done by the author. This may seem a subjective method, but the sample was too large (8941 occurrences in the free speech data alone) to have a second judge rate the pronunciations. However, in order to make sure that the ratings were accurate, the speech of ten randomly chosen subjects was also rated by two highly trained Dutch phoneticians specialised in English phonetics. The inter-rater reliability was calculated by means of the Spearman-Brown formula, using the average intercorrelation between ratings given by pairs of judges, a method discussed in Winer (1962: 124-132). This inter-rater reliability was .89, which is high enough to justify a single rater doing all the ratings.

When reporting the results from investigations into variability in pronunciation, sociolinguists usually use indices to indicate how far a given pronunciation is away from the standard variety (e.g. Labov, Trudgill). In a situation where the use of two variants of a given variable is compared, an index of zero would mean that a speaker only uses the standard variety, while an index of one hundred indicates a hundred percent usage of the non-norm variety. Indices ranging from zero to one hundred, then, are a measure of how near to the standard or how near to the non-standard variety a given subject's usage is: the higher the index, the more non-standard forms a speaker uses. However, although this is a beautiful system, especially when there are more than two variant forms, in cases where one is only dealing with two variants it is quite common to report on the use of the non-standard variant in terms of percentages (e.g. Edwards, 1992; Nichols, 1983). This is done to concentrate the attention on the frequency with which that variant is used, and since we are interested in the 'amount' of influence of GA in the pronunciation of our subjects, it would seem clearer to discuss the results in terms of percentages, rather than in terms of indices. So, rather than saying that our population has an (ah) index of 21, we say that our population uses a GA pronunciation in 21% of the cases, and hence an RP pronunciation in the other 79%. Let us now turn to the results of the word list test.

3.2. Word List Style

As discussed in chapter 2, the word list consisted of 33 lexical items, each of which contained one and only one of the phonological variables under investigation. It was expected that there would be some GA pronunciations, but that the subjects would do their best to conform to the school norm, so that the majority of the items would be pronounced in an RP-like fashion. It was also expected that some variables would be more susceptible to GA influence than others. In particular, we expected to find most GA-like pronunciations in the variables that Trudgill (1986: 11-23) found among Britons living in the USA, which were, in the order of descending GA influence, intervocalic (t), (ah) as in *fast*, unrounded (o) as in *hockey*, and non-prevocalic (r). However, we expected to find a higher incidence than Trudgill did of post-vocalic (r), because Dutch itself is (r) pronouncing

Table 1 Mean percentages of GA-like pronunciation for each variable and for the individual lexical items N = 184

ITEM	% GA	S	ITEM	% GA	S
(-t)	2.9	12	(r)	22.9	28
eight	3.2		dark	18.7	
light	1.6		morning	23	
paint	3.7		nature	26.8	
(nt)	5.5	19	(o)	26.1	29
invented	7.4		college	10.2	
plenty	3.7		hockey	58.8	
twenty	5.3		knowledge	9.2	
(yu)	19.2	25	(t)	30.6	28
new	6.4		little	61.5	
reduce	10.2		meeting	10.2	
stupid	41.1		pretty	20	
(oo)	20.8	26	(oh)	31.2	31
across	24		lawn	26.1	
often	25.4		small	20.3	
soft	12.9		talk	47.3	
(ah)	21.0	32	(ary)	83.4	27
classroom	18.8		dictionary	84.7	
fast	16.3		January	70.4	
wineglass	27.8		territory	95.1	

The results are given in table 1. Percentages of GA usage are given for each of the items representing each variable, as well as the mean percentage for each variable and the standard deviation for the mean. The mean percentage GA usage over all variables is 26.8. It turns out that the variables break down into three groups with GA scores of around 5%, 20% and 30%, plus one exceptional item. The 5% group consists of utterance final (-t) elision and intervocalic flapped or elided (nt). The 20% group consists of the variables (yu), which is yod-deletion after /t,d,n/, unrounded (oo), (ah) and non-prevocalic (r). The 30% group consists of unrounded (o), intervocalic flapped (t) and unrounded (oh). The odd one out is the variable (ary), with 83.4% GA pronunciations. We will discuss each of the three groups in more detail and have a look at the pronunciations of the individual lexical items.

In the 5% group we see an extremely low incidence of non-released utterance-final (-t), which is only to be expected in word list style (WLS), in which people tend to pay a great deal of attention to careful pronunciation. Also, although in WLS all items are in principle utterance-final, people do tend to behave as if they are reading a continuous string of words. We also see that there is a great deal of consistency in the pronunciation of the three items representing this variable. The same can be said for intervocalic flapped or elided (nt), where all items score around 5%. Again, as expected in WLS, subjects chose to pronounce these items rather carefully.

The items in the 20% group show less consistency than those in the 5% group, in that for the variables (yu), (oo) and (ah) there is always one item that behaves differently from the others, while for (r) all three items have rather different percentages.¹ For (yu), *stupid* is pronounced GA style by considerably more subjects (over 40%) than the other two (around 8%). An explanation could be that *stupid* is now frequently heard among younger speakers as a 'Dutch' word, and it is possible that this word was adopted from GA, rather than RP sources. Also, it begins with a rather difficult consonant cluster, so that the yod may have been elided due to pronunciation difficulty, a tendency which may have been reinforced by the fact that there is a variety of English where this elision is acceptable. For the (oo) variable, *soft* is pronounced with the unrounded GA vowel by only very few subjects (13%), while the other items were pronounced GA style by one fourth of the subjects. An explanation for the low score on *soft* could be that this word made its way into the Dutch language in the early seventies when RP was still the variety most often heard. In the (ah) category, *wineglass* is pronounced GA style by over 25% of the subjects, while

¹ Of course these idiosyncratic items do influence the group percentages, and if we exclude them we see that we in fact have a group of variables that have between 10 and 25 % GA influence. However, since this is the picture that emerges with the items we selected to represent the phonological variables, we felt that we should present the data in this way.

classroom and *fast* remain below 20%. The variable (ah) can be seen as a kind of shibboleth for the distinction between RP and GA and turns out to be the best recognised by our subjects (see 5.1). During the investigation it was noticeable that many subjects were trying to avoid a GA pronunciation here, and for the first item on the list (which was not part of the actual test but a sort of warm-up item) the subjects appeared to be thinking "Now I know there are two ways of pronouncing *dance*, one is British and the other American, but which is which again?" It could be that *wineglass* shows a higher incidence of GA pronunciations than the other two items because the variable occurs in the second element here, and that subjects are less careful about their pronunciation when the variable is nearer the end of the word. Compare for instance a slightly higher incidence of flapped (nt) in *invented* than in *plenty* and *twenty*. Finally, the variability in the pronunciation of the three items in the (r) category may have something to do with the fact that the /r/ here occurs in three different phonological surroundings. word-final in *nature* (27%) word-internal and coda-final in *morning* (23%) and pre-consonantal in *dark* (19%).

Just as in the 20%, in the 30% group for each of the variables there is always one item that shows considerably more GA influence than the other two. For the variable (o), *hockey* is pronounced with an unrounded vowel by almost 60% of the subjects, while *knowledge* and *college* only score around 10%. The item *hockey* should probably not have been selected to represent this variable, because this is the name the Dutch, too, use for the game and it is frequently in mockery pronounced with an unrounded vowel ([høkɪ]) to indicate the supposed upper-class status of its players, the common belief being that upper-class speakers use [u] for Dutch /ɔ/. Another item which was poorly selected is *knowledge*, which is pronounced /'nəʊlɪdʒ/ by 58 out of the 190 subjects by analogy with the pronunciation of *to know*. The variable (t) shows an extremely high incidence of t-flapping in the item *little* (61%) while *meeting* and *pretty* only score 10 and 20% respectively. Of course, *little* is a high frequency word, and in RP this is now also beginning to be pronounced with flapped /t/. Wells sees "T-Voicing as the first distinctively American phonetic innovation likely to spread in time to all accents of English" (1982: 250). Finally, for the variable (oh), *talk* shows more GA influence than the other two variables, possibly because of the many American talk shows on Dutch television.

The variable (ary) shows a remarkably high GA pronunciation for all three items, *January* having the lowest (70%), possibly because it is a fairly common word, and *territory* having the highest (95%), possibly because this word is less well-known and the subjects pronounced it rather carefully for that reason. It could be argued that this high score for (ary) is due to transfer because similar Dutch words have primary stress on that syllable (e.g. *terriotorium* (territory) /teri'to:riəm/), but virtually all subjects placed the primary stress correctly on the first syllable. We shall see in chapter five that (ary) was very poorly

recognised by all subjects, the GA pronunciations being mistaken for RP and vice versa

One variable discussed in chapter 2 does not appear in the discussion so far, namely (en), where the GA pronunciation is a possibly nasalised and possibly diphthongal close realisation of /æ/ as in *dam*. The reason for the absence of this variable in table 1 is that it turned out that the subjects' pronunciation of this variable could not be analysed, since in 81% of the cases it was impossible to determine whether the AN-based pronunciation [ɛn] was an unsuccessful attempt at RP /æn/ or an approximation of GA [ɛ̃ən]. According to our criteria as laid out in 2.3, these pronunciations were neither close enough to RP to warrant being scored as such, nor were they lengthened, diphthongized or nasalised enough to qualify as attempts at GA. Consequently 81% of the occurrences of this variable had to be scored as missing values and that does not leave enough to make any statement about our subjects' pronunciation barring that there is considerable AN transfer

3.3. Reading Passage Style

After the word list the subjects were asked to read out a reading passage (For the text, see appendix 1). Care was taken that all the variables did occur, but it was inevitable that certain variables appeared more frequently than others. Table II gives the results of the reading passage style (RPS) in ascending order of frequency of GA-like pronunciations. It also lists the number of items in the passage that contained a given variable. For example, we see that the variable (ah) occurred only once, whereas the variable (r) occurred in as many as 25 items. Given this (unavoidable) divergence in the number of items representing each variable, we have to be careful in drawing conclusions from the percentages GA usage. Having said that, however, we do feel that it is useful to discuss these findings, since they can be placed in the perspective of the WLS and the free speech (FS) results. After all, in order to see whether 'style shifting' occurs, we need to compare the three styles. The idea is that the freer the style is, the less attention is paid to the pronunciation, and therefore there will be more GA elements.

The mean overall percentage GA usage (= the total number of GA pronunciations divided by the total number of items) in RPS is 25.2%². As in WLS, we can distinguish three groups, and most variables continue to be in the

²We realise that by calculating the mean percentage of GA usage this way, certain highly frequent variables, such as (r) and (o), contribute more to the mean than others. However, it was felt that the higher frequency of these variables is inherent to the language, and that a listener will perceive more GA pronunciations of these variables as a highly GA influenced pronunciation. We will return to this point in section 3.5

same groups as in the WLS results, although some variables have moved group. We see a 5% group consisting of (nt) and (-t), a 20-25% group consisting of the variables (o), (oh) and (ah) and a group where around 30% of the pronunciations was GA, composed of the variables (r), (yu), (oo) and (t). Again, (ary) is the odd one out, but the frequency of GA pronunciations is now 49%. We will discuss these three groups in more detail.

Table II Mean percentage of GA-like pronunciation for each variable for the reading passage, with standard deviations and the number of items containing each variable
N = 184

VARIABLE	% GA	s	N ITEMS
(nt)	2	14	2
(-t)	7	23	2
(o)	20	21	10
(oh)	24	23	5
(ah)	25	44	1
(r)	27	23	25
(yu)	27	36	2
(oo)	31	36	2
(t)	31	18	7
(ary)	49	39	2

The 5% group consists of the same two items as the 5% group for WLS. The two instances of (-t) in RPS were both pre-pausal *not* in "No I'm not" and "But why not?" The items containing (nt) were *Hunterbury* and *winter*, and for some subjects also the number 87, which was frequently read as *seventy-eight*, a very common Dutch error.

In the 20-25% group we see that (o) has 20% GA-like pronunciations. There were ten items that contained this variable, and the uncharacteristic *hockey* from the word list not being one of them, this 20% is probably a more realistic figure. Hardly anybody used an unrounded vowel in *John*, probably because it is a name that is also used for Dutch boys, while almost all instances of *not* were unrounded. The variable (oh) has 24%, which is consistent with the GA usage in WLS for the items *lawn* and *small*. There were 5 lexical items that contained this variable and the spread of GA usage was fairly evenly distributed among these. Finally, GA pronunciation of the variable (ah) has 25% for the single lexical item *asked*.

The 30% group now consists of four variables. This group shows a typical pattern of style shifting, in that there are more GA pronunciations in RPS than in

WLS The variable (r) occurred in 25 items and the GA pronunciation is 27%. There is variable GA influence when (r) occurs in word final position, and more frequent influence when it occurs in pre-consonantal position, especially around the vowel /ɜ:/ in *church* and *working*, but seldom in the word *garden*. The variable (yu) occurred twice, both times in the lexical item *knew*, and as for (r) the GA pronunciation is 27%. We see a 31% GA pronunciation of (oo), which occurred in the lexical items *often* and *across*, which also featured on the word list. Finally, GA pronunciation of (t) is around 30%, and as in WLS it has a high GA score in *little*.

Again the odd one out is (ary), which occurred in the items *cemetery* and *Hunterbury*. The GA pronunciation is now down from 83% to 49%, a considerable drop, which suggests reverse style shifting, a style shifting in the opposite direction from what we saw for the other style shifting variables. In this case, the typical situation that less attention to pronunciation leads to a less careful pronunciation leads to a higher production of the RP variant, because that is the less careful one.

3.4. Free Speech

After the reading passage, the subjects were asked to re-tell that story in their own words and to make a story using a set of pictures, depicting a newspaperman witnessing a bank robbery (These pictures can be found in appendix 2). The re-telling task was included in an attempt to force the subjects to use all the variables, but inevitably not all the subjects used all the variables. Another problem with the free speech (FS) task was that as many as eight mavo subjects were unable to perform this task. So much prompting was needed that the researcher had to use too much English to be able to say anything about these subjects' pronunciation, and their FS was not taken into consideration.

All recorded FS was first orthographically transcribed. Then all occurrences of all variables were marked (cf. the marked up version of *John Pepper* in appendix 1). Next the tapes were listened to again, this time only to score the variables. No separate records were kept of the lexical items that contained the variables, for all subjects a total number of the RP and GA pronunciations was calculated. Consequently this section can only present the data, but since during the scoring items were noted which seemed to be especially susceptible to GA influence (e.g. the word *not*) or where this influence seemed to be strikingly absent (e.g. the name *John*), we will present these impressionistic findings as well.

Table III gives the percentages, the number of occurrences of each variable and the number of subjects who used the variable. The mean percentage GA usage (again, the total number of GA pronunciations divided by the total number

of items) is 39.1%, compared to 26.8 in WLS and 25.2 in RPS. Although the percentage differences between the three styles are not very large, it is still reasonable to observe that there is a style shift and that the subjects pay less attention to pronunciation and more to the storytelling task. The variable (-t) does not occur, because there were no real pauses in the subjects' FS. They mostly used fillers like *erm*, rather than being silent. Again we can distinguish three groups: a group with around 20% GA-like pronunciations, consisting of (yu), (nt) and (oh), a group with around 33%, consisting of (ah), (oo), (o) and (t), and finally a group with high GA influence, consisting of (ary) with 46% and (r) with 58%. We will now examine each group in some detail.

Table III. Mean percentage of GA-like pronunciation for each variable in the Free Speech, the standard deviations, the number of occurrences of each variable and the number of subjects who used each variable.

VARIABLE	% GA	s	N	SS
(yu)	16	28	974	175
(nt)	17	36	153	98
(oh)	23	26	1095	176
(ah)	30	38	377	178
(oo)	33	44	165	97
(o)	34	23	2308	178
(t)	36	32	674	167
(ary)	46	50	106	89
(r)	58	25	3089	178

In the twenty percent group we see that for the variable (yu) GA pronunciations occurred in 16% of the cases. The variable was used by almost all the subjects in the story about the newspaper seller. As in WLS, the item *news(paper)* is almost always RP, while the item *knew* mostly has a GA pronunciation. The variable (nt) is again in the low scoring group, and it was used by just over half the subjects. A GA pronunciation of this variable does not seem to be a feature of modern Dutch English. Finally, (oh) is a relatively frequently occurring variable in *walk talk*, *all* and *storv*. We expected more GA pronunciations of this variable because of the *a* in the spelling. However, the score of 23% is consistent with the scores in WLS and RPS.

All variables in the thirty-three percent group show a typical increase in GA pronunciations across the styles. The percentage GA occurrences for the variable (ah) is 30, an increase of 9 and 5% relative to WLS and RPS respectively. On average there were two occurrences per subject, mostly in *asked*, *fast* and *last*.

For the variable (oo) a percentage GA usage of 33 was found, again an increase relative to WLS and RPS (by 14 and 2%, respectively), it occurred very infrequently and was only used by about half the subjects. For (o) the GA percentage is 34, again showing an increase compared to the usage in WLS (8%) and RPS (14%). This variable occurred very frequently and the rather high GA percentage is mainly due to the items *not*, which is almost always pronounced [nʌt], and *everybody*, which is pronounced [ɛvrɪbɔːdɪ]. The name *John* continues to be almost exclusively pronounced with a rounded vowel. Finally, in this group, for (t) GA pronunciations occurred in 36% of the cases, which is also an increase relative to WLS and RPS (both by 5%). This variable occurred reasonably frequently and was used by all subjects. It is mostly flapped in *little* and in *lot of*, but has an RP-like pronunciation elsewhere.

The variable (ary) continues to belong to the high GA scoring group. It did not occur very frequently and only in two lexical items (as in the reading passage) namely *Hunterbury* and *cemetery*. The score for this variable is similar to the score in RPS. Finally, (r) has a 58% GA score, a considerable increase compared to WLS and RPS. This variable, of course, has an extremely high frequency of occurrence. It is noticeable that the (r) is virtually never pronounced in grammatical phrases like *there's*, *there was* and *they were*, which suggests that these phrases were learned holistically.

3.5. Between-subjects factors

In the discussion so far we have mainly focused on variation in the pronunciations of the individual phonological variables, and have not looked at any possible variation in usage depending on educational, geographical or gender factors. Because of the number of sub-groups (2 levels of education, 4 locations and 2 genders) and the number of variables, an analysis of these factors would not seem profitable for the individual variables. Furthermore, in the reading passage, some variables occurred only once, and some variables did not occur at all in the free speech of some of the subjects, so that any statistical analysis on those variables would not seem to lead to reliable results. It is, however, possible to compare the overall pronunciations of the various sub-groups. As mentioned in section 3.3, this overall pronunciation was calculated by taking for each subject the total number of GA pronunciations and dividing this by the total of GA and RP pronunciations. Of course in this way, highly frequent variables (such as (r)) contribute more to the mean than less frequent variables. We could have avoided this by adding the means for all the variables and dividing this by the total number of variables (i.e. 10), but it was felt that this would not, in fact, present a true picture of the 'Americanness' of our subjects' pronunciation. After all, a listener will perceive a person's speech as

influenced by GA on the basis of the total production, rather than on single variables, so that if a subject uses many GA pronunciations for highly frequent variables, and no GA pronunciations in less frequent variables, their pronunciation will still be perceived as heavily GA influenced. The reverse is of course also true; a subject who never pronounces postvocalic (r), but always elides the /t/ in (nt) will probably be perceived as speaking very RP-like English³

In research into usage of non-standard varieties, it is traditionally found that lower class speakers use more non-standard forms than middle class speakers. It is also found that men use more non-standard forms than women. Since in this investigation more mavo learners than vwo learners have a lower class background, we expect more GA influence in their pronunciation than in that of the vwo learners. We also expect the men to use more GA variants than the women. And finally, although we are here dealing with two varieties of a second language, we expect subjects who do not feel they come from a minority dialect background to be more tolerant of the variety that is not the norm in the school, and will use more GA pronunciations than more linguistically insecure subjects, so that we expect the Amsterdam learners to use more GA forms than the other groups.

Tables IV through VI present the mean overall percentages of GA pronunciations for the three speech styles, and the F values for TWO-WAY ANOVAS⁴. In WLS and FS, there is no interaction between school type and place (WLS $F = .14$, $p = .936$; FS $F = 1.08$, $p = .36$), while in RPS there is a slight interaction ($F = 2.560$, $p = .057$), so that at least in WLS and FS we are dealing with main effects for school type and region. We see that in WLS and FS, in all four places the mavo pupils use significantly more GA forms than the vwo learners, as was expected, and that in RPS, too, on the whole the mavo learners use slightly more GA than the vwo learners, but that, in that style, in Nijmegen en Groningen the vwo learners use more GA than the mavo learners, which accounts for the near-significant interaction mentioned above. We also see that in all styles, the Groningen learners use (far) fewer GA pronunciations than the other groups, and that, as expected, Amsterdam scores highest in all styles. Of the other locations, Nijmegen appears to be rather close to Amsterdam, while Venlo represents the mean.

³However, we did also calculate mean GA-like pronunciations using the method whereby all variables contribute equally to the mean. For WLS the mean is obviously the same, i.e. 26.8%, for RPS it is 24.3% and for FS it is 32.6%. That is, the overall picture remains the same, except that the difference between WLS and FS is less pronounced.

⁴The full TWO-WAY results are given in appendix 3.

Table IV Mean overall percentage GA-like pronunciations for WLS, with F-value from a TWO-WAY ANOVA by school type (1) and place (2)

	Nijm	Venlo	A'dam	Gron.	Mean	F	p
MAVO	30	29	31	25	29	(1) 4.16	.043
VWO	28	25	27	22	25		
BOTH TYPES	29	27	29	23	27	(2) 2.83	.040

Table V Mean overall percentage GA-like pronunciations for RPS, with F-value from a TWO-WAY ANOVA by school type (1) and place (2).

	Nijm.	Venlo	A'dam	Gron.	Mean	F	p
MAVO	27	30	31	18	26	(1) 1.01	.32
VWO	28	20	30	21	24		
BOTH TYPES	27	25	31	20	25	(2) 6.73	.001

Table VI Mean overall percentage GA-like pronunciations for FS, with F-value from a TWO-WAY ANOVA by school type (1) and place (2).

	Nijm.	Venlo	A'dam	Gron.	Mean	F	p
MAVO	45	43	43	37	42	(1) 5.45	.021
VWO	39	32	41	35	37		
BOTH TYPES	42	37	42	36	39	(2) 1.99	.035

The fact that Groningen has the fewest GA pronunciations ties in with their response to the questionnaire question about the variety they thought a teacher should use: as many as 23 out of 26 vwo learners answered that a teacher should speak RP, while only three said that it didn't matter which variety they used. And of the Groningen mavo learners, just under 50% preferred their teachers to use RP, which is the mean for all subjects. (The questionnaire results are given in appendix 9.) So it seems that the Groningen vwo subjects are rather more norm conscious than the other subjects. Furthermore, 69% of the Groningen vwo subjects said they wanted to use RP themselves and 72% thought it the more beautiful pronunciation, which could explain their lower GA production. (The means for all subjects are 39% and 38%, respectively). However, the Nijmegen vwo subjects thought RP even more beautiful (77%) and most of them also

would prefer to use RP, yet in their case, the production data do not match the questionnaire answers and are in fact strongly biased towards GA

Although we expected the male subjects to use significantly more GA pronunciations, this turned out not to be the case. Customarily, researchers do not report the statistics of non-significant findings, but since our outcome is so surprising, the results are given in table VII. We see that the men did use slightly more GA, but not significantly so in any of the styles. As said before, it is usually found that men use more non-standard forms, and since RP is taught in the schools as the standard form, we can assume that to our population GA represents a non-standard form of English. On the other hand, it is also frequently found that women tend to lead sound changes, particularly if these changes are in the direction of the standard variety. Chambers & Trudgill (1980) report on the case of Norwich (o), as in *log*, which is changing from an unrounded vowel to a rounded vowel, as it is in RP, not under the influence of RP, however, but under the influence of neighbouring dialects that have the rounded variant. They report that women use more unrounded vowels than men, presumably because some women associate the rounded variants with another dialect, rather than with RP. Chambers & Trudgill conclude that "In the case of (o), it seems, we have both types of change going on at once: imitation of RP and of neighbouring working class accents in this case lead in the same direction" (1980: 98). By analogy we could conclude that the fact that male and female subjects use almost the same number of GA pronunciations means that to the male subjects GA carries covert prestige, the kind that is associated with group membership, while for the female subjects GA is beginning to carry overt prestige and is seen as an acceptable standard variety of English.

