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American Perceptions of British Regional Dialects

Joanne Sampaio
Florida International University, jdign001@fiu.edu

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FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF BRITISH REGIONAL DIALECTS

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Joanne Sampaio

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To: Dean Kenneth G. Furton
College of Arts and Sciences

This thesis, written by Joanne Sampaio, and entitled American Perceptions of British Regional Dialects, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this thesis and recommend that it be approved.

Ellen Thompson

Melissa Baralt

Phillip M. Carter, Major Professor

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The thesis of Joanne Sampaio is approved.

Dean Kenneth G. Furton
College of Arts and Sciences

Dean Lakshmi N. Reddi
University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2013

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my husband and best friend, Telmo Sampaio.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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Joanne Sampaio

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Professor Phillip M. Carter, Major Professor

Sociolinguists have discussed problematic language ideologies, such as Standard Language Ideology (Lippi-Green 1997) extensively and social perceptions of Standard English in the U.S and U.K are well documented. However, most work in this area has focused on perceptions of dialects within national contexts. This study makes a novel contribution to the study of language attitudes, investigating perceptions of British regional dialects within the U.S. A survey was created to gauge perceptions of five British regional dialects (Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, Newcastle, London). 49 survey participants listened to audio clips of British regional dialect speakers and then completed a mapping activity, answered perception questions, and ranked each speaker on specific qualities. Results showed that speaker region had a significant effect on perception of almost all variables at a statistically significant rate, despite unfamiliarity with all but the London dialect. Results suggest that although participants are largely unfamiliar with varieties of English in England outside of London, they assessed them by recruiting pre-existing stereotypes about vernacular dialects.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will serve as a general introduction to the current study. It will discuss the impetus for this study, the purpose of the study, initial hypotheses, briefly describe the methodology and areas of research that affect the impetus for this research, and finally, detail the themes of the coming chapters.

This study was essentially borne out of my experiences as both a Brit in the United States, and in my capacity as a teaching assistant in the English department at Florida International University. First, during my time assisting with several sections of a Modern English Grammar class, I was able to spend some time discussing language variation in the U.S. with students. While the message (which was intended to address problematic definitions of standard and non standard language within the U.S.) seemed to be clear and, in fact, welcomed, by the majority of students, I would still hear comments about my British English being 'smart' or 'cool' or 'better'. This happened not just with one class, but consistently across the two years I was associated with the course. I was interested to understand why students were willing to accept that Standard Language Ideology (which will be discussed, in detail, in Chapter 2) is an issue in their own country, and be passionate about addressing it in their various future capacities (including educators) yet they were not transferring that idea when it came to British English, they still reified my version of English compared to their own, despite my own dialect not being considered a standard form of British English within the context of the U.K.

Secondly, given what was just noted about my dialect not being considered a standard form of British English, I had found that most people I came across, particularly

when I first came to Miami, were not sure what to make of it. Many commented that I didn't sound the way they expected, when they asked where I was from, or didn't place me as being British at all. The questions/comments about my accent ranged from 'Are you from the South? (meaning the U.S. South!) to 'You sound Irish, or Australian'. This made me wonder about why it was that the American people I came across were 'expecting' to hear something in particular, in the first place. Often people would ask me where I was from and then assume that England meant London. As a linguistics student, I realized that my own observations and experiences were nothing more than anecdotal and so I designed the study described in this thesis in order to address the questions I had about my personal observations, with the intention of addressing them with real, empirical data.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the perceptions of five regional dialects of British English, by American respondents, by way of addressing the following research questions:

1. How does the figuration of Standard British English in the American imaginary affect perceptions of other British regional dialects?

2. Do perceptions of the specific dialects tie in with existing British stereotypes associated with each dialect?

The research instrument designed to address these questions consists of an online survey, as detailed in chapter 3. The hypotheses for the study are:

1. American respondents will reify what they perceive to be a 'standard' version of British English, most likely the London dialect. It could be suggested that since standard language ideology has been shown to affect dialect perceptions in the U.S., Americans will transfer their ideas about standard language onto the dialect they perceive to be the standard British English dialect.

2. American respondents will not have detailed, if any, knowledge of the existing stereotypes that attach to varieties of English within the U.K., therefore data associated with dialects other than the London dialect will be random and not patterned.

In terms of linguistic research, it could be argued that sociolinguistics has great potential for drawing upon a variety of disciplines. Scanning through the contents page of a 'general sociolinguistics' textbook will give plenty of support to this argument, with topics rooted not only in 'traditional linguistics' but in women's studies, queer studies, cultural studies, film and media studies, sociology and many more.

With this in mind, this thesis will pull from a variety of disciplines to create a rounded approach to the topic at hand, namely, American perception of British dialects. Essentially, this thesis can be split into three interlinked topic areas, supporting the empirical study it aims to describe and discuss: perceptual dialectology, language ideology, and cultural/media studies, although it will also draw on disciplines such as social psychology.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to draw connections between the language ideology input (from film, television, newspapers etc.) and the perceptions of British English in the American imaginary. To tie in the perceptual dialectology part of this study with the language ideology part, the media studies and film studies sections will serve as a bridge to connect the two ideas, such that that the dominant discourse has an effect on perception and ultimately on the social judgments we make about speakers of regional dialects.

This thesis consists of five chapters. In Chapter 2, I review the perceptual dialectology, language ideology and media/cultural studies literature in order to fully support the purpose of this study. In Chapter 3, the study's hypotheses and methodology are discussed in detail. In chapter 4, the results of the study are presented, followed by discussion and conclusions in Chapter 5.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant literature as it relates to the current study on perceptions of British dialects. Chapter One briefly introduced the discipline areas from which this experiment draws: dialectology, with a focus on perceptual dialectology, language ideology and current media/film studies. In the current chapter, I will review some of the literature related to interdisciplinarity to make the case for the overall nature of this thesis, as being relevant to current calls for such work across disciplinary formations where language, perception, and ideology are relevant, namely, dialectology, sociolinguistics, sociology and social psychology. This chapter will discuss each dialectology, language ideology and media/film aspect of the literature review separately, with some brief discussion of how and why these things link together and how they relate to the current study.

2.2 The Call for Interdisciplinarity

Like other disciplines, sociolinguistics has struggled somewhat with questions related to interdisicplinarity. On one hand the overall push in the humanities and interpretive social sciences seems to be toward promoting interdisciplinary research, both on the part of individuals and in the process of building research teams (National Academies, 2005, Porter et al., 2006 and Metzger and Zare, 1999), with motivators including: relevant and practical outcomes for academic research, as well as industry and job market related factors, that is, companies seeking graduates who are able to approach

tasks by pooling information from an array of disciplines. Rhoten and Parker (2004) suggest such interdisciplinary research as a "renaissance to meet the needs of real-world problems" noting the "inefficiency of the scientific enterprise in turning knowledge into useful products." On the other hand, there is the claim that, for example, "disciplinary collaborations contribute more to a career than interdisciplinary collaborations" (Van Rijnsoever et al, 2008), which may in fact, have merit. Given the nature of funding allocation, publishing in one's own field, discipline specific awards, as well as "the tension between the scientific promise of the interdisciplinary path and the academic prospect of the tenure track" (Rhoten and Parker 2004), it is easy to understand why researchers can tend to stick within their academic field.

If we think about the question of interdisciplinarity, in terms of current approaches to sociolinguistic research, we can see that there is also a lot of 'push' for moving toward collaboration across fields. Wodak (2006) argues that sociolinguistic research, and, in particular, variationist and sociology of language research, has traditionally tended to focus on the analysis of linguistic forms, in order to demonstrate the effect of class, race and gender, among other factors, on the distribution of said features. Wodak suggests that such research traditions ultimately end up using social stratification as a backdrop of sorts, without exploring its potential for analysis in its own right, or rather alongside the analysis of the linguistic forms. She concludes: "given the inherently complex social and linguistic dynamics of contemporary global societies" (p. 13), it would be beneficial for sociolinguists to collaborate more with sociologists and scholars from interrelated fields, in order to further explore these issues. Mallinson

(2009) also discusses this lack of convergence between sociology and sociolinguistics, maintaining the argument that the two, although ripe with collaborative opportunities, have remained largely separate.

Since it is clear that sociolinguistics has great potential for drawing upon a variety of disciplines, most notably, but not limited to, sociology, it is interesting to think about why such interdisciplinary work is not as common as it might be. Aside from some of the overarching institutional issues mentioned earlier, it seems that within the linguistics field itself, sociolinguists are wrangling with practical issues, for example, the necessity of adequate time to study both fields (Mallinson 2009, 2), as well as more complex issues of "disciplinary identity" as suggested by Carter (forthcoming, 2). Carter (forthcoming) suggests that part of the problem seems to be questions related to sociolinguistic research and its relationship to 'mainstream linguistics', including "the proper object of analysis, and the relationship to allied disciplines" (p.2). That is, in the endeavor of sociolinguistic research, open questions remain as to whether language or society should be a) the theoretical starting point and b) the thing we are analyzing overall. In other words, where do the lines between sociology and linguistics cross? Moreover, when do the differences between sociolinguistic research and other, more 'traditional' linguistic research become a point of tension, with some Thomas (2007, 216) concerned that the 'mainstream' aspect of linguistic research becoming lost in the sociological part.

Overall, these concerns seem to be outweighed by the steady recognition of interdisciplinarity as a valid and even necessary next step in bringing new depth and width to sociolinguistic research. Aside from the general push toward interdisciplinary

research, it is useful for the project at hand in the sense that it allows for a more complex instrument design, combining methodologies from different areas, As well as providing breadth of study, in that the analysis of the data, and discussion of research questions is richer for the inclusion of several discipline areas. With this in mind, the thesis will pull from a range of disciplines to create a rounded approach to the topic. In sum, this thesis draws on areas traditionally thought to figure within the discipline of linguistics (dialectology, sociolinguistics) as well as other disciplinary formations that can inform the study of dialect perceptions, such as (film/media studies, social psychology).

2.3 Dialectology: Mapping Variation, Mapping Attitudes

Dialectology, also referred to as linguistic geography or dialect geography, as a discipline began in the latter half of the 19th century with the development in Western Europe of dictionaries and grammars of regional dialects. It has been suggested that the initial impetus for dialectology was in response to "Neogrammarian principles of language change" which included the notion that "sound changes are exceptionless" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980, 17). Chambers and Trudgill argue that with such a bold hypothesis, dialectal evidence would be "obviously relevant". Much of the early dialectology work consisted of gathering information about the types of variation that occur in different dialects of a country or region and the construction of linguistic atlases or maps. These map-making exercises aimed to show patterns of distribution for language features such as lexical items, phonetic features, discourse markers, and many more. This (geography based) branch of dialectology, claims Koerner (1991), was, at one time, of widespread concern, in the linguistics field. This type of map-making work has

been extensively carried out in both the U.S. and U.K., among many other countries (For more on this type of dialect mapping (see Peyt 1980, Shorrocks 1998, Chambers and Trudgill 1980). Chambers and Trudgill (1980) argue that this practice would come to be seen as end in itself, an exercise in minute details, without the endeavor of using the language data to relate to linguistic theory.

Chambers (1993, 132) gives the label 'sociolinguistic dialectology' to the next 'phase' of dialectology, describing it as concentrating on "urban varieties of language as used in interactions among and within groups, determined by such factors as class, age, gender, ethnicity, or network." In other words, rather than focusing on 'speakers in region A say X, while people in region B say Y', sociolinguists were interested in the ways in which language features were stratified within a region, based social factors. So, 'within region B, these people say X and these people say Y'. Since the 1960s, sociolinguists have paid an overwhelming amount of attention to the social stratification of language features as well as language attitudes that attend this stratification. Labov's early work on The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores (1966) was among the first to examine language features in a way that the speaker was not aware of being observed. Labov's extensive work as well as the work of other early variationists concerned with dialect variation (Wolfram, Eckert, Shuy, and many more) has shown us that we can analyze the ways in which status, gender, race, class, sexuality and any number of others factors of identity can affect dialect features, and vice versa. Similarly, on the other side of the Atlantic, the sociolinguists have discussed dialect variation and social consequence in as extensive a fashion as in the United Sates. Trudgill, following

the Labovian methodology, examined *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich in* (1974) as well as extensive work on *English Accents and Dialects* (1979); *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives* (1983) to name but a few. With the great deal of ground covered, and the many different angles from which dialects have been studied, we can see that there is much value in this type of work including: important discussion of social factors at play in dialect variation and substantial banks of dialect data based on extensive surveys and data collection projects.

In a shift away from traditional urban/regional dialectology, and earlier variationist work on social stratification, perceptual dialectology does something slightly different in that it focuses on 'non-linguist' perceptions of dialect. Preston (1989), however, argues that perceptual dialectology moves away from a focus on speaker production, analyzed by 'experts', and closer to ideas of dialect as perceived by non-linguists. In short, perceptual dialectology, sometimes called 'folk' dialectology, or folk linguistics, is concerned with the beliefs that non-linguists—"the folk"—have about language variation. These beliefs, suggests Benson (2003) "can play a critical role in language maintenance and change." Some real world examples of this in effect: speakers of 'non-standard' dialects seeking out elocution lessons, children coming into schools with notions of inferiority, or indeed superiority because of the dialect they speak, the list is a long one and this will be discussed further in relation to language ideology. The fact is, 'folk' perceptions of dialect can offer us invaluable insight into the ways in which dialects are perceived, from a 'non-expert viewpoint', and as a complement to the other language attitude and sociolinguistic investigation being carried out. Montgomery (2012)

claims that perceptual dialectology can provide a "more contextualized setting in which to interpret respondents' perceptions", that is, to build upon the work that dialectologists have done in dialect boundary mapping, in order to gauge language attitudes and perceptions. Perceptual dialectologists, including Preston, do not suggest that the dialectology, or sociolinguistic approaches to dialect study are not valid; they simply present perceptual dialectology as another valuable piece of the overall puzzle.

Mapping work is still a common method in this type of research, but this time, rather than linguists gathering data and then composing maps, perceptual dialectologists ask non-linguist participants to carry out tasks in order to gauge perceptions of dialect region. Perceptual dialectology studies have consistently used a common methodology developed by Preston (1989, 1999) as detailed below:

> 1. map drawing. Given a blank map of the United States (with state boundaries but no labels), respondents are asked to draw lines around areas "where people talk alike" and label those areas.
>
> 2. degree of difference. Respondents are provided an alphabetical list of the 50 states plus New York City and Washington, D.C., and asked to assign a value of 1 to 4 based on how similar the speech in that state is to their own speech (1 = people there sound like me; 2 = people there sound a little different from me; 3 = people there sound very different from me; 4 = people there sound so different from me I can't understand them).
>
> 3. correctness. Respondents are asked to rate each state on a 7-point scale as to how correct the speech of people in that state was (1 = least correct; 7 = most correct).
>
> 4. pleasantness. Respondents are asked to rate each state on a 7-point scale as to how pleasant the speech of people in that state was (1 = least pleasant; 7 = most pleasant).

One of the things Preston found in his early (1986) study *Five Visions of America*,

was that class, gender and age of participants affected the maps they produced. The perception of U.S. dialect boundaries was significantly different depending on the demographics of the people completing the task. So, while the data-based 'facts' about where the dialect boundaries exist, may be valid, the perception of where those boundaries lie is a totally different story. In subsequent perceptual dialectology research (Preston 1982, 1985, 1989, 1993; Hartley 1996, 1999; Fought 2002; Tamasi 2003; Hartley and Preston 1999, Lance 1999, Benson 2003) it has been shown that pre-existing stereotypes tend to show up in the interpretation of the results. Hartley (2005), in a study of Bostonian perceptions of U.S. dialect boundaries, suggests "that it is the conflicting stereotypes of Boston in American popular culture that these Bostonian raters have in mind when performing the evaluative tasks". The stereotypes she suggests as being prominent are the educated, Boston Brahmins speaking, Harvard professor (the educated elite) versus the working class descendants of Irish or Italian immigrants. Hartley found that the Bostonian participants appeared to be split in their perceptions of correctness and pleasantness of their own dialect, with one group rating the Boston dialect as high in correctness but low in pleasantness, and the other group, vice versa. Hartley suggests that this demonstrates awareness of the conflicting Boston stereotypes and a result of these conflicting images, as portrayed in the American media, namely that "they exhibit an interesting mix of linguistic security and linguistic insecurity in their evaluative ratings of their home area" (2005, 403). This is not an uncommon trend and later, I will explore this concept in terms of the American perceptions of British English in general, and the particular dialects evaluated in this study.

Aside from being a useful way to gather information about non-linguist perceptions of dialect boundaries, perceptual dialectology can reveal much more about the ways in which social factors affect and even create those perceptions. Britain (2009) argues that not only does perception of language variation give us insight into social practice within specific locations; it also gives us an insight into notions of 'legitimacy', 'ownership' and 'territoriality.' This is an important aspect to think about if we are to more comprehensively understand what speaking a particular dialect means to the speaker, and to the hearer. In addition, another common finding in perceptual dialectology studies is what we could call the 'hometown' effect, whereby a participant being asked to evaluate dialects would be likely to use their own region as a basis for evaluating other dialects. The desire to separate oneself from 'everyone/everywhere else' is not surprising and we can think of this in terms of territoriality and ownership and what that means for the evaluation of one's own dialect, and that of others. It is common for people to favor dialects closest to their own, or from geographical regions closest to their hometown. However, more complex social factors can also affect the ways in which we understand self and other, with relation to dialect. In just one example, rivalries, be it historical, religious, racial, even sports rivalries, can feed in to how we perceive dialects in terms of territory. In many cities there is literal 'turf' or 'ground' claimed for any number of reasons, including those listed above (religious, sports etc.). However, in a study conducted with English-speakers in the United Kingdom, an investigation into assessing people's reactions to London and Yorkshire accents (Strongman and Woosley 1967), where participants were split equally into a "southern" and a "northern" group. While it could be expected that the 'northern' group would favor the Yorkshire accent,

and the ‘southern’ group would favor the London accent, thee results did not show much variation in the judges’ attitudes toward the two accents represented

While this thesis does not necessarily deal with ‘territoriality’ and ‘ownership’ directly, the notion of legitimacy will certainly be a factor when discussing the perceptions of certain British dialects by American respondents. For example, is it the case that overall, respondents in this study tended to favor a particular dialect because of their perception of ‘genuine Britishness’, and if so, why? This question will be discussed, in detail, in relation to the representations of ‘Britishness’ in the American and global media, in the sense that perhaps, given the lack of range in represented dialects, American perceptions of authenticity are skewed towards a particular dialect and therefore notions of legitimate ‘Britishness’ are tied to a particular representation and a particular type of speech.

As discussed thus far, it has been extensively noted in perceptual dialectology and sociolinguistics literature (within both the U.S. and U.K environments) that speaker and hearer demographics both affect perception, yet there is little literature on the perception of dialects outside of one’s own country. Preston (1993, 333) discusses some “initial use of different languages in attitude studies” and, of course, there are examples of ‘matched guise’ studies using two languages to measure perceptions of speakers and associated qualities. For example: Perceptions of French and English in Montréal, Canada. (Lambert et al. 1965) perceptions of Spanish and English in Miami (Carter and Lynch 2013) as well as some similar studies related to dialect. Later dialect studies by (Cheyne 1970) on the perception of Scottish and English accents in the United Kingdom and

(Giles 1971) of Welsh and Somerset accents compared to Received Pronunciation (RP) also used matched guise techniques. While it is true that some of these studies use more than one language, and some use a range of dialects from within the countries of the United Kingdom, the focus has still tended to be on perceptions of how languages/dialects within ones own regional or national environment, that is, with languages and/or dialects that are most likely familiar to those taking part in the study. With this study I aim to investigate how respondents react to dialects that they are most likely unfamiliar with, dialects of a different national variety (British English).