Table VII Mean overall percentage GA-like pronunciations for the male and female subjects for the three styles, with F-values for ONEWAY ANOVAS

	Men	Women	F	p
WLS	27	26	671	.414
RPS	26	24	1.695	.195
FS	40	39	.050	.824

3.6. Conclusion

Figure 1 is a graphic representation of the percentages GA variants in the three speech styles. From left to right we see that the variables (ah), (oo), (t) and (r) show a typical style shifting pattern: the less form-focused the task is, the more

GA pronunciations occur. The variables (nt) and (o) also show this pattern in that there are more GA pronunciations in free speech than in the other styles. Finally, the variables (oh) and (ary) show a reverse style shift. For (oh) this can be explained by the exceptionally high scoring item *talk* in WLS: if we exclude this item the GA scores are about the same in all three styles. For the variable (ary) the lower frequency of GA pronunciations in RPS and FS can be explained by the fact that the RP pronunciation of this variable is less careful than the GA one. This variable also turns out to be unknown to our subjects (see chapter 5, section 1)

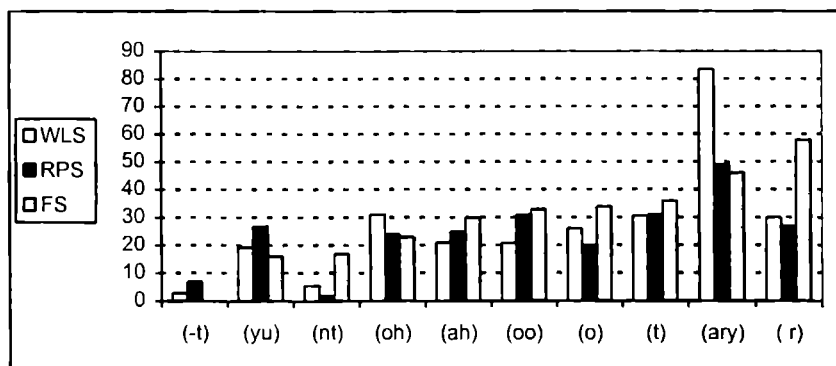


Figure 1 Mean percentages GA pronunciations for the three speech styles compared. The variables appear in ascending order of frequency of GA pronunciations in FS.

The mean overall percentages for the three speech styles (WLS, RPS and FS) are 26.8%, 25.2% and 39.1% respectively. We see that the percentage in WLS and RPS are roughly equal, but that in free speech the percentage GA goes up considerably. The difference between WLS and RPS on the one hand, and free speech on the other are large enough to conclude that as the style becomes less formal, Dutch school pupils increasingly use GA pronunciations, as is demonstrated in figure 2. If we compare these findings with the findings in research into the social evaluation of standard and non-standard varieties of the same language, the usual application of our research method, then RP is seen to correspond to the standard variety, i.e. has overt prestige, while the position of GA corresponds with that of the non-standard variety, i.e. has covert prestige for our learners. However, the rather unusual finding that there is no difference between the production of the male and female subjects suggests either that to women GA may be more acceptable as a standard variety than to men, or that with regards to these varieties of English, both men and women are equally appreciative of the covert prestige associated with GA.

This chapter has shown that there is variability in GA influence depending on the educational and regional background of the subjects, but that there is no variability depending on the gender of the subjects. As expected, the mavo learners use more GA forms than the vwo learners, in all styles. This finding is consistent with the usual finding from other investigations into the use of (non-) standard forms that the lower the class a speaker is from, the more non-standard forms they use and that the use of non-standard forms is seen as a signal of group membership and solidarity. Of course to our subjects both varieties under investigation are non-native varieties, but in school and, to a larger extent, outside the school our subjects are exposed to a number of varieties, and although they are taught RP, they hear enough GA to be able to make a (subconscious) decision to use (elements of) that variety to signal group-membership, much like Wyler et al (1982) have reported for Swiss Gymnasia.

We have seen that there is not only variation in GA usage among the variables and among the styles, but also among lexical items containing the same variable. Thus we saw, for example, a high percentage of GA pronunciations in *hockey*, but not in *soft*. For some items this variability seems to be caused by their status as 'loan-word', and it looks as if the moment of incorporation of these words in the Dutch language determines the RP or GA-likeness of their pronunciation: older words were adopted with an RP pronunciation (e.g. *soft*) and words that became part of Dutch relatively recently have a GA pronunciation (e.g. *stupid*). This variability among lexical items could be a sign of lexical diffusion, which would suggest a sound change in progress (cf. Chen & Wang, 1975), or rather a change in the kind of English Dutch learners speak. For Dutch learners RP is the variety they are taught and they try to use, certainly in WLS. However, for certain lexical items the appeal of GA is stronger than their desire to conform to the norm. It seems probable that this appeal will spread and that more and more items will get a GA pronunciation only.

Trudgill found that the order in which Britons living in the States adopted GA pronunciations is first (t), then (ah), then (o) and finally (r). If we assume that the stage before they have all been adopted will be characterised by lexical diffusion, this means that at a given time before all variables have been adopted there should be more GA (t) than GA (ah) than GA (o) than GA (r). We found that in all the tasks these four variables fell into the medium or high scoring groups and that they all show a clear style shifting pattern. The order is only slightly different from the one Trudgill found, namely more GA (r) than GA (t) than GA (o) than GA (ah), but this difference can easily be explained. (r) scores highest because Dutch is r-pronouncing and in free speech we are bound to get some L1 transfer. The fact that (ah) scores the lowest of these four suggests that even in free speech the school norm prevails.

In summary, just under 40% of all pronunciations in the free speech sample from our population are GA influenced, some variables are more susceptible to GA influence than others and there is a certain amount of lexical diffusion within the variables. The subjects' proclaimed preferences for the variables and for individual lexical items will be discussed in chapter 5, which will also relate the findings from this chapter to those from chapter 5 itself.

4. Attitudes

Having seen in the previous chapter that there is a quantifiable American influence in the pronunciation of our learners, and that at least for a number of variables we see a classic pattern of style shifting, let us now turn to the question of how these learners feel about Britons and Americans. As discussed in chapter 2, we are interested in the subjects' reactions to speakers of RP and GA and to discover whether or not there are perceived characteristics of these speakers that determine these reactions, and if so, what these characteristics are. To elicit these reactions, a matched-guise test was used, or, strictly speaking, a hybrid matched-guise, in which twelve versions of the same story were read by eight speakers (four GA versions read by Americans, four RP versions read by Britons, two GA versions read by Britons and two RP versions read by Americans). Each guise was rated on sixteen seven-point scales, and a factor analysis was performed on these ratings (details in section 2.2.2).

It is not unlikely that the factors that play a role in the attitude toward RP and GA are derived from stereotypical notions about the speakers of these varieties. After all, an attitude is a subconscious evaluation and is consequently based on stereotypes; an attitude to a language variety will hence be based on stereotypes and prejudices about the social groups these varieties represent¹. Stereotypes about social groups usually stem from observations about the behaviour of these groups. Moreover, the way in which Britons and Americans are portrayed in the media, and more particularly in films and television series, will play a major role in the maintenance of these stereotypes. There is a striking difference between Britons and Americans in the treatment of their own culture in, for example, television series. This difference is, of course, culturally determined and is in fact a reflection of these cultures. If we simply compare some long-running and popular British soap-operas, *East Enders* and *Coronation Street*, to some equally popular American soaps, *The Bold and the Beautiful* and *As the World Turns*, we see that the Britons tend to use lower class settings while the Americans go for upper class settings. On the other hand, in British television drama, class distinctions tend to be much more clear-cut than in American drama, where they do not seem to play a major role.

¹ However, recent discussion in social psychology suggests that there may be other relationships between attitudes and stereotypes. For an overview, see Nesdale & Durkin (1998). We will return to this point in section 6.1.

This chapter will discuss the results of the matched-guise test and relate these results to current stereotypes of Britons and Americans. Section 4.1 will discuss the concept of factor analysis and will present the factors that appear to play a role in our native and foreign subjects' perception of RP and GA speakers. Section 4.2 will take a preliminary look at our subjects' evaluations of the British and American guises. In 4.3 a subdivision will be made for the guises according to the gender of the speakers and in 4.4 there will follow a discussion of the differences in the subjects' perception of the RP and GA guises depending on their education and their regional background. Finally, section 4.5 will discuss the results of the 9-10-year-old subjects on the same matched-guise test, while 4.6 will give a summary of the main findings.

4.1. Factor analysis

In attitude research, one usually finds there are two or three dimensions that are operative in evaluations. Osgood et al. (1957) asked subjects to evaluate a wide variety of objects (like *tree*) and concepts (like *friendship*) by rating them on a large number of bi-polar scales like *good-bad*, *beautiful-ugly*, etc. They found that there are three main factors or dimensions along which people evaluate objects and concepts, which they labelled EVALUATION, POTENCY and ACTIVITY. Evaluation is usually characterised by scales like *good - bad* and *beautiful - ugly*. Osgood et al. call this the "attitudinal variable in human thinking" (1957: 72). Potency is concerned with power and associated aspects such as size, weight, toughness and the like, represented by scales such as *strong - weak* or *large - small*. Finally, activity is characterised by scales such as *active - passive* or *slow - fast*, and so is the dimension of speed, excitement, agitation and warmth. In other words, judgements about objects and concepts, and in our case about speakers, are made not only on the basis of subjective feelings about 'likeability' or 'niceness' (evaluation), but in an interplay along three dimensions: by the power or authority they are thought to have (cf. status above), the degree to which they are seen as being active (positive) or passive (negative) and the evaluation of personality traits other than activity.

In language attitude research, too, two or three dimensions appear to be used to evaluate a speaker's speech and accent. Brown (1965) claims there are two norms that determine social interaction: a status norm and a solidarity norm. The status norm entails that people of a higher social standing will deserve respect and will probably have a feeling of superiority, while people of a lower social standing will command less respect and may feel inferior or frustrated. The solidarity norm involves feelings of equality and support among people of the same social standing. Since language is a tool with which to express relations in social interactions, these two norms dictate that people adapt their speech to the

situation and the people they are talking to. In this social-psychological model, then, speech and accent are evaluated on the dimensions of status and solidarity. It is usually found that a variety that is seen as high in status is regarded as low in solidarity while a variety that is evaluated as low in status is seen as high on solidarity. And because of this solidarity principle, varieties that are low in status are still attractive to its speakers, which is why they survive (Ryan, 1979).

Other researchers have found that in speech evaluation, three dimensions are operative. Giles (1971) calls these PRESTIGE, INTEGRITY and ATTRACTIVENESS, while Zahn & Hopper (1985: 119) call them SUPERIORITY, ATTRACTIVENESS and DYNAMISM. Superiority is defined as "a blend of social status, intellectual achievement, and the speech characteristics of advantaged and educated members of society," attractiveness is seen as a combination of solidarity feelings and aesthetic quality, while dynamism shows "raters' concern for speakers' social power, activity level and the self-presentational aspects of speech."

These three dimensions were uncovered after a factor analysis had been performed on the scores on a set of semantic differentials. With a factor analysis we can discover which scales correlate with which other scales and thus share certain characteristics. Groups of scales that correlate highly with each other are termed factors, which can be seen as underlying traits that are being assessed. Ever since the development of the matched-guise technique, it has become standard practice to select a new set of semantic differentials for each new investigation. These differentials are chosen such that after a factor analysis three factors are likely to show up. To that aim, usually pairs of adjectives are chosen that appear to cover the general semantic dimension of these factors. Thus a scale like *having authority* would fall under the prestige/superiority factor, and a scale like *friendly* would fall under the attractiveness factor. The problem with this practice is that in effect for each new investigation a new test instrument is developed, and that consequently the results of investigations are difficult to compare.

Ideally, we would want to arrive at a situation where we have one set of semantic differentials that can be used for all matched-guise research. After a factor analysis has shown which differentials load on which factor in a suitably large population, we can then assume that in all future situations these factors apply and that the set of scales that make up a factor will always be the same. Then, in the next study, it would be unnecessary to perform a factor analysis, because all one has to do is calculate factor scores by taking the mean of all the scales that loaded critically on a given factor in the original 'canonical' investigation. However, the development of such a tool would obviously require a large scale project, to determine which scales are the best representatives of which factors, and whether these scales can be used for all populations and for all situations. After all, it would be reasonable to assume that different groups of

subjects attach different meanings to the factorial concepts, such that individual scales may load on one factor in the case of one group, but on another in the case of another, adults may very well view a scale *witty-dull* completely differently from 15- to 20-year-olds. Furthermore, the question should be answered whether the same concepts are relevant in all situations, what may be important in the evaluation of, for example, Canadian and European French within Canada may not play a role in the evaluation of British and American pronunciations of English by Dutch learners.

Since the uniform test instrument has not yet been developed, and since we have a group of youngish subjects judging varieties of a foreign language, it was decided to carry out a factor analysis on our data, in spite of the methodological objection that we have developed our own test instrument. However, we have tried to compensate for this by standardising the scores per group before we carried out the factor analysis. By doing this, the within-group mean is zero and the standard deviation 1, so that there are no between-group differences, which at least has the effect of excluding differences in scoring behaviour between groups from the results of the factor analysis. At this stage, only the correlations among the variables are relevant, not the differences in the evaluations by different groups of subjects. Since these differences might well influence the correlations between variables, such as when the Groningen group, say, has high scores on a group of scales while the Venlo group has low scores on the same group of scales, thus causing increased correlations between these scales, it seemed better to even out such group differences. After standardisation, the pooled within-groups correlations are used to discover the structure of the factors by means of a factor analysis (principal components analysis with an Eigenvalue larger than one as criterion, plus varimax rotation). Both methods (standardised and raw scores) were compared by Schils & Weltens (1992), and the difference between them was such as to change the interpretation of the results.

4.1.1. Results

A principal components analysis with an Eigenvalue > 1 criterion for factor extraction, followed by a varimax rotation, on the standardised ratings on the differentials showed a resolution into four factors. Table 1 shows the factor loadings, i.e. the correlation coefficients, of the scales with these four factors.² The scales are grouped such that the first six correlate highest with factor 1, the second four with factor 2, and so on. If we look at the scales that make up the first three factors, we see that they are somewhat similar to Zahn & Hopper's (1985) superiority, dynamism and attractiveness. However, there turns out to be

²The Dutch terms for the scales can be found in chapter 2, section 2.2.2, table 1.

an unexpected fourth factor, made up of one single scale, that plays a role in the attitudes of our subjects.

Table 1 also shows the correlations of the four factors with the three independent questions that were asked about each of the speakers, since these correlations help to clarify the labelling of the factors. These independent questions asked (1) whether the subjects wanted to speak like the speaker they had just heard (SPEAK), (2) whether they thought they could become friends with the speaker (FRIEND) and (3) what position in society they thought the speaker had (POSITION). We will next discuss the four factors in turn and motivate their labelling.

Table 1 Rotated Factor Matrix factor loadings of the standardised scores on 16 scales with 4 Factors, plus the correlations of the 3 independent questions with the 4 Factors and their levels of significance * - $p < .05$, ** - $p < .01$

<i>Scale</i>	<i>F1</i>	<i>F2</i>	<i>F3</i>	<i>F4</i>
educated	.82	.11	.21	.07
cultured	.79	.10	.33	.09
clever	.69	.13	.32	-.21
urban	.66	.03	-.03	.02
having authority	.64	.53	-.04	-.01
modern	.58	.23	.32	-.39
witty	.14	.76	.32	-.04
dynamic	.03	.75	.04	.09
spontaneous	.09	.70	.41	.08
wilful	.44	.66	.20	.06
honest	.25	-.07	.73	.35
friendly	.22	.31	.67	.07
companionable	.18	.35	.67	-.19
natural	.10	.41	.49	.31
active	.11	.37	.47	-.29
standard	-.02	.16	.12	.80
SPEAK	.23**	.20**	.36**	-.17*
FRIEND	.25**	.35**	.43**	-.06
POSITION	.47**	.03	.14	-.06

Factor 1 *educated, cultured, clever, urban, having authority modern*

Although this factor looks very much like the factor that has been called prestige (Giles, 1971) or superiority (Zahn & Hopper, 1985), we have labelled this factor (social) STATUS, because this is the only factor that correlates highly significantly with the scores on the independent question what social POSITION the subjects thought the speaker had. Also, we feel that for a population in this age group the notion of superiority is not really relevant, all adults have much more power than they themselves have so that this is something that plays an equal role in their evaluation of all grown-ups. STATUS, however, is a concept that applies to their peers just as much as to older people, and can therefore be a notion they use in their judgement of people's character.

Factor 2 *witty, dynamic, spontaneous, wilful*

Since the scale *active-passive* correlated more highly with the third factor than with the second factor, we have decided to call the second factor DYNAMISM, in line with Zahn & Hopper.³ It seems to us that *active* and *dynamic*, although they are similar, are not entirely synonymous. People can be *active* and be, for example, members of a number of clubs and volunteer organisations, but the nature of these clubs may be such that they are not perceived to be *dynamic*. An active member of, say, a chess-club, does not necessarily convey a lot of dynamism. This interpretation of Factor 2 would explain the high correlations of the scales *wilful* and *having authority* with this factor, DYNAMISM can be seen to be an attribute of the stereotypical portrayal of modern (young) managers and professionals.

Factor 3 *honest, friendly, companionable, natural, active*

Rather than attractiveness (Zahn & Hopper) we have labelled this factor (personal) AFFECT, because it correlates best with the independent question about how well the subjects thought they could be friends with the speaker. We feel that the term attractiveness would be applicable to both the speakers and their speech, but considering the scales that make up this factor, it would seem that our subjects are in fact rating the speakers. Furthermore, since a fourth factor turned up that does evaluate the speech, we feel that for this factor the scores indicate how subjects really feel about the speakers, whereas for the other three factors the score only indicates the extent to which the subjects consider a given speaker to possess a certain characteristic. In this sense, the AFFECT factor is the only truly attitudinal factor. We may discover that our subjects consider Americans more dynamic than Britons, but this does not necessarily mean that they like Americans better.

³ In earlier publications we have always referred to this factor as ACTIVITY (Van der Haagen 1991a, 1991b, 1992).

It is remarkable that although the scale *active-passive* has a high correlation with this factor, the scale *dynamic-not dynamic* does not correlate with AFFECT at all ($r = .04$). This is further confirmation that dynamism is a separate concept which plays no role in the likeability of a speaker.

Factor 4 *standard*

Although it is not uncommon for more than three factors to appear in a factor analysis on the scores of a matched-guise test, the make-up of this fourth factor was a rather surprising finding. It is curious that only one single scale, *standard*, correlates significantly with it, and that this scale hardly shows any correlation with any of the other factors, in particular the STATUS factor. Even so, it is not difficult to label this factor, certainly not in view of the actual scores each of the guises received. Factor 4 appears to be totally determined by the (school) NORM, i.e. the degree to which the speaker speaks a variety acceptable in the classroom.

The *standard* scale is usually included in matched-guise research and tends to group with the prestige/status factor. We also included the scale *standard-not standard* expecting to find a high correlation with the STATUS factor, but surprisingly enough for our population there turned out to be a zero correlation between this scale and Factor 1 ($r = -.02$). This suggests that, although the fact that a speaker does or does not speak English the way our subjects have been taught does play a role in our subjects' evaluation of this speaker, this does not determine whether the speaker is perceived to have high or low status. This seems to be borne out by the finding that the independent question about the POSITION in society the speaker is thought to have shows no correlation with Factor 4 either. Since in a factor analysis factors are constructed such that their correlation is 0.0, the fact that a NORM factor should emerge in addition to the STATUS factor underscores the conclusion that the pupils' perception of the social prestige of a given variety of English is independent of their perception of what is the school norm. The NORM factor is in fact of a different order, and is in a sense similar to a (non-suitable) scale such as *blond-dark*, which is either true or false and may or may not have positive or negative connotations for the subjects. So in our case the only thing we can say about this factor is that our subjects recognise that there is a norm variety (RP), that they can distinguish which variety a speaker uses and that they rate a GA-speaker as not standard and an RP-speaker as standard.

It is interesting to note that a number of scales show a negative correlation with the NORM factor, notably *clever* (-.21), *modern* (-.39) and *active* (-.29) and that *honest* shows a positive correlation (.35). In other words, there is a tendency for a speaker of the norm variety to be neither clever, modern nor active, but honest. But the main finding with respect to this factor is that the independent question about whether the subjects wanted to SPEAK like the speaker shows a significant ($p = .05$), though not very large, negative correlation with this factor;

in other words, the variety that is considered the NORM is not what the subjects want to speak

4.1.2. Conclusion

The solution into four factors leads us to conclude that there are four elements in our subjects' perception of British and American pronunciations of English that determine the attitudes of Dutch learners to these pronunciations

- 1) the social STATUS a speaker appears to have,
- 2) the perception of the degree of DYNAMISM of a speaker,
- 3) the personal AFFECT a subject feels for the speaker, and
- 4) the extent to which a speaker is perceived to conform to the school NORM

The first three all correlate highly with the subjects' proclaimed desire to use the variety the speaker uses and their assessment of whether or not they could befriend the speaker, whereas the fourth factor correlates, though weakly, negatively with their professed preference for using the speakers' variety

4.2. A first look at the evaluations of RP and GA

Having established how the 16 scales are distributed among the four factors, we can now calculate for each subject how they feel about each of the twelve guises on these four factors ⁴ We do this by taking the mean of the ratings on the scales associated with each factor. A subject's score for Factor 1, for example, was calculated thus

$$\text{Factor 1} = (\text{score educated} + \text{score cultured} + \text{score modern}) / 6$$

Thus we get for each subject four 'factor scores' for each of the twelve guises, and these factor scores have a potential range from 1 to 7 (the points on the scales) ⁵

⁴ Much of the next two sections has been published earlier as Van der Haagen (1992) in James & Leather, eds

⁵ We realise that this may seem a rather crude method: after all, a scale that showed a high correlation with factor X could in fact also show a (slightly less) high correlation with factor Y (see, for example, the scale *natural* which has a correlation coefficient $r = .49$ with Factor 3 and $r = .41$ with Factor 2). With our method of calculation, the score on that scale would not be taken into account in the calculation of Factor 2 and the contribution of that scale to a subject's rating of a speaker on Factor 2 is lost. Therefore another calculation was carried out, whereby the scores on the scales were multiplied by the correlation coefficient with each of the separate factors and divided by the total of the correlation coefficients. For Factor 1 the calculation looked as follows:

$$\text{Factor 1} = (.82 * \text{score educated} + .79 * \text{score cultured} + .02 * \text{score standard}) / .572$$

The results of a MANOVA on these weighted scores were the same as the MANOVA on the cruder scores, so it was decided to stick to the original calculation since the resulting scores have the advantage of being simple, both in their calculation and in their interpretation.

Considering the (self-)portrayal of Britons and Americans in popular TV series and films, as described in the introduction to this chapter, it was hypothesised that Britons will be considered more statusful than Americans, that they will be less dynamic and that our subjects will have less affect for them than for Americans. Britons do, however, speak the norm variety and this will be reflected in their scores.