2.4 Language ideology

Thinking about the judgments we make about the ways in which people speak, the current research draws links between what respondents know (or do not know) about where a speaker is from, and how that affects the way they are perceived in other ways. That is to say that this thesis is not only concerned with the accuracy with which listeners are able to pinpoint the location of a speakers origin, which is the initial task, but what they then do with that information, how aware they are of the stereotypes associated with a particular region, and how that affects the social judgments they make about the speakers they hear. That is, this study is concerned with linking language-based assessments about nativity (i.e., where a person is born) with language-based assessments about subjectivity (i.e., what a person is like). In other words, the study interrogates the relationship between language, place, and identity, hallmarks of the perceptual dialectology enterprise.

Attitudes, of course, do not just exist, but are linked to stereotypes, which are in turn linked to broad, sweeping dominant ideologies. This section of the literature review is concerned with examining the existing work on language ideology both in the U.S. and the U.K and then discussing the ways in which this may affect the participants of this study's perceptions of the British dialects.

While reviewing the literature, it would be useful to define 'language ideology' in order to be able to discuss examples and make the case for the relevance of this aspect of the review. This section will do so, relating the definition to real world examples and the published literature.

The notion of ideology is something that linguists, sociologists, psychologists, critical theorists and the like have discussed for some time. If we think of an ideology, in general, as being 'a way of thinking or being in the world, that not only reflects, but works in favor of certain individuals, groups or institutions', then we can apply that definition to Standard Language Ideology (Silverstein 1979, Lippi-Green 1997). The notion of a standard form of, in this case English (although standard language ideology exists in many other languages), is so pervasive that it absolutely affects our ways of thinking and being in the world. From as early as infancy, we are exposed to over-correction (even as we are only beginning to learn to communicate). TV shows, films and other input that construct a correct way of using language and, of course, once children are immersed in the education system, those messages are built upon even further with standardized testing, notions of 'good' and 'bad' grammar and a push toward standardized language, in general.

The idea that there is a 'standard', a version of English that is good, better, superior to other versions, is a notion literally created over time. There are certain 'common knowledge' facts about English (and any other language for that matter) that are accessible to most people, including the fact that the English we speak specific moment and place is different to that which came before it, or in another place at the same time. There is plenty of support for the argument 'language has and always will keep changing' in sociolinguistic literature: (Charity-Hudley and Mallinson 2011, 2) state that "language variation is a normal process" and that since language is always changing, differences are bound to arise. In fact, Wolfram (2009, 35) claims that "as long as observations about language have been recorded, the symbolic function of dialect in society has been recognized" and makes reference to social consequences of dialect in sources as old as *The Bible*. That said, it does not take specific knowledge of linguistics to know that language has changed over time. Shakespeare's work is taught in schools all over the world, so students are perfectly aware that the language we use today is not the same as it was before. People above a certain age will have an awareness of the effect of texting, instant messaging, tweeting and the like on the language we now see in use. A recent skit on the *Late Night with Jimmy Fallon* show (2013) suggested (albeit tongue in cheek) that people could eventually start speaking in 'hash tags' because of their usage in the Twitter forum. In fact, not only will people have an awareness of these changes, they will, and do, have an opinion about them. Although it can be said that this awareness of language change is all around us, still the ideology of the standard persists, and it is essential to think about why that is the case. Although Wolfram (2009, 35) makes a good case for observations on social consequences of dialect from early records of language

observation, as previously mentioned, it is fair to say that a key era for standard language ideology (for English) was as recent as the 18th century, when 'Grammars of English', written as rulebooks or guides, became common. The most famous of these are Bishop Robert Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762), and Linda Murray's *English Grammar* (1795). Scholars steeped in the Latin tradition, who felt that a grammar should provide a set of rules for correct language use, wrote these early English grammars and their effect is still evident today. This prescriptivist approach to language essentially sets up a divide between those who know and use the rules correctly, and those who don't. These ideas have spread so far out into society that they have become what many people believe to be real and true. Yet, as discussed, while people seem to have a conscious awareness of language change, there is a disconnect between this awareness and enduring attitudes about language variation.

This leads to the second piece of the ideology definition, the fact that ideologies not only form ways of thinking/being but that they reflect and favor certain individuals, institutions or groups, and by default, disfavor others. Bourdieu (1991) discusses language 'legitimacy' with a broader scope than English alone. He challenges "the official definition of the official language" (1991, 45) and argues that the very existence of an official language is tied up with the nation-state both in its genesis and social use. This, he proposes, then becomes a linguistic norm upon which to hang judgment of others with the leading authorities on the matter being grammarians and such, those with some imagination of authority on good or proper language. He argues that even within the field

of linguistics itself, the treatment of language accepts the existence of a norm, thus supporting the whole debate about legitimacy.

The idea that there is a single standard dialect of English, within what we may call national varieties (British, American, Australian English etc.), brings along with it problematic definitions and perceptions of varieties that are *not* deemed to be standard. If we tend to think of regional and social dialects as non-standard, tensions arise when we begin to think about what that means for the speakers of those dialects. As with the dialectology part of this discussion, the discussion of Standard English is well documented in the realm of sociolinguistics. On both sides of the Atlantic, there is substantial evidence for thinking that standard language ideology is alive and well.

Perhaps one of the most important and extensive works in the context of the United States has been Lippi-Green's (1997) work on ideology and language subordination. Lippi-Green's main goal seems to be to unpack the notion of 'the standard' or 'good' English and how it is constructed in the dominant discourses of the United States. She examines the instantiation of language ideology in a range of institutional contexts, such as discrimination in the courtroom, language ideology as promoted by news corporations, language ideology in Disney movies and as promoted (problematically for students) in the U.S. education system. The approach Lippi-Green takes to the discussion of language ideology, one which addresses so many different areas of examination, serves to support her point, about the wide reach of the 'right and wrong way to speak' message. Lippi Green (1997, 68) describes the Linguistic Subordination

Principle, the ways in which language varieties are given, or not given comparative status, using the following model:

- Language is mystified (You can never hope to comprehend the difficulties and complexities of your mother tongue without expert guidance)
- Authority is claimed (Talk like me/us. We know what we are doing because we have studied language, because we write well)
- Misinformation is generated (That usage you are so attached to is inaccurate. The variant I prefer is superior on historical, aesthetic or logical grounds)
- Non-mainstream language is trivialized (look how cute, how homey, how funny)
- Conformers are held up as examples (See what you can accomplish if you only try, how far you can get if you see the light)
- Explicit promises are made (Employers will take you seriously, doors will open)
- Threats are made (No one important will take you seriously, doors will close)
- Non-conformers are vilified or marginalized (See how willfully stupid, arrogant, unknowing, uninformed, and/or deviant and unrepresentative these speakers are)

From this it is interesting to note how easily these ideas can become widespread and institutionalized. If enough people believe this to be true, the message can spread pretty quickly and widely, but what does that mean in the real world, for real speakers? Sociolinguists have noted that, by law, it is no longer permissible to discriminate against a person based on race, gender, age etc. yet there are limited laws that protect language rights. It seems to be the case that language is not seen as something that is as intrinsic to a person's identity as the aforementioned things, and therefore does not need the same level of tolerance. Perhaps it is the case that language is perceived as a choice, as oppose to race or other such configurations of who we are. This perception does have something to hold itself upon. It is true that people can, and do, change the way they use both

written and spoken language for specific purposes, or because of the inherent value placed on a particular variety, a 'standard' variety. Lippi- Green, among others, demonstrates that language ideology often serves as a tool for cloaking judgments about the people who speak non-standard varieties. In other words, the comments made about a person's language are actually cloaked comments about the actual person. For example, if someone says that people in Miami speak incomplete English, they are likely making suggestions that Miami English speakers have a lesser understanding of English, and are therefore uneducated, and at worst, less 'American', bringing us back to the idea of authenticity. Similarly, if people suggest that speakers of a Birmingham (UK) speak slowly and inaccurately, is yet again most likely a comment about the education level of that person, a way to place someone at a lower status, or make claims of superiority.

The argument could (and has been) also be made that the notion of good and bad language is used to promote and disseminate ideologies about race and ethnicity. Lippi-Green's chapter on 'Black English' describes attitudes and perceptions of African American English from the perspective of both non-African Americans and African Americans themselves. It would be easy to think that only those outside of the group, i.e. non-African Americans were the people assigning negative connotations to the use of African American English (AAE). However, Lippi-Green's study shows that, in fact, this is not the case. In reality, those negative attitudes come from 'both sides.' For very different historical reasons, ethnicities other than White have been treated as socially inferior. In the case of African Americans, we can not forget that the slave trade meant that Black people brought to the United States had no rights at all, and although we are at

a point today where laws are in place to ensure equal rights, the reality of how this particular racial group are treated in the media, the judicial system and in society in general is sometimes contrary to the notion of equality, and the social dialect of these speakers is often used as a discriminatory tool. Some of the evidence Lippi-Green reports of attitudes of African Americans towards AAE show that the 'promises are made' or 'threats are made' parts of the language subordination model are loud and clear in the minds of the people she discusses, the idea that if you speak AAE, you will have less opportunity for success than others, is clearly something that resonates for these people. She pulls examples from the media (CBS News interviewing a man on the street), quotes from writers, political activists among others, to demonstrate that attitudes towards AAE can range from "if you speak Black English, there's no way you're gonna survive" to "those who are the powerless (you and me) better shape up mimic/ape/suck up the very image of the powerful, or the powerful will destroy you – you and your children" (1997, 186).

The real tension lies in the fact that we are aware that Standard Language Ideology is a social construction, yet people live as though it were real. This is not simply insecurity or irrational fear. It is the case that, overwhelmingly, job interviewers, higher education institutions and the like will expect a standard version, both written and spoken, or at least what they perceive to be standard spoken English. Material gain and social stability rely, in reality, upon 'being able to switch' between a 'home' variety and something better; the *proper* or *best* version of English. If we refer back to our definition of language ideology, we can now see how the 'reflects and works in favor of certain

individuals, groups or institutions' part applies in the real world. There are often, real, material consequences attached to the perception of dialect as standard or non-standard. By studying perception of language, we can create a picture of how language ideology is working in the minds of speakers, and perhaps begin to challenge those ideologies.

Perhaps one of the most important places to address these ideas is in the education system. In their work on language variation in the classroom, Charity-Hudley and Mallinson (2011) have identified several key issues related to standard language ideology that present real problems for children who come into schools not speaking a standardized form of English. Their observations include biases in standardized testing in favor of Standard English, children not feeling that their home dialect is valued, most teachers not knowing how to address the issue because of pressure to produce good test-takers, among other interesting points. Are they, or others, suggesting that Standard English does should not exist, and has no place? No. They are saying that we have to be able to recognize dialects as being equal and prepare members of our society to be able to use Standard English when they need it (because whether we like it or not, they will need it) without sacrificing the respect for the other dialects they may speak.

In the U.K., sociolinguists have discussed Standard English since at least the time of Trudgill's (1974) work on *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich.* Trudgill has since published works on dialectology (1975, 1983, 1984, 1986, 2003) as well as work on language attitudes and standard language ideology (Trudgill and Anderssen 1990; Trudgill and Bauer 1998). More recently, Hope and Montgomery (2011, forthcoming) and Beal and Montgomery (2010) have examined language ideology in the

United Kingdom, as well as mapping perceptions of British dialects Taken together, these studies suggest that Standard Language Ideology has an effect on the production and perception of dialects in similar ways as in the U.S. and that language judgments are often representative of other judgments.

It is the case that much ground has been covered in the investigation into perception of 'standard', regional and social dialects in both the United States and United Kingdom, supporting the claims of Silverstein (1979), Lippi-Green (1997) and Bourdieu (1991), among many others, that negative attitudes about the way people speak feed into the overall opinion we have of people from a particular region; that discrimination based on language does exist, and that furthermore, it is often a hook on which to hang opinions about race, gender, sexuality and other facets of identity formation.

Most of the research so far, both in sociolinguistics and dialectology, has focused on perceptions of dialects within one's own country. The idea of the 'other' has been relatively localized, with a focus on regional or social varieties of either American or British English, and largely judged by participants of the same nationality. This thesis aims to discover if those ideologies about dialects and Standard English will be upheld across boundaries of nation, that is, in American perceptions of selected regional dialects of the U.K. In light of Globalization, where ideas of nation exist alongside notions of global economy, global trade etc. this seems a timely question to investigate. Will the standard language ideology that is so clearly demonstrated on both sides of the Atlantic, have an affect on the judgments of the speakers concerned, even without explicit knowledge of the stereotypes associated with each region?

2.5 Media/Cultural Studies

If we are to think about language ideology as playing a substantial role in our perceptions of certain dialect speakers, it is important to think about how the cornerstones of this ideology is formed, and distributed in the mass media. Again, there are examples of language comment in the media from both the U.S. and U.K. There are many ways in which this type of comment appears, from direct comment on language use to indirect comment in the form of stock characters and comedic stereotype representations.

The news media often contribute to negative constructions of language variation based on the way they report on the academic literature. For example, a psychology study by Workman and Reader (2008) investigated the judgments of forty-eight British participants who were asked to look at pictures of four women while listening to women speaking in one of three different accents or, in the fourth scenario without any sound at all. The Yorkshire accent came out top with an average rating of 6.71 (out of a possible 10), followed by 'Queen's English' at 6.67. Volunteers gave the Birmingham accent the lowest intelligence score of 5.6 - even lower than the rating given to the silence - 5.99. The media treatment of the findings is the troublesome part: With headlines such as 'Stupid and unimaginative... the curse of the Brummie accent' (Daily Telegraph 2008) and 'Why it's better to keep schtum if you're a Brum' (Mail Online 2008). The headline suggests that if you are a 'Brummie', a term for someone from Birmingham, it is better to 'keep schtum', meaning to keep quiet. The article takes the specific finding that shows a higher rating for silence than the Birmingham accent, and uses it to suggest that speakers of that dialect really should just not speak at all. Not only is this type of direct comment

contributing to a negative stereotype of speakers of the Birmingham dialect, it was selective in the excerpts of the study it presented. Granted, the genre of newspaper journalism is significantly different from the empirical study and the language used in each will differ, however, the widespread distribution of the newspaper article, in comparison to the original academic article, is a factor in which version will ultimately remain in the dominant discourse.

Similarly, a recent Internet example of the treatment of academic findings in the popular media includes (perhaps less obvious) direct comment on language variation in the United States. In a piece called *22 Maps That Show How Americans Speak English Totally Differently From Each Other* a series of maps are included which show different lexical usage, or pronunciation variability, within the continental United States. The maps themselves come from the Department of Statistics at North Carolina State University, and seem to follow the common procedure for dialect mapping. These types of maps have been produced for years and this endeavor of boundary marking was, as mentioned earlier, the primary focus of dialectology for some time. As with the Workman (2008) findings, it is not the findings themselves that feed into the problem of language subordination, although we could certainly ask the question "Why does it matter who calls it pop and who calls it soda?" While it is interesting to think about why these types of maps are produced in the first place, and why the public seems to like them so much, the treatment of the findings, in this case, demonstrates how language ideology is upheld and perpetuated in specific ways. For example, the heading for one map is as follows: "The South is also really into slaw. The North and West call it coleslaw". The question

the participants had been asked was “Can you call coleslaw slaw?” already suggests, in its wording that there is a correct, or incorrect way, that you either can, or cannot call it ‘slaw’. This result is presented in such a way, in this setting, that it feeds into the stereotype of the South being ‘quirky’ and the rest of the country saying it ‘the right way’.

That said, language commentary does not always come in such an obvious fashion. An interesting area for examination of dialect representation can be found in the discipline of film studies. Androutsopoulos (2012) examines the function of sociolinguistics in film theory and vice versa. It has been acknowledged that film studies and sociolinguistics are not strangers to one another, with the suggestion that taking film scripts or dialect coaches into account, can offer valuable insights into the processes by which sociolinguistic difference is scripted and performed (Bucholtz 2011; Kozloff 2000; Richardson 2010; Walshe 2000). Similarly, “at the other end of the communication chain, working with audiences can help us understand how active viewers negotiate responses to the staging of sociolinguistic difference in film” (Androutsopoulos 2012, 141). However, the argument made here is that there is much more work that can be done to investigate the ways in which language ideology is created and maintained in film and television. There are a wide range of entry points into cinematic discourse as a sociolinguistic site of study, not limited to characters and characterization, though this is where the discussion will largely center for the purposes of this thesis.

Androutsopoulos (2012) claims that language ideology is a powerful perspective for the study of cinematic discourse, and suggests that it “permeates all its nodes and

layers" (2012, 142). The playing out of language ideology is systematic in the Hollywood film industry, including the 'othering' of non-standard dialects, or, in this case, the standard British dialect. In many cases, we see 'othering' as a negative. The orientalism of other languages in film is often used in a way to mystify or even demonize nationalities by representing stock 'enemy' characters. This thesis will argue that in fact, while there has been the case of the British villain, there is also a more recent fetishization of British English, moreover, a standardized variety of British English, feeding into the notion that British English is a) better or more prestigious than other varieties and b) highly standardized, i.e. that other regional dialects are not widely represented.

2.5.1 British characters/figures in the U.S. media

2.5.1.1 Film

There is a whole host of Film Studies literature that could address national representation in film (for example see Vitali and Willemen 2006; Vincendeau, 1998, among many others). Alongside scholarly articles, film bloggers and fans alike have Internet forums to discuss this notion. The wealth of literature is too vast to review, in full, for the purposes of this section of the chapter. Instead, in order to make the point about the figuration of British dialects in the American imaginary, this chapter will draw on a few examples as a brief discussion of the topic.

The history of Brits in the Hollywood movie goes way back before the 1990s, but as movie blog denofgeek.us (2009) suggests that the period after the late 1980s was a

turning point for the British actor in Hollywood: "America had vanquished (or ideologically absorbed) its most powerful nemesis (Russia), whilst the terrorist threat from the middle-east wouldn't truly come into focus for another decade. Hollywood needed a bad guy, and it picked us Brits" (denofgeek.us 2009). The cultural and historical moment required a shift in focus, and the Brit villain became more popular than before. While there were British actors in Hollywood before the 1990s, the new demand for the Brit villain meant a boost for actors like Anthony Hopkins (*The Silence of the Lambs, 1991; Hannibal, 2001)*, Alan Rickman (*Die Hard ,1988*[1]*; Robin Hood Prince of Thieves, 1991; Harry Potter Franchise, 2001-2011)* , Jeremy Irons (*Die Hard: With a Vengeance, 1995, The Lion King, 1994),* among others. The British dialect most often represented by these actors in American movies is something akin to what can be labeled 'Queen's English' or Received Pronunciation (RP). More recently, in the popular *Twilight* movies, Michael Sheen was cast as a powerful and villainous vampire. His accent is decidedly RP.

However, as denofgeek.com points out, a more recent manifestation of British English has included the 'dropped aitch' (an accent more akin to a London regional dialect, rather than an RP form of speech) in US Brit-villains, as demonstrated by actors such as Jason Statham (*Lock Stock and Two Smoking Barrels, 1998; Snatch, 2000*; *The Expendables,2010),* Vinny Jones (*Lock Stock and Two Smoking Barrels, 1998; Snatch, 2000, X-Men: The Last Stand, 2006)* and Ray Winstone (*Sexy Beast, 2000; The Departed, 2006).* While the inclusion of a regional dialect as well as a more standardized

[1] Rickman's character Hans Gruber was actually German, but film critics have argued that in essence this portrayal was an important turning point in cinema villain history.

version of British English is a move in the right direction, other regional dialects do not appear often enough to make a blip on the radar, and remain massively under-represented. While it is not necessarily the case that all British dialects need to be represented in film, the figuration of specific character types being linked to a one or two accents, is problematic, in that it sets up an idea about what 'all' British people are/are not. Given the discussion on language ideology and 'cloaking' judgments, this only serves to sustain an idea that we can tie character traits to ways of speaking.

In terms of ideology, it is not a simple as to say that the Brit-villain is the only British stock character in present day Hollywood. While the *James Bond* franchise of movies has consistently pushed a standardized version of British English (despite most of the actors having other regional native dialects), the 'Bond' character is not in line with the Brit villain mold, as discussed previously. Hugh Grant, another actor with an RP dialect, has made a substantial mark on the American movie industry as the seemingly go-to British male lead for romantic comedy (*Notting Hill, 1999; Bridget Jones's Diary, 2001; Love Actually, 2003*). Colin Firth also stars in *Bridget Jones's Diary,* (2001) *Love Actually,* (2003) with a decidedly RP accent. It is arguably better for the Brit 'image' to be a romantic than a villain, yet the repetitive appearance of stock characters still serves to enforce a stereotype. Perhaps more promisingly, the lead role of The Hobbit in the movie franchise of the same name (2012) was given to British actor Martin Freeman. His accent is still closest to an RP model, as is that of Ian McKellan, who plays Gandalf, a good wizard in the same movie.

The most noteworthy movie to use regional dialects with success in Hollywood in recent years is probably the 1997 film *The Full Monty.* The film, set in the Yorkshire city of Sheffield was a huge success but it seems that its success was almost an isolated case. That is not to say that the landscape of film is not changing, it will continue to change, and reflect the cultural moments within which it is situated, but for the moment, it seems the RP version of British English will remain at the forefront. It seems that with few exceptions, RP (or occasionally regional variety of London English) is used for romantic leads and villains.

2.5.1.2 Television

A similar theme emerges when we examine, even briefly, the representation of British dialects on U.S. television. In terms of fiction, popular ABC series *Once Upon a Time* has villainous fairytale characters played by actors using an RP accent. Interestingly, Colin O'Donhoghue, who plays Captain Hook is actually Irish, and therefore 'faking' an RP accent. This is also the case with Robert Carlyle, a Scottish actor, playing Rumplestiltskin (although this accent varies sometimes throughout single episodes as well as the season). However, although American actors mostly play heroic characters, there are some exceptions when it comes to royalty (another common stereotype associated with RP). The following characters are all played by either an English actor, with an RP accent, or English/Irish/Australian actors with other native dialects, using an RP accent for the role: Princess Aurora (played by Sarah Bolger), King George (played by Alan Dale), Prince Phillip (played by Julian Morris), The Red Queen (played by Emma Rigby).

In another ABC series, *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D,* two British actors play Agents Fitz and Simmons, a duo of characters who are highly skilled in engineering and physics. Agent Fitz, played by Scottish actor Iain De Caestecker maintains the actors Scottish accent. Agent Simmons, played by Elizabeth Henstridge, has a noticeably RP accent, despite the actor coming from Sheffield, which has a distinctive dialect, not similar to RP.

While these examples only form a very narrow look (in fact I chose one network, at random) at the representation of British dialects in the U.S., they are intended to show that the diversity and range of British dialect is still limited in the U.S. media, that the American public are, in general limited by the input they receive in the popular media. That is not to patronize any individual or group. Of course, there is a wealth of content available online via streaming services such as Netflix, Hulu and on demand content through most cable television providers. British TV shows are more available now that ever before, so it could be the case that exposure to regional dialects is increasing, however, language ideology is also at work on British television, in much the same way as it is for American shows in America. That is, stock characterizations, and ultimately ideas about the people and regions associated with the dialect, are constructed on a consistent basis. Even is Americans are getting British shows, the characterizations are not necessarily positive and realistic ones.

3 HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will revisit the research questions and discuss the hypotheses as related to the questions. It will describe current research methods in sociolinguistics and perceptual dialectology, as relevant to this study. It will also describe the chosen methodology for this study, including instrument design, procedures and participants.

3.2 Research questions

Chapter one briefly identified the research questions this study is designed to address. After reviewing the literature, and from observations in the Miami area, the following research questions were established:

1. How does the figuration of Standard British English in the American imaginary affect perceptions of other British regional dialects?

2. Do perceptions of the specific dialects tie in with existing British stereotypes, associated with each dialect?

3.3 Hypotheses

3.3.1 Hypothesis 1

American respondents will reify what they perceive to be a 'standard' version of British English, most likely the London dialect.

Hypothesis 1 suggests that American respondents will tie positive attributes to the dialect they perceive as being a standard dialect of British English. This hypothesis is

based on the fact that Standard Language Ideology exists within the respondents' own immediate environment with relation to U.S. dialects, as studies have shown. The second part of the hypothesis draws on the fact that British English is represented to Americans in a largely one-dimensional way, usually consisting of a Received Pronunciation (RP) dialect, or a version of a London regional dialect. There is also an element of reification of British English over American English, with British English being seen as the 'original' or 'best' form of English. Given the historical background of the United States and the United Kingdom, there are those who use the 'homeland' argument to suggest that British English is the older and therefore better or original version of English and that American spellings, lexical differences, pronunciation and the like are newer and less reified forms.

3.3.2 Hypothesis 2

American respondents will not have detailed, if any, knowledge of the existing stereotypes, therefore data associated with dialects other than the London dialect will be random and not patterned.

This hypothesis suggests that since the participants of the survey are not likely to have been exposed to the other dialects in the same way as the London dialect, they will not have any way of making meaningful judgments about the speakers associated with each dialect. Both the mapping task and demographic questions in the study are designed to establish the respondents' level of familiarity with the spoken dialect and the geographical region. Hypothesis 2 suggests that this data will show a random effect for

speakers other than the London dialect speaker, which will 'stand' out as being more familiar, and therefore more consistent in terms of perception.

3.4 Research methods in sociolinguistics and perceptual dialectology

The interdisciplinary nature of this thesis means that the design of the investigation draws pieces of the methodology from different research areas. The instrument of this investigation was an online survey, which included a mapping task (using methodology drawn from perceptual dialectology) and some survey questions (designed using sociolinguistic methods for eliciting language attitudes). As discussed in Chapter 2, one of the advantages of mixed methods is the ability to cover more ground and examine the topic from a range of different angles.

Surveys have been a staple of linguistic research, in different forms, for some time, and they can be useful for a number of reasons. There are, in fact, several benefits, suggests Boberg (2013) of using surveys/questionnaires in sociolinguistic and dialectology research. First, he suggests that "the principal advantage of surveys is quantity; they are capable of collecting a large amount of data in a relatively short space of time, using limited resources" (2013, 131). This is a valid point, and while the sample size for this thesis is relatively small, the design of this study was, in part, affected by the ability to send a survey link to a number of people at one time. Initially, the pilot version of this study targeted American and British respondents. Having access to potential participants in both countries is something that face-to-face interview would have made extremely difficult. Secondly, he suggests that while sociolinguists have in the past viewed surveys as being too 'obviously pervasive', that is, drawing too much attention to

thing that is being studied, surveys are still valuable, provided the researcher takes into account the effect of direct observation.

Labov (1972, 209) called this methodological problem faced by linguists, in particular sociolinguists, the "observer's paradox": "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation." Many scholars have gone to great lengths, and rightly so, to design research that observes language in as natural a way as possible. In chapter two, the matched-guise technique was discussed and classic Labovian methodologies include deterrent tactics in order to draw participants' attention away from the very thing being observed. Chambers (2013, xi) states that one of the interesting things about the observer's paradox, is how "experienced fieldworkers… got around it". Often, tasks are designed in such a way that a member of the public would assume they were being asked about a particular topic, and therefore not realize that the unit of analysis was actually their production of a pre-set variable. This type of work is common for variationist linguists and is more appropriate when studying production, rather than perception. While surveys have their limitations, they can never the less be useful, and for the purpose of this experiment, the survey is the most appropriate instrument. Boberg (2013) argues that as long as data from surveys are not treated as direct equivalents to speech data, and that researchers recognize this in their findings, surveys should not be deemed as a secondary type of methodology.

In reality, the 'language surveys' discussed by Boberg (2013) are more likely to be of a similar type to the early dialect surveys, whereby participants would be asked to

document features of language in their region. The earliest of these studies is widely documented as being in Germany in the late 19th century. Carried out by Georg Wenker, a survey of schoolteachers in 40,000 locations (within Germany) were asked to 'translate' sentences from a standard form of German into their own local dialect. This type of survey can be seen to mainly focus on production but it can also be interpreted in many different ways in terms of social factors like age and gender, rather than simply geographical factors. In other words, the data sets produced are not only viable for analysis of production (who speaks what and where) but for perception, also, something sociolinguists should find value in.

Perhaps the closest example of existing sociolinguistic methodology, to the chosen methodology for this study, is that of the 'speaker evaluation study' as described by Cambell-Kibler (2013). Speaker evaluation studies focus on assessing attitudes elicited from respondents after hearing recordings of speech. The speech samples vary in some way, commonly by language or dialect. Cambell-Kibler (2013, 142) notes: "with this setup, listener reactions can (hopefully) be taken to indicate something about how the listeners view the language forms in question" This type of methodology forms the largest part of the survey created for this study and produces a large amount of data with which to draw conclusions about listener attitudes.

3.5 Methodology

3.5.1 Stimuli gathering

A short reading passage, as shown in (1) was sent to known contacts, who are speakers of different British regional dialects. These speakers provided the voices used in the experiment. A reading passage was used, rather than natural speech, in order to control for content. In addition, the text was chosen to show the different dialect pronunciations as clearly as possible. That is to say, the content of the passage included words that would be phonetically expressed differently, as well as some obvious differences in pronunciation between the American and British pronunciations, for example, the pronunciation of the second syllable of 'tomato', which also provides a nice contrast between the chosen dialects, in the same syllable. Each speaker read the passage aloud and produced a recording of the reading using personal recording equipment (mainly smart phone recording software/applications). The saved audio files were then sent to the researcher and checked for content and quality. The original audio clips were between 60 and 80 second long and were reduced to between 23 and 30 seconds, in order to minimize the length of the survey time as much as possible (note that (1) reflects the shorter version of text, rather than the original, longer text).

(1)

> If you don't know about foods and plants, you can make a big mistake. You need to know which plants are safe to eat. At one time, people feared the tomato, because they believed it to be poisonous. They thought it was dangerous because it grows on a vine that looks like a poisonous plant called

nightshade. Therefore, in the early 1800s, people in the United States were afraid to eat it.

Five clips were selected, in all, based on the following categories: sex, dialect and age. Only women were selected, and only within the 35-40 age range. The decision to control for sex was with the intention of minimizing the likelihood of respondents' judgments being skewed by the gender of the speaker. For example, where respondents were asked to estimate a salary range, knowledge of gender inequality in pay levels may influence their responses should they be asked to answer this question for a mix of men and women speakers. Of the remaining clips (those of female speakers), the other criteria were used to select the best sample of speakers, i.e. in order to control for age (the five speakers chosen were within a 6 year age range) and represented the broadest possible range of dialects (Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, Newcastle and London). The speakers chosen are also of the same ethnicity, although this was admittedly a coincidence, yet provided more control nevertheless. The only major difference was educational background, ranging from incomplete high school to master's degree. I was unable to control for this as much as would be desirable.

3.5.2 Research instrument

An online survey was created using Qualtrics survey software through Florida International University. The survey software allows for the design of 'blocks' of questions, whereby sets of related questions can be separate into sections.

In this case, the survey consists of eight blocks:

- Introduction (5 questions)
- Speaker A (10 questions)
- Speaker B (10 questions)
- Speaker C (10 questions)
- Speaker D (10 questions)
- Speaker E (10 questions)
- Ranking/drag and drop questions (4 questions)
- Participant demographic information (9 questions)

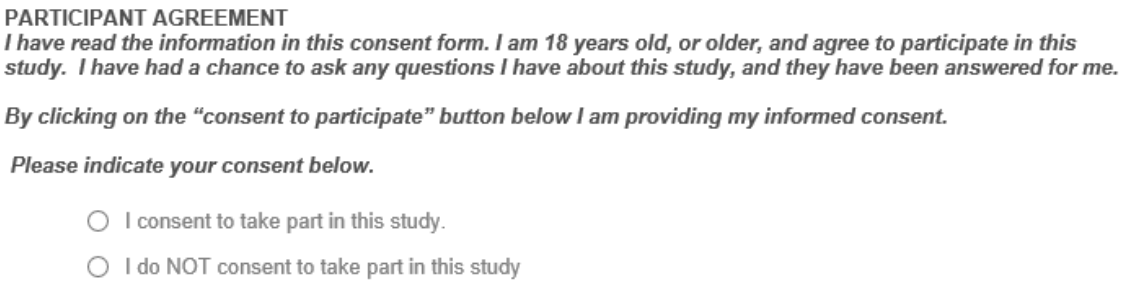
These block labels are not visible to the participant. They are a means for the researcher to organize the questions during the design phase, and are also relevant for the order in which the participant sees questions, to avoid ordering effects (more on this when Speaker A-E blocks are discussed). They will also serve as a clear way to parse the description of the survey, for the purposes of this section of the chapter. In what follows, each of the survey blocks is discussed in turn.

3.5.2.1 'Introduction to the survey' block

The introduction block serves three purposes: to establish consent to participate in the study, to introduce the study and to have participants check their sound levels in order to hear the audio clips. The consent to participate in the study screen detailed all of the necessary information, as dictated by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Florida

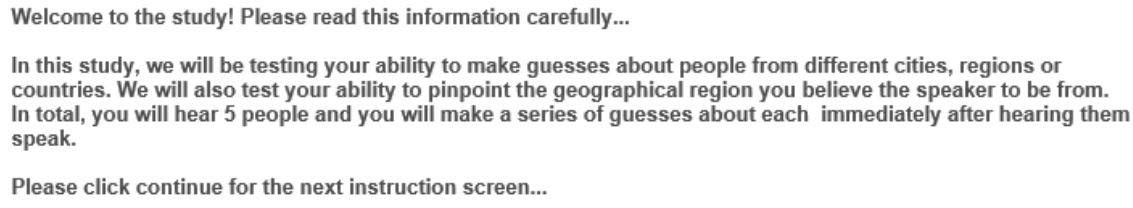
International University and, after reading this, respondents then clicked a check box to indicate their giving/not giving consent to participate, as shown in (2).

(2)



The introduction to the study screen serves as a general introduction and greeting to the participant, as shown in (3). The way this study was presented to the respondents suggested to them that this was a study designed to assess their 'guesses' about people from different regions. While it is true that this is a conspicuous way of assessing attitudes, as discussed earlier, the data gathered is still of value.

(3)



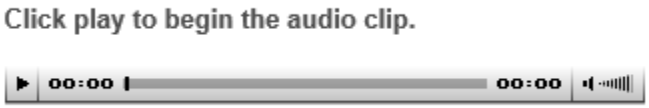
The remaining questions (screens) in this section serve only to test the participant's sound levels so that they will be able to continue through the survey and

hear the audio clips clearly. They are asked to click on a test clip and indicate whether they can hear it clearly, before moving on to the main survey.

3.5.2.2 Speaker A-E blocks

The blocks labeled Speaker A-E (remember that this is only visible in the researcher view) consist of 10 questions each. Each block is the same, with the exception of the audio clip. That is, for each speaker clip, the same questions are asked, in the same order. The five blocks related to speakers A-E were randomized (the order in which respondents hear each speaker will be different) in order to avoid ordering effects. In each block, the respondent is asked to click listen to an audio clip, as shown in (4) and then answer a series of questions related to the person they have just heard speak.

(4)



Each of these screens (displaying the audio clip link) was formatted in such a way that the respondent was required to listen to the entire clip, before moving on the next screen. This was a design choice, in order to avoid the potential for participants to skip to the next question at differing points of each audio clip. For the data gathered from the perception questions to be accurate, they needed to reflect the same amount of input. Were it possible to skip to the next screen at any time, there is the possibility that the participants, in the interests of time, may skip the audio completely.

For each block, after hearing the audio clip, the participant is then asked to complete a mapping task, as shown in (5).

(5)

Where do you think this speaker is from? Click on the map.

Note: The cities on the map are not a list of the options; they are a guide to help you be more accurate in your placement of the voice, but speakers may be from any area.

The map represents the United Kingdom, including Northern Ireland. A more familiar image to an American audience may be one that also depicts the Republic of Ireland, but since this was strictly a study of British dialects, the inclusion of the Republic of Ireland in the map would have been an inaccurate way to represent the options available to the listener for placement of the dialect. A follow up text entry question was used, in which participants were asked to type the name of the place they believed the speaker to be from, or type 'don't know' if they did not know. The inclusion of this question was to gauge the extent of 'random clicking' in the map task, which could include some clicks which were lucky guesses.

The next ‘group’ of questions in the speaker A-E blocks were concerned with the perceptions of each speaker. Respondents were asked to make judgments about age, education level, income range, and marital status. These questions are shown below in (6), (7), (8), (9) respectively.

(6)

How old do you think the speaker is?

- ○ Younger than 16
- ○ 16 to 19
- ○ 20 to 24
- ○ 25 to 34
- ○ 35 to 44
- ○ 45 to 54
- ○ 55 to 64
- ○ 65 or over

(7)

Select the level of education you think the speaker has.

- ○ Some high school
- ○ High school (complete)
- ○ Vocational or job training
- ○ Some college
- ○ Bachelor's degree
- ○ Master's degree
- ○ PhD

(8)

(9)

The final question in each block was aimed at eliciting perceptions of personal qualities. The question, as shown in (10), asked participants to rate the speakers, using a six point likert scale, in terms of a set of pre-determined qualities. The qualities were chosen in relation to common stereotypes associated with dialects, as well as social psychology research on warmth/competency qualities. This will be discussed further in relation to the analysis of the responses.

(10)

How likely would you be to describe this speaker in the following ways:

	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
Intelligent	○	○	○	○	○	○
Friendly	○	○	○	○	○	○
Reliable	○	○	○	○	○	○
Attractive	○	○	○	○	○	○
Good sense of humor	○	○	○	○	○	○
Well educated	○	○	○	○	○	○
Approachable	○	○	○	○	○	○
Hard working	○	○	○	○	○	○

3.5.3 Ranking questions

As a final task, participants were asked a series of three 'ranking questions', whereby they would now be asked to rank all of the speakers they have heard in response to each of the three questions. Another instruction screen was displayed, as shown in (11), to explain the format of the coming questions.