To get an overall picture of how the RP and GA guises are evaluated, we calculated the mean factor scores of all the British guises on the one hand, and all the American guises on the other, on each of the four factors. Figure 1 presents these mean factor scores. We see that on the STATUS factor RP and GA speakers are rated equal. Both groups score well above the neutral midpoint of 4. On the DYNAMISM factor, however, the British guises score well below midpoint (3.58), whereas the American guises score much higher (4.56). On personal AFFECT, too, the British score considerably lower (4.29) than the American guises (4.69), whereas on the school NORM factor the British do rather better (4.63) than the American guises (4.07).

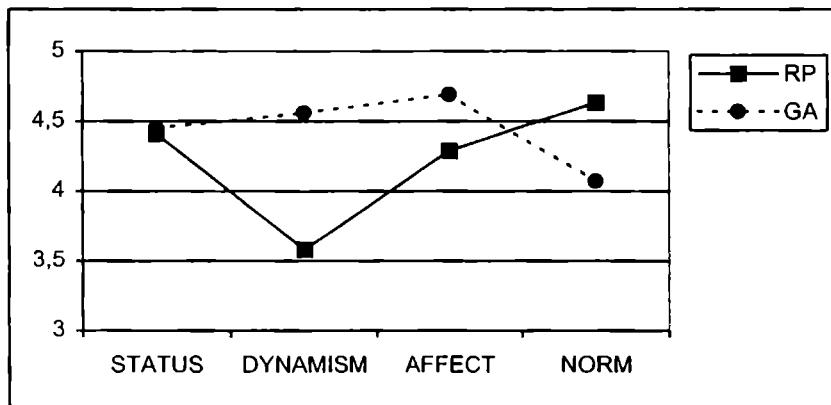


Figure 1 Mean factor scores on STATUS, DYNAMISM, AFFECT and NORM for the RP and GA guises. Scores: 1 = extremely negative, 7 = highly positive and 4 = neutral. N=204.

The fact that the RP and GA guises were rated equal on the STATUS factor is contrary to our hypothesis. We expected that our subjects would maintain the traditional notion that Britons have more status than Americans. Dekker (1996: 37) has shown that at least older Dutch people still feel this way. In a study among 25 Dutch teachers of English, using the same audio-taped materials and the same scales as the present study, she found that they consider RP speakers more statusful than GA speakers. However, she also found that the older teachers (aged 38 and over) rate Britons higher on this factor than the younger teachers,

and that the latter, like our subjects, consider Britons and Americans equally statusful. In other words, the status difference between Britons and Americans has disappeared in our group of 16- to 18-year-old listeners, but, considering the emergence of a NORM factor and the scores for RP and GA on this factor, the status difference between the varieties has not. The British pronunciation is regarded as the (school) norm, to which the learners feel the need to conform. This can be seen in their performance in the production tests discussed in chapter 3, where the data from the subjects' reading of the word list show a rather low incidence of stereotypical GA pronunciations like /æ/ in *classroom* and t-elision in *invented*. This finding is of great significance. It shows that school pupils' responses to a scale *standard* cannot be taken to represent the social status of the accent in question, and that more sophisticated semantic differentials must be used to uncover perceived social status.

The ratings on the DYNAMISM and AFFECT factors do confirm our hypothesis that for a young population Americans are dynamic and attractive. However, this is rather a rash conclusion. Closer examination reveals that there are striking differences between the evaluations of the RP and GA guises, depending on whether the speaker is male or female. This difference is, to a certain extent, only as expected. It has, for example, frequently been found (see Chambers, 1995: 102-145, for an overview) that women (in the Western, industrialised world) are considered to have lower status than men, while they generate more affect. We will see in section 4.3 whether for American and British women, too, this is the case.

Women also tend to attach more value to speaking the norm variety and make a bigger effort to conform to it, and have more positive feelings towards speakers of the norm variety. This, then, might lead to a difference in the assessment of the RP and GA guises, depending on the gender of the subjects. However, contrary to earlier findings by Broeders (1981) for a comparable population, these differences were not found in our investigation. Neither for any of the factors for either variety, nor for either gender of the speakers, is there a difference in the scores the male and female subjects give. A ONEWAY ANOVA for the overall ratings of the speakers by gender of the subjects, for example, showed an F value for the GA speakers of 0.96 ($p = .758$), and for the RP speakers $F = 0.31$ ($p = .860$). So just as there is no difference between the pronunciation of the male and female subjects, there is no difference in their ratings of the speakers, which is a counter-intuitive finding. On the other hand, there is a great deal of between-subjects variation depending on their type of education and their place of residence. The next section will discuss the differences in the subjects' perceptions of American and British men and women for each of the four dimensions, while 4.4 will discuss the differences in

evaluation depending on the type of education and the regional background of the subjects.⁶

4.3. The assessment of the RP and GA male and female guises

Figure 2 shows the ratings of the RP and GA male and female guises on each of the four factors. One general trend can instantly be identified: while on all of the factors the American women do better than the American men (almost always significantly, see below), the British women score lower than the British men. So the overall appreciation is highest for the American women and lowest for the British women. We will try to interpret this finding for each of the four separate factors below.

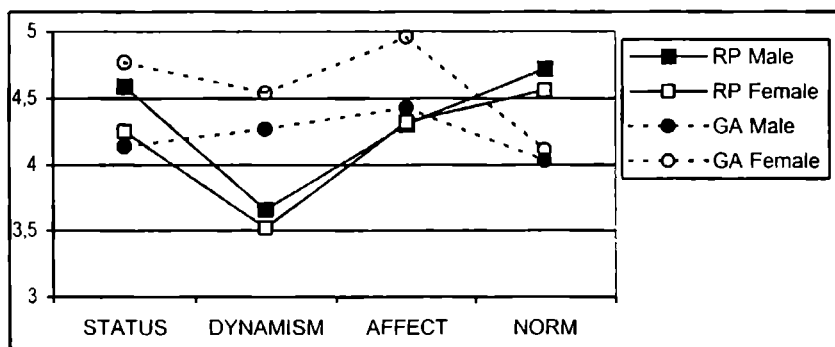


Figure 2: Mean factor scores on STATUS, DYNAMISM, AFFECT and NORM for the RP and GA male and female guises. Scores. 1 = extremely negative, 7 = highly positive and 4 = neutral. N = 204

Although in the previous section it looked as if the Britons and Americans were rated as having equal STATUS, when we split up the guises according to their gender it appears that this is only the case to a certain extent. An Analysis of Variance with gender and variety as within-subjects factor (using the SPSS procedure MANOVA) shows that there is a considerable interaction ($F = 172.96$, $p = .001$) between speaker gender and variety and that there is a cross-over pattern: for the male speakers, RP scores high and GA low, while for the female

⁶ Although, of course, two of the RP guises were produced by Americans while two of the GA guises were produced by Britons, we will henceforth use the terms *Britons*, *British speakers*, *Americans* and *American speakers* to refer to the guises rather than to the nationalities of the speakers

speakers it is the other way round.⁷ Because of this pattern we cannot speak of overall main effects, and further analysis is called for. A test for simple main effects of the ratings of RP and GA within the male and female guises separately shows highly significant effects, RP is considered to have more status for male speakers whereas GA is has more status for female speakers. In other words, British men are considered to have a significantly higher social status than British women, whereas for Americans the opposite holds true. However, the extremely low rating of the American men was found to be mainly attributable to the matched-guise speaker, that is, the British speaker imitating a GA accent (the ratings for the twelve individual guises can be found in appendix 5). If we exclude the score for this speaker, the American men score higher (4.45), but still lower than both the American women and the British men. The low rating for the British women was found to be attributable to the low score of the mono-dialectal speaker, and if we exclude her score, the British women score equal to the American men. But even if we exclude both low scoring speakers, the overall pattern that British men have a higher status than British women and that American women have higher status than American men stays the same. In the case of the British guises, this remarkable result is a reflection of the situation that in England men have more status than women, but is somewhat more difficult to explain where the GA guises are concerned. One explanation could be that American women are frequently portrayed as being extremely successful, whereas one of the common stereotypes of American men seems to be that of the macho, but socially less acceptable, cowboy.

On the DYNAMISM scale, the American female guises are still rated higher than their male compatriots, but both the male and the female GA guises score higher than the Britons, where, relative to GA, the male-female positions again are reversed. British men are seen as slightly more dynamic than British women but are still on the minus side of the neutral point. An Analysis of Variance with gender and variety as within-subjects factor shows a considerable interaction effect ($F = 19.14$, $p = .001$). There is a crossover pattern, but for both the male and female guises GA scores significantly higher than RP, so that there is an overall main effect for variety. Further analysis, using a test for simple main effects, shows that the differences in ratings between RP and GA are significant within both the male and female guises, and that the difference in ratings between the men and the women within each variety, too, are highly significant. In other words, GA is considered to be the dynamic variety, more so for women than for men, while RP is considered not dynamic, for women even less so than for men.

⁷To increase the readability of the text, all Analysis of Variance results for this section appear in appendix 4.

If we look at the dynamism ratings for the individual guises, it turns out that all the RP men have about the same ratings, both the native and the matched-guise speakers, and they all fall below the neutral mid-point of 4. The ratings for the RP women, on the other hand, differ considerably for the three speakers, the mono-dialectal speaker being rated the lowest (2.85) and the bi-dialectal native RP speaker the highest (4.10), with the matched-guise in between (3.60). For the American speakers, all female guises have roughly the same ratings, but for the men the British speaker again scores the lowest. But even if we exclude the very low scoring guises, the picture remains the same, in that both the male and female RP guises are considered not dynamic, and both male and female GA guises are seen as dynamic. The lower scores for the Britons on this factor fit the self-perception of young Britons. Chambers (1994) and Coleman (1996) found that school pupils and university students counted *laziness* and *conservatism* among the negative traits attributed to their fellow countrymen.

Although the subjects felt positive personal AFFECT for all groups of speakers, again the American guises scored considerably higher than the British, and again the female voices did better than the male voices for the Americans, but this time the male and female Britons scored equal. An Analysis of Variance with gender and variety as within-subjects factor shows again a large interaction effect ($F = 30.12$, $p = .001$), but since this time both for the women and for the men GA scores higher than RP, there is an overall main effect for variety, but not for speaker gender. Further analysis shows that the simple main effect for variety is highly significant for the women and significant for the men. These effects are mainly due to the extremely high score for the American women (4.96) compared to all others. To our subjects, an American woman is the epitome of honesty and friendliness, and is extremely companionable, natural and active.

We saw above that the factor NORM is not, in fact, a factor that is evaluative of the British and American speakers as persons, but of their pronunciation. The scores on this factor thus represent the subjects' opinion on the extent to which a given pronunciation corresponds to what they have come to regard as the (school) norm. This invariably is RP, so predictably the RP guises score significantly better than the GA guises (Analysis of Variance with gender and variety as within-subjects factor, $F = 63.99$, $p = .001$). The British men score slightly higher than the British women, in line with their general higher score, while for the American guises the opposite holds, in line with the general trend there. However, neither of these differences is significant. It is interesting to note that the GA guises score just above the neutral midpoint, which suggests that although our subjects recognise RP as the norm, they do not have negative feelings about GA as being a possible model of pronunciation.

In the study among teachers of English mentioned before, Dekker (1996) found almost exactly the same pattern of evaluation for the various guises:

American women score higher than American men while British women score lower than British men. There are, however, three differences. Firstly, British men score considerably higher (4.7) than all others (all around 4.4) on the STATUS factor. Secondly, the differences in the scores for the AFFECT factor are not as large as they are for our subjects, both because the Britons score higher (4.4 versus 4.3 in the present study) and the Americans lower (4.56 versus 4.7). And finally, the highest score for the NORM factor goes to the British women. During their training, these teachers have mainly focused on British English and on British culture, and they have had more opportunities for personal contact with Britons than our subjects. It is therefore not surprising that they still hold the view that British men have high status, nor is it surprising that they feel more affect towards Britons than our subjects did.

In the discussion of the assessment of the RP and GA male and female guises so far, we have mainly discussed the ratings of *groups* of speakers, and only occasionally mentioned the ratings of the individual guises. Let us now turn to a more systematic discussion of the variation in the assessment of the individual speakers. In appendix 5 the mean ratings of the twelve individual guises are given. It turns out that the ratings of the RP male guises, both real and matched, are quite stable and that the matched-guise there occupies the middle position for all factors. The GA female guises, too, are fairly consistent, and here the matched-guise is rated lowest on the status and dynamism factor, but highest on the norm factor; in fact, her ratings are almost the same as her ratings are for her RP guise. So, for the RP males and the GA females the group ratings are very close to the individual ratings. For the other two groups, however, the situation is rather different. For the RP females, the individual ratings of the three guises do not quite match the group ratings. This is mainly due to the RP mono-dialectal guise, which is considerably lower than the other two, except for the norm factor, where it is much higher than the others. In this group, the matched-guise takes the middle position for all factors and is close to the other native speaker, and if we had not included a matched-guise, the group ratings would have gone down a bit, whereas if we had not included a second native guise the group ratings would have gone up. Finally, for the GA male guise the situation is different yet again. Here the matched-guise is rated much lower than the others, except on the factor norm. If we exclude this guise, the GA men come in fact much closer to the GA women, though they still stay below them.

If we compare the ratings of the same speakers in their two guises, we see that the RP man is rated much lower in his GA guise, while the RP woman is rated about equal in both guises. Both the GA man and woman are also rated almost the same in both their guises on the status and affect factors, but there is a clear difference on the dynamism factor, between the ratings for their GA guises (4.73 and 4.54, respectively) and their RP guises (3.72 and 3.60). On their norm factor, too, the ratings for the two guises are rather different. male native GA 3.98, male

guise RP 4 58, female native GA 4 04, female guise RP 4 50. So it would seem that for the matched-guises, this technique has only measured differences on the dynamism and norm factors, and not on the status and affect factors. This is somewhat worrying, because it means that in this instance the matched-guise technique does not quite measure those differences it is supposed to do, namely between status varieties on the one hand, and solidarity varieties on the other (Ryan, 1979).

We set up the hybrid-guise design, to see whether indeed over a group of three speakers speaker-specific features would even out. The data in this respect are inconclusive. What we can say is that the male RP and both the female RP and GA guises appear to be quite convincing, in that their scores are similar to those of most of the native speakers. The male GA guise (i.e. the RP speaker reading the GA version) seems not to have produced a typical American version, although none of the native speakers who verified the authenticity of the guises has commented on this. And finally, since the ratings of the two female RP speakers are so greatly different, there is no way of knowing what would have happened if we had selected different mono-dialectal or bi-dialectal RP speakers, their ratings could have ended up much higher, but also much lower than they did. So the ratings of the British women have to be treated with some caution.

4.4. Between-subjects factors

So far we have seen that GA-speakers have considerable status, are extremely dynamic and very likeable but do not speak the norm variety. Speakers of RP have equally high status, but they are not at all dynamic and command less affect, while their speech is considered the norm. It turns out, however, that there is considerable variability in our population's attitudes depending on the subjects' type of education and their regional background. This section will present a breakdown of the subjects, first according to their educational background (4.4.1) and next according to their regional background (4.4.2). It was expected that there would also be differences in attitudes depending on our subjects' gender, but oddly enough, as mentioned in the final paragraph of section 4.2, statistical analysis showed no differences whatsoever between the attitudes of the male and female subjects.

4.4.1. Type of education

Because a mavo education is academically less demanding than a vwo education, and because pupils attending a mavo frequently have a less privileged background, it was expected that these pupils would be less status and norm conscious and would, generally speaking, have more positive attitudes to GA

than vwo pupils. After all, sociolinguistic research (e.g. Giles & Powesland, 1975; Trudgill, 1974) has consistently shown that lower class speakers feel considerable solidarity with non-standard dialect speakers, be they speakers of their own variety or of another dialect. Equally, middle class speakers tend to be more norm conscious and to have more positive attitudes toward speakers of the standard variety. It was therefore expected that vwo pupils, who mostly come from middle class families, would be more positive towards RP. However, if we look at figure 3 we see that this is not entirely true. Firstly, there is virtually no difference between the two groups in their assessment of the RP-speakers, except that, contrary to our expectations, the mavo learners rate the RP speakers slightly higher than the vwo learners on all factors except NORM. Secondly, for the GA guises, the mavo learners rate these higher than the vwo learners on STATUS and NORM, but, contrary to our expectation, lower on DYNAMISM. And finally, mavo learners consider RP and GA equal in STATUS, while vwo learners find that RP has slightly more STATUS than GA, but both groups agree that RP represents the NORM and that Americans are more DYNAMIC and command more AFFECT.

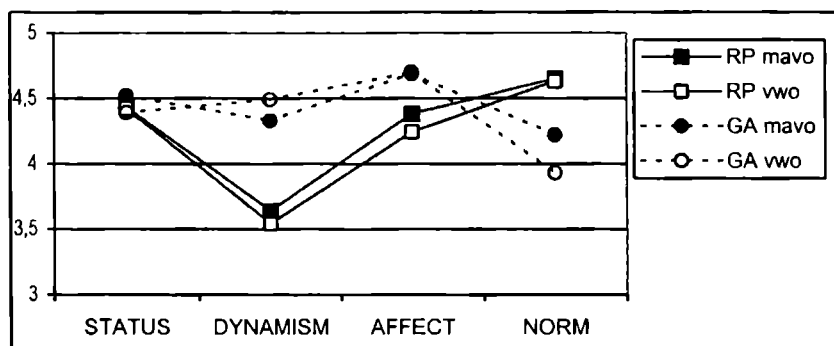


Figure 3, Mean factor scores on STATUS, DYNAMISM, AFFECT and NORM for the RP and GA guises for the two levels of education

Table II gives the mean scores of the RP and GA male and female guises differentiated by the listener's type of education, and the F-values from a ONEWAY ANOVA. We see that the two educational groups differ considerably in their scoring depending on the gender of the speakers. While mavo pupils on the whole favour the female guises, the vwo subjects prefer the male guises. Thus the mavo subjects rate the British women significantly higher on the STATUS, DYNAMISM and AFFECT factors and the American women on the STATUS and NORM factors than the vwo pupils. The latter, on the other hand, consider British men to have significantly more STATUS and American men to be significantly more DYNAMIC than the mavo pupils. We shall see below that the mavo

preference for especially the British women is attributable to one group, namely the Amsterdam subjects.

Table II. Mean scores of the RP and GA male and female guises differentiated by type of education and F-values from a ONEWAY ANOVA. The scores that are significantly higher are underlined

	<i>MAVO</i>	<i>VWO</i>	<i>mean</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
STATUS					
RP male	4.49	<u>4.68</u>	4.59	3.842	.051
RP female	<u>4.37</u>	4.15	4.25	4.900	.028
GA male	4.11	4.16	4.14	.232	ns
GA female	<u>4.93</u>	4.62	4.77	8.965	.003
DYNAMISM					
RP male	3.61	3.70	3.66	.547	ns
RP female	<u>3.67</u>	3.38	3.52	5.944	.016
GA male	4.11	<u>4.44</u>	4.27	7.782	.006
GA female	4.55	4.53	4.54	.025	ns
AFFECT					
RP male	4.24	4.34	4.30	1.006	ns
RP female	<u>4.52</u>	4.13	4.32	13.837	.000
GA male	4.39	4.48	4.43	.670	ns
GA female	4.99	4.92	4.96	.384	ns
NORM					
RP male	4.82	4.63	4.72	1.809	ns
RP female	4.48	4.63	4.56	1.188	ns
GA male	4.11	3.95	4.03	1.079	ns
GA female	<u>4.32</u>	3.91	4.11	7.247	.008
N =	98	94	192		

The difference between the two groups in their appraisal of the male and female guises is the most interesting for the DYNAMISM factor and can best be demonstrated graphically (figure 4). We see that the vwo pupils consider the American male and female guises almost equally dynamic, whereas the mavo subjects find the men considerably less dynamic. This suggests that the mavo

pupils are more susceptible to the 'relaxed macho cowboy' image while the vwo pupils are sensitive to the 'fast' image of Americans in general. On the other hand, the mavo pupils consider British men and women equally non-dynamic, while the vwo pupils consider the women to be even less dynamic than the men. For the latter group the image of British women as dowdy housewives seems to prevail, whereas to mavo pupils all Britons are equally 'slow'.

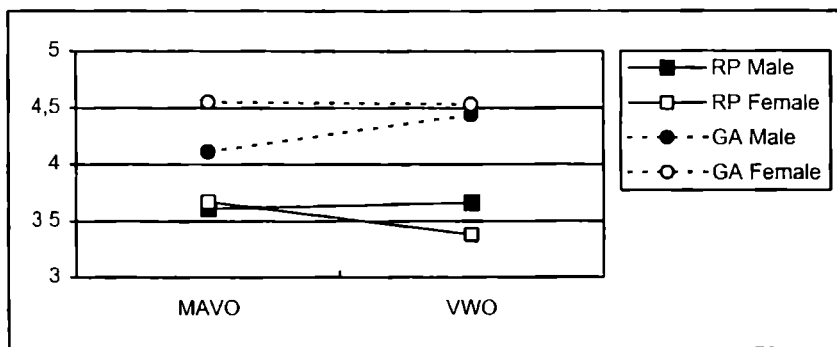


Figure 4 Factor 2 DYNAMISM for the male and female RP and GA guises differentiated by school type

Finally, in their evaluation of the degree to which the speakers conform to some kind of NORM, the mavo and vwo pupils again have rather different opinions. The vwo pupils are neutral as to whether GA is acceptable and regard RP as highly appropriate, while mavo pupils regard RP equally highly as the vwo pupils, but are more positive towards GA. The vwo pupils do not differentiate in this respect between male and female speakers, while mavo pupils believe that British men represent the norm, that American men are furthest removed from the norm, and that all women are somewhere in between. In other words, vwo pupils consider RP the norm, irrespective of the gender of the speaker. Mavo pupils, on the other hand, see *male* RP as the norm. This could be due to the coincidence that at the time of the investigation three out of the four mavo groups had a male teacher.

4.4.2. Regional variation

Because of their generally more carefree attitude and their more frequent contact with various cultures, it was expected that the Amsterdam subjects would be the most positive towards GA. And if the claim that ethnocentric people downgrade non-standard varieties is true, and if our assumption that Limburgers are more ethnocentric than people from the country's capital is also true, then we would

expect the Venlo subjects, who also have fewer opportunities to meet with different cultures, to be more appreciative of RP. In Groningen and Nijmegen, both university towns with a less international population than Amsterdam, but more so than Venlo, the subjects were expected to be somewhere in between. It turns out that this is not at all the case (see figures 5 to 8 and appendix 6). In fact, the Amsterdam subjects are by no means the highest scoring group for the American guises and the Venlo subjects neither rate the Britons notably higher or the Americans clearly lower. Let us take a look at each of the four factors in turn.