(11)

In the next section, you will be asked to rank the speakers in relation to each other. You will drag and drop the speakers into an order in response to some specific questions. In this section, 1 is high and 5 is low.

For this section, the speakers are labeled 'Speaker A', 'Speaker B' etc. which may be different to the order you heard them in in the previous sections.

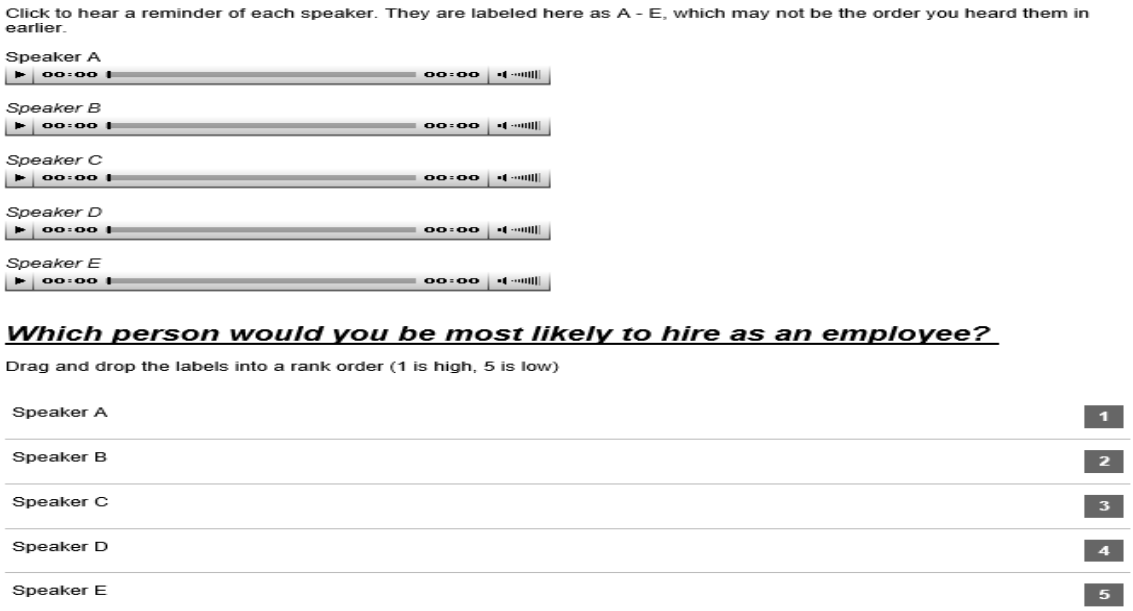
There will be short, one sentence clips of each speaker as a reminder. Please make sure you know which label refers to which speaker to ensure your ranking is correct.

The three ranking questions are as follows:

1. Which person would you be most likely to hire as an employee?
2. Which person would you most like to be friends with?
3. Which person would you most likely trust to look after children?

Included in each of these screens is a short, one sentence clip, of each speaker, as a reminder for the participant. An example of one of these questions is shown in (12). The other two questions are identical in format.

(12)



3.5.4 Demographic information

The final block of questions in the survey is included in order to collect demographic data from the participants. The survey is designed to be anonymous, but the demographic data collected can allow potential for further analysis with respect to respondent groupings

and possible correlations between participant demographic characteristics and perceptual data. The demographic information requested was as follows: gender, age, identification of English as a first language, identification of other languages spoken, nationality, country of residence, indication of town/city/region or residence. Finally, if 'British' was not selected as nationality or place of residence, two questions investigating the participant's knowledge /experiences of the U.K. are displayed. The questions are:

- Have you ever visited the U.K.? If so, please explain.
- Do you have friends/family in the U.K.? If so, please explain.

This block was deliberately designed to be the last block viewed by the participants. Stereotype threat research (Steele & Aronson, 1995) has shown that asking for demographic information can affect the ways in which participants perform in testing situations. While this is not strictly a testing situation, the opportunity to avoid any of these effects only serves to minimize effects, in general, on the data.

3.6 Participants

The survey was sent via known contacts, social networking sites, and through contacts at Florida International University, targeting both American and British adults. While the focus was intended to be on American perceptions of the dialects concerned, British adults were also targeted in the recruitment, in order to provide a small 'control' group or allow for comparison analysis.

In total, 53 surveys were fully completed. 49 respondents identified themselves as either American or resident in the United Sates (but identified as another nationality) and 4 identified themselves as being British. In the analysis stage, due to the low number of British participants, those responses were discounted, and the analysis focuses exclusively on the data collected for American participants .

The demographic data showed that 23% of the participants were male and 73% female. Participant ages ranged from 18 to 63. However, the 18-25 age range comprised 71.2% of the demographic. 78.8% of respondents identified English as their first language, with 55.8% answering 'yes' to 'Do you speak any other languages?' The question about other languages was intended to see if there would be a difference in effect for those who answered yes, to those who answered no. The participants came largely from the student demographic at Florida International University and so the nature of the English and Spanish environment here in Miami was an interesting angle to attempt to investigate.

3.7 Materials and procedures

3.7.1 Materials

The primary material for this investigation was the Qualtrics survey detailed above, which included the map task, online attitudes survey, and demographic questionnaire. Participants needed to a computer/tablet/smartphone, with working sound, in order to complete the survey.

3.7.2 Procedures

Participants received a hyperlink to the survey either via email or social networking site such as Facebook and Twitter. Once participants accessed the link, they were taken to the survey site and completed the survey in their own chosen environment. The only instruction given regarding environment was a suggestion, in the instructions, to use a quiet space, although given the self-monitored nature of the task, the researchers really had no control over the spaces used by participants. The explanation of the procedure was embedded in the survey design as previously shown in (3), (11) and (12). Participants completed the survey at their own pace and results were automatically gathered in the researcher's password-protected Qualtrics account, online.

4 RESULTS

4.1 Methods of analysis

Given the range of question types used in the survey, both quantitative and qualitative data made up the set of responses. For question responses that produced quantitative data, SPSS (data analysis software) was used to both house the data and run statistical testing. For qualitative data, ANOVA testing was used to calculate the significance of speaker effect on dependent variables, and the relationships between speakers according to said variables. Mean scores were calculated to give a picture of average 'scores' for speakers in relation to both individual question sets and ranking questions, whereby the speakers were placed, by survey participants, in rank order.

For qualitative data, methods included a simple count and percentage calculation for responses given. Word clouds were produced using Wordle, an online generator in order to show high frequency of responses/most common words associated with each speaker.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Mapping task

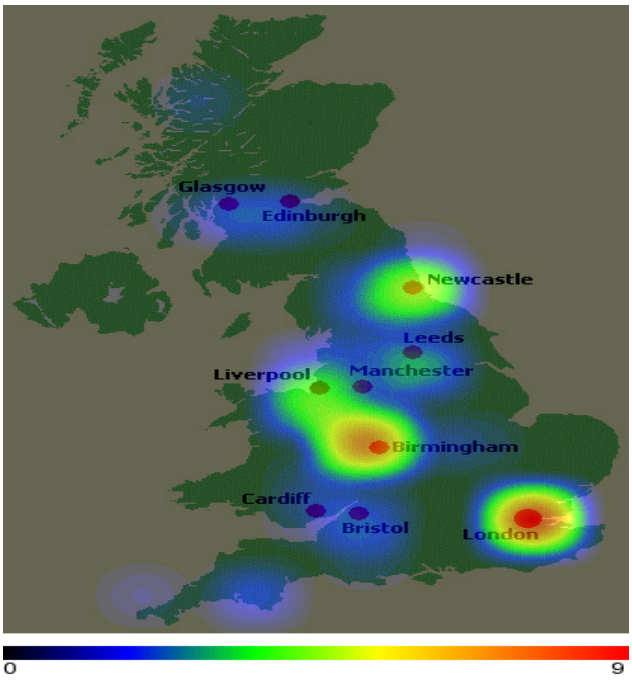
As described in chapter 3, participants were asked to complete a mapping task in order to establish their ability to 'place' the speaker. In that task, the participant was shown a map of the United Kingdom ask to click on the map to indicate the location they believed the speaker to from. Using a filtering tool in the reporting feature of the Qualtrics online survey software, responses were collated to form a 'heat map' for all

clicks. The darker (red or orange) areas indicate the highest rate of clicks, the lighter areas (yellow and green) the lower rate of clicks. By showing this in such a way it is easy to see the area/s that were most commonly associated with each speaker. If we take the city marking (the 'dot/spot' on the map) as a guide for accuracy, we can then interpret the number of clicks associated with each area accordingly. Henceforth, this will be referred to as the 'center point'. Some of the city markings line up with the darker areas of the heat map, but that does not necessarily correlate with accuracy in all cases. For the purposes of this section, number of clicks will be presented in two ways:

1. the areas which show as most commonly associated with each speaker (the places with the higher number of clicks)
2. accuracy (the number/percentage of clicks at the center point of the correct city)

4.2.1.1 Speaker 1, Liverpool

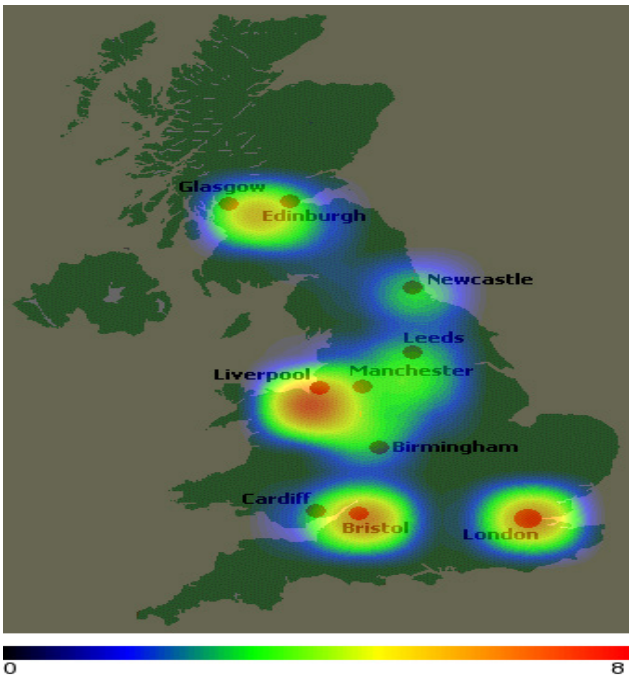
Figure 1. Heat map for Speaker 1 (Liverpool)



As we can see in Figure 1, the highest number of clicks for this speaker in any one place (the darkest spot on the map) is 9, or 17.3%, which correlates with the center point of the London region. The Birmingham region shows 8 clicks or 15.4% at the darkest point, which also correlates closely with the center point. In terms of accuracy, there are some clicks in the Liverpool area (4 clicks or 7.7% at the center point) but that number is still lower than the number of clicks for the Newcastle area (5 clicks or 9.6% at the center point), and lower than some of the areas surrounding center points of other areas. The rest of the clicks for this dialect are spread across the map, and cover a wide range, from Northern Scotland (in the top left of the image) to South Eastern England (in the bottom left of the image) and throughout most of the West-East range. There are no clicks in the Northern Ireland region for the Liverpool speaker. Overall, the American participants placed this speaker inaccurately, with a lot of the clicks being in the London region, which as we will see, becomes a theme for all speakers.

4.2.1.2 Speaker 2, Leeds

Figure 2.Heat map for speaker 2 (Leeds)



As we can see in Figure 2, the highest number of clicks for this speaker in any one place (the darkest spot on the map) is 8, or 15.4%, which correlates with the area just South of the Liverpool center point. The Bristol region shows 7 clicks or 13.5% at the darkest point, which also correlates closely with the center point. The London region also has 7 clicks or 13.5% with the next highest number being the area between the Glasgow and Edinburgh center points (6 clicks or 11.5%). In terms of accuracy, again, there are some clicks in the correct area (Leeds), but the 3 clicks at the center point only constitute a 5.8% share of total clicks, which is equal to the Newcastle center point. The remaining clicks are less spread across the map than in Fig. 1 and seem to be more focused on the surrounding areas of center points, or in the central area east of Liverpool (including Manchester and Birmingham). There are no clicks in the Northern Ireland region for the

Leeds speaker. In summary, the placement of this speaker was not accurate either, and also has a high percentage of clicks in the London area.

4.2.1.3 Speaker 3, Birmingham

Figure 3. Heat map for speaker 3 (Birmingham)

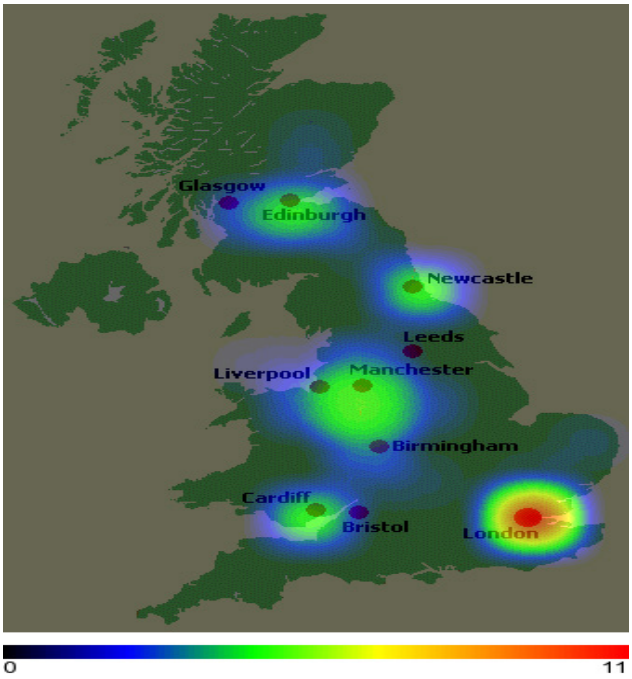
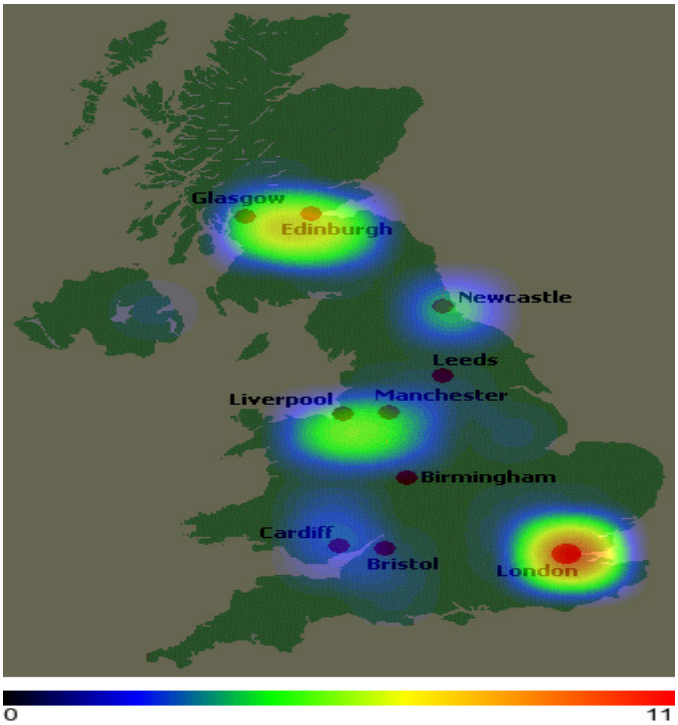


Figure 3 shows that the highest number of clicks for this speaker in any one place (the darkest spot on the map) is 11, or 21.2%, which correlates with the London center point. The center points of Cardiff and Newcastle each have 5 clicks (9.6%) with the next highest being at the center of the heat spot south of Liverpool and Manchester. This constitutes 4 clicks, or 7.7%. In terms of accuracy, again, there are some clicks in the correct area (Birmingham), but the 3 clicks at the center point only constitute a 5.8% share of total clicks, which is equal to the Newcastle center point. The remaining clicks are less spread across the map than in Fig. 1 and concentrated around fewer city center

points than in Fig. 2. In fact, we can a see that the only area with yellow, orange or red on this map is London. There are no clicks in the Northern Ireland region for the Birmingham speaker.

4.2.1.4 Speaker 4, Newcastle

Figure 4. Heat map for speaker 4 (Newcastle)



In figure 4, we see that the darkest spot on the heat map is again centered on London, with the highest number of clicks of any one place (11, or 21.2%). After London, the area south of Edinburgh and Glasgow makes up the highest number of clicks, with 7 clicks or 13.5%, at the darkest point. The area south of Liverpool and Manchester, at the central point of the 'heat spot' represents 5 clicks or 9.6%, with the rest of the clicks spread across the map. The blue spots show low numbers of clicks near the Bristol and Cardiff Center points, as well as in the central-eastern area of the map, to

the south east of Manchester. This map does show a blue spot in the Northern Ireland area; however, it represents only 1 click or 1.9%. The accuracy of clicks for this map is also low, with only 4 clicks (7.7%) in the area surrounding the correct city center point (Newcastle).

4.2.1.5 Speaker 5, London

Figure 5. Heat map for speaker 5 (London)

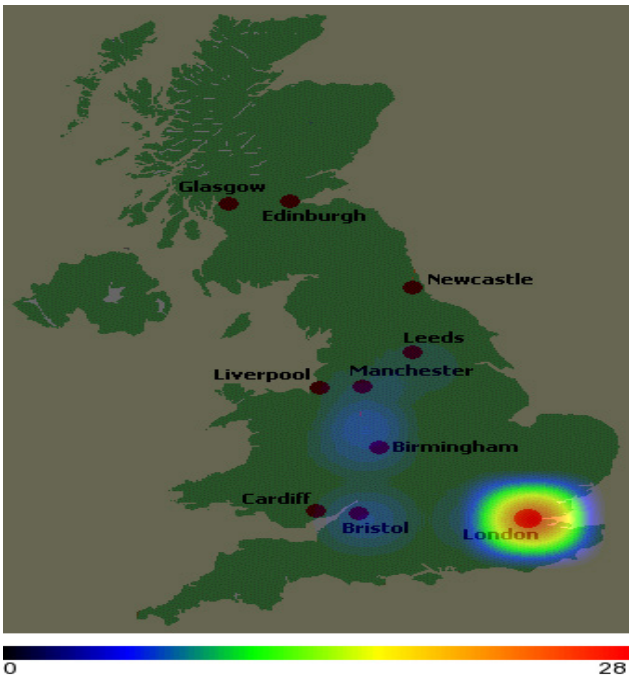


Figure 5 shows the highest number of clicks in any on place (the darkest spot on the map) at 28 clicks or 53.8%. This is the highest concentration in one place for any of the speakers. The highest number of clicks corresponds with the center point for the London area, and most of the other clicks are in the same area. There are some blue spots, which constitute 4 clicks (7.7%) each for Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester center points, 3 clicks (5.9%) for the area just north of Birmingham and 2 clicks (3.8%) for the

Leeds center point. The range of coverage in this map is less then all of the others; again, we see no clicks in the Northern Ireland region, but there are also no clicks in Scotland, the upper north of England, or Wales. The accuracy of placement for the London is the highest of all five speakers, as shown above.

Several preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the heat map data. First, the only accurate guess was London. Second, it seems that both Liverpool Leeds were harder to place than the others, with a wider range of clicks across the map image. Finally, all of the speakers except Leeds had the highest percentage of click in the London area. This suggests that in fact, the idea that Americans strongly associate 'Britishness' with London, may have some truth, or that they are simply more familiar with London as a reference point, and so it is their 'go-to'.

4.2.2 Qualitative data for mapping task

While the data from the heat maps give us a good idea of the placement accuracy, as well as the areas with the higher percentage of clicks, it is important to think about whether there was an element of 'random clicking' involved, especially once participants neared the end of the survey. Although the randomization was in place to avoid ordering effects (meaning the audio clips were not presented in the same order to each participant), it is still possible that participants would perhaps pay less attention to the speakers they hear towards the end of the survey. In order to gain a fuller picture of respondents' awareness of the places associated with each dialect, some qualitative data were collected. As discussed in chapter 4, after each map question, the following question was asked:

Now type the name of the place you think this speaker is from. If you do not know type 'Don't know'

The responses from these questions were then split into two groups, those who said 'don't know' or some variant and those who entered a place name as an answer. Within the group of answers that was made up of place names, those that constituted the correct city/region were then counted. All counts were converted to percentages, as shown in Table 1, below.

Table 1. Participants' responses for place name

	Speaker 1 Liverpool	Speaker 2 Leeds	Speaker 3 Birmingham	Speaker 4 Newcastle	Speaker 5 London
Don't know	25 (51%)	21 (43%)	26 (53%)	22 (45%)	**18 (37%)**
Place name	24 (49%)	28 (57%)	23 (47%)	27 (55%)	31 (63%)
Correct	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	**16 (33%)**

The qualitative data collected support the data from the mapping task, demonstrating a clear difference between the accuracy of placement for Speaker 5 (London), in comparison to the other 4 speakers. While speaker 1-4 have a similar rate of entering a place name versus entering a 'don't know' answer, 63% of participants entered a place name for speaker 5. More significant is the row that reports the number and percentage of correct place names. Speakers 2, 3 and 4 each have a rate of 2% for correct answers; speaker 1 has a rate of 8%, while speaker 5 has a rate of 33% for correct answers (those who entered 'London'). In other words, London stands out as being

different in the data, in that participants were not only more willing to offer up a place name for this speaker, but that when they did, they did so with more accuracy than in any other case.

It is also interesting to note the number of clicks at each correct center point in the map data as they relate to the number of correct place names entered. For speaker 1, there were 4 clicks at the center point of the Liverpool area, which correlates directly with the number of correct entries in Table 1. For speakers B, C and D, the number of clicks at the Leeds, Birmingham and Newcastle center points are 3, 3 and 4, respectively. Table 1 shows that each of these only had 1 correct entry for the place name question, suggesting that the map task data is potentially more susceptible to random clicks/guesses. As with the map data, speaker 5 again stands out as being more 'recognizable' to the participants.

4.2.3 Speaker block questions

4.2.3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 described the 'blocks' of questions as they appeared to the survey participants. Participants heard an audio clip and answered a set of questions related to the speaker they just heard. Answers provided for these questions are the major thrust of this study, as they address the social factors affecting perception and target the language ideology aspect of this investigation. This was repeated for 5 speakers. Blocks were randomized but the set of questions for each speaker was identical for this part of the survey.

The results presented in this section of the chapter will relate to these sets of questions and the results, as analyzed using ANOVA testing to establish two things:

1. Does speaker have a significant effect on the dependent variables (age, education level etc.)?
2. If yes, which specific speakers are significantly different from which others, and for which dependent variables?

4.2.3.2 Age, income range and education level

First, an ANOVA test was used for each of the following variables, taken from the first 3 questions in each block:

- age
- level of education
- income

Results of the testing showed that for all 3 variables, speaker had a statistically significant effect. For each variable, a value of p = .000 was recorded. In other words, the participant assessments of the dependent variables differed significantly by speaker. However, the answer to the second part of this analysis (which speakers are significantly different to each other, and for what variables) some values were statistically significant, while others were not. Due to the amount of variables, speakers etc. and for the sake of clarity, this section will document those values which were not significant, since they are far fewer for the variables of age, education and income.

For speakers 2 and 4 (Leeds and Newcastle), Post Hoc tests show that the variability in both age and income were not significant. The values are as follows: age p = 1.000, income p = .923. For speakers 1 and 4 (Liverpool and Newcastle), the variability in

education and income were not significant. The values are: education p = .967 and income p = .065. For speakers 1 and 2 (Liverpool and Leeds), the variability in education is p = .520. All other values were statistically significant.

The fact that overall, dialect had a significant effect on perception of age, income level and education level suggest that respondents were judging speakers as being older/younger, more/less educated and more/less wealthy despite the fact that some of these things were controlled for. For example, the age range for the speakers, was controlled, as discussed in Chapter 3, and so in reality there was not much difference in age between the 5 speakers. So, the respondents were essentially making judgments based on their assumptions about social factors. Possible reasons for this will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

4.2.3.2.1 Mean scores

While ANOVA results showed that the difference between speakers for each variable were significant, looking at the mean values or scores for each speaker can help to give us a picture of how the speakers 'ranked' related to each other. While we know that they were significantly different to each other, we can also think about ordering or ranking, to see if there are effects. In other words, for each variable, age, income etc., did any speaker consistently rank lower/higher than the others? Mean values for each variable were produced using a continuous range, meaning that the original intervals (age ranges 16-19, 20-24 etc.) were given a single number, with 1 being the lower age bracket, and increasing accordingly with each bracket. This was possible given the equal range within each answer option. Once the possible answers were given a single number, a

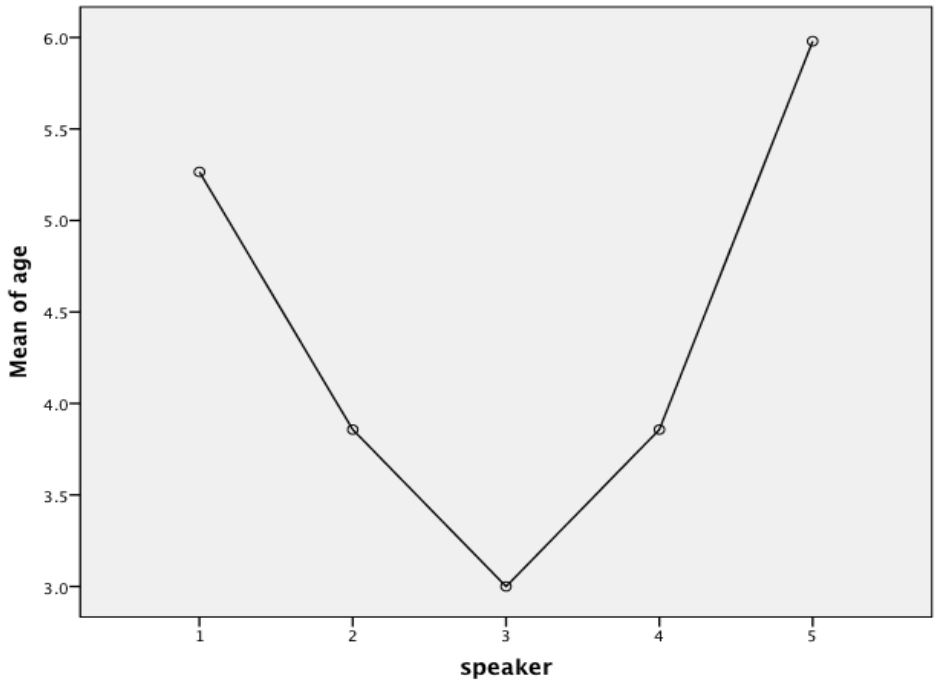
mean score was calculated for each speaker to show the scores for each speaker in relation to the other 4 speakers. In the graphs that follow, the x-axis depicts the dialect /speaker while the y-axis depicts the dependent variable. In each graph, the dialects are labeled 1 to 5, corresponding to the following varieties:

1 – Liverpool, 2, - Leeds, 3 – Birmingham, 4 – Newcastle, 5 – London.

4.2.3.2.1.1 Age

As shown in Figure 6, below, speaker 3 (Birmingham) has the lowest mean score for age, close to 3.0, and speaker 5 (London) has the highest, close to 6.0. Speakers 2 and 4 (Leeds and Newcastle, respectively) have a similar mean score, in the 3.75 area, while speaker 1 (Liverpool) has a mean score in the 5.3 area. This shows that participants perceived the Birmingham speaker to be younger, overall, and the London speaker to be the oldest, overall.

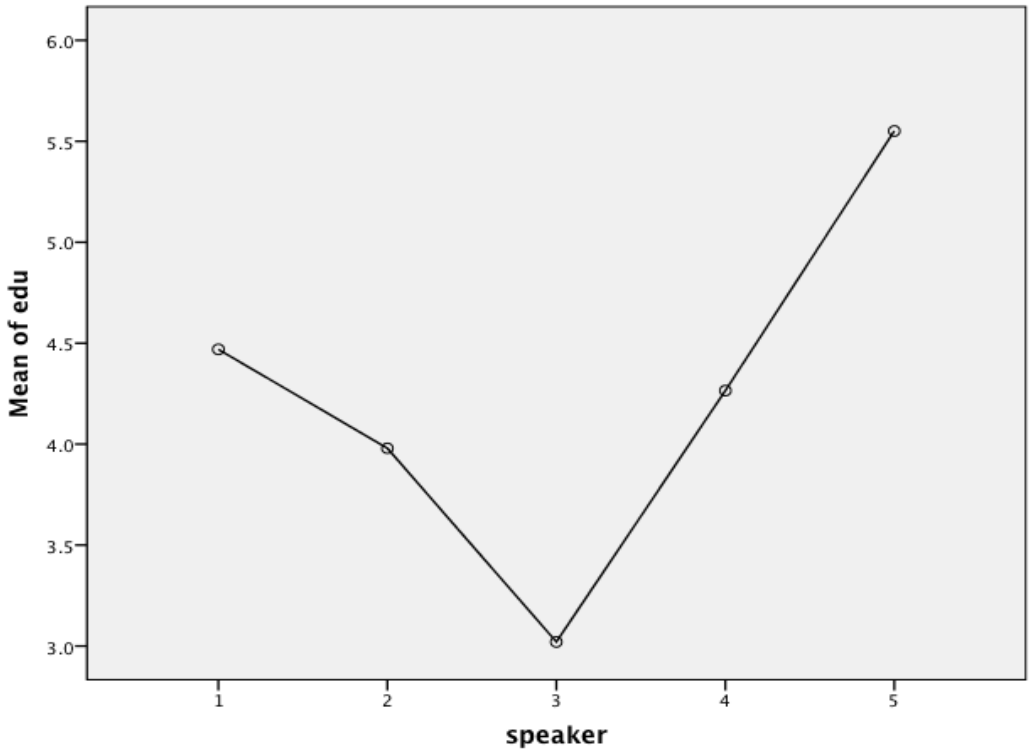
Figure 6. Mean score for age



4.2.3.2.1.2 Level of education

Mean scores for level of education demonstrate how speakers 'scored' in relation to this variable, as shown in Figure 7. Speaker 3 (Birmingham), again had the lowest mean score for level of education, while speaker 5 (London) had the highest mean score. Speaker 1 (Liverpool) has the second highest mean score, with speakers 2 and 4 (Leeds and Newcastle) taking up the 'middle ground' in a similar picture to that of the age ranking.

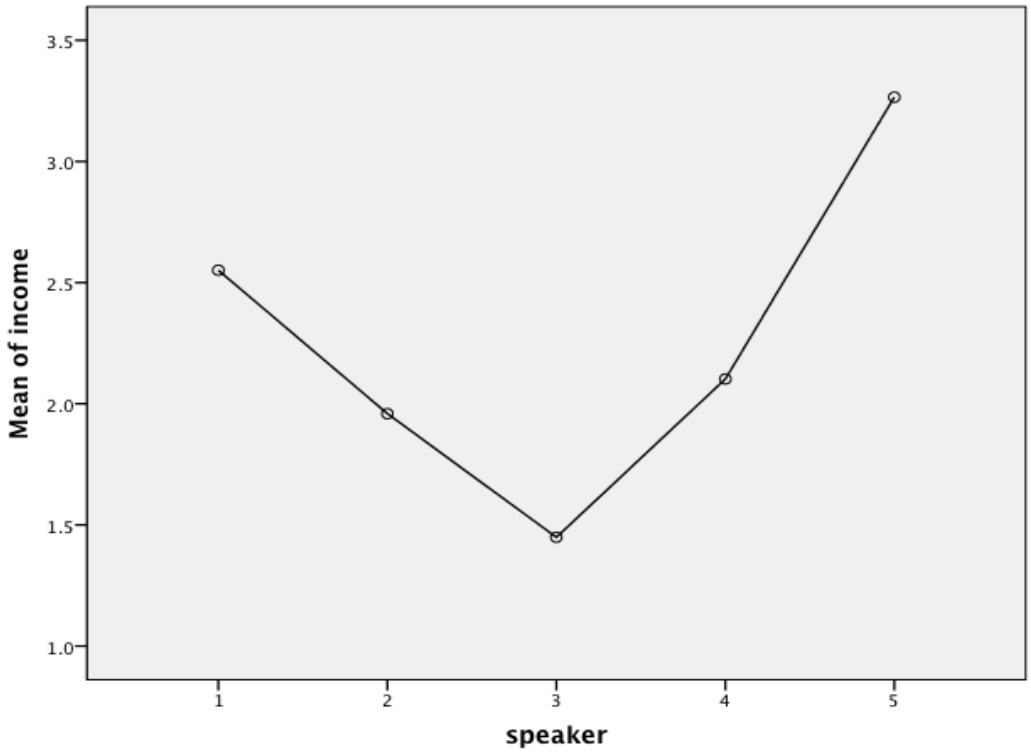
Figure 7. Mean score for level of education



4.2.3.2.1.3 Income level

As shown in Figure 8, the mean scores for income level tell a similar story to the previous variables in this section. Speaker 5 (London) has the highest mean score, representing the perception of the highest mean income, speaker 3 (Birmingham) has the lowest mean score, and speakers 1, 2 and 4 occupy much the same spots as for age and education level.

Figure 8. Mean scores for income level



4.2.3.2.2 Summary of results for age, income and education level

The data from the ANOVA testing show that the variance between speakers is significantly greater than the variance within the results for any one speaker, meaning that participants' perceptions of these variables was significantly affected by speaker. The

mean scores show a consistent ordering pattern, with clear poles (speaker 3 as low, speaker 5 as high). For the most part, the 3 remaining speakers do not show a statistically significant difference within the 'middle' set, despite appearing to be in the same order.

4.2.3.3 Speaker qualities

This section of the results is concerned with the question respondents answered about the 'qualities' or 'likely traits' of each speaker. The question, as described in chapter 3, asked respondents how likely they would be to describe the speaker in the following ways: intelligent, friendly, reliable, attractive, good sense of humor, well educated, approachable, hardworking.

Using a 6 point Likert scale, participants rated each speaker on the qualities and the statistical testing provided a comparison of responses per speaker as well as across speakers. ANOVA testing showed that speaker had a significant effect on all variables. P - values of .000 were recorded for the variables: 'intelligent', 'reliable', 'well educated', and 'hard working'. The variable 'friendly' had a p-value of .023; 'attractive' = .001; 'sense of humor' = .015 and 'approachable' = .040.

4.2.3.3.1 Mean scores

The 6 point Likert scale was converted to a continuous range (1-6) with 1 being 'very unlikely' and 6 being 'very likely'. Once a continuous range was established, mean scores were calculated for each speaker, for each variable or 'quality'. In the graphs that follow, the x-axis depicts the dialect /speaker while the y-axis depicts the dependent

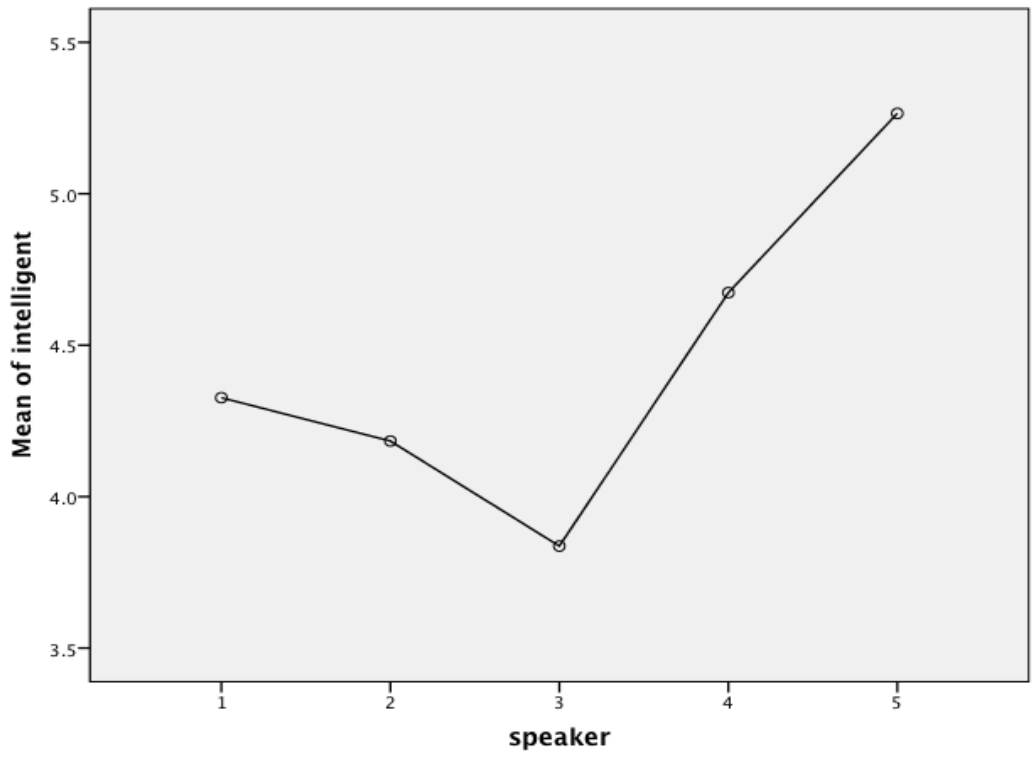
variable. In each graph, the dialects are labeled 1 to 5, corresponding to the following varieties:

1 – Liverpool, 2, - Leeds, 3 – Birmingham, 4 – Newcastle, 5 – London.

4.2.3.3.1.1 Intelligent

As shown in Figure 9, speaker 5 (London) has the highest mean score, meaning that respondents were most likely to describe them as being intelligent. Speaker 3 (Birmingham) has the lowest mean score. Speaker 4 (Newcastle) has the second highest mean score, while speakers 1 and 2 (Liverpool and Leeds) are in the third and fourth spots.