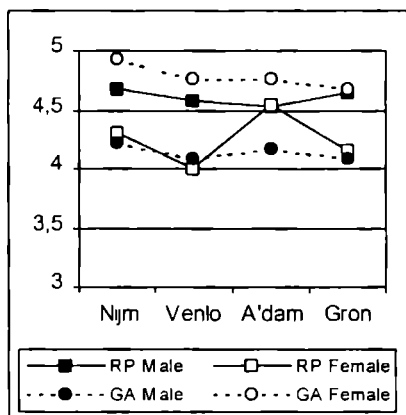


Figure 5 STATUS by place

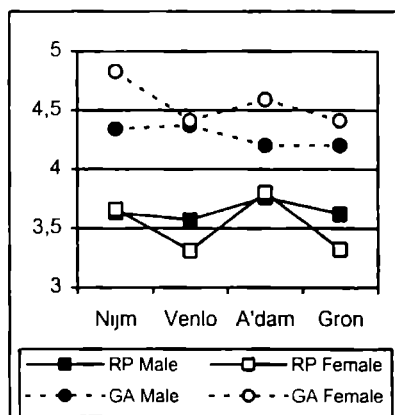


Figure 6 DYNAMISM by place

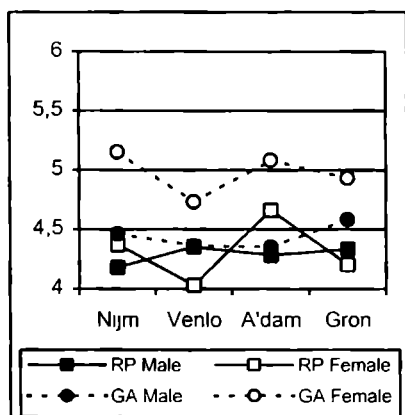


Figure 7 AFFECT by place

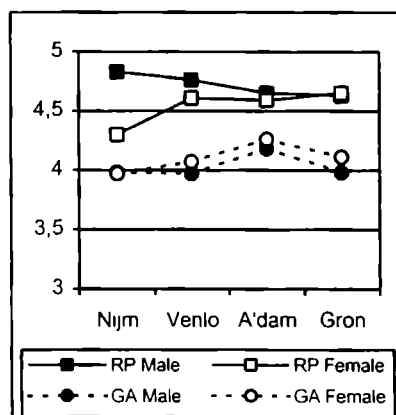


Figure 8 NORM by place

In the matter of STATUS, the only significant difference can be found in the ratings of the British female guises (ONEWAY ANOVA, $F = 5.505$, $p = .001$). Here the Amsterdam subjects attribute significantly more status than the other groups, while the Venlo subjects rate them lowest. Groningen, too, scores relatively low, while the Nijmegen score falls roughly halfway between Amsterdam and Venlo. It is interesting to note that the general reversal in the pattern of scores for the American and British men and women, i.e. British men high and British women low, but American men low and American women high, is shown by all groups except by the Amsterdam subjects, who rate all Britons as equally statusful.

On the DYNAMISM factor, too, the only significant difference in rating can be found in the case of the British women ($F = 4.307$, $p = .006$), and again the Amsterdam subjects are the most appreciative and Venlo the least, but here Groningen rates them equally low. And again the Amsterdam subjects rate the British men and women roughly equal (and so do the Nijmegen subjects for this factor) while in the other groups the men are seen as more dynamic than the women.

There are no significant differences in the amount of AFFECT the subjects feel toward the British and American men, but the groups do differ significantly in their opinions of both British and American women ($F = 6.529$, $p = .001$ and $F = 2.723$, $p = .046$ respectively). Again the Amsterdam subjects are the most positive towards British women and again the Venlo subjects are the most negative. For the American women it is the Nijmegen group who is the most appreciative, as indeed they are for all factors except the NORM, while it is again the Venlo group who is the least positive.

Although neither the American nor the British guises are rated significantly differently on the NORM factor, it should be noted that, as was expected, the Amsterdam subjects do rate the American men and women higher than the other groups did, while the Nijmegen group is the most appreciative of the British male guises. The Groningen subjects think most highly of the British female guises, but only marginally higher than the Venlo and Amsterdam groups.

All in all, contrary to our expectations, Amsterdam subjects, and particularly the mavo pupils (see appendix 7), have considerably more positive feelings towards British female speakers than any of the other groups, and for the American guises they are certainly not the highest scoring group. The Nijmegen subjects are the most appreciative of the American women. The Venlo subjects are the most negative about the British women and generally tend to give rather low scores. Finally, we expected that Amsterdam subjects would be less normative than the other groups, because Amsterdammers are generally supposed to have a more carefree attitude. We also expected this because of the metropolitan atmosphere of the city and the fact that there are more possibilities for contact with tourists than there is in any other city in the Netherlands.

Although there were no significant differences in the ratings on the NORM factor the Amsterdam group did rate the American guises the highest. In the next chapter we shall see that, indeed, they are less norm conscious of all the groups.

4.5. Younger subjects

As mentioned in chapter 2, we were interested to whether young children have developed any attitudes towards GA and RP at all, independent of formal training. To this aim the matched-guise test was also administered to a group of 34 subjects aged nine to ten who had not had any formal training in English. This section will first discuss the slight methodological adaptations that had to be made to make it possible for this group to do the test. Next, it will discuss the results of this group (henceforth the *younger* subjects) and draw a comparison between these results and those of the *mavo* and *vwo* pupils (henceforth the *older* subjects or pupils).

4.5.1. Method

Although the materials we used with this group of younger subjects are the same as those used with the older subjects, some changes had to be made to the score sheets. First of all, we used five-point scales rather than seven-point scales, because it was felt that perhaps a seven-point scale would be too complicated for them. Osgood et al. (1957: 85) suspect that a difference in intelligence might play a role while generally speaking a seven-point scale is best, they claim that "Grade-school children seem to work better with a five-step scale". Also, in order to reduce the risk of confusing them, it was decided to change the polarity of the scales such that all the positive attributes appeared on the left and the negative attributes on the right. The order of the scales was kept the same, but the wording of some items was changed to make them easier to understand and more appropriate to a younger population. Thus *wilskrachtig* 'wilful' became *weet wat hij wil* 'knows what he wants', *actief-passief* 'active-passive' became *vlot-sloom* 'alert-inert', *ontwikkeld* 'cultured' became *weet veel* 'knows a lot' and *dynamisch-niet dynamisch* 'dynamic-not dynamic' became *snel-traag* 'fast-slow'. It was felt that these changes would not alter the instrument to such an extent that it would become impossible to make a statement about the aspects that play a role in the younger subjects' assessment of the British and American guises and to compare these aspects to the ones that determine the attitudes of the older subjects.

Since the school where the investigation was held did not have a spare classroom, the matched-guise test was administered to the whole group at the

same time. A Dutch translation of the story was read out to the subjects before they started on the test.

Because of the differences in the scales, it was impossible to assume that the same resolution would show up. Also, it might be the case that for younger subjects different factors play a role in the determination of their attitudes. Finally, their perception of the attributes might differ from that of the older subjects. For these reasons a separate factor analysis was carried out on their ratings.

4.5.2. Results

A factor analysis (again, a principal components analysis with an Eigenvalue > 1 criterion for factor extraction, followed by a varimax rotation) on the scores on the 16 scales again showed a resolution into four factors (see table III). However, the order of the factors differs from that of the older subjects, and so do the scales that contribute to the various factors. The interpretation of the four factors is slightly more problematic than it was in the case of the vwo and mavo pupils.

Factor 1 *clever, cultured, educated, friendly, urban, spontaneous, honest*

This factor would appear to be made up of two separate types of evaluation, on the one hand it correlates highest with all the scales that deal with the perceived level of education of the speakers (*clever, cultured* and *educated*) which is usually associated with the STATUS attributed to the speaker, while on the other hand it also correlates highly with the scales that have to do with personal AFFECT (*friendly, spontaneous* and *honest*). This apparent conflation of STATUS and AFFECT aspects into one single factor leads us to think that we may have selected an atypical group of subjects. It turned out that in fact almost all of them came from highly educated families with their parents having academic or professional careers. Although usually education is associated with status, it is not impossible that for this population, education plays an important role in their evaluation of someone's friendliness. In other words, to these subjects it is only natural that a likeable person is highly educated and cultured.

These considerations lead us to conclude that Factor 1 is in fact the traditional EVALUATION factor, and we decided to label it as such, rather than the AFFECT factor that we found with the older subjects, since judgements about a perceived *level of education* seem to be evaluative rather than an indication of the subjects' affect for the speakers. Also, Factor 1 was the only factor that correlates significantly ($r = .45$, $p < .01$, 2-tailed) with the question what position in society the subjects thought the speaker had. This confirms our interpretation of the influence of their social background: these subjects evaluate people positively if they are educated, have high social status and appear to be nice, honest and spontaneous.

Factor 2: *modern, dynamic, active, sociable, witty*

Since the scales *dynamic* and *witty* appear both for the older and the younger subjects on this factor, and since the scales *spontaneous* and *wilful* that we found for the older subjects in the DYNAMISM factor load relatively highly on this factor ($r = .42$ and $r = .41$ respectively), there is nothing in the make-up of this factor that leads us to regard it as anything but the DYNAMISM factor. As we shall see below, it is the only factor for which significant differences in the ratings of the British and American guises appear.

Table III Rotated Factor Matrix correlations of the raw scores on 16 scales with 4 Factors, plus the correlations of the 3 independent questions with the 4 Factors and their levels of significance ** - $p < .01$, * - $p < .05$.

<i>Scale</i>	<i>F1</i>	<i>F2</i>	<i>F3</i>	<i>F4</i>
clever	.88	.05	.07	.28
cultured	.88	.12	.08	.27
educated	.82	.15	.10	.11
friendly	.64	.48	.20	.00
urban	.62	.26	.01	-.19
spontaneous	.55	.42	.30	.35
honest	.48	.25	.44	.27
modern	.03	.80	-.11	-.07
dynamic	.30	.78	.13	.25
active	.28	.74	.28	.30
companionable	.41	.70	.37	-.09
witty	.12	.69	.13	.22
standard	-.01	.01	.83	-.17
natural	.18	.22	.78	.17
having authority	.10	.10	-.06	.88
wilful	.47	.41	.11	.58
SPEAK	-.07	.12	.16	.15
FRIEND	.01	.09	.36*	.27
POSITION	.45**	.22	-.06	-.13

Factor 3 *standard, natural*

Although it is interesting to see that for this population, too, a separate factor appears that contains the scale *standard-not standard*, we are reluctant to call this factor NORM. The reason for this is that these subjects had not yet had any English classes, so that they had not yet been confronted with the fact that RP is the variety taught in the schools and therefore the norm. In other words, since they had not yet been told that there is one way in which all Dutch subjects should speak English, they are unlikely to be aware of the existence of a norm. And if they are unaware of the existence of a norm, then their attitudes are not based on norms, so that it would be a contradiction to call this factor norm. Instead we suggest that this factor has to do with the actual SPEECH of the speaker and the subjects' perception thereof, without value judgements. In this interpretation, the scale *natural-unnatural*, too, is an evaluation of the speaker's manner of speaking, and is an evaluation of whether a speaker speaks 'normal' or 'abnormal'.

Factor 4 *having authority wilful*

Young children may not be aware of the status attached to certain language varieties, and perhaps not even of status per se, but they are certainly aware of the amount of power a person has (though they may not call it that). That being the case, we decided to give Factor 4 the label, POTENCY, because both prestige and superiority seem to us to be more applicable to language varieties than to speakers.

To sum up, the younger subjects, like the older subjects, use four factors in their evaluation of the RP and GA guises. As these factors differ in their composition from the ones we found in the older subjects, we have re-labelled them in part. For the younger subjects, the first factor is the EVALUATION factor, which is made up of the perceived level of education as well as the affect felt for the speakers. Factor 2 can be termed DYNAMISM and is not unlike the second factor we found with the older subjects. The third factor for the younger subjects has to do with the (manner of) SPEECH of the speakers, while the fourth factor can be labelled POTENCY. The next section will discuss the way in which the younger subjects perceive the RP and GA speakers with respect to these four factors. Mean scores for the four factors were calculated following the same method as outlined in 4.2.1.

4.5.3. Discussion

Unlike for the older subjects, no clear pattern emerges from the ratings of the younger subjects of the male and female British and American guises (table IV). First of all, all guises are evaluated positively, i.e. above the neutral mid-point of

3 Women score higher than men on the EVALUATION and DYNAMISM factors and on both these factors the American guises score higher than the British. The SPEECH of all the men is considered equally attractive, while that of the American women is considered slightly more and that of the British women slightly less appealing. Finally, all Britons are considered to have equal POTENCY and here the American men are seen as more potent than the Britons, while the American women are seen as being less potent.

Table IV Mean factor scores on EVALUATION, DYNAMISM, SPEECH and POTENCY, differentiated by male/female and American/British. Ratings on a 5-point scale where 1 = negative and 5 = positive

	RP men	RP women	GA men	GA women
EVALUATION	3.55	3.61	3.55	3.72
DYNAMISM	3.12	3.31	3.36	3.65
SPEECH	3.36	3.43	3.37	3.31
POTENCY	3.35	3.36	3.48	3.25

The fact that women score higher on the first two factors can easily be explained. At the age of nine or ten, children tend to spend more time with women than with men. Their teacher is a woman and at home they are usually looked after by their mothers or by baby sitters, most of whom are female. Hence they feel more warmly towards women than towards men and probably consider women more dynamic because they see them more often in action than their fathers (and men in general). On the other hand, we see that the American men are considered more potent than the women, which may have something to do with these subjects' perception of men in general, or with the 'cowboy appeal' we found for the mavo learners. And finally, the finding that there is virtually no difference in the evaluation of the SPEECH of the various guises suggests that, like the older subjects, children indeed do not attach any value judgements to the variety someone speaks. However, this factor does correlate significantly ($r = .36$, $p < .05$, two-tailed) with the degree to which the subjects felt they could be friends with the speakers, which would seem to indicate that they use a person's speech as an evaluative measure.

Since we are interested in the younger subjects' evaluations of RP and GA as a whole, let us now turn to the mean scores for all Americans on the one hand, and all Britons on the other (figure 9). We see that the Americans receive a slightly higher EVALUATION, are considerably more DYNAMIC, have a marginally less attractive SPEECH style and have the same POTENCY as the Britons. In other words, Britons and Americans are virtually the same to younger subjects, except that they do recognise the dynamism in the American voices. Unfortunately it

was impossible to check whether they actually knew the nationality of the speakers, but the large difference between the two dynamism scores suggests they did ⁸

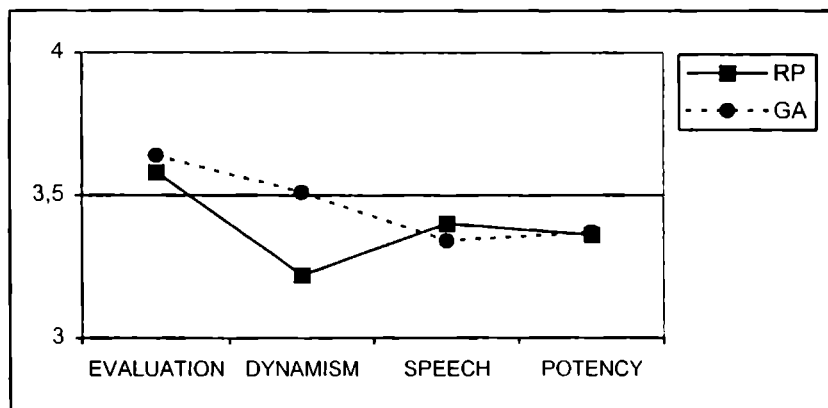


Figure 9 Mean factor scores on EVALUATION, DYNAMISM, SPEECH and POTENCY for the RP and GA guises. Scores 1 = extremely negative, 5 = highly positive and 3 = neutral. N = 34

Although the factor resolutions for the older and younger subjects differ, and although we have decided to label some of them differently for the reasons motivated above, we do feel that we can (tentatively) compare the opinions of the older and younger subjects. If we compare figure 9 with figure 1, we see that both groups of learners consider RP and GA speakers to have equal STATUS/POTENCY. We also see that both groups rate the American speakers highest on both DYNAMISM and AFFECT/EVALUATION, but that whereas the older subjects attribute negative dynamism to the Britons, the younger subjects consider them rather dynamic. It is curious to note that these young subjects attach positive dynamism to all grown-ups: one would expect them to find older people rather dull. And finally, we see that both groups consider RP the NORM/nicest SPEECH variety, although for the younger subjects this preference is less pronounced. So all in all, the opinions of the older and younger subjects do not differ all that much, be it that the younger subjects have positive opinions about all speakers.

⁸We tried to check whether they knew the difference between RP and GA by giving them the same identification test we gave the older subjects. This turned out to be a bad choice, as the results from this test were inconclusive. With hindsight we should have omitted that test and played the matched-guise tapes again and ask the subjects to indicate what nationality they thought the speakers had.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Dutch secondary school pupils use four dimensions in their evaluation of RP and GA speakers and their speech STATUS, DYNAMISM, AFFECT and NORM. We have seen that Americans are considered statusful, dynamic and likeable people who do not speak the norm, while Britons are regarded as statusful but not dynamic, less likeable than Americans but speaking the norm variety. We have also seen that American women are more statusful, dynamic and likeable than American men, and that their accent is slightly more acceptable as a possible norm. British men, on the other hand, possess these qualities more than British women. Interestingly enough, and contrary to the usual findings in matched-guise research, our female subjects evaluated the guises in exactly the same way as our male subjects.

Contrary to our hypothesis, mavo pupils have the same attitudes towards Britons as vwo pupils. Their attitudes towards Americans only differ for the DYNAMISM and NORM factors: mavo pupils consider Americans less dynamic than vwo learners do, and they are more positive about American being a possible norm. The latter finding is as expected, and can easily be related to their production data, which have shown that mavo learners use more GA than vwo learners. We shall see in the next chapter that on the whole mavo pupils are less norm conscious than vwo learners.

It was expected that Amsterdam learners would be more positive towards Americans and more negative towards Britons than any other group. This turned out not to be the case. In fact, the Amsterdam mavo group is the most appreciative of the female RP speakers, and does not rate the American guises the highest. However, the Amsterdam group does consider GA to be more the norm than the other groups, which ties in with their own high production of GA variants, though not as much the norm as RP.

Finally, the younger learners use slightly different dimensions than the older learners. For them the factors EVALUATION, DYNAMISM, SPEECH and POTENCY play a role. The younger subjects rate all speakers positively on these factors, and both RP and GA speakers score about equal, except on the dynamism factor, where the Americans score considerably higher than the Britons, as with the older subjects.

The finding that RP is considered the norm variety and that GA is more dynamic than RP suggests that advertisers are right in thinking that GA is the better variety to use in their Dutch campaigns, especially in those aimed at young consumers. Since GA is not the norm, it is not associated with the school and is seen as the more international and dynamic variety (Gijsbers, Gerritsen, Korzilius & van Meurs, 1998).

5. Recognition and preference

In the previous chapter we saw that our subjects attribute certain personality traits to speakers of RP and GA. Although we saw considerable between-subject and between-speaker variation, we can say that GA speakers are felt to have a high social standing, to be dynamic and likeable but not to speak the standard variety. Speakers of RP are seen as having an equally high social status, as not at all dynamic, and as less likeable than the GA speakers, but they are considered to speak English the way the subjects have been taught and have come to regard as the norm. In this chapter we shall see that this awareness of a norm variety permeates the subjects' responses to individual phonological variables, but that this awareness may be greater or smaller, depending on the variables.

This chapter will present the results of two tests, a recognition and a preference test, whose purpose was to find out how well the subjects can distinguish the two varieties and which variety they prefer. Section 5.1 will present and discuss the results from the recognition test, while section 5.2 will present and discuss those from the preference test. Then, 5.3 will discuss the social and geographical variation in the subjects' perception of the desirability of either RP or GA as the norm pronunciation and as the pronunciation they would like to use outside the school situation. Next, 5.4 will compare these preferences to the pronunciations the subjects actually use. Finally, 5.5 will give an overview of the main findings in this chapter.

5.1. The recognition test

Before we discuss our subjects' opinion on the desirability of GA or RP as an overall NORM for pronunciation and their opinion on the pronunciation of the eleven phonological variables, we will consider how well the subjects recognised the various pronunciations. This was tested in the recognition test, in which 33 lexical items appeared twice, once pronounced the British and once the American way (for a more detailed description see chapter 2.3). Subjects had to indicate whether the pronunciation for each lexical item they heard was RP or GA. Two versions of the test tape were prepared, in which the items appeared in opposite orders. Each test version was played to half the subjects, so that a possible effect for order of appearance was counterbalanced by the order for the other half. Furthermore, each phonological variable was represented by three lexical items, and for each variable there was always at least one item in which

the RP pronunciation appeared first and one in which the GA pronunciation appeared first. With hindsight this may not have been the best method, because after subjects have identified one version of a given item, they are not totally free in the identification of the second version. Thus they may think that "since the first time I heard this item I decided it was GA this one will have to be RP". However, this problem was unavoidable since we wanted to use the same items that appeared in the preference tests; with three lexical items per variable, it becomes difficult to offer half of them in RP and half of them in GA. Nevertheless, since there were two subgroups who heard the items in opposite orders, and since 66 (33 RP versions and 33 GA versions) is a large enough number of items to make it unlikely for the subjects to accurately remember which pronunciation they heard for any earlier occurrence of the same word, we feel that this test and its results are valid, in spite of this unavoidable shortcoming.

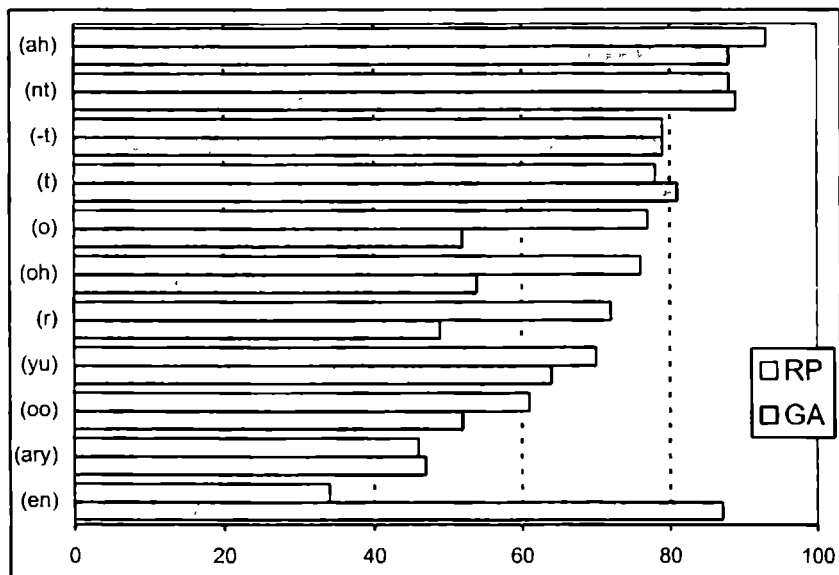


Figure 1. Percentage correctly identified RP and GA pronunciations. The order from top to bottom follows the descending percentages of correctly identified RP variants.

Overall, both varieties were equally well recognised; the mean percentage of correctly identified RP pronunciations was 68% while 66% of the GA pronunciations was recognised. However, it appeared that there is considerable variation in the correct identification of the separate variables. If we look at figure 1, we observe that for a number of variables, notably (oh), (r) and (o) and

to a lesser extent (yu) and (oo), the RP version was correctly identified considerably more often than the GA version. We also see that the reverse holds for (en), where the difference is even greater, only around 35% of the subjects recognised the RP version of the items *dam grand* and *gang* as such, while almost 90% correctly identified the GA version. We have already seen that it is impossible to say anything about the subjects' pronunciation of this variable (see 3.1). We will see in 5.2.2 that in the preference tests, too, the subjects' response to this variable is somewhat off, and consequently it was decided not to take this variable into consideration in the overall calculation of how well both varieties were recognised.

When we exclude (en) from this test, the mean recognition for the RP pronunciations is 73% and that for the GA pronunciations is 64%. This overall better knowledge of what constitutes an RP pronunciation is to be expected, given that the subjects have been taught this model. For both varieties the vwo subjects score significantly better than the mavo subjects (RP vwo 78%, mavo 67%, ONEWAY ANOVA recognition by school type $F = 31.806$, $p = .001$, GA vwo 68%, mavo 60%, $r = 19.329$, $p = .001$). The factors region and gender were not significant. In other words, vwo subjects know better what the differences between RP and GA are than mavo subjects. This knowledge is the same in all four locations investigated, so that it looks as if the education in this respect is the same all over the Netherlands. It also means that boys and girls are equally knowledgeable.

The only variable in which RP is very poorly recognised is (ary), which is a low frequency variable where the spelling may lead the subjects to incorrect expectations about the way in which it should be pronounced (see 5.2.2 for more extensive discussion about this variable). The GA version of (ary), too, is frequently wrongly identified. If we look at how well the other GA pronunciations were recognised, the most striking result is the relatively low score for (r). Although the American version of this variable appears frequently in the subjects' own pronunciation and although the RP variant was readily recognised, the subjects are less aware of the fact that rhoticity is a feature of American English than we expected. Equally poorly recognised are (oo) as in *across*, (oh) as in *lawn* and (o) as in *hockey*.