Figure 9. Mean scores for intelligence



However, if we look at the statistical significance of the variance between speakers, in a Post Hoc test, the following data are recorded:

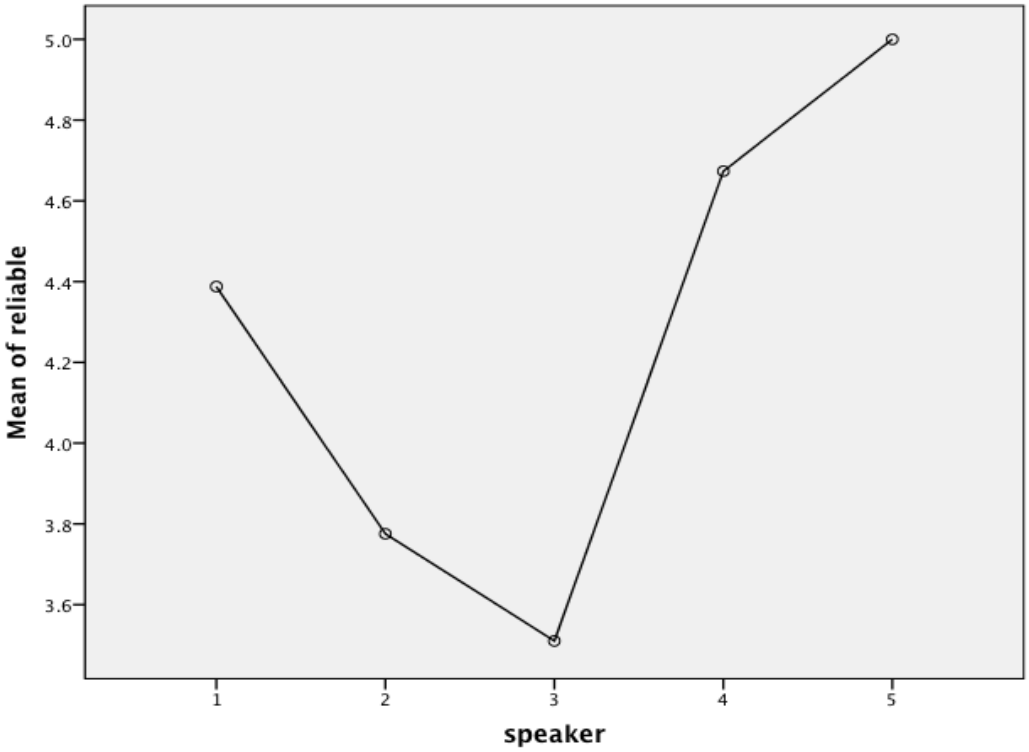
1. London is significantly different to Liverpool, Leeds and Birmingham but not Liverpool.

2. Birmingham is significantly different to Newcastle and London, but not the others.

So, in essence, we can say that speakers 4 and 5 are scored significantly higher than speaker 3, but the others are too close to be relevant. This creates a 'top and bottom' effect (Liverpool and London at the top, Birmingham at the bottom).

As shown in Figure 10, speaker 5 (London) is again the highest scoring speaker, while speaker 3 (Birmingham) is again the lowest scoring speaker. Speaker 4 (Newcastle), again, has the second highest mean score, and speakers from Liverpool and Leeds are in a similar position, although the variance between the two is this time greater than for intelligence.

Figure 10. Mean scores for reliability

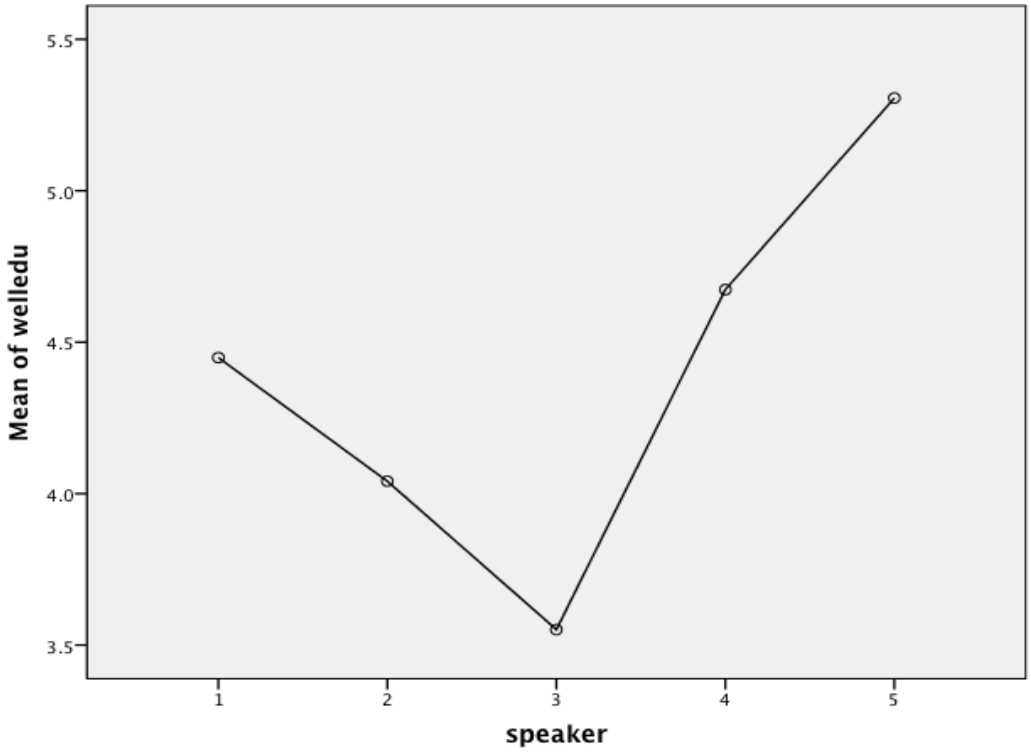


Statistically, the breakdown of Post Hoc data showed that: speakers from Newcastle and London (the two higher scorers) are statistically different from speakers from Leeds and Birmingham (the lower scoring speakers) but not significantly different from Liverpool. The difference between Newcastle and London 'at the top' is not significant. In a similar way the two 'at the bottom' (Leeds and Birmingham) are not significant from each other.

4.2.3.3.1.2 Well educated

As shown in Figure 11, the 'well educated' quality has a very similar pattern to the previous two graphs, for intelligence and reliability. The same speakers score highest and lowest, and the ordering in between is much the same.

Figure 11. Mean scores for well educated



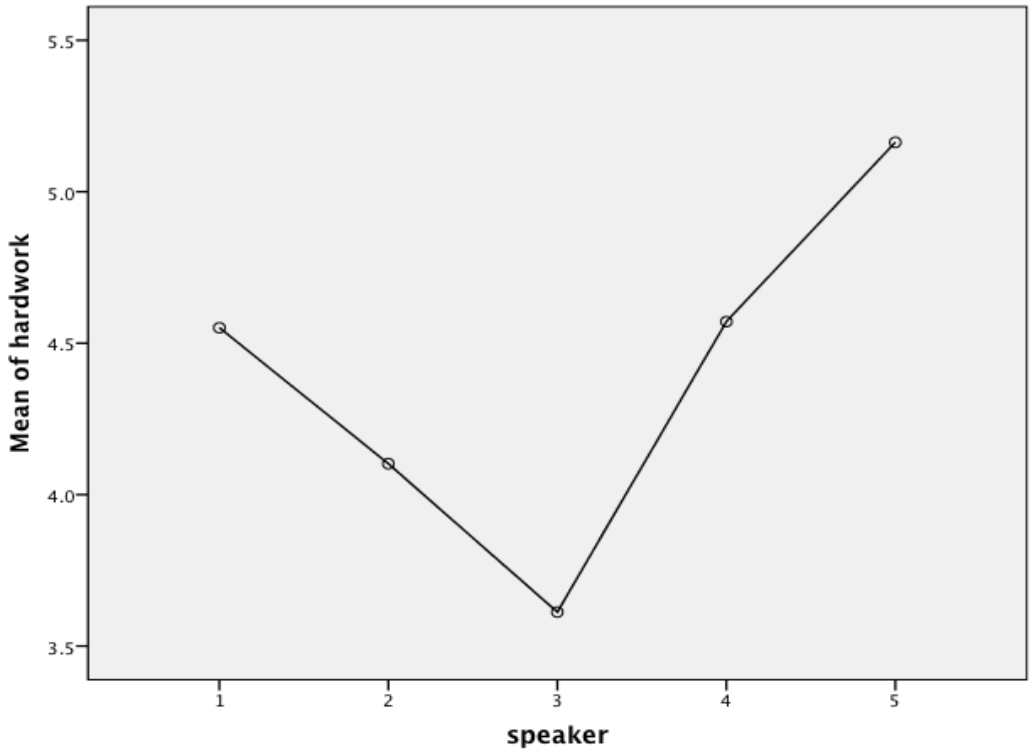
Post Hoc testing shows a clearer picture for this quality, with speakers 3 and 5 being the only speakers to be statistically different to any other speaker. Speaker 3 scores significantly lower than all other speakers; speaker 5 scores higher than all other speakers at a statistically significant rate.

4.2.3.3.1.3 Hardworking

As shown in Figure 12, a consistent pattern has emerged. The shape of the graph is the same as for the previous three qualities, with speaker 5 (London) again scoring highly, speaker 3 (Birmingham) placing last. The ordering of speakers in between the two poles is maintained, in a similar fashion as we have seen so far. The statistical testing shows that while speaker 5 is not as clear a 'front-runner' for this quality, only being

significantly different to speakers 2 and 3, speaker the variance in speaker 3 and all other speakers is significant, confirming the 'low' placement in the mean scores calculations.

Figure 12. Mean scores for hardworking

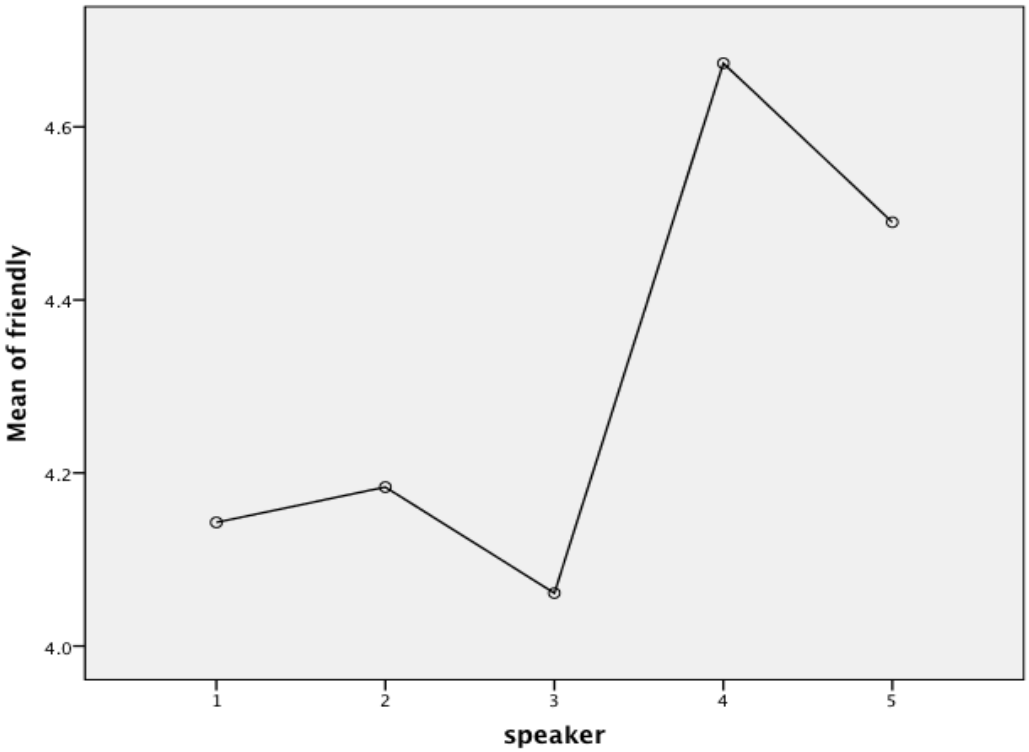


4.2.3.3.1.4 Friendly

For the first time, in Figure 13, we see a difference in the shape of the graph, for the quality of 'friendliness'. Speaker 4 (Newcastle) has the highest mean score for this quality, meaning that respondents, on average were most likely to describe this speaker as friendly. Speaker 5 (London) is second, in terms of mean score. Speaker 3 (Birmingham) has the lowest mean score and speakers 1 and 2 (Liverpool and Leeds) have the 4th and 3rd places, respectively. While the graph shows a general shape for mean scores, it is important to note that in this case, the difference between speakers 1 and 3 is not

statistically significant (p = .998). Similarly, the difference between speakers 1 and 2 is not statistically significant (p = 1.000).

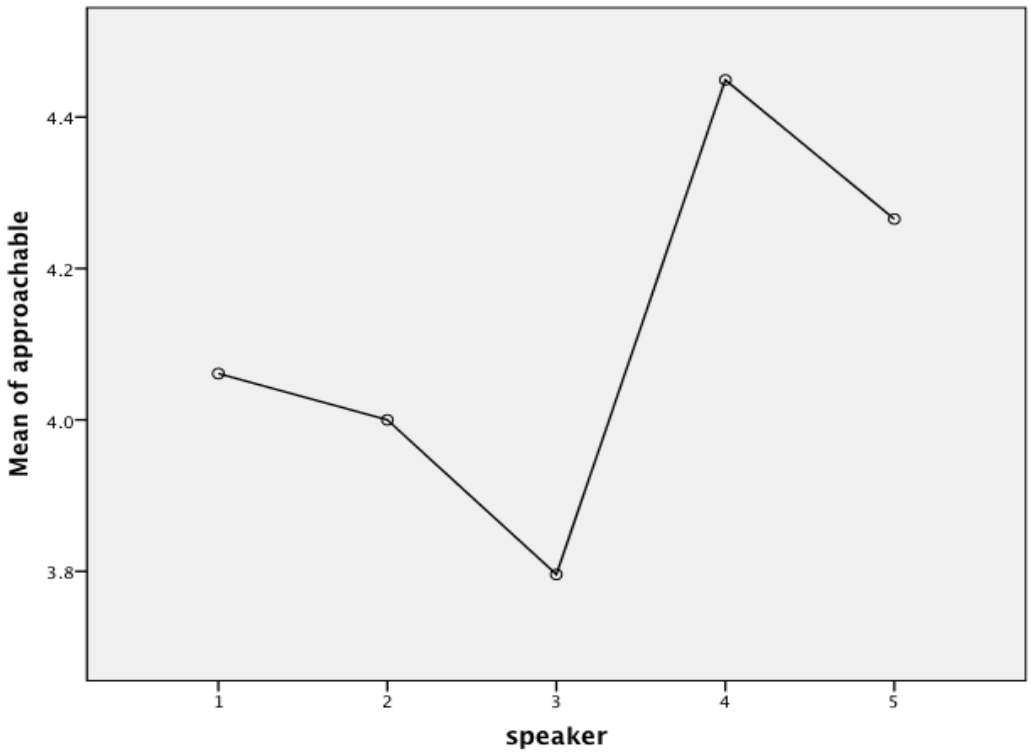
Figure 13. Mean scores for friendliness



4.2.3.3.1.5 Approachable

For the quality of 'approachability' speaker 4 (Newcastle) has the highest mean score, as shown in Figure 14. Speaker 3 (Birmingham) has the lowest mean score. Speaker 5 is in the second spot and speakers 1 and 2 are taking up the 3rd and 4th places. However, the p values for all speakers for this quality are the least statistically significant, suggesting that participants did not significantly favor any speaker over another.

Figure 14. Mean scores for approachability



4.2.3.3.1.6 Humor and attractiveness

The final graphs for this section are for humor and intelligence. They are discussed together since they are the two that have a very different shape to the graphs presented so far, which have formed a pattern of sorts (more on this in chapter 5). For the quality of humor (or sense of humor) we can see that speaker 5 (London), who had scored highly throughout all of the results so far, is ranked, in terms of mean score, as the lowest, tied with speaker 1 (Liverpool). The mean score for both of these speakers is 3.37. The highest mean score is 4.02, which is for speaker 4 (Newcastle). Speaker 2 (Leeds) has a mean score of 3.86 and speaker 3, who has consistently scored lower than the other speakers up to this point, has a mean score of 3.51. However, while this might seem like a change in 'leader' for mean scores, the Post Hoc statistical analysis revealed

p values for this variable that were not statistically significant when speakers were analyzed comparatively.

Figure 15 shows another shape which does not fit with the pattern we have seen emerge in previous results. For the 'attractive' quality, speaker 4 (Newcastle) appears to be the highest scoring speaker again with a mean score of 4.16, speakers 1 (Liverpool) and 5 (London) score comparatively low with 3.22 and 3.51, respectively. Speaker 2 (Leeds) has a mean score of 3.71, while speaker 3 (Birmingham) has a mean score of 3.94, placing them as the second highest scoring speaker for this quality. In terms of statistical testing for this quality, the only significant variance is between speaker 4 (the highest score) and speaker 1 (the lowest score); the p value = .003. All other speakers are not significantly different in relation to this variant.

Figure 15. Mean scores for humor

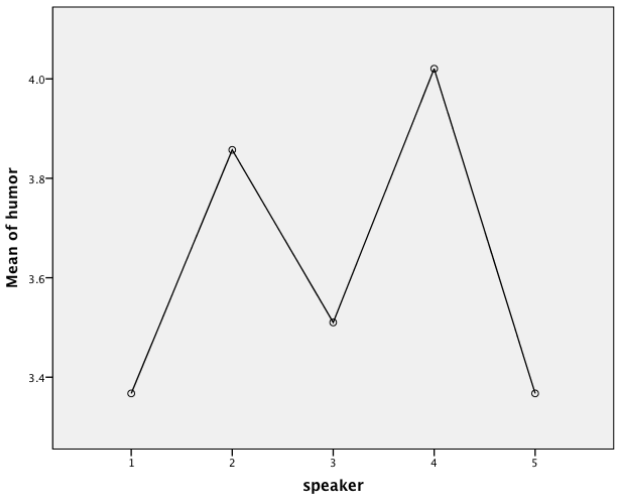
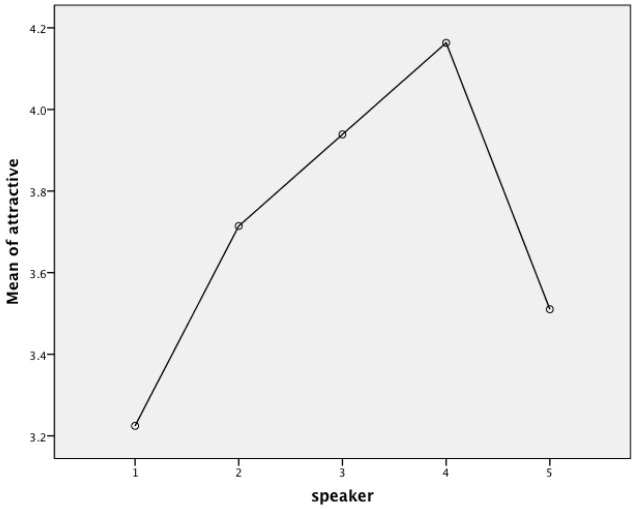


Figure 16. Mean scores for attractiveness



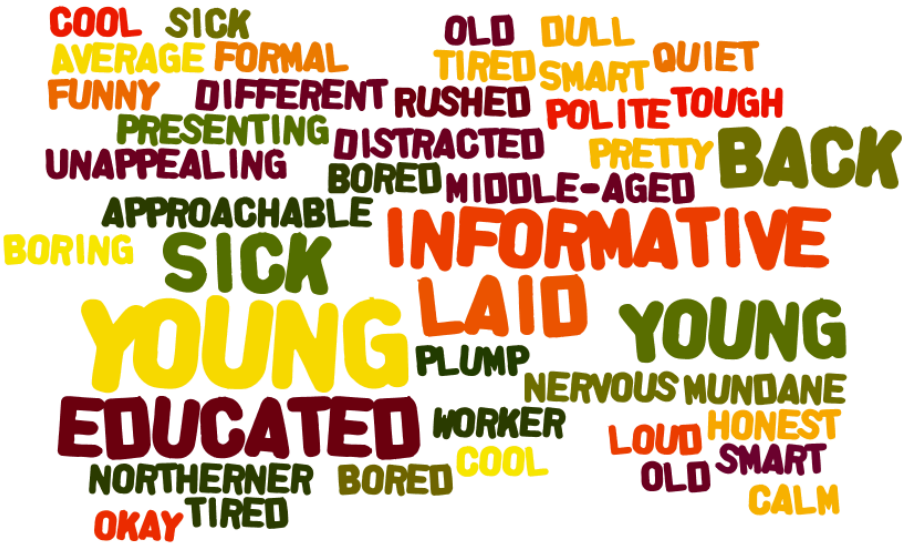
4.2.3.3.2 Qualitative data – word clouds

As well as the quantitative data associated with responses for the questions discussed, participants were asked to enter some further qualitative responses. Survey respondents were asked to use one word to describe each speaker. With the data collected from the 49 respondents, the following word clouds were generated. The larger the word appears in the word cloud, the more frequently it appeared in the data set. The colors have no bearing on frequency or grouping of terms. The question appeared in each speaker block, in the same order within the block, but with blocks randomized, as previously stated. The word clouds appear in the same speaker order as used throughout the results reporting, with Figures 17 to 21 showing the data for speakers 1 (Liverpool), 2 (Leeds), 3 (Birmingham), 4 (Newcastle) and 5 (London).

Figure 17. Word cloud for Speaker 1 (Liverpool)

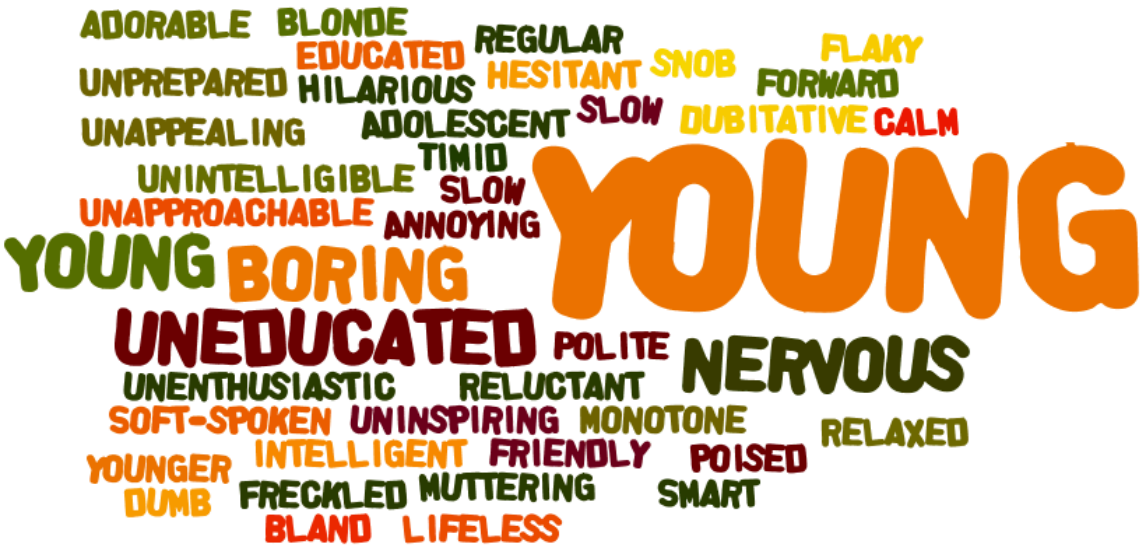
The words that appear most frequently (showing as the larger font) are 'unfriendly', 'old' and 'dull'. The appearance of the word 'old' corresponds with the qualitative data in Figure 6. Mean score for age, which shows that this speaker had a high mean score for age. While the larger words are largely pejorative, there are plenty of words with positive associations; we can see words like cheerful, relaxed, honest, educated, among others.

Figure 18. Word cloud for speaker 2 (Leeds)



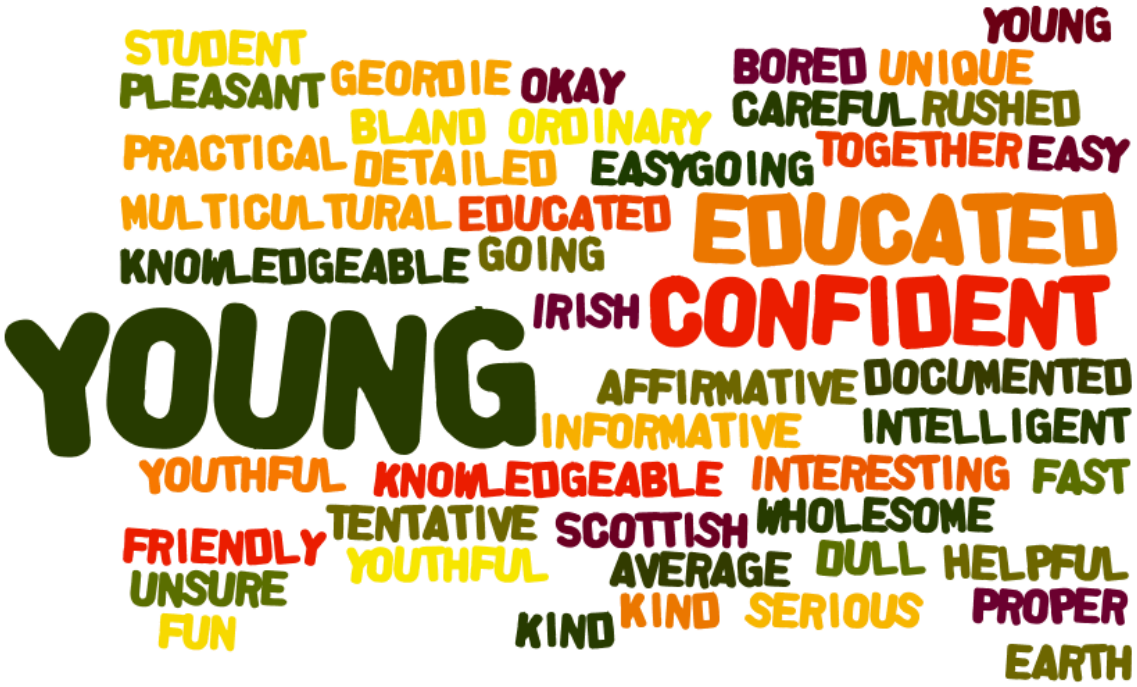
For speaker 2, the most prominent word (i.e. the most frequent in the data) is ‘young’ and then ‘educated’, ‘informative’ and ‘sick’. While the mean score for this speaker, as shown in Figure 6. Mean score for age, was not the lowest, the appearance of the word ‘young’ as the most prominent word in the cloud suggests that this was a common enough perception. However, we do also see the word ‘old’ in the cloud, so it is not valid to claim significance of young with this amount of data.

Figure 19. Word cloud for speaker 3 (Birmingham)



For speaker 3, the word ‘young’ is considerably more prominent than any other word in this cloud. This does seem to correlate with the mean score for age, which was the lowest of the 5 speakers. We also see the words ‘adolescent’ and ‘younger’ in this cloud and the next most prominent words are ‘boring’, ‘uneducated’ and ‘nervous’. That said, there are positive words appearing for this speaker, including ‘educated’, ‘smart’, ‘friendly’ and ‘intelligent’. With this amount of data, it is difficult to make the case for significant effects within the qualitative data.

Figure 20. Word cloud for speaker 4 (Newcastle)



For speaker 4, we again see a focus on age with the most prominent qualitative data. The word ‘young’ is again the most prominent, with ‘educated’ and ‘confident’ also standing out. The rest of the words in this cloud are fairly evenly sized, meaning it is most likely there were only one or two instances of each. The positive/negative split is this time slightly more biased toward the positive qualities, which seems to support the qualitative data, in that speaker 4 scored highly for warmth qualities as well as often being second to speaker 5 in competence qualities. Overall, it could be suggested that speaker 4 was perceived positively.

Figure 21. Word cloud for speaker 5 (London)

Speaker 5's word cloud shows that the most frequent words associated with this person are 'knowledgeable', 'educated' and 'smart', followed by 'mature' and 'wise'. The reference to age is consistent with the high mean score for age and the references to education/knowledge are also consistent with the high mean scores for speaker 5 as previously discussed.

4.2.3.3.3 Summary of results for speaker qualities

The data from the ANOVA testing show that the variance between speakers is significantly greater than the variance within the results for any one speaker, meaning that participants' perceptions of these variables were significantly affected by speaker. The mean scores suggest clear poles (speaker 3 as low, speaker 5 as high). For the qualities 'intelligent', 'reliable', 'well educated' and 'hardworking', an ordering pattern appears to exist. In the same way as the first set of data, speaker 5 (London) appears to score highest, consistently, while speaker 3 (Birmingham) appears to consistently score lowest. However, for the qualities 'friendly', 'sense of humor', 'attractive' and 'approachable', speaker 4 (Newcastle) has the highest mean scores. Post Hoc testing shows that for these four qualities; the only significant value is that for speakers 1 and 3

for the variable of 'attractiveness'. All other values were not significant, despite the appearance of similar ordering in the means score calculations.

The word cloud data appears to support the findings of the statistical testing of quantitative data, although it is difficult to prove patterns of frequency with the number of responses in the data set.

4.2.3.4 Ranking questions

As discussed in chapter 3, the final task participants were asked to complete as part of the survey, involved a set of three ranking questions. Participants were asked to 'drag and drop' the label for each speaker into a rank order, where 1 is high and 5 is low. The questions asked participants which speaker they would most likely hire as an employee (Figure 22), want to be friends with (Figure 23) and trust to look after children (Figure 24). The same processes of analysis were used to address:

1. Does speaker have a significant effect on the dependent variable (age, education level etc.)?
2. If yes, which specific speakers are significantly different from which others, and for which dependent variables?

ANOVA testing showed a $p = .000$ value for all three questions. In other words, speaker did have a significant effect on the ranking data, in the same way as shown in the individual speaker blocks.

4.2.3.4.1 Mean scores

Since the values for the responses in this question set were already a continuous range (1-5), mean scores were easily calculated for each speaker, for each question. The graphs of mean scores are shown below, with some description of the data. Discussion and conclusions will follow in chapter 5. The figures show 'mean of rank 1, 2, 3' on the Y axis. The numbers relate to the order of the question in the set. In the graphs that follow, the x-axis depicts the dialect /speaker while the y-axis depicts the dependent variable. In each graph, the dialects are labeled 1 to 5, corresponding to the following varieties:

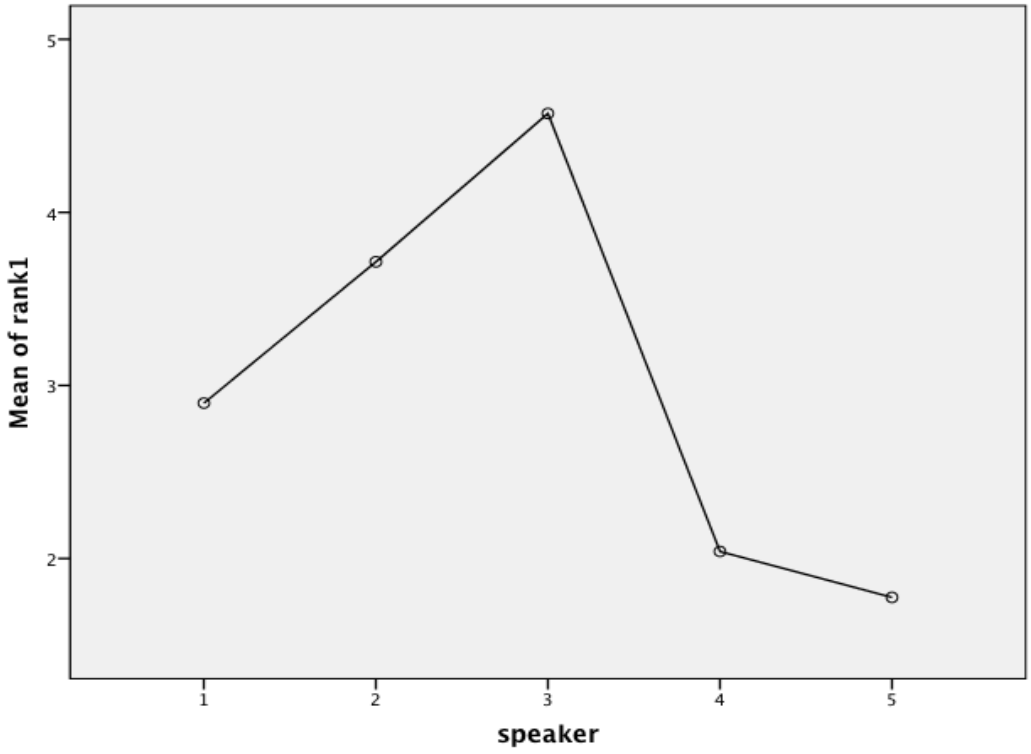
1 – Liverpool, 2, - Leeds, 3 – Birmingham, 4 – Newcastle, 5 – London.

The questions were displayed in the same order to survey respondents and will be discussed in the same order within Chapters 4 and 5.

4.2.3.4.1.1 Likely to employ

Bear in mind that a 'good' mean score is now reflected as a low number (since 1 is now a high score and 5 is a low score). Figure 22 shows how the speakers ranked in relation to each other for 'most likely to hire as an employee'.

Figure 22. Mean scores for likely to employ

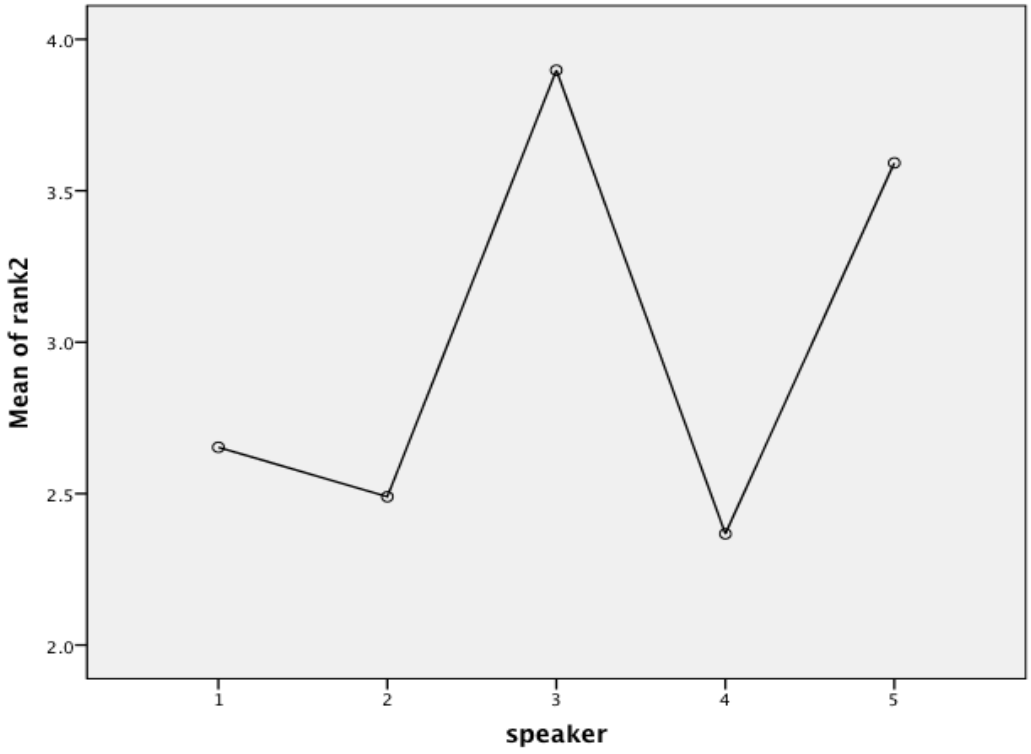


Speaker 5 (London) has the lowest mean score (which correlates to the highest ranking) of all of the speakers. Speaker 4 (Newcastle) is second, speakers 1 and 2 (Liverpool and Leeds) are third and fourth, respectively, and speaker 5 (Birmingham) is last. This picture is representative of the pattern we have seen emerge throughout the findings so far.

4.2.3.4.1.2 Would like to be friends with

Figure 23 shows the mean ranking scores for each speaker, and in relation to each other with for 'like to be friends with'. Again, a low mean score represents a high mean rank.

Figure 23. Mean scores for likely to be friends with

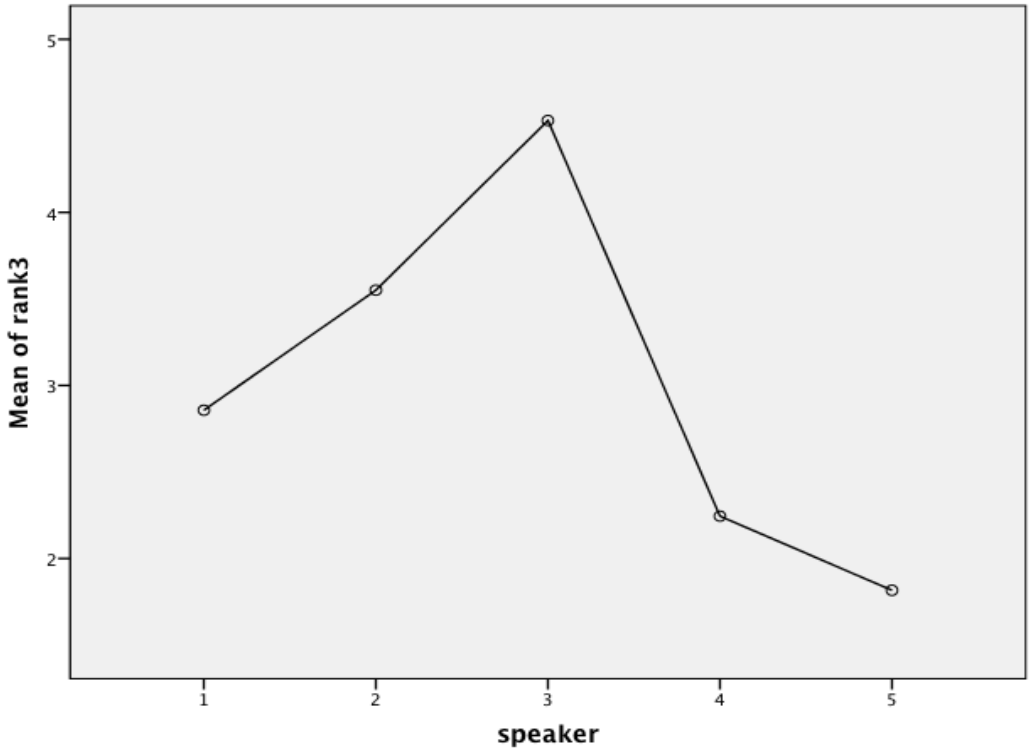


For this question, respondents ranked speaker 4 (Newcastle), on average, as the person they would most like to be friends with, closely followed by speaker 2 (Leeds) and 1 (Liverpool). Speaker 5 (London) has the 4th highest mean score and speaker 3 (Birmingham) has the highest, translating into the lowest rankings, on average.