5.2. The preference tests

As described in chapter 2, the material for the preference tests consisted of audio-taped versions of 33 lexical items. Each lexical item was pronounced four times, either in the order RP-GA-RP-GA, or in the opposite order. Again two versions of the test tape were prepared in which the items appeared in opposite orders and for each item the order of the four pronunciations was reversed. The

subjects were first asked to indicate on their answer sheets which version they considered best (NORM). Then the tape was played again and they had to indicate which version they themselves would prefer to use (WISH). If they didn't hear any difference or had no opinion they were asked to indicate this too. It turned out that all of the 204 subjects expressed an opinion on at least 25 of the items, while for each item there were at least 114 subjects who were able to distinguish between the RP and GA pronunciations.

Considering the status of RP in the Dutch educational system, it was hypothesised that this variety would be considered the NORM by most of the subjects. It was, however, also expected that there would be some variation in the degree to which this NORM would be considered applicable to the various phonological variables. It may well be the case that there are more pronounced opinions on the pronunciation of stereotypical variables, like (ah) and (t), than for the lesser known variables. In addition, variation in the evaluation of the variables may well occur due to lack of knowledge, a given pronunciation may be mistaken for GA while in fact it is RP, or vice versa, as we have seen above for the variable (ary).

Variation is not only likely to occur in the evaluation of the individual phonological variables, but also, obviously, in the subjects' evaluation of the two varieties as a whole. Considering our finding in chapter 4 that the mavo subjects rate the American guises considerably higher on the NORM factor than the vwo subjects do (see 4.4.1), we expected that in the preference tests the mavo subjects would show a lower preference for RP as the NORM than the vwo subjects. Also, we expected the geographical and dialect backgrounds to play a role, the more subjects feel they belong to a minority dialect group the more 'normative' they will be (e.g. Berenst, 1983, Giles, 1971, Labov, 1966, Macaulay, 1975). And finally, since it has consistently been found that women are more conservative and normative in their evaluation and use of language (e.g. Brouwer, 1989, Coates, 1986), we expected a stronger preference for RP as the NORM among women than among men.

Although RP is the NORM in Dutch secondary schools, this does not necessarily mean that it is also the variety Dutch subjects would like to use, given a choice. Considering our subjects' high opinion of the American guises in the matched-guise test, and the observed increase of the use of GA variants in the less formal styles (see chapter 3), it is to be expected that relative to the NORM test there will be a swing in the WISH test towards a preference for the GA pronunciations. If, however, there are variables for which there is a NORM preference for GA due to 'mistaken identity', i.e. lack of knowledge, then that preference is expected to drop.

5.2.1. Preference indices

In order to arrive at a measure that will allow us to compare the subjects' responses on the NORM-test and the WISH-test, a NORM and a WISH index were calculated by subtracting the GA responses for each phonological variable from the RP responses for that variable and dividing the difference by the sum of the GA responses and the RP responses. For example, the NORM index was calculated thus:

$$\text{NORM} = \frac{\sum \text{RP BEST} - \sum \text{GA BEST}}{\sum \text{RP BEST} + \sum \text{GA BEST}} \quad \text{with } -1 \leq \text{NORM} \leq 1$$

Hence, a negative NORM index means that the majority of the subjects who have expressed an opinion feel that the GA pronunciation of a phonological variable is better, in other words the NORM, while a positive index occurs when the majority feel that the RP pronunciation is the NORM. It should be remembered that each phonological variable is represented by three lexical items. This means that the NORM and WISH indices are composites of three separate judgements, and a preference for a given pronunciation of one variable does not necessarily mean that this preference is the same for all three lexical items. For example, the NORM index for variable (oh) was calculated as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{NORM (oh)} &= \frac{(\text{RP lawn} + \text{small} + \text{talk}) - (\text{GA lawn} + \text{small} + \text{talk})}{(\text{RP lawn} + \text{small} + \text{talk}) + (\text{GA lawn} + \text{small} + \text{talk})} = \\ &= \frac{(65 + 79 + 113) - (88 + 62 + 61)}{(65 + 79 + 113) + (88 + 62 + 61)} = 0.099 \end{aligned}$$

In this example the positive NORM index suggests a (minute) preference for the RP pronunciation. However, for the lexical item *lawn* the preferred version is in fact GA. We can therefore say that the variable (oh) is unstable in that not all items are evaluated in the same way: for some there is a preference for the GA pronunciation while for others there is a preference for the RP variant. A very crude measure for the instability of the NORM and WISH indices is the percentage difference between the highest and the lowest preference for the three items representing a given variable. The instability of a variable is low, if the percentage difference is low, i.e. if the three items receive about the same percentage preference. Thus for the variable (oh) the instability is 23%, while

for (-t) it is only 2% (see table 1 below). This point will be discussed further in the next section.

The advantage of these NORM and WISH indices is that they allow for a quick evaluation of the various phonological variables, in that a positive value means that RP is considered the NORM, and a negative value that GA is (as is demonstrated in figure 2 below). Moreover, these indices can be readily compared to each other and to the scores of the identification task. It was decided to take into account only those responses that were given by subjects who have an opinion on the matter; both the NORM and WISH indices exclude 'no preference' responses and the responses of those who could not hear that there were two different pronunciations involved. In this way, we arrive at a measure that is indicative of the opinions of those subjects who are strongly motivated in their choice, while it will also enable us to perform binomial tests of significance.

5.2.2. The NORM results per variable

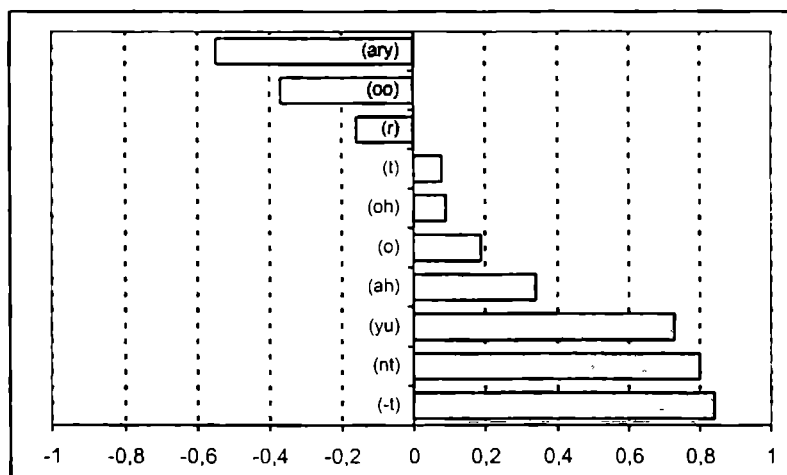


Figure 2: The results from the NORM-test; -1 = exclusive GA preference, 1 = exclusive RP preference.

In the introduction to section 5.2, it was hypothesised that for most, if not all, variables the RP pronunciation would be regarded as norm by the majority of the subjects. As we can see in figure 2, this is indeed the case for all but three variables; there is a strong preference for the RP variants of utterance final (-t), of intervocalic (nt) and of (yu) as in *new*. There is a weaker preference for RP (o) as in *hockey* and (ah) as in *classroom* and a very small preference for (oh) as in *lawn* and (t) as in *little*. On the other hand, there is a clear preference for the GA pronunciations of (ary) as in *dictionary* and of (oo) as in *across* and, while there

is a small preference for GA post-vocalic (r) as in *dark*. The variable (en) does not appear in figure 2 because the GA variants were extremely poorly recognised, so that no real meaning can be attributed to a preference for a given variant. However, for completeness' sake we will include the results for this variable in tables I and II.

Table I lists the results of the NORM-test for the separate lexical items (absolute numbers and indices). Again, only those subjects who expressed an opinion are considered here, hence the unequal Ns. The results of a two-tailed binomial test of significance are also given in table I. We see that for the vast majority of items (24 out of 33) the preference for a given variant is significantly different from 50%, i.e. it is a real preference not attributable to chance. There is a highly significant ($p = .001$) preference for RP for all the items representing the variables (-t), (nt), (yu) and (ah), and a significant ($p = .05$) preference for two out of the three items representing (o). For all the items representing the variables (oo) and (ary) there is a highly significant preference for the GA pronunciation, and the same applies to two out of the three variables representing (r).

Table I Results from the NORM test, raw data and indices, the results from the binomial tests of significance, and the instability of the variables

variable	ITEM	RP	GA	INDEX	N	p	instability
(-t)	eight	154	11	87	165	.001	2%
	light	147	13	.83	162	.001	
	paint	164	16	82	180	.001	
(nt)	invented	181	7	93	188	.001	11%
	plenty	158	26	.72	184	.001	
	twenty	162	23	75	185	.001	
(yu)	new	152	22	.75	174	.001	11%
	reduce	167	15	.84	182	.001	
	stupid	135	31	.63	166	.001	
(ah)	classroom	128	46	.47	174	.001	7%
	fast	123	64	.32	187	.001	
	wineglass	122	61	33	183	.001	
(o)	college	115	54	.36	169	.001	11%
	hockey	105	77	.15	182	.045	
	knowledge	84	63	14	147	.099	
(oh)	lawn	65	88	-.15	153	.075	23%
	small	79	62	10	141	.178	
	talk	113	61	30	174	.001	

Table 1 continued.

variable	ITEM	RP	GA	INDEX	N	p	instability
(t)	little	97	82	.08	179	.295	31%
	meeting	73	117	-.23	190	.001	
	pretty	115	52	.38	167	.001	
(r)	dark	61	106	-.27	167	.001	15%
	morning	43	71	-.25	114	.011	
	nature	59	57	.02	116	.926	
(oo)	across	50	112	-.38	162	.001	3%
	often	49	102	-.35	151	.001	
	soft	58	116	-.33	174	.001	
(ary)	dictionary	36	144	-.60	180	.001	14%
	January	60	123	-.34	183	.001	
	territory	35	152	-.63	187	.001	
(en)	dam	70	86	-.10	156	.230	57%
	gang	24	114	-.65	138	.001	
	grand	121	42	.49	163	.001	

Apart from the raw data, table 1 also gives the instability of the NORM indices of each of the phonological variables. This instability ranges from 2% to 57%, so, from very stable to highly unstable. We see that the eight variables mentioned above are all rather stable, with instability percentages ranging from 2% to 15%. Only three variables are unstable, (en), (t) and (oh). This instability suggests that either the subjects are undecided about the NORM for those variables, or that we may have chosen the wrong lexical item to represent a given variable. An example of the former is probably the variable (en), which is highly unstable (57%), where the three lexical items that make up this variable are each evaluated in a completely different manner. There appears to be no significant preference for the pronunciation of *dam*, there is a significant preference for a GA pronunciation of *gang*, while the preferred version of *grand* is RP. Hence it becomes impossible to make any statement about the category (en) as a whole, so that, as in the recognition task, it was decided not to take this variable into account in any statistical analysis. This is clearly a case where the researcher chose to investigate a variable that cannot be investigated. The variable (t) is rather unstable (31%), and shows a slight preference for the RP pronunciation of *little*, a highly significant preference for the GA pronunciation of *meeting* and an equally highly significant preference for the RP pronunciation of the word *pretty*. Finally, for (oh) there is a non-significant preference for the GA version of *lawn*,

a non-significant preference for the RP version of *small*, and a significant preference for the RP version of *talk*

5.2.3. Interpretation of the NORM results

Our results show that the hypothesis that RP is regarded as the norm variety for most variables is borne out. And, of course, the norm here is the norm determined by the school. Thus we see very high indices for the variables (yu) and (nt). These variables can be seen as fairly stereotypical features in which RP and GA differ. For both these variables the RP variant was relatively frequently correctly identified during the recognition task (70 and 90% respectively). The variable (-t) was equally well identified, and here too the RP variants show very high indices. However, there are a number of variables where we find a lower than expected index, or even a negative index. If it is indeed the case that the selection of a given pronunciation of a variable is dependent on the school norm, we must be dealing with 'mistaken identity' in the case of those variables where GA is selected as the norm pronunciation; the subjects may wrongly assume that the pronunciation they regard as the norm is in fact the RP pronunciation. We have seen that this is in fact the case, although the RP versions of (oo) and (r) were readily identified as such, the GA versions were not, nor could the majority correctly identify either pronunciation of (ary).

There are two reasons why these variables could be wrongly identified. Firstly, the GA pronunciations of the variables (ary) and (r) are closer to the spelling.¹ Since in Dutch the relationship between spelling and pronunciation is much nearer one-to-one than in English, this may lead Dutch learners to conclude that a spelling pronunciation is the NORM. This preference for spelling pronunciations would also explain the selection of RP (-t) and the instability of the variable (r), here the subjects may well be aware of the fact that in RP this (r) is not pronounced, but the spelling (plus perhaps their exposure to GA pronunciations) may interfere with their normative voting. Secondly, in the case of the variable (oo), we selected, as mentioned in chapter 2, the more conservative GA realisation /ɔ:/ rather than the modern /ɑ:/. Now in old-fashioned RP (and to some extent in contemporary upper-crust-RP, too (Wells, 1982: 281)) the vowel in the lexical set CLOTH is realised as /ɔ:/ instead of the modern /ɒ/. Hence it is probable that our subjects either mistook the GA

¹ The following anecdote may serve as an illustration of the influence the combination of spelling and native phonology can have. An Italian exchange student in my pronunciation class read out the word *colonel* as /kɒlɒnəl/. After I had asked him to say after me /kɜ:nəl/ he looked at his text and again said /kɒlɒnəl/. It was not until I told him not to look at the text that he got it right.

realisations of the words *across*, *often* and *soft* for RP pronunciations or at least felt that this was the way these words should be pronounced.²

Finally, there are two variables that behave unexpectedly; unstable (t) and lower than expected RP selection of (ah). These variables are the well-known representatives of the difference between RP and GA. A possible explanation could be that the distinction between what is and what is not the NORM variety is beginning to disappear. Although we saw in the matched-guise test that our subjects are well aware of the fact that there is one norm variety, we also saw that they do not let that fact influence their evaluation of its speakers. More specifically, we saw that there was no correlation between the variety the speakers used and their perceived STATUS. In other words, the social position a speaker is perceived to have does not depend on whether they speak RP or GA. And if a variety as a whole is not relevant to the status of its speakers, then the parts of which that variety is made up are not relevant either. Consequently, one can be eclectic in one's choice of pronunciation of phonological variables.

5.2.4. The WISH results per variable

If, for each variable, the subjects can be eclectic in their choice of variant (RP or GA) to represent the NORM pronunciation, they can most certainly be eclectic when expressing their WISH, the degree to which the subjects would like to use a given pronunciation if they could choose freely. This WISH was measured in the second preference test, which was in fact the same audio-taped material used in the NORM test, but this time the subjects were asked to choose the pronunciation they themselves would use given they "would wake up one morning finding they spoke perfect English and there was no-one to 'correct' their pronunciation". It will be recalled that it was hypothesised that there would be a low preference for RP and that the majority would select GA as the pronunciation they would like to use themselves.

Using the same method as for calculating the NORM index, a WISH index was arrived at. The indices for the various variables are shown in figure 3. Again the response of those subjects who voiced no opinion were not taken into consideration so that a binomial test of significance could be performed for each lexical item. The results from this binomial test are given in table II, along with the instability measure for each variable.

As we can see from figure 3, our hypothesis is borne out to a certain extent. We see that a positive evaluation of GA occurs for six out of the ten variables, namely (ah) as in *classroom*, (oh) as in *lawn*, (t) as in *little*, (r) as in *dark*, (oo) as in *across* and (ary) as in *dictionary*. The indices for (oh) and (t) are minute, the index for (ah) is larger, but not significantly different from zero. The indices for

²Our subjects are less likely to be aware of the fact that the /ɔ:/ pronunciation is also common in working class London speech (Wells, 1982).

(oo) and (r) are significantly different from zero ($p < .05$), while the index for (ary) is highly significant

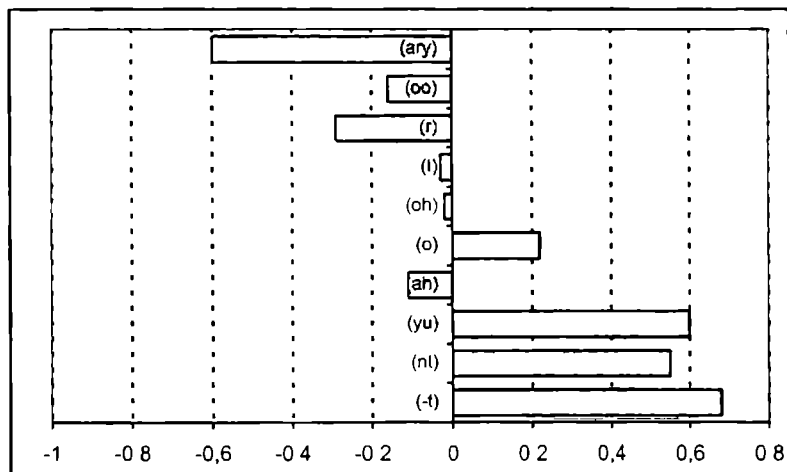


Figure 3 The results from the WISH-test The variables appear in the order in which they appear in the NORM-test in figure 2

If we look at the stability of the variables (see table II), we see that most variables are fairly to extremely stable. Thus for the variables (-t), (yu) and (nt) there is a stable and highly significant preference to use the RP pronunciation, while for the variables (ary) and (r) the preference for the GA version is stable and significant. For (oo) there is a very stable and for the items *across* and *soft* significant but smaller preference for GA. Variable (ah) is extremely stable with a non-significant 55% preference for the use of the GA version for all three items. Variable (oh) is stable and there is a significant preference for GA *lawn*, while for *talk* and *small* the opinion is almost equally divided between the two varieties. In the (o) category we see that for the item *hockey* a highly significant majority prefers the RP pronunciation while for the other two items there is only a small non-significant preference for the /ɒ/ pronunciation, so that the RP preference comes as no surprise. We have already seen in chapter 3 that this item was an unfortunate choice, since for our population the GA pronunciation /hɑːki/ is associated with a Dutch upper-class pronunciation. Finally, there are only two variables that are truly unstable, namely (en) and (t). The variable (en) continues to be the odd one out, while for (t) the item *meeting* is highly significantly preferred American style, the item *pretty* significantly British style, but the opinion about how to pronounce *little* is again divided equally.

Table II Results from the WISH test, raw data and indices, the results from the binomial tests of significance, and the instability of the variables

<i>VARIABLE</i>	<i>ITEM</i>	<i>RP</i>	<i>GA</i>	<i>INDEX</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>instability</i>
(-t)	eight	157	23	.74	180	.001	6%
	light	142	34	.61	176	.001	
	paint	155	26	.71	181	.001	
(nt)	invented	164	27	.72	191	.001	12%
	plenty	139	48	.49	187	.001	
	twenty	136	50	.46	186	.001	
(yu)	new	143	34	.65	177	.001	10%
	reduce	160	24	.75	184	.001	
	stupid	129	52	.43	181	.001	
(ah)	classroom	81	98	-.10	179	.232	0%
	fast	85	103	-.10	188	.215	
	wineglass	81	97	-.09	178	.261	
(o)	college	100	77	.13	177	.098	17%
	hockey	131	51	.44	182	.001	
	knowledge	92	75	.10	167	.216	
(oh)	lawn	59	89	-.20	148	.017	11%
	small	85	74	.07	159	.428	
	talk	93	89	.02	182	.824	
(t)	little	95	93	.01	188	.941	25%
	meeting	67	123	-.30	190	.001	
	pretty	105	71	.19	176	.013	
(r)	dark	49	125	-.44	174	.001	12%
	morning	55	91	-.25	146	.004	
	nature	55	80	-.19	135	.040	
(oo)	across	71	100	-.17	171	.032	2%
	often	70	93	-.14	163	.085	
	soft	74	104	-.17	178	.030	
(ary)	dictionary	31	156	-.67	187	.001	9%
	January	50	143	-.48	193	.001	
	territory	37	154	-.61	191	.001	
(en)	dam	62	86	-.16	148	.059	50%
	gang	29	114	-.60	143	.001	
	grand	117	49	.41	166	.001	

5.2.5. The NORM and WISH results compared

From the previous three sections it should already have become clear that on the whole the appreciation of GA pronunciations as a model for the subjects' own pronunciation increased compared to the subjects' opinion on the suitability of GA as the norm variety. In order to see for which variables this is particularly true, and to make this visually clear, we calculated the index differences by subtracting the WISH indices from the NORM indices. We arrive at a positive index difference if the NORM index is larger than the WISH index, which means that the preference for RP is lower in the WISH test than in the NORM test. For example, the index difference for (ah) is

$$37 - (-11) = 37 + 11 = 48$$

This means there is a considerable swing away from RP in the WISH test compared to the NORM test.

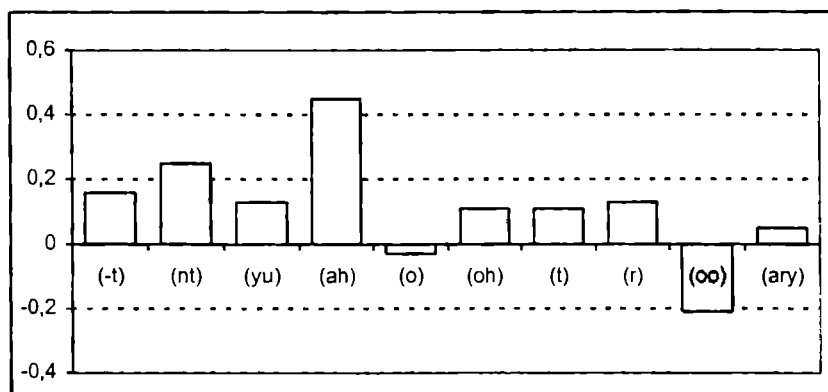


Figure 4 The differences between the NORM and WISH indices. The variables appear from left to right from the highest scoring to the lowest scoring on the NORM test.

Figure 4 is a graphic representation of the index differences for all the variables. We see that, except for (oo) and (o), all index differences are positive, which means that there is a shift toward a preference for GA as the WISH pronunciation. We have already seen that for those items for which there was a strong preference for RP as the NORM there is a less strong preference for RP as the WISH, as for (-t), (nt) and (yu) or even a preference for GA as the WISH, as for (oh), (ah) and (t). We also saw that for those items where GA was already considered the NORM, those pronunciations are not only considered correct, but also desirable, as for (ary) and (r). Now we see that the largest preference shifts towards GA occur for the variables (ah), (nt), (yu) and (-t). It is exactly in those variables that there is the strongest RP NORM preference. These variables were also relatively well recognised, so that the shift in preference cannot be

attributed to 'mistaken identity', but has to be regarded as a clear move away from the norm variety

For the variable (o) there is no shift in preference at all. This is mainly due to a preference for non-GA *hockey*, /hɑ:kɪ/ sounds Dutch upper class and therefore 'exaggerated' and /hɒkɪ/ sounds 'normal'. For only one variable is there a shift in preference towards RP, namely (oo). This can be explained by the observation from the NORM test that here we have a case of 'mistaken identity' – the subjects thought the GA pronunciation was RP and vice versa. While the subjects thought they were selecting more GA versions as the pronunciation they would WISH to use, they chose in fact more RP pronunciations.

The most probable interpretation of our finding that virtually all index differences are positive is clearly that GA is beginning to be the more desired variety for our subjects. This would tie in with our findings in chapter 4: if American English commands high STATUS, DYNAMISM and AFFECT, it would seem natural to want to speak that variety. On the other hand, in the WISH test there are a number of variables that show a very clear RP preference, notably (nt), (-t) and (yu), and to a lesser extent (o). The first two show a preference for spelling-pronunciations, (yu) may sound 'funny' in GA while the fourth is a reaction against Dutch upper-class /hɑ:kɪ/. What this would appear to mean is that subjects prefer any variety that is not overtly and stereotypically RP.

5.3. Between-subjects factors in aggregate NORM and WISH scores

Having established that for most variables RP is considered the norm variety and that for most variables GA is the variety the subjects would prefer to use themselves, let us now consider whether there is any variation in these results depending on the regional background, type of education and gender of the subjects. Rather than looking at the individual variables, we will consider the varieties as a whole. In order to be able to do this we calculated the mean overall percentage of RP-NORM preferences (henceforth the MON, Mean Overall Norm), and the mean overall percentage of RP-WISH preferences (henceforth the MOW, Mean Overall Wish).³ Again we did not take the responses 'no opinion' or 'I cannot hear any difference' into consideration, and left the variable (en) out of the calculation.

As mentioned in 5.2, it was expected that mavo subjects would have a more positive attitude toward GA than vwo subjects. It was also expected that subjects who feel they belong to a minority dialect group would be more strict in their

³Of course we could equally well have taken the mean percentage of GA as NORM (= 100 - 59 = 41%), but as we are here dealing with the subjects' perception of the *school* norm, and since that still is mainly RP, it makes more sense to use the RP score.

appreciation of RP as the norm than the other subjects. And finally, it was expected that the female subjects would regard RP the norm more strictly than the male subjects.

As with the evaluation of RP and GA speakers in chapter 4, there appear indeed to be interesting differences depending on the type of education and the geographical background of the subjects, but again, there are no differences in the judgement of the suitability of RP as a norm between male and female subjects. The next two sections will discuss first the Mean Overall Norm and then the Mean Overall Wish. Each section will first give a breakdown of the subjects according to school type and then according to locality. Finally, section 5.3.3 will provide a general discussion of the findings.

5.3.1. The Mean Overall Norm

Table III Mean Overall Norm (MON) scores with F-value from a TWO-WAY ANOVA by school type (1) and by place (2). The highest scores are underlined

	Nijm.	Venlo	A'dam	Gron	Mean	F	p
MAVO	52	55	52	64	56	(1) 14.34	.001
VWO	65	62	57	<u>68</u>	62		
BOTH TYPES	59	59	54	<u>66</u>	59	(2) 6.66	.001

In their evaluation of the varieties on the whole, the mavo subjects consider RP to be the norm only to a limited extent. As we can see in table III their MON score is 56%. This is in accordance with the finding in chapter 4 that mavo subjects rate the GA guises higher on the NORM-factor than the vwo subjects do. This lower appreciation of the GA guises on the NORM-factor by the vwo subjects is reflected in their evaluation of the variety as a whole. They favour RP as the norm pronunciation (62% preference). A TWO-WAY ANOVA of the MON percentages by place and type of education shows that there is no interaction, so that there are main effects for school type and for region⁴. The difference between the mavo and vwo subjects is significant ($F = 14.34$, $p = .001$). In other words, both in their evaluation of the speakers and in their evaluation of the phonological variables the vwo subjects feel more strongly than the mavo subjects that RP is the norm.

There is significant regional variation too, as is demonstrated in table III. Just as we have seen in the pronunciation test in section 3.5, and in the matched-guise test in the previous chapter, Groningen seems to be the most norm-

⁴The full TWO-WAY results for the MON and MOW are given in appendix 8

conscious in that they show a stronger preference for RP than any of the other places, and for both levels of education. The vwo subjects in Nijmegen also show a strong preference for this variety, while the mavo subjects in Amsterdam and Nijmegen remain below the mean in this respect. As mentioned above, it was expected that there would indeed be regional variation in the degree to which the subjects would feel that RP is the norm, and it was especially expected that, due to the cosmopolitan nature of Amsterdam, where subjects will have the greatest opportunity to come into personal contact with speakers of both varieties under investigation, Amsterdam subjects would be the most appreciative of GA. This is indeed the case; both the Amsterdam mavo and vwo subjects remain below the mean in their appreciation of RP. It was also expected that, due to a supposed strong ethnocentrism in Venlo (where the regional dialect is highly regarded and is a considerable marker of group identity), the subjects there would be the most normative and show a strong preference for RP as the NORM variety. This does not quite turn out to be the case. In fact, the percentages RP NORM for both the Venlo mavo and vwo subjects is exactly the mean for our entire population. In other words, the Venlo population is in this respect representative of Dutch subjects in general.

Finally, although it has consistently been found that women tend to be more normative than men, it turns out that there is virtually no difference between the men and women in our groups, be it that the men score one percentage point *higher* than the women (59 and 60%, respectively, $F = 319$, $p = .573$). This finding, as well as the finding that a strong regional culture has no influence on subjects' perception of RP as a norm, suggests that the normative status of an educational model accent in foreign language teaching differs from that of a sociolinguistically determined standard accent of a native language. We will return to this point in 5.3.3.

5.3.2. The Mean Overall Wish

In the same way as for the MON-score we arrived at a Mean Overall Wish-score, the MOW. Of course, given the WISH scores as presented in 5.2.4, this MOW is necessarily lower than the MON. As we can see in table IV, the MOW, which represents the preference for RP as a model for the subjects' own pronunciation, is 54% (which means that the preference for GA as a model is 46%). A TWO-WAY ANOVA by school type and place shows a considerable interaction ($F = 5.12$, $p = .002$), which is caused by the fact that there is a cross-over pattern for Nijmegen and Venlo: in Venlo the mavo learners show a higher MOW score than the vwo learners, while in Nijmegen the mavo learners show a very low MOW score and the vwo learners a relatively high one. In fact, the Nijmegen mavo has the lowest appreciation for RP as the variety they would want to use while the Nijmegen vwo subjects are the only group for which there is no difference

between the MON and MOW score. For all other groups the MOW is lower than the MON, indicating an almost general desire to be more American, as documented in the previous section. The Groningen subjects again show the greatest preference for the British model, and Amsterdam the lowest. Finally, as with the MON scores there is no difference in the opinions of the male and female subjects ($F = 714$, $p = .399$).

Table IV. Mean Overall Wish (MON) scores with F-value from a TWO-WAY ANOVA by school type (1) and by place (2). The lowest scores are underlined.

	Nijm	Venlo	A'dam	Gron	Mean	F	p
MAVO	<u>44</u>	54	49	59	52	(1) 3.67	.057
VWO	65	50	49	59	56		
BOTH TYPES	56	52	<u>49</u>	59	54	(2) 3.51	.016

5.3.3. Discussion

Broeders (1981) found that Nijmegen advanced learners rate RP speakers significantly higher than do Amsterdam learners. His subjects were first-year students of English at the University of Nijmegen and at a teacher training college in Amsterdam, whose level of education barely differs from that of our vwo subjects, generally speaking no more than half a year. Of course the populations obviously differ in that Broeders' subjects had chosen to study English and therefore probably had more outspoken opinions about the language than our subjects. However, our finding that the Nijmegen vwo subjects regard RP more strictly as the norm than the Amsterdam subjects is in line with Broeders' results, but it is not in line with their own production, which in all styles (WLS, RPS and free speech) is above the mean for the vwo learners. And their production does certainly not match their overall WISH score, which, with a 65% preference for RP, is extremely high. The Groningen results, on the other hand, do tie in with their low GA production, which is in all styles the lowest, both for the MAVO and the VWO subjects. It also, certainly for the vwo pupils, matches their responses to the questionnaire about the variety they like best and the variety they think a teacher should speak.

In all tests (production, matched-guise and preference), Venlo represent the mean for our entire population. It has been claimed that ethnocentrism leads to a negative evaluation of non-standard varieties and to a lower use of non-standard forms (e.g. Giles & Powesland, 1971), whereby ethnocentrism has been defined as a positive attitude towards one's own group together with a positive attitude towards the language of that group. If we go by that definition, the Venlo

subjects must be called ethnocentric, as their attitudes to their group and their variety are extremely positive, and should have had the lowest production of GA forms and should have evaluated RP as the mean overall norm and wish, and the RP guises higher than they do. However, our findings suggest that the ethnocentrism explanation cannot stand, and that there must be other factors that determine the regional variation in the production and in the evaluation of the varieties and their speakers. We would like to suggest that the attitudes of our subjects are determined by the way they feel about their own dialects. This interpretation fits the questionnaire answers to the question how much the subjects minded whether people could tell by their accents where they came from (the data from the eight subgroups can be found in appendix 9, question 16). It turns out that all Groningen subjects, the Nijmegen mavo and the Venlo vwo subjects are somewhat concerned (around 3.5, which is the mid-point), the Venlo mavo subjects are not at all concerned and both the mavo and vwo Amsterdam subjects are only slightly concerned. The Nijmegen vwo subjects, on the other hand, are extremely worried about their accent. Given these views on one's own dialect, it comes as no surprise that subjects coming from cities where the local dialect is frowned upon or considered 'not beautiful', i.e. Nijmegen (van Hout, 1989) and to some extent Groningen, have stronger traditional feelings about RP being the NORM. After all, a negative attitude towards a local dialect goes hand in hand with a positive attitude towards the standard dialect. Our findings suggest that this is also true in the evaluation of varieties of a foreign, rather than a native language. Considering that all of the subjects have been taught RP exclusively, it is only to be expected that they regard that as the standard form of English.

5.4. Preference and production

We have seen that our subjects consider RP to be the norm for most variables and GA for some variables, and that there is a shift away from RP in their selection of the variety they would wish to speak. We have also seen in chapter three that our subjects use more GA pronunciations for some variables than for others. Now we will consider how their behaviour relates to their proclaimed preference, i.e. we will compare the WISH-indices with the pronunciations they actually use. In order for this comparison to be possible, we need to transform the percentages GA usage, we have been using in chapter 3, to a SPEECH index. This index is calculated in the same way as the WISH index, i.e. by subtracting the GA usage from the RP usage and dividing this by the total usage, which is of course one hundred percent. For example, the indices for (ah) and for (r) are:

$$\text{SPEECH (ah)} = (70\% \text{ RP} - 30\% \text{ GA}) / 100 = 0.4$$

$$\text{SPEECH (r)} = (42\% \text{ RP} - 58\% \text{ GA}) / 100 = -0.16$$

We get a positive index if there are more RP than GA pronunciations, as in the case of (ah) and a negative index if there are more GA than RP pronunciations, as in the case of (r). It was also decided to use only the results from the free speech task since these results were obtained while the subjects paid the least attention to their pronunciation and are therefore presumed to be closest to the pronunciation they use in everyday life

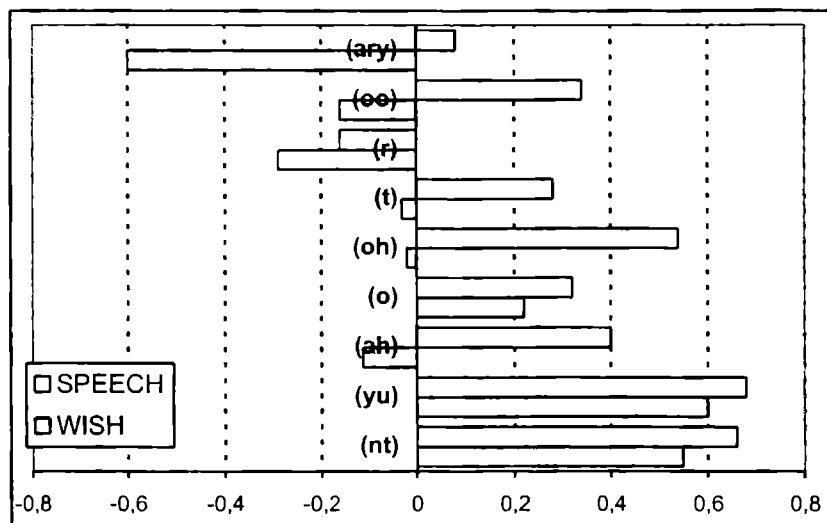


Figure 5 The results from the WISH test and the free speech test compared -1 means exclusive preference for or use of GA, 1 means exclusive preference for or use of RP

Figure 5 is a graphic representation of the subjects' proclaimed WISH and of their actual SPEECH for each variable. First we see that for each variable the SPEECH index is further to the right than the WISH index. This means that for each variable the subjects use more RP versions than they claim they wish to use. Second, we see that for all variables except (r), the SPEECH index is positive, which means that for all these variables there are more RP than GA pronunciations. Next, if we compare the directions of the SPEECH and WISH indices for each variable, we see that we can distinguish three groups. In the first group, made up of the variables (yu), (nt) and (o), both indices are in the same positive direction. In the second group, made up of (oh), (t), (ah), (oo) and (ary) the SPEECH index is opposite to the WISH index. And finally for the variable (r), both indices are in the same negative direction. Let us now have a closer look at each of these groups.

For the first group of variables, the subjects' pronunciation is fairly consistent with the pronunciation they claim they want to use. Both indices have

the same positive bias, which means that they both use and would prefer to use the RP version of these variables. For each of these variables the SPEECH index is about 0.1 larger than the WISH index, which indicates a small but consistent higher RP usage than reported preference. Thus they greatly prefer the RP pronunciation of (yu) and their RP usage exceeds their preference. They strongly prefer the RP version of (nt) and again their usage exceeds their preference. And, finally, they do prefer the RP version of (o), but not nearly as strongly as the previous two variables, and this smaller preference for RP (o) is again reflected in their pronunciation.

For the second group of variables, most subjects claim they want to use the GA version, but in fact use the RP variant. For these variables, the difference between the two indices is much larger than for the first group. Thus for (oh) we see a large positive SPEECH index and a very small negative WISH index, the preference for either variant is about equally divided, but the vast majority use the RP variant. For (t) we see an equally small negative WISH index, but here the SPEECH index is much smaller, which means that more subjects use the GA variant of (t) than of (oh). For (ah) there is a large negative WISH, but again this is not reflected in the actual production, and the same goes for (oo). Finally, there is an extremely strong preference for the GA variant of the variable (ary), but a small positive SPEECH index.

Finally, for the variable (r) both the WISH and SPEECH indices are negative, which means that the preferred pronunciation is GA and so is their usage. For this variable, too, the SPEECH index is further to the right than the WISH index, which means that our subjects use fewer GA versions than they say they would want to use.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that our subjects, by and large, know the difference between RP and GA. As is to be expected, vwo subjects are significantly better at identifying the varieties than mavo subjects, but there is no regional variation in knowledge, nor is there any difference between the male and female subjects. The RP pronunciations are better recognised than the GA versions (73% vs 64%), except for the variable (en), where almost 90% of the subjects recognise the nasalised and lengthened version as being GA, but less than 35% know that a 'neutral' pronunciation is a feature of RP. The variable (ary) is badly identified for both varieties. The four variables the subjects identify best are (ah), (nt), (-t) and (t), with the exception of (-t) all stereotypical representatives of the difference between the two varieties.

Having established that our subjects do recognise most variables, it becomes possible to regard our subjects' opinions about the desirability of RP or GA as the

NORM variety and as the variety they would want to use themselves, as genuine opinions not attributable to any lack of knowledge. For most variables RP is considered the NORM variety by most subjects, while there is a shift towards GA as the variety they would like to use themselves. This shift is the largest for the variable (ah), which means that most subjects consider /fɑ:st/ to be the correct, but /fæst/ the more attractive pronunciation of *fast*. The mavo subjects are significantly less norm conscious than the vwo subjects, and there are significant regional differences, Groningen regards RP the highest, both as the NORM and the WISH variety, and Amsterdam the lowest.

One would expect the indices for the subjects' production for all the variables to be close to the WISH indices, i.e. one would expect them to behave as they claim they want to behave. However, this is not the case; we see that there is a consistent higher RP production than the expressed wish. This difference is the largest for (ah), where the subjects' pronunciations in fact match their opinion of this variable as the NORM (the SPEECH and NORM indices are both around 4).

6. Conclusion

The briefest possible summary of the findings of this study can be given by giving short answers to the first three research questions presented in chapter 1, which are repeated here

1a To what extent does the fact that outside the classroom Dutch secondary school pupils very frequently hear American English influence their English pronunciation?

Exposure to American English leads to 26.8% GA influence in word list style, 25.2% in reading passage style and 39.1% in free speech. Mavo learners use significantly more GA pronunciations than vwo learners, and Amsterdam and Nijmegen learners use the most GA pronunciations and Groningen pupils the fewest, while Venlo pupils show the mean for the four groups. There is no difference in the production of male and female subjects.

1b Is the influence of GA equal for all the phonological variables or are some variables more readily adopted than others?

The influence of GA depends very much on the variable. In free speech it is highest for post-vocalic (r) and unreduced (ary), it is intermediate for flapped (t), unrounded (o) and (oo) and for 'shibboleth' (ah) as in *dance*, and almost zero for unrounded (oh), 'flapped' (nt) and non-pronounced /j/ in (yu).

2 What are the attitudes of these pupils towards (male and female) speakers of RP and GA?

As far as our subjects are concerned, Britons have high social status and speak the norm variety, they command positive affect, but are not at all dynamic. Americans have equal status to the Britons, are very dynamic and command a lot of affect, but do not speak the norm variety. For the American guises the women score higher than the men on all four factors, while for the British guises the men score higher than the women.

3 Which variety do they consider the norm which variety do they prefer and do they know the difference between the two varieties?

The subjects can distinguish the two varieties and regard RP as the norm variety. For some variables they like RP better and for others GA, but if we compare their preference to what they regard the norm pronunciation of these variables, we find that for almost all variables their preference is more in the direction of GA. This is strongest for the variables (ah) and (nt). Preference for GA is the highest

in Amsterdam and the lowest in Groningen. Mavo learners are more appreciative of GA than vwo learners. There is no difference in preference between male and female subjects.

This chapter will discuss these findings. Sections 6.1 and 6.2 will discuss the subjects' attitudes to speakers of the two varieties (section 6.1) and to the pronunciations of the variables (section 6.2). Next, section 6.3 will relate the subjects' pronunciation to these attitudes. Finally, section 6.4 will address the fourth research question: what conclusions can be drawn from the results with regard to the desirability of teaching one variety rather than the other?

6.1. Attitudes towards speakers of GA and RP

In this study, six speakers of RP and six of GA, half of them women and half of them men, were rated on 16 bi-polar scales. Factor analysis showed that there are four dimensions along which these speakers were evaluated: STATUS, DYNAMISM, AFFECT and NORM. The status factor consists of scales such as *educated*, *cultured* and *clever*, and is the only factor that correlates significantly with the social positions the speakers are thought to have. The dynamism factor is made up of the scales *witty*, *dynamic*, *spontaneous* and *wilful*, and the affect factor consists of scales such as *honest*, *friendly* and *companionable*. Finally, the norm factor consists of one single scale, namely *standard*.

As stated in the answer to research question (2), our subjects consider Britons to have high social status, men more so than women, and to speak the norm variety, again, men more so than women. They also consider Britons not at all dynamic, women even less so than men, but they do command positive affect, and here both men and women score the same. Americans command more positive affect, have equal social status and are much more dynamic than Britons, but do not speak the norm variety. For the Americans, the women are rated higher than the men on all factors. If we can base ourselves on the roles in which British and American men and women are frequently portrayed in the media, we could somewhat crudely say that from these findings emerge four distinct stereotypes: American women are well-trained, high power executives, American men are less well-educated, relatively slow cowboys (or policemen), British men are boring politicians, and British women are dowdy housewives.

However, we have to be careful not to over-generalise on the basis of this matched-, or rather, hybrid-guise test. Although the matched-guise technique has been developed to measure attitudes to language varieties, there have been three points of criticism raised in the literature, which are succinctly summarised by Vousten (1995: 118). The first point concerns the internal validity of the matched-guise technique, and has been raised by Edwards (1982), who claims

that the technique in fact measures attitudes to speakers, rather than to varieties. We have tried to compensate for this by using six speakers for each variety, but since the ratings for the individual speakers in some groups, notably the British women, show considerable variation, this point is well taken. The second point also concerns the internal validity, and involves the fact that in matched-guise research the speakers are always supposed to be perfectly bilingual, but that one can question whether this is in fact true. By using a hybrid-guise design, we have tried to avoid this problem: in each group there were two genuine native speakers of the two varieties. Furthermore, none of the native speakers judging the authenticity of the guises has remarked on any unnaturalness in the non-native guises. We therefore feel that we have successfully countered this point of criticism.

The final point of criticism against the matched-guise technique concerns the external validity, and raises the question whether a matched-guise indeed measures attitudes, rather than just eliciting stereotypes. In current social psychological theory, attitudes are seen as evaluative reactions (e.g. Azjen, 1988), possibly based on cognitive convictions and/or affective reactions, and they influence one's behaviour (van der Pligt & de Vries, 1995). Stereotypes are "abstract mental representations of social groups" (Manstead & Hewstone, 1995: 628), which, in our case, involve images like: Americans are X and Britons are Y. In an overview of recent thinking about the relationship between attitudes and stereotypes, Nesdale & Durkin (1998) list four possible relations:

"... (1) that group attitudes (prejudice) are an inevitable consequence of stereotypes, (2) that a stereotype is simply the cognitive accompaniment of a group attitude, (3) that a stereotype is the cognitive component of an attitude, and (4) that stereotypes and attitudes are independent processes that might, or might not, be consistent in apparent valence" (1998: 219).

Nesdale & Durkin favour the fourth relationship, and if attitudes and stereotypes are indeed separate processes, then what we have measured seem to be both attitudes and stereotypes: the subjects' attitudes are expressed by the AFFECT factor, while their stereotypes are expressed by the other three. And if indeed attitudes are not a consequence of stereotypes, then it looks as if to our subjects, Americans are nice *because* they are dynamic, and Britons are nice *although* they are *not* dynamic.

But it remains to be seen if the criticism voiced against the matched-guise technique matters for our results in the long run. Because, irrespective of the question whether we have measured reactions to speakers or to varieties, and the question whether we have found attitudes or stereotypes, the fact remains that our subjects have distinct opinions about (speakers of) the two varieties, and that they differ significantly for British and American English.

Although after World War II 'things' American rapidly found their way into Dutch culture, the American variety of English did not. The Americans brought

us chewing gum, nylon stockings and jazz music, but they were still regarded as socially inferior to the Britons and their language was seen as a sub-standard form of English. The fact that in the present study, Britons and Americans are considered to have equal social status suggests that for a younger generation this view is no longer generally held, Britons and Americans are thought to be equally well-educated and have the same social standing. And although RP is seen as the variety that represents the norm, which is exactly what the subjects have been taught, GA scores neutral on this factor, which means that to our population it is very clearly not an unacceptable variety of English, especially not if spoken by women.

6.2. Attitudes to variant forms

We did not only look at our subjects' evaluations of RP and GA speakers, but also at their evaluation of the varieties per se, and at their opinions about the desirability of the use of the RP or GA variants of eleven phonological variables. In order to be able to meaningfully interpret the findings, we first determined that the subjects did in fact know almost all variables, the vwo subjects being better at identifying the varieties than the mavo subjects. The four variables the subjects identify best are (ah), (nt), (-t) and (t), with the exception of (-t) all well-known representatives of the difference between the two varieties. For all other variables their knowledge of RP is superior to their knowledge of GA, except for (en), where they recognise the GA version but not the RP version.

Just as RP is considered the norm variety for our speakers, it also represents the norm for most of the variables. This is most clearly true for (-t), (nt) and (yu), and somewhat less so for (ah), (o), (oh) and (t). For (r), (oo) and (ary) GA is seen as the norm. In the case of (r), this is probably explained by the fact that the spelling leads subjects to expect r-pronunciation to be preferable, in the case of (oo), the GA preference may be due to the fact that we chose an old-fashioned GA variant, while in the case of (ary), subjects wrongly identified the GA variant as being RP, and vice versa. The mavo subjects are significantly less norm-conscious than the vwo subjects, while Groningen accords RP the highest degree of normativeness, and Amsterdam accords RP the lowest. The overall finding that RP is the norm variety, and the fact that the male RP speakers scored very high on the factors status and norm shows that this variety has overt prestige, for male speakers more so than for female speakers.

When we look at the variety the subjects say they wish to use themselves in a situation in which they are absolutely free to choose, we see that there is a shift towards GA for all variables except (oo). This shift is largest for (ah) and (nt) and intermediate for (yu) and (-t). Again, the shift is more substantial for the mavo subjects than for the vwo subjects, at least in Nijmegen and Venlo. The

Nijmegen mavo subjects are the most appreciative of GA as a model for their own pronunciation, while the Nijmegen vwo subjects prefer RP. Given this shift, and given the fact that the American guises score very high on status, dynamism and affect, it is reasonable to say that GA carries a certain amount of covert prestige, the kind of prestige that is usually associated with group membership and solidarity, while RP is accorded overt prestige. We will return to this point in the next section. For Dutch learners, and mavo learners more so than vwo learners, Americans are the people with whom they want to be friends and America is the country where they want to live in, given a choice between Britain and America.

Since GA is considered a more appropriate norm for women than for men, GA might have been considered more acceptable as the norm variety for the phonological variables if we had selected a female, rather than a male speaker for the wish and norm tests, and there might have been a larger shift towards GA as the variety the subjects would want to use themselves. After all, there emerges an extremely attractive picture of American women from the matched-guise test: they are the highest in status, dynamism and affect. The American men, on the other hand, are seen as having the lowest status of all, and their speech is the least acceptable as a norm variety.

6.3. Pronunciation: 'Caught between Norms'

Chapter three presented and discussed the results of the production experiment, in which three speech styles were investigated: word list style (WLS), reading passage style (RPS) and free speech (FS). It was shown that there is indeed a quantifiable American component in the English pronunciation of Dutch secondary school pupils, and that this GA influence is stronger as the style is less formal. It was also shown that for certain variables, notably (-t), (yu) and (nt), there is very little influence, while for others, notably (r) and (ary), there is a considerable GA influence on their pronunciation of English. And finally, it was shown that for certain variables there is lexical diffusion: some lexical items are pronounced RP-like and others GA-like.

It should be said that some of the items on the wordlist turned out to be badly chosen. We should have foreseen that words that are actually used in Dutch, such as *hockey* and *meeting*, or in 'school-yard' language, such as *stupid* and *plenty*, might behave differently, as might words that are very similar in Dutch and English, such as *nature* and *territory*. But in fact, the only lexical items that do not fit the pattern for the rest of the items that represent the variables are *hockey* for (o) and *stupid* for (yu). The only other items that do not fit the group patterns are *little* for (t) and *talk* for (oo) and these are neither used in Dutch, nor in the school-yard, nor is there a Dutch equivalent. And similarity between

English and Dutch turns out not to be problematic, since *January* scores below the mean for the (ary) variable, and *territory* above the mean

One real flaw in the design was the reading passage. Although it is unavoidable that the variable (r) occurs much more frequently than the other variables, and (ary) much less frequently, more care should have been taken regarding the other variables, especially (ah), which unfortunately only occurred once. One reason this flaw occurred was that we wanted to be very certain that the mavo pupils would understand the story and know all the words on the word list, so that we opted for very simple and recognisable words. Nevertheless, a few more instances of (ah) would not have been amiss.

Although we should perhaps be careful with the results from RPS, the fact that style shifting occurs between WLS and FS is a clear indication that to our subjects RP is the standard variety that carries overt prestige, which, of course, results from its position in Dutch education, or, as one subject put it, "[speaking RP] will get you a good mark".¹ But, more importantly, style shifting, plus the fact that there is a shift in preference towards GA as the variety the subjects want to use, implies that GA has covert prestige. As was said in the previous section, this is the kind of prestige that non-standard varieties have among speakers of non-standard varieties, and the solidarity these speakers feel towards other speakers of their own or of another non-standard variety. Of our population, 47% say they speak a dialect of Dutch at home, and profess not to care much that people can tell from their accent where they come from (2.7 on a seven point scale running from 'care not at all' to 'care a lot'), so that perhaps we can say that the covert prestige of their own dialects is carried over to American English.

We have seen that the subjects' production does not totally match their answers to the question which variants they would want to use themselves. They use fewer GA forms than they say they want to use. This is of course partly explained by their training, in that the forms they have been taught and use in the classroom will obviously come out more easily than the 'non-standard' forms, especially since all the interviews took place in the various schools. Furthermore, most subjects' knowledge of what constitutes an American pronunciation for the individual variables is limited to (ah), (nt), (-t), (t) and (en). Of these (-t) and (en) could not be investigated because the former did not occur in free speech and the latter was too heavily influenced by Dutch. Of the other three, (nt) showed a remarkably low GA influence, while for (t) and (ah) GA pronunciations ran to 30%.

Finally, certain lexical items have a persistent RP pronunciation (e.g. *soft*, *John*, *new*) while others have almost exclusively GA (e.g. *stupid*, *not*, *little*). Apparently, GA influence may take place at the level of the word, as opposed to

¹ "Kun je goede punten mee halen

the level of the phonological variable, and lexical diffusion may thus result. The causes are no doubt to be found in the circumstances in which each word is acquired by the Dutch school child, or perhaps more accurately, in which the word first made its way into the English of Dutch schoolchildren. Examples of such 'school-yard' words that were taken from American English are *cool*, *shit*, and *stupid*, and in a case like *stupid* we thus have a pronunciation without [j], which may well be combined with a pronunciation of *new* with [j] by one and the same pupil

6.4. Teaching: the future

So far we have seen that in free speech our subjects pronounce 39.1% of the variables we investigated with an American-like pronunciation (and consequently 60.9% with a British-like pronunciation). We have also seen that for certain variables they say they prefer to use RP pronunciations, while for others they prefer the GA variants, but that for those variables where the majority of the subjects want to use GA forms they mostly use RP forms. And finally, we have seen that Britons and Americans are considered to have equal status, that Americans are perceived to be more dynamic and command more affect than Britons, but that Britons speak the norm variety while Americans do not. The question to be considered in this section is whether these findings have any implications for teaching English in Dutch schools. Should we change the model taught to GA because there is already a quantifiable influence and because American speakers are seen as dynamic, or should we continue to teach RP because even current pupils still regard that as the norm, or indeed, should we start teaching a new kind of English?

Evidently, Zandvoort's (1959) question whether in our teaching we should take American English into consideration can be answered affirmatively. Not in the sense that GA should become the model, but in the sense that we should recognise that it is a distinct national standard of English, spoken by over 250 million people in the USA alone (Crystal, 1995: 109) and in the sense that, because of the important political and cultural role of that country in the world today, it is a variety of English that is frequently heard, certainly in the Netherlands. It is therefore not surprising that certain features of GA make their way into the language of learners. It is important to see that there is nothing wrong with that: we should not interpret the finding that 40% of the free speech of our subjects is GA influenced to mean that our teachers have failed in their task to teach the educationally supported model of English. We can also look at these results as an indication that we should accept that our students speak a variety of English, based on RP but heavily GA influenced, a form of English that is often called 'Mid-Atlantic'. This is obviously a more realistic view. Teachers,

pupils and parents should be made aware of the fact that it is entirely understandable that younger Dutch speakers of English have acquired American features through sheer exposure, and that in their variety of English certain sounds have undergone a change. This is not to say that teachers should allow a kind of 'Dutch-English', only intelligible to other Dutch (and possibly other Germanic) speakers, but it does mean they should allow a kind of English that sometimes follows the rules for RP and sometimes those for GA. What teachers should get upset about if they wish to improve their pupils' pronunciation are those elements that are foreign to the major varieties of English, such as the neutralisation of the fortis-lenis opposition in the coda (*beat* versus *bead*, *belief* versus *believe*, etc.), lack of aspiration, [s] or [t] for [θ], [d] for [ð]. There is little point in getting them to avoid features such as /æ/ for /ɑ:/, flapped /t/, postvocalic /r/, to mention some examples, but it may be useful to occasionally point out that these features are American English (cf. also the priorities in "Hints for the future teacher" in Gussenhoven & Broeders, 1997: 16-17).

In order for teachers to be able to determine which features they should accept, they should familiarise themselves with both varieties during their training, but adopt only one of them as a model for their own pronunciation. The reason for this is, as always in these matters, sociolinguistic. Parents and pupils do not expect teachers of English to have a Mid-Atlantic accent, and so it seems reasonable to want to avoid this. On the other hand, the teaching profession in the Netherlands is virtually exclusively RP-accented, and to redress the balance it would thus not be a bad idea to actively promote the appointment of some teachers who have (acquired) an American English pronunciation. In Nijmegen, proficiency training in GA is available on exactly the same terms as in RP, while other Dutch universities, too, provide opportunities for students to become an Anglicist on the basis of an American English model.

An attitude as indicated in the previous paragraph is also preferable to one which would aim at a wholesale change-over to an American model, thus becoming a new norm. The first reason for this is that the learners themselves are almost equally divided between those who like GA better and those who prefer RP (see appendix 9, questions 4, 5 and 6), so that although changing the model may please a number of pupils, it will displease an equal number of others. And from the responses to the question "which variety would you prefer to speak" we see that positive feelings toward RP are just as eloquently voiced as positive feelings about GA, and the same goes for negative feelings towards either variety. Some remarks in favour of RP are "More educated," "World language, beautiful pronunciation," "May seem exaggerated, arrogant yet I think it is 'real' English. Educated language" and "At least that is perfect

English In America they swallow a lot"² Some remarks in favour of GA are "Easier, looser," "Faster, less strict," "I find that a cool language, English is so posh" and "You hear that the most"³ (More examples are given in appendix 10)

Not only are the opinions of our subjects divided in the matter of the variety they want to speak, they are also divided in their opinions as to what model the teacher should provide Almost half the subjects (47.8%) think that a teacher should have a British accent, and only 9.6% prefer them to have an American accent Another 42.1% are of the opinion that the model does not matter, as long as it is a good pronunciation, but only 0.6% think that pronunciation is not important The fact that only very few subjects explicitly want GA as the model in the schools suggests that some learners may actually want to distinguish between the kind of English they use in school and the kind they use with friends As one of the Nijmegen subjects said "I find English (from England) more business-like, but when you speak with friends you speak more American and not business-like,"⁴ and a subject from Groningen said she wanted to learn RP at school and acquire GA from the television

A less even-handed attitude is to be found among teachers If the subjects are divided in their opinion which variety a teacher should speak, teachers are much less divided Dekker (1996) asked 25 teachers how they felt about teaching GA (if necessary after re-training) Only three thought it an exciting prospect, six saw all kinds of practical problems and 16 were vehemently against In the Netherlands, of course, very few teachers have been trained to teach GA, and there are very few places where such training is possible So the practical problem of re-training hundreds of teachers cannot be ignored, nor can the fact that learning a new model is not an easy task, certainly not after many years of teaching RP But this study shows that it seems important to at least change the attitudes of teachers to their student's pronunciation Dekker's study indicates that the time seems right to stimulate a change of attitude of teachers As many as 72% of her subjects just wanted their students' pronunciation to be 'good' pronunciation, although their views as to what constitutes 'good' pronunciation are not all the same Most of them would like to see consistency, but others accept certain GA features in combination with an otherwise RP type accent, as long as they are not 'exaggerated' Apart from stimulating teachers' attitudes to their students' pronunciation as such, the presence of more teachers with an

²"Beschaafder," Wereldtaal, mooie uitspraak," "Komt misschien overdreven, arrogant over, toch volgens mij echt Engels Nette taal" and "Dat is tenminste perfect Engels In Amerika slikken ze heel veel in"

³"Makkelijker, vlotter," "Sneller, minder stijl," "Dat vind ik een tof taaltje, Engels is zo bekakt" and "Dat komt het meest voor"

⁴"Ik vind Engels (uit Engeland) zakelijker, maar als je met vrienden praat, praat je meer Amerikaans en niet zakelijk"

American pronunciation may further serve to bring the attitude among the educators in line with those that are being educated.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Text for story telling task and for matched-guise test

John Pepper

John Pepper was an old man of 87 when he died. He had been ill the whole winter and spring, and nobody was surprised to hear that he was now dead. He had lived all his life in the little village of Hunterbury, and everyone knew him. When he died, all the people in the village went to his funeral. The minister of the local church had known John Pepper for over 40 years, and they had often spent time together.

On the morning of the funeral, the sun was shining and it was a beautiful summer's day. The minister was walking across to the cemetery, when he saw a man who was not going to the funeral. This man was working in his garden, and the minister knew that he and John Pepper had not been good friends. But the minister thought that — on such a lovely summer's day — the man could leave his garden and go to the funeral instead. So he stopped at the garden, and asked the man if he was going to the funeral.

"No, I'm not", said the man in the garden.

"But why not?" said the minister. He was a little angry now.

"Why should I go to John Pepper's funeral?" said the man in the garden. "He won't be coming to mine!"

The same text with the phonological variables investigated in brackets

John (o) Pepper (r)

John (o) Pepper (r) was an old man (en) of 87 (t) when he died. He had been ill the whole winter (nt) (r) and spring, and nobody was surprised to hear (r) that he was now dead. He had lived all (oh) his life in the little (t) village of Hunterbury (nt) (ary), and everyone knew (yu) him. When he died, all (oh) the people in the village went to his funeral. The minister (r) of the local church (r) had known John (o) Pepper (r) for over (r) forty (r) (t) years (r), and they had often (oo) spent time together (r).

On (o) the morning (r) of the funeral, the sun was shining and it was a beautiful (t) summer's (r) day The minister (r) was walking (oh) across (oo) to the cemetery (ary), when he saw (oh) a man (en) who was not (o) going to the funeral This man (en) as working (r) in his garden (r), and the minister (r) knew (yu) that he and John (o) Pepper (r) had not (o) been good friends. But the minister (r) thought (oh) that - on such a lovely summer's (r) day - the man (en) could leave his garden (r) and go to (t) the funeral instead. So he stopped (o) at the garden (r), and asked (ah) the man (en) if he was going to the funeral.

"No, I'm not (o) (-t)", said the man (en) in the garden (r)

"Why not (o) (-t)?" said the minister (r) He was a little (t) angry now.

"Why should I go to (t) John (o) Pepper's (r) funeral?" said the man (en) in the garden (r) "He won't be coming to mine!"

Appendix 2: The picture story

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Appendix 3: Pronunciation results by place and type of education

Table A TWO-WAY ANOVA GA pronunciations word list by place and school type

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Within SS	2.21	178	.01		
Place	.10	3	.03	2.83	.040
School type	.05	1	.05	4.16	.043
Place by Type	.01	3	.00	.14	.936

Table B TWO-WAY ANOVA GA pronunciations reading passage by place and school type

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Within SS	2.39	178	.01		
Place	.29	3	.10	7.14	.001
School type	.01	1	.01	.56	.456
Place by Type	.02	3	.01	.51	.676

Table C: TWO-WAY ANOVA GA pronunciations free speech by place and school type

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Within SS	3.29	170	.02		
Place	.16	3	.05	2.75	.044
School type	.13	1	.13	13	.010
Place by Type	.08	3	.03	1.40	.936

Appendix 4: MANOVA results for STATUS, DYNAMISM, AFFECT and NORM**1. STATUS**

Table A MANOVA for within Ss factors for Factor 1, STATUS

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Male/Female	4.16	1	4.16	7.96	.005
error	100.94	193	.52		
RP/GA	.23	1	.23	.54	.463
error	81.84	193	.42		
Male/Female/RP/GA	46.35	1	46.35	172.96	.001
error	51.72	193	.27		

Table B Simple main effects of RP and GA within male and female guises for Factor 1, STATUS

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
RP/GA within male	20.03	1	20.03	57.01	.001
error	67.81	193	.35		
RP/GA within female	26.55	1	26.55	77.93	.001
error	65.75	193	.34		

2. DYNAMISM

Table C MANOVA for within Ss factors for Factor 2, DYNAMISM

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Male/Female	.78	1	.78	1.01	.317
error	147.83	191	.77		
RP/GA	132.48	1	132.48	224.30	.001
error	112.81	191	.59		
Male/Female/RP/GA	7.73	1	7.73	19.14	.001
error	77.12	191	.40		

Table D Simple main effects of RP and GA within male and female guises for Factor 2, DYNAMISM

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
RP/GA within male	38.11	1	38.11	72.25	.001
error	100.75	191	.53		
RP/GA within female	102.09	1	102.09	218.66	.001
error	89.18	191	.47		

Table E: Simple main effects of male and female guises within RP and GA for Factor 2, DYNAMISM

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Male/Female within RP	102.09	1	102.09	218.66	.001
error	89.18	191	.47		
Male/Female within GA	38.11	1	38.11	72.25	.001
error	100.75	191	.53		

3. AFFECT

Table F: MANOVA for within Ss factors for Factor 3, AFFECT

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Male/Female	13.60	1	13.60	19.69	.001
error	132.07	191	.69		
RP/GA	30.10	1	30.10	66.33	.001
error	86.69	191	.45		
Male/Female/RP/GA	12.28	1	12.28	30.12	.001
error	77.88	191	.41		

Table G: Simple main effects of RP and GA within male and female guises for Factor 3, AFFECT

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
RP/GA within male	1.96	1	1.96	4.15	.043
error	90.42	191	.47		
RP/GA within female	40.42	1	40.42	104.13	.001
error	74.14	191	.39		

4. NORM

Table H: MANOVA for within Ss factors for Factor 4, NORM

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Male/Female	.31	1	.31	.31	.576
error	185.91	190	.98		
RP/GA	60.69	1	60.69	63.99	.001
error	180.20	190	.95		
Male/Female/RP/GA	2.61	1	2.61	4.06	.045
error	122.06	190	.64		

Table I. Simple main effects of RP and GA within male and female guises for Factor 4,
NORM

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
RP/GA within male	44.24	1	44.24	54.39	.001
error	154.54	190	.81		
RP/GA within female	19.06	1	19.06	24.52	.001
error	147.72	190	.78		

Appendix 5: Mean ratings of the twelve individual guises

Table A Mean ratings of the twelve individual guises *Guise* is the acted version Same symbols indicate same speakers

SPEAKER	STATUS	DYNAMISM	AFFECT	NORM
RP MALE				
Native single	4.51	3.38	4.30	4.89
Native double *	4.83	3.87	4.33	4.66
Guise @	4.42	3.72	4.26	4.58
RP FEMALE				
Native single	3.80	2.85	3.54	4.77
Native double #	4.51	4.10	4.84	4.39
Guise \$	4.41	3.60	4.53	4.50
GA MALE				
Native single	4.49	4.53	4.73	4.13
Native double @	4.41	4.73	4.81	3.98
Guise *	3.48	3.56	3.76	3.98
GA FEMALE				
Native single	4.95	4.69	4.90	3.99
Native double \$	4.78	4.54	5.00	4.04
Guise #	4.56	4.39	4.95	4.30

Appendix 6: ONEWAY ANOVA results matched-guise by place

Table A: Mean scores of the RP and GA male and female guises differentiated by place and F-values from a ONEWAY ANOVA. Significantly higher scores are underlined, significantly lower scores appear in *italics*

	Nijmegen	Venlo	A'dam	Groning.	mean	F	p
STATUS							
RP male	4.68	4.58	4.53	4.64	4.59	.569	ns
RP female	4.31	<i>4.00</i>	<u>4.55</u>	4.15	4.25	5.505	.001
GA male	4.22	4.09	4.17	4.08	4.13	.330	ns
GA female	4.93	4.76	4.76	4.67	4.76	.792	ns
DYNAMISM							
RP male	3.63	3.57	3.76	3.62	3.66	.655	ns
RP female	3.66	<i>3.31</i>	<u>3.80</u>	3.32	3.53	4.307	.006
GA male	4.34	4.37	4.20	4.20	4.27	.581	ns
GA female	4.83	4.41	4.59	4.41	4.54	2.446	ns
AFFECT							
RP male	4.18	4.35	4.28	4.33	4.30	.489	ns
RP female	4.37	<i>4.03</i>	<u>4.66</u>	4.20	4.31	6.529	.000
GA male	4.46	4.36	4.35	4.58	4.43	.914	ns
GA female	<u>5.15</u>	<i>4.73</i>	5.08	4.93	4.95	2.723	.046
NORM							
RP male	4.83	4.76	4.65	4.63	4.72	.479	ns
RP female	4.30	4.61	4.59	4.65	4.56	1.308	ns
GA male	3.98	3.97	4.18	3.98	4.03	.416	ns
GA female	3.97	4.07	4.26	4.11	4.11	.584	ns
N =	38	56	48	50	192		

Appendix 7: Matched-guise results by place and type of education

Table A Mean scores of the RP and GA male and female guises differentiated by place and type of education and F-values from a ONEWAY ANOVA NIJM = Nijmegen, VEN = Venlo, GRON = Groningen, AMS = Amsterdam

	mavo Nijm	vwo Nijm	mavo Ven	vwo Ven	mavo Ams	vwo Ams	mavo Gron	vwo Gron	mean	F	p
STATUS											
Male RP	4.66	4.70	4.43	4.61	4.56	4.51	4.38	4.86	4.59	1.268	ns
Female RP	4.25	4.34	4.15	3.96	4.77	4.31	4.22	4.05	4.25	3.490	.002
Male GA	4.27	4.17	4.20	4.00	4.06	4.26	3.92	4.22	4.13	.812	ns
Female GA	4.83	4.98	5.08	4.46	4.87	4.61	4.89	4.49	4.76	2.70	.01
DYNAMISM											
Male RP	3.55	3.69	3.60	3.59	3.86	3.72	3.81	3.81	3.66	.787	ns
Female RP	3.63	3.69	3.47	3.25	4.06	3.52	3.52	3.16	3.53	3.170	.003
Male GA	4.31	4.36	4.20	4.56	3.91	4.55	4.06	4.32	4.27	1.701	ns
Female GA	4.68	4.95	4.65	4.19	4.63	4.56	4.53	4.53	4.54	1.987	ns
AFFECT											
Male RP	3.96	4.35	4.46	4.24	4.32	4.27	4.13	4.50	4.30	1.316	ns
Female RP	4.38	4.38	4.27	3.89	4.95	4.33	4.39	4.01	4.31	5.344	.001
Male GA	4.67	4.29	4.28	4.43	4.20	4.53	4.50	4.65	4.43	1.113	ns
Female GA	5.02	5.24	5.05	4.45	5.02	5.13	4.97	4.97	4.95	2.616	.01
NORM											
Male RP	4.75	4.89	5.07	4.54	4.52	4.81	4.93	4.38	4.72	1.557	ns
Female RP	4.02	4.50	4.78	4.35	4.30	4.92	4.68	4.62	4.56	1.819	ns
Male GA	4.02	3.95	4.25	3.74	4.20	4.16	3.91	4.05	4.03	.682	ns
Female GA	3.80	4.10	4.31	3.86	4.60	3.85	4.39	3.86	4.11	2.026	ns
N =	17	21	27	29	27	21	27	23	192		

Appendix 8: MON and MOW results by place and type of education

Table A Two-way ANOVA Mean Overall Norm by place and school type

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Within SS	3 34	188	02		
Place	35	3	12	14 34	001
School type	25	1	25	6 66	001
Place by Type	05	3	02	85	466

Table B Two-way ANOVA Mean Overall Wish by place and school type

source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Within SS	4 91	188	03		
Place	28	3	09	3 51	016
School type	10	1	10	3 67	057
Place by Type	40	3	13	5 12	002

Appendix 9: The questionnaire (translated from the Dutch) with the results

Number of subjects	204
Male	48%
Female	52%
Mean age	16.8

1. How many years of formal English teaching have you had?

Mean number of years	5.36
----------------------	------

2. Which accent did your teachers mostly have?

74.9%	British
4.9%	American
10.3%	Dutch
10.4%	I don't know

3. Which accent do you think a teacher should have?

	<i>mavo</i> <i>Nijm</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Nijm</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Venlo</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Venlo</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Ams</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Ams</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Gron</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Gron</i>	mean
RP	24.9	59.1	44.4	55.2	20.7	11.8	45.0	88.5	43.7%
GA	5.9	4.5	11.1	3.4	27.8	0.0	15.0	0.0	8.5%
either	69.2	36.4	44.5	41.4	51.5	88.2	40.0	11.5	47.8%

4. Which variety would you prefer to use yourself?

	<i>mavo</i> <i>Nijm</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Nijm</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Venlo</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Venlo</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Ams</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Ams</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Gron</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Gron</i>	mean
RP	29.2	63.6	44.4	34.5	13.8	22.2	25.0	69.2	37.7%
GA	58.8	18.2	40.7	34.5	62.1	44.4	55.0	23.1	42.1%
either	12.0	1.2	14.9	31.0	24.1	33.4	20.0	7.7	20.2%

5. With what kind of accent do you try to speak:*At school:*

78%	British
12.4%	American
9.6%	Dutch

Outside school:

42.6%	British
43.8%	American

13.6% Dutch

6. Which pronunciation do you think is more beautiful?

	<i>mavo</i> <i>Nijm</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Nijm</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Venlo</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Venlo</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Ams</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Ams</i>	<i>mavo</i> <i>Gron</i>	<i>vwo</i> <i>Gron</i>	mean
RP	29.4	77.3	7.4	44.8	13.8	22.2	30.0	72.0	37.1%
GA	64.7	13.6	63.0	31.0	69.0	55.6	55.0	20.0	46.5%
equal	5.9	9.1	29.6	24.2	17.2	22.2	15.0	8.0	16.4%

7. Could you indicate on a scale from 1 to 7 how important you think it is to have a good English pronunciation?

Mean importance 5.81

8. Do your father or your mother (or both) have English as a native language?

YES: 2.2%

9. Do any of your grand-parents have English as a native language?

YES: 2.2%

10. Have you ever lived in an English speaking country?

YES: 3.4%

11. Can you remember when you last spoke English outside the school situation? How long ago was that?

33.5% 1 week ago
25.1% 1 month ago
20.7% 3 months ago
15.6% 1 year ago
5% never

12. If you speak English outside the school, with whom?

5.8% family
15.2% friends
28.7% tourists in the Netherlands
43.9% people I meet on holiday
6.4% other

13. Where did these speakers come from?

31.1% England, Scotland or Wales
22.8% America
12% other English speaking countries (like Canada, Australia, etc.)

31.1% other countries (like Spain, Russia, etc.)

14. If you had to choose between England and America:

-a. Where would you rather live?

85.8% America

-b. Where would you rather work?

84% America

-c. With whom would you rather get married?

85.1% American

15. Do you speak a dialect at home?

46.8% yes

16. Indicate on a scale from 1 to 7 (1 = not at all, 7 = very much) how much it bothers you that someone may hear from your pronunciation where you come from

<i>mavo</i>	<i>vwo</i>	<i>mavo</i>	<i>vwo</i>	<i>mavo</i>	<i>vwo</i>	<i>mavo</i>	<i>vwo</i>	
<i>Nijm</i>	<i>Nijm</i>	<i>Venlo</i>	<i>Venlo</i>	<i>Ams</i>	<i>Ams</i>	<i>Gron</i>	<i>Gron</i>	Mean
3.12	4.24	1.65	2.96	1.96	2.35	3.42	3.42	2.85

Appendix 10: A selection from the answers to question 4 “which variety would you prefer to use yourself and why”

A. Original Dutch Answers

No preference, because:

Als je de taal maar goed kunt spreken, het accent pas je wel aan als dat moet
Amerikaans alleen is te plattelands, Engels alleen te kak

Engels: hooghartig, Amerikaans: lomp, slordig; dus liever ‘n tussenweg

Het maakt me niet uit, zolang ze mij maar verstaan

Ik vind Engels (uit Engeland) zakelijker, maar als je met vrienden praat praat je
meer Amerikaans en niet zakelijk

Sommige woorden Amerikaans overdreven, Brits ouderwets

Soms is de Engelse uitspraak mooier of makkelijker, de andere keer is het de
Amerikaanse uitspraak

Ze klinken allebei bijna hetzelfde

American English, because:

Dat hoor je het meest en daar kom ik later misschien nog mee in aanraking
(vakantie of zakelijk)

Een te gek accent

Het Amerikaans Engels is wat ruiger en daar houd ik wel van

Ik vind de Engelse uitspraak bekakt en stom

In Engeland spreken ze zo zangerig, zo bekakt, aanstellerig

Klinkt veel geziger als het gewone Engels, ik vind dit een beetje bekakt
overkomen

Klinkt iets “echter”, vlotter

Klinkt het leukste, niet zo strak

“Omdat ik een vriendje (sic) heb in Amerika” (Jongen, 10 jaar)

Omdat dat toffer is

Sneller, minder stijf

Vind ik mooier en toffer en aangezien ik ga emigreren naar de USA moet ik wel
Amerikaans praten

British English, because:

Als je tegen iemand praat (ouder) praat je beleefder

Amerikaans hoort zich misselijk aan

Andere mensen die ook Engels geleerd hebben leren meestal het Engels-Engels

Dat is alvast een goede ondergrond voor het “Amerikaans”

De Engelse taal is veel vriendelijker en “netter” dan de Amerikaanse taal.

Amerikaans vind ik zo snauwerig

Klinkt deftiger, Amerikaans klinkt wat “boers”

Kun je goede punten mee halen

Later als ik werk (en ik weet wat ik wil) denk ik eerder met Engelsen dan met Amerikanen te maken te hebben

Omdat ik dit het mooiste vind klinken, Amerikaans klinkt vaak zeurderig

Omdat ik ENGELS wil spreken

Omdat ik vind dat Engels uit Engeland het mooiste klinkt, het heeft een bepaalde dignity

Want dat is de standaardtaal

We leren Engels, geen Amerikaans, dat is voor mij een andere taal

B. Translations

No preference, because:

As long as you speak the language well, you can adapt the accent if necessary

Only American is too rural, only English too posh

English arrogant, American boorish, sloppy, so I prefer a compromise

I don't care as long as they understand me

I think English (from England) is more business-like, but when you talk to friends you speak more American and not businesslike

Some words American exaggerated, British old-fashioned

Sometimes the English pronunciation is more beautiful or easier, sometimes the American pronunciation is

They sound almost the same

American English, because:

That is heard most often and I may come into touch with it later (holidays or business)

A cool accent

American English is tougher and I like that

I think English pronunciation posh and stupid

In England they speak so lilting, so posh, exaggerated

Sounds more neat than normal English, which I find a little posh

Sounds more "real", more relaxed

Sounds nicer, not so rigid

Because I have a friend in America (boy, aged ten)

Because it's more cool

Faster, less rigid

I find it more beautiful and cool, and since I'm going to emigrate to the USA I have to speak American

British English, because:

When you talk to some-one (older) you speak more politely

American sounds nauseating

Other people who have also learned English usually learn English-English

That is already a good basis for "American"

The English language is much more friendly and "educated" than the American language I find American snarly

Sounds more distinguished, American sounds a little "common"

It will get you a good grade

In the future, when I work (and know what I want), I think that I will deal with Britons rather than Americans

Because I think it sounds more beautiful, American often sounds whiny

Because I want to speak ENGLISH

Because I think the English from England sounds more beautiful, it has a certain dignity

Because that is the standard language

We learn English, not American that is to me a different language

Samenvatting

Op vrijwel alle scholen in Nederland wordt de Britse uitspraak (Received Pronunciation, kortweg RP) als model gehanteerd.¹ Dit is niet verwonderlijk gezien de geografische nabijheid en de politieke en economische betrekkingen die er tussen Nederland en Engeland van oudsher bestaan. Anderzijds wordt de leerling via de media geconfronteerd met een rijke schakering aan variëteiten van het Engels, waarvan het Amerikaans Engels (General American, kortweg GA) waarschijnlijk de belangrijkste is. Afgezien van alle niet-standaard variëteiten heeft de leerling dus te maken met tenminste twee uitspraakmodellen die als nationale standaard gelden. Aangezien GA een belangrijke positie inneemt in de hedendaagse cultuur is het te verwachten dat bepaalde kenmerken van GA door de leerling worden overgenomen. Dit zal waarschijnlijk vaker het geval zijn wanneer de leerling een positievere houding ten opzichte van de Amerikaanse cultuur heeft dan ten opzichte van de Britse. Gelet op de stereotiepe oordelen over beide culturen is het goed mogelijk dat voor leerlingen op dit moment de Amerikaanse cultuur de voorkeur geniet, daar deze vooral gezien wordt als 'jong en dynamisch', terwijl de Britse cultuur wel als 'ouderwets en statisch' getypeerd wordt.

Bovenstaande overwegingen en observaties hebben geleid tot een aantal onderzoeksvragen, die hier genoemd worden in de volgorde waarin ze zullen worden beantwoord.

- 1a. Hoe omvangrijk is de invloed van het Amerikaans onder Nederlandse middelbare scholieren?
- 1b. Is de mate van invloed gelijk op alle punten waarop RP en GA verschillen, of worden sommige GA kenmerken eerder overgenomen dan andere?
2. Wat zijn de attitudes van de leerlingen ten opzichte van sprekers van het Brits en het Amerikaans, en welke karaktereigenschappen dichten zij hen toe?
3. Wat zijn de attitudes van de leerlingen ten opzichte van het Brits en het Amerikaans; aan welke uitspraak geven ze de voorkeur en waarom?
4. Wat zijn de implicaties van de resultaten voor het onderwijs Engels in de toekomst?

Uitspraak

Om de invloed van GA kwantificeerbaar te maken hebben we ervoor gekozen om ons te concentreren op 10 fonologische variabelen. De eerste 4 variabelen

¹ Deze samenvatting is een herziene versie van Van der Haagen (1991b)

zijn overgenomen van Trudgill (1986), die bij een onderzoek onder Britten die in Amerika wonen vond dat bepaalde variabelen eerder worden overgenomen dan andere. In volgorde van overnemen zijn dit de bekende 'flap' of korte stemhebbende intervocale (t) zoals in *little*, de uitspraak van (ah) als /æ/ in *classroom*, ongeronde (o) in *hockey* en postvocale (r) in *dark*. Andere al dan niet bekende Amerikaanse uitspraak kenmerken waar we naar gekeken hebben zijn het niet uitspreken van de /t/ in intervocaal (nt) als in *plenty*, het niet uitspreken van de /j/ in (yu) in *new*, een ongeronde of minder open (oo) in *across*, een ongeronde of meer open (oh) in *talk*, het niet uitspreken van de laatste (-t) in *paint* en een ongereduceerde klinker in (ary) in *dictionary*.

Wij waren geïnteresseerd in de uitspraak van vwo en mavo leerlingen om een redelijk volledig beeld te krijgen. Bovendien wilden we weten of er regionale verschillen bestaan in de mate van Amerikaansheid van de uitspraak. Daarom werd de uitspraak van 204 eindexamenkandidaten mavo en vwo uit Amsterdam, Groningen, Nijmegen en Venlo getest in een kort gesprekje met iedere leerling afzonderlijk dat op cassette werd opgenomen. Daarbij moesten de leerlingen een woordenlijst voorlezen waarop 30 woorden stonden die in RP en GA verschillend uitgesproken worden, waarbij in ieder woord steeds een variabele voorkwam. Voorts moesten ze een verhaaltje voorlezen en dat in hun eigen woorden navertellen, en vervolgens een verhaal vertellen aan de hand van een serie plaatjes. We verwachtten dat naarmate de leerlingen zich minder op de vorm dan op de inhoud moesten concentreren, er meer Amerikaanse invloed zou zijn.

Bij de uitspraak van de woordenlijst werd gemiddeld 26% van de woorden Amerikaansachtig uitgesproken. Enerzijds waren sommige variabelen zelden Amerikaans, terwijl anderzijds bijvoorbeeld (ary) door 81% van de leerlingen op zijn Amerikaans met een ongereduceerde klinker werd uitgesproken. En hoewel (ah) gezien kan worden als de stereotiepe variabele bij uitstek werd deze minder vaak (21%) als /æ/ uitgesproken dan informele observatie zou doen verwachten. Dit is bij het voorlezen van een woordenlijst niet verwonderlijk, aangezien de leerling zich dan concentreert op een correcte uitspraak. Aangezien normatieve leraren vaak fel reageren op een Amerikaanse uitspraak van juist deze variabele zal de leerling zijn uiterste best doen zich aan de norm te conformeren. Tenslotte is er een relatief hoge score voor intervocale (t) die in het woord *little* door ongeveer 61% van de leerlingen Amerikaans werd uitgesproken. Dit lijkt echter ook in Engeland steeds vaker het geval te zijn (Wells, 1982).

De uitspraak bij het voorlezen van het verhaaltje was wederom gemiddeld voor bijna 26% Amerikaans, maar er was wel een verschil ten opzichte van de woordenlijst: er was een forse daling bij de uitspraak van (ary), terwijl bijna alle andere variabelen meer Amerikaans werden uitgesproken. Deze trend naar een meer Amerikaanse uitspraak in minder formele spraak, zet zich voort bij de spontane spraak. Nu wordt bijna 39% van de variabelen Amerikaans

uitgesproken: postvocale (r) het meest, daarna (ary) (maar alweer minder dan bij het verhaaltje) en daarna intervocale (t), ongeronde (o) en (oo) en (ah) als in *fast*. Het feit dat de uitspraak meer Amerikaanse invloed vertoonde naarmate de taak de proefpersonen dwong meer op communicatie en minder op de uitspraak te letten, duidt erop dat RP 'overt' prestige heeft en geaccepteerd wordt als de norm, terwijl het Amerikaans een zekere mate van 'covert' prestige heeft. Dit is het soort prestige dat niet-standaard variëteiten hebben en dat geassocieerd wordt met solidantiteit en groepslidmaatschap.

Attitudes

Veelal wordt aangenomen dat de attitudes van de leerling ten opzichte van de doeltaal en doelcultuur een invloed hebben op de mate van succes bij de verwerving van een tweede taal (Gardner, 1991, voor een overzicht). Een veel gebruikt instrument voor het meten van attitudes is de zogeheten 'matched-guise' techniek, waarbij men proefpersonen de stem van één spreker die twee variëteiten uitspreekt laat beoordelen op een aantal tweepolige schalen van het type *arm - rijk, ontwikkeld - onontwikkeld*. De gedachte is dat de proefpersoon denkt twee sprekers te beoordelen, maar in feite alleen de variëteiten beoordeelt, omdat alle andere kenmerken van de spreker hetzelfde zijn. Wanneer men de scores van die beoordelingen groepeerde, blijkt meestal dat er drie factoren van belang zijn bij de beoordeling van een persoonlijkheid aan de hand van de gebruikte variëteit: de sociale STATUS die men de spreker toekent, de mate van DYNAMISME die de spreker uitstraalt en het persoonlijk AFFECT dat men voor de spreker voelt.

Ook in ons onderzoek werd een dergelijke test opgenomen, waarbij 8 sprekers, 4 Britse en 4 Amerikaanse, in totaal 12 versies van een kort verhaaltje op band inspraken. Zo waren er 8 echte 'matched-guise' versies en 4 'single-guise'. De leerlingen moesten alle 12 stemmen op 16 7-punts schalen beoordelen. Factoranalyse leverde inderdaad de drie genoemde factoren op, maar interessant genoeg bleek er nog een vierde factor van belang te zijn, namelijk de mate waarin een spreker aan de schoolNORM voldoet. Het bleek voorts dat de Britse sprekers hoog scoren op de sociale status factor en op de schoolnorm factor, terwijl de Amerikaanse sprekers eveneens hoog op de sociale statusfactor gewaardeerd werden, maar ook op de dynamisme factor en op die van persoonlijk affect. Bij de Amerikanen werden de vrouwen op alle factoren hoger gewaardeerd dan de mannen, terwijl bij de Britten de mannen steeds hoger scoorden dan de vrouwen. We vonden vier duidelijke stereotypen: Amerikaanse vrouwen vertegenwoordigen hoogopgeleide en hooggeplaatste zakenvrouwen, Amerikaanse mannen minder hoogopgeleide relaxte cowboys, Britse mannen zijn politici en Britse vrouwen kleurloze huisvrouwen. Grof gezegd zijn dit ook de stereotypen waarmee ze ook vaak worden geportretteerd in de media.

Voorkeur

Dezelfde woorden die in de woordenlijst voorkwamen werden op band aan de leerlingen steeds in RP en GA aangeboden. Ze hoorden dus bijvoorbeeld het woord *little* eerst in RP en dan in GA (of omgekeerd) en moesten aangeven welke versie ze *beter* (BETER) vonden. Daarna werd de band teruggespoeld en kregen ze hem weer te horen maar nu met de vraag welke versie ze *zelf zouden willen gebruiken* (LIEVER).

Zowel op de BETER vraag als op de LIEVER vraag werd vaker RP dan GA geantwoord. Als we de 'geen mening' antwoorden buiten beschouwing laten, vond 59% RP BETER, terwijl 54% LIEVER een RP dan een GA uitspraak van de genoemde variabelen zou gebruiken. Er zijn echter wel enige interessante verschillen tussen de variabelen onderling. De GA versie van de variabele (yu) in bijvoorbeeld *new* scoort op beide vragen opvallend laag, kennelijk is dit minder stereotiep voor het Amerikaans dan we hadden aangenomen. Daarentegen vertoont (ah) in *classroom* precies dat beeld dat we in zijn algemeenheid hadden verwacht: het scoort laag op de BETER vraag en significant hoger op de LIEVER vraag, met ander woorden, de leerling weet dat de RP versie de norm is maar vindt de GA versie attractiever.

Aangezien we natuurlijk wel wilden weten of de leerlingen eigenlijk wel wisten welke variant van de fonologische variabelen uit de BETER en LIEVER toetsen Brits en welke Amerikaans was, lieten we ze een herkenningstoets doen, waarbij ze moesten aangeven welke variëteit ze meenden te horen. Bij deze herkenningstoets bleek dat over het algemeen de leerlingen goed in staat zijn de twee variëteiten te benoemen. Opvallend slecht werd postvocale (r) in de *dark*-woorden herkend, terwijl deze klank toch in de eigen uitspraak van de leerlingen erg veel voorkomt, maar de Britse niet uitgesproken (r) werd wel als RP herkend. Voorts werd (ary) in woorden als *dictionary* in geen van beide variëteiten herkend; waarschijnlijk wordt de meer secuur aandoende GA versie ten onrechte als RP geïnterpreteerd.

Enquête

Naast de spreek- en luistertoetsen kregen de leerlingen nog een enquête die enkele additionele gegevens over leeftijd, dialectachtergrond en enkele andere zaken opleverde. Hierin werd ook rechtstreeks gevraagd welke variëteit ze mooier vonden en zelf het liefst zouden spreken. Hier werden opvallende regionale verschillen gevonden, en ook het schooltype speelt een duidelijke rol bij de voorkeur. In alle plaatsen vinden de mavo-leerlingen GA aantrekkelijker dan RP, terwijl de vwo-leerlingen, behalve in Amsterdam, RP prefereren. De vwo-voorkeur voor RP is het grootst in Groningen en Nijmegen (rond de 75%) en minder in Venlo (41%) en Amsterdam (21%). De mavo-voorkeur voor GA is daarentegen het kleinst in Groningen (57%), groter in Nijmegen en Venlo (circa 63%), en het grootst in Amsterdam (70%). Ook bij de antwoorden op de vraag

welke varieteit een docent hoort te spreken treden verschillen op naar regio en schooltype. Alleen sommige mavo-leerlingen vinden GA te prefereren als model, zij het in zeer geringe mate. De Groningse vwo-leerlingen zijn uitgesproken normatief, en bijna 90% vindt dat een docent RP hoort te spreken. Dit is in scherp contrast met de Amsterdamse vwo-leerlingen, van wie juist 90% vindt dat het er niet toe doet wat de docent spreekt, zolang het maar goed Engels is.

Toekomst

Dit onderzoek is gestart vanuit het idee dat voor de huidige leerlingen RP de schoolnorm is en GA een zeker niet-schools prestige heeft. De Britse schoolnorm komt tot uiting bij de uitspraak op de woordenlijst, waar men zich in meerderheid aan die norm houdt. Wel is er een kwantificeerbare GA invloed aantoonbaar, die sterker is bij de voorlees- en navertel-taken. Het GA prestige wordt ook zichtbaar bij de 'matched-guise' test waar vooral de Amerikaanse vrouwen hoog scoren op de factoren dynamisme en persoonlijk affect. De vraag doet zich nu voor of deze uitkomst implicaties heeft voor het Engelse onderwijs aan Nederlandse scholen. Als het waar is dat attitudes van invloed zijn op de mate van succes bij het verwerven van het Engels, moeten we dan uit de uitkomst dat de Amerikaanse sprekers over het algemeen beter gewaardeerd worden dan de Britten concluderen dat we in de toekomst de Amerikaanse varieteit als model aanbieden? Het antwoord moet waarschijnlijk negatief zijn, al was het alleen maar omdat de leerlingen hierover verdeeld denken. De helft zou voor zijn en de helft tegen. Wat wel zou moeten veranderen zijn de attitudes van docenten en ouders ten aanzien van het Engels van de leerlingen. Het wordt tijd om te accepteren dat jonge Nederlanders een eigen varieteit van het Engels spreken, gebaseerd op het Brits maar met enige Amerikaanse invloeden. Zolang deze zogeheten Mid-Atlantische varieteit van het Engels goed verstaanbaar is en zo veel mogelijk ontdaan is van Nederlandse invloeden, zal geen enkele Brit of Amerikaan zich storen aan het feit dat men niet zijn of haar model van het Engels hanteert.

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Curriculum Vitae

Monique van der Haagen was born in The Hague on June 15, 1956. In 1975 she received her Athenaeum A diploma from the Rijksscholengemeenschap Erasmus in Almelo and went to the University of Amsterdam to study English Language and Literature, specialising in Modern English Linguistics. She spent the academic year 1979-1980 at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In 1986 she graduated on *I'm sorry, but*, a cross cultural study of politeness in apologies in English and Dutch, after which she went to the USA for a year, to teach Dutch at Indiana University, Bloomington. In January 1988 she was appointed by the University of Nijmegen to carry out the research project this thesis reports on. In 1991 she was appointed Junior lecturer (part-time) at the Department of English-American at the same university, and in 1996 she got tenure. From 1992 until 1994 she was also co-ordinator of studies and academic advisor at this department. She is currently also developing theory and exercise modules for the computer-based learning program Hologram.

Monique van der Haagen

Caught between Norms

The English Pronunciation of Dutch Learners

Teachers and informed laymen have been heard to remark that the English pronunciation of young Dutch speakers sounds more and more American. This book aims to show to what extent this is true. It reports on the English pronunciation of 204 secondary school pupils in Amsterdam, Groningen, Venlo and Nijmegen. In addition, it investigates what character traits these pupils associate with male and female speakers of British and American English. This was done by means of a listening test in which the pupils judged a total of twelve speakers of both varieties on a number of such traits. Finally, it attempts to relate the pupils' pronunciation to the results of attitude as well as preference tests.

The production data reveal that in free speech 40% of the occurrences of the variables investigated show an American pronunciation. The preference test shows that the pupils regard British English as the norm, but that there is a shift in preference towards American English for most of the variables. The attitude test showed that Americans and Britons were considered equal in social status, but Americans are considered more dynamic, especially female speakers. There was a considerable difference between mavo and vwo learners, and between learners from the four cities, but, contrary to the usual sociolinguistic finding, there was no difference between male and female subjects in any of the tests.

This book is of interest to sociolinguists, anglicists, and teachers of English who are interested in their pupils' attitudes, and who therefore need to become aware of the dichotomy between the exclusive use of British English in teaching and the increased use of American English in everyday life.



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