4.2.3.4.1.3 Likely to trust with children

The final question in this set asked participants to rank the speakers in terms of who they would most likely trust to look after children. The mean scores are shown in Figure 24, below.

Figure 24. Mean scores for likely to trust with children



Speaker 5 (London) re-emerges as the highest-ranking speaker, with speaker 4 (Newcastle) a close second. In fact, the mean scores for speakers 4 and 5 are not significantly different for this question ($p = .394$). However, they are both significantly different to all other speakers. Speakers 1 (Liverpool) and 4 are also not significantly different from one another ($p = .082$). Speaker 3 (Birmingham) is significantly different

from all other speakers, and has the highest mean score, overall, which translates into a low average ranking.

4.2.3.4.2 Summary of results for ranking questions

The responses to the ranking questions, when converted into mean scores generated a similar pattern as seen in the speaker block questions for the 'likely to employ' and 'trust with children' questions. Speaker 4 and 5 ranked higher, speaker 3 lower, with 2 and 4 in the middle ground. The question that asked respondents to rank speakers according to 'with whom they would most like to be friends' shows that speaker 5 ranks lower than all but speaker 3, and speaker 4 is the highest ranked, on average.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

The final chapter will serve as a discussion and conclusions section. The chapter will include discussion of the results as presented in chapter 4, conclusions, identification of limitations and suggestions for next steps.

5.2 Discussion

The results as reported in chapter 4 showed some interesting effects for all speakers. This section will discuss the results in terms of the research questions and hypotheses, and address each accordingly.

5.2.1 Sociocultural background

Before discussing the results as they relate to common stereotypes related to each dialect/geographical region, it is essential to first introduce those stereotypes and how they have been established for the purposes of this discussion. Aside from the Workman and Reader study (2008) there are stereotypes that are acknowledged as existing for many regions of the United Kingdom. In an Internet forum designed to 'help people to learn English' the following quote shows some popular thought on representations of certain regions and the associated dialect speakers.

"In Britain, people with an RP (Received Pronunciation) accent are usually evil through and through, Cockneys (from London) are wide-boys, Scousers (from Liverpool)

are thieves, Brummies (from Birmingham) are unintelligent and anyone with a rural accent is an inbreed." (antimoon.com 2012)

A recent study in the U.K. investigated attitudes towards regional dialects/accents and found that discrimination based on accent remains an issue, according to the survey results. For example, the data below show responses for perceived intelligence:

Table 2. Responses for intelligence (ComRes 2013)

	Very intelli-gent	Fairly intelligent	Neither intelligent nor unintelligent	Not very intelligent	Not all intelligent	Don't know	NET: Intelligent	NET: Unintelligent
Received Pronunciation / Queen's English	31%	32%	27%	2%	1%	7%	62%	3%
Edinburgh	8%	30%	44%	7%	2%	9%	38%	9%
Devon	5%	23%	46%	12%	3%	10%	28%	15%
Belfast	4%	19%	48%	14%	5%	10%	23%	19%
Cardiff	4%	19%	52%	12%	4%	9%	23%	16%
Manchester	4%	16%	50%	17%	5%	8%	20%	22%
Newcastle	4%	15%	46%	19%	7%	9%	19%	26%
London (Cockney)	3%	14%	43%	25%	7%	7%	18%	32%
Birmingham	3%	12%	44%	22%	11%	8%	15%	33%
Liverpool	3%	12%	40%	24%	13%	8%	15%	37%

Respondents were asked: How intelligent or unintelligent do you find the following accents to be? ComRes (2013)

The data here show that for this single variable, intelligence, RP was perceived the most positively by far, overall. Liverpool and Birmingham have the lowest NET scores for intelligence, which (for Birmingham at least) correlate with the findings of both the Workman and Reader (2008) study discussed in Chapter 2, and my own findings. It seems that Birmingham really does get a raw deal in terms of perception, on a

consistent basis. The standardized version (RP), unsurprisingly comes out on top, which is consistent with the discussion of Standard Language Ideology within the U.K.

For the purposes of this thesis, the following stereotypes (derived from internet fora and research data discussed so far) will be used as a basis for grounding some of the discussion of perceptual data.

- Liverpool: Thieves, unattractive, working class, friendly, good sense of humor,
- Leeds/Yorkshire: Inbred, farmers, simple, easily pleased, friendly.
- Birmingham: Slow, unintelligent, boring, unfriendly.
- Newcastle: Working class, tough, but easy going and friendly, good sense of humor.
- London (RP): Educated, high income, classy but cold and unfriendly
- London (Cockney): Working class, loud/brash/flashy, hardworking.

5.2.2 Discussion of research questions and hypotheses

Research question 1 asked: **'**How does the figuration of Standard British English in the American imaginary affect perceptions of other British regional dialects?' The hypothesis for this question predicted that the perceived 'standard' would be linked to the London dialect, and therefore speaker 5. It suggested that given the exposure to, or lack thereof, dialects other than the over represented RP, and London dialect, that this speaker would 'stand out' as being reified, or at least significantly separated from the other five speakers, with the data for the other speaker being random. This assumption, based on the literature was a good one to make, initially. It is also apparent, from the demographic data

collected, that most of the respondents have never been to, or have family/friends in the United Kingdom. It would be a safe suggestion to say that since they do not have knowledge of the regions (also confirmed in the mapping task data), or the stereotypes that exist related to those regions, they would have nothing to go on. That is, they would have no way of making the same judgments, as say, a British respondent who has that knowledge already.

However, this is not the way the results from the survey came out. The data from the statistical testing show a statistical significance in the effect on dependent variable (the speaker qualities) for *all* speakers. That is to say that all speakers were perceived as significantly different from each other, as opposed to the hypothesized 'London and everything else' type of split, although London did appear as different in the heat mapping.

There are a number of possible explanations for this effect. First, there is the possibility that, as mentioned in chapter 2, participants are actually exposed to a greater range of British dialects than assumed in the outset of this study. Without further investigation, it is impossible to tell if this is the case but we have to assume that it is possible, but perhaps hearing the dialects, and recognizing them does not equate with being able to place them on a map. Perhaps a question could have been built into the survey to establish if the participant is familiar with the dialect or not. Something as simple as 'have you heard this accent before?' or 'do you recognize this accent?' could give more insight into this possibility.

Another possible explanation is that participants do, in fact, perceive the London dialect as being the standard, or the norm, and then place the other 4 in order of perceived distance from that norm. In other words, they perceive the Birmingham dialect to be the furthest away from the norm, or the most different from the London dialect. This argument is supported in the mean scores, which show a consistent pattern of the same high and low scoring speakers, which bring us to the second research question: 'Do perceptions of the specific dialects tie in with existing stereotypes associated with each dialect?'

Speaker 5, from London consistently has a high mean score for the vast majority of variables, which fits with the hypothesis of reification. Speaker 3 has consistently low mean scores, which fits with both the stereotype and the previous studies by Workman (2008) and the more recent (2013) ComRes study in the U.K. Speaker 4 is consistently the 'second place' speaker, often close enough to speaker 5 to be statistically insignificant. Speaker 4 is an interesting case, since they rate highly in most qualities and the qualitative data from the word cloud also show lots of favorable perceptions. They rate highly in friendliness and sense of humor, which would correspond with the stereotype but also in education, income and intelligence, which would go against the 'working class, rough and tough' part of the stereotype. We can see similar stories for the other speakers, in that, while some of the perceptions seem to match up with the stereotypes, other do not, which suggest a random or coincidental association of qualities/variables with speakers 2, 3 and 4.

It appears that there are two poles, London at the top and Birmingham at the bottom, with the other three speakers in the middle, for the most part, in the same order (although not always at a significant rate of difference). A final suggestion for this effect has to do with the length and rhythm of the Birmingham speech sample. While all efforts were made to control for length (a controlled reading sample was used), the speech sample for the Birmingham speaker was longer than all of the other audio clips. The Birmingham clip was 31 seconds long, while all other clips were between 23 and 25 seconds long. That means that the Birmingham speech sample was between 6 and 8 seconds longer than any other speaker clip. This raises questions about prosody and rhythm and potentially explains why this speaker is perceived negatively, in this study and the previous studies cited. It is therefore possible that American participants associated Birmingham with the so-called US 'Southern drawl', which is, in fact, longer (Spencelayh 2001). In order to fully investigate this, syllable timing measurements would need to be taken using PRAAT, or similar acoustic software, and then mean measurements calculated for syllable length. This is a potential next step in pursuing this research, at a later stage.

To summarize, the Birmingham and London accents seem to stand out as being poles, with London being the favored dialect, while Birmingham was viewed largely negatively. The heat map data showed that the rate of accuracy for placement was at its highest for London, which was supported by the qualitative data from the follow up question 'now type the name of the place…' The London dialect 'scored' highest for the variables: age, education level, income, intelligence, reliability, well-educated and

hardworking. For the variables friendliness, approachability, attractiveness and sense humor, the London speaker was not the highest scoring but only scored lowest (joint with Liverpool) on the variable of sense humor. In the ranking data, London ranked highest for 2 out of 3 of the scenarios: 'most likely to employ' and 'most likely to trust to look after children.' The rank for 'would most like to be friends with' was lower, but still not the lowest. The overall picture for London shows that the dialect, and therefore its speakers are perceived as being well educated, intelligent etc., yet perhaps slightly cold and unfriendly. This is supported by the qualitative data represented in the word cloud, where we see that the words 'educated', 'knowledgeable', and 'smart' are clearly the most common words associated with the London speaker.

Birmingham, on the other hand, seems to get a rough deal throughout, 'scoring' the lowest for almost every variable. In fact, the only variables for which Birmingham does not have the lowest score are sense of humor (although this was still relatively low) and attractiveness (which was the second highest score after Newcastle). The Birmingham speaker also ranked the lowest in all three ranking questions. The word cloud data was also fairly negative with the most common words being 'young, uneducated and nervous'. While youth is not necessarily viewed negatively, in this case, given the compounded data for intelligence, education etc., it is safe to say that this is more likely to be a reference to youth as inexperience or naivety.

5.3 Conclusions

The data do support the hypothesis, in part. The London dialect consistently scored higher than the other dialects for the majority of mean scores by variable.

Participants also placed this speaker, with a greater rate of accuracy in the mapping task, than any other speaker. Without the full acoustic analysis, as described above, it is difficult to draw conclusions about why speaker 3 (Birmingham) was perceived mostly negatively. It is possible, given the observation about timing, that U.S. participants are transferring some of what they believe about the 'Southern drawl', associated with many southern states, which is in fact, slower, than various other U.S. dialects. With no knowledge of the stereotypes existing for the dialects they hear in this study, it is possible that listeners will transfer wither existing language ideologies onto unfamiliar dialects by finding similarities. American participants have their own perceptions of vernacularity, and some of the features that index vernacularity for Americans may be present in the British dialects they heard. In this respect, certain linguistic structures could indirectly index' non-standardness.'

The language ideology literature showed, in Chapter 2, that notions of a standard version of English pervade our society via many different media. The perpetuation of the Brit stereotype is ongoing in the U.S. and Global media. Recently, social media memes including the one below have circulated, representing the idea that British English is better, correct, or 'the original'. In fact, when I mentioned this study to several colleagues, this was one of the first things they mentioned. There is a whole range of commercial products built on this phrase, from postcards to compact mirrors to t-shirts, much in line with the 'keep calm and carry on' meme that has now become a commercial success in many forms.

Figure 25. British accent meme

The United States and United Kingdom each already have problematic definitions of what constitutes the standard, and the treatment of those dialects, or more importantly, the speakers of those dialects not deemed to be standard but it seems that there is another layer of a perceived hyper-standard. That is, within American English, speakers of particular dialects are granted certain privileges, while others are not. If British English is perceived as being 'even more' standard than the standard American dialect, then what does that mean for the speakers of British English in the U.S., or speakers of American English in the U.K.? This question is another potential avenue for further research, as discussed in the 'next steps' section of this chapter. The reification of British English over American English, as played out in the media, is as problematic as the standard language ideologies that exist within each country with respect to dialects. The ways of

addressing this should be considered by educators, journalists and anyone in a position to discuss language ideology. The real world effects of language subordination are still apparent. Value should be placed on all dialects and varieties, in a move away from standard language ideology.

5.4 Limitations and next steps

One of the limitations of this study is the sample size. As in any research, the bigger the sample size, the better, so a next step would logically be to increase the sample size to investigate perceptions further.

Another limitation of this study is the complexity of what it attempts to achieve. With so many variables for each speaker, the survey was fairly long and in the analysis stage, it meant that a vast amount of data was produced. For the purposes of this thesis, perhaps honing in on a smaller number of variables would have allowed for more detailed analysis of those things, rather than less depth of analysis but across a wider range of questions. Some changes to the instrument would perhaps clarify some of the effects seen in the data, as previously discussed.

The PRAAT analysis of the speech samples would most likely provide a picture of rhythm and prosody issues, and strengthen the argument for the transference of ideologically informed judgments onto unfamiliar dialects. Some further investigation into perception of vernacularity might help to understand the ranking of the dialects in relation to each other. Further quantitative analysis of vernacular linguistic structures, a

vernacularity ‘score’ may also help to address the question of the ways in which the dialects were perceived, perhaps as they relate to American vernacular features.

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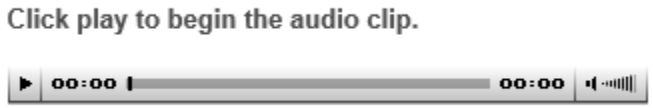
APPENDIX 1

Reading passage

If you don't know about foods and plants, you can make a big mistake. You need to know which plants are safe to eat. At one time, people feared the tomato, because they believed it to be poisonous. They thought it was dangerous because it grows on a vine that looks like a poisonous plant called nightshade. Therefore, in the early 1800s, people in the United States were afraid to eat it.

APPENDIX 2

Full Survey



How old do you think the speaker is?

- ❍ Younger than 16 (1)
- ❍ 16 to 19 (2)
- ❍ 20 to 24 (3)
- ❍ 25 to 34 (4)
- ❍ 35 to 44 (5)
- ❍ 45 to 54 (6)
- ❍ 55 to 64 (7)
- ❍ 65 or over (8)

Select the level of education you think the speaker has.

- ❍ Some high school (1)
- ❍ High school (complete) (2)
- ❍ Vocational or job training (3)
- ❍ Some college (4)
- ❍ Bachelor's degree (5)
- ❍ Master's degree (6)
- ❍ PhD (7)

How likely would you be to describe this speaker in the following ways:

	Very Unlikely (1)	Unlikely (2)	Somewhat Unlikely (3)	Somewhat Likely (4)	Likely (5)	Very Likely (6)
Intelligent (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Friendly (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Reliable (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Attractive (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Good sense of humor (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Well educated (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Approachable (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Hard working (8)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Select the annual income range you think is most likely for this speaker.

- ❍ Less than $25,000 (£15,500) (1)
- ❍ $25,001 - $50,000 (£15,501 - £31,200) (2)
- ❍ $50,001 - $75,000 (£31,201 - £46,800) (3)
- ❍ $75,001 - $100,000 (£46,801 - £62,400 (4)
- ❍ Over $100,000 (over £62,400) (5)

Select the marital status you think is most likely for this speaker.

- ❍ Single (1)
- ❍ Married (2)
- ❍ Separated (3)
- ❍ Divorced (4)
- ❍ Widowed (5)
- ❍ Other (please specify) (6) _____

In one word, how would you describe this person?

How would you describe the way this person speaks?

Where do you think this speaker is from? Click on the map. Note: The cities on the map are not a list of the options; they are a guide to help you be more accurate in your placement of the voice, but speakers may be from any area.

Now type the name of the place you think this speaker is from. If you do not know type 'Don't know'.

Click play to begin the audio clip.

How old do you think the speaker is?

- ❍ Younger than 16 (1)
- ❍ 16 to 19 (2)
- ❍ 20 to 24 (3)
- ❍ 25 to 34 (4)
- ❍ 35 to 44 (5)
- ❍ 45 to 54 (6)
- ❍ 55 to 64 (7)
- ❍ 65 or over (8)

Select the level of education you think the speaker has.

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- ❍ Vocational or job training (3)
- ❍ Some college (4)
- ❍ Bachelor's degree (5)
- ❍ Master's degree (6)
- ❍ PhD (7)

How likely would you be to describe this speaker in the following ways:

	Very Unlikely (1)	Unlikely (2)	Somewhat Unlikely (3)	Somewhat Likely (4)	Likely (5)	Very Likely (6)
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Friendly (2)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Reliable (3)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Attractive (4)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Good sense of humor (5)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Well educated (6)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Approachable (7)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Hard working (8)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

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- ❍ Master's degree (6)
- ❍ PhD (7)

How likely would you be to describe this speaker in the following ways:

	Very Unlikely (1)	Unlikely (2)	Somewhat Unlikely (3)	Somewhat Likely (4)	Likely (5)	Very Likely (6)
Intelligent (1)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Friendly (2)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Reliable (3)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Attractive (4)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Good sense of humor (5)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Well educated (6)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Approachable (7)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Hard working (8)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

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- ❍ $50,001 - $75,000 (£31,201 - £46,800) (3)
- ❍ $75,001 - $100,000 (£46,801 - £62,400 (4)
- ❍ Over $100,000 (over £62,400) (5)

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- ❍ Vocational or job training (3)
- ❍ Some college (4)
- ❍ Bachelor's degree (5)
- ❍ Master's degree (6)
- ❍ PhD (7)

How likely would you be to describe this speaker in the following ways:

	Very Unlikely (1)	Unlikely (2)	Somewhat Unlikely (3)	Somewhat Likely (4)	Likely (5)	Very Likely (6)
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Friendly (2)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Reliable (3)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Attractive (4)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Good sense of humor (5)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Well educated (6)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Approachable (7)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Hard working (8)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

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	Very Unlikely (1)	Unlikely (2)	Somewhat Unlikely (3)	Somewhat Likely (4)	Likely (5)	Very Likely (6)
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Friendly (2)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Reliable (3)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Attractive (4)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Good sense of humor (5)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Well educated (6)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
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- ❍ Separated (3)
- ❍ Divorced (4)
- ❍ Widowed (5)
- ❍ Other (please specify) (6) _____

In one word, how would you describe this person?

How would you describe the way this person speaks?

Where do you think this speaker is from? Click on the map. Note: The cities on the map are not a list of the options; they are a guide to help you be more accurate in your placement of the voice, but speakers may be from any area.

Now type the name of the place you think this speaker is from. If you do not know type 'Don't know'.

In the next section, you will be asked to rank the speakers in relation to each other. You will drag and drop the speakers into an order in response to some specific questions. In this section, 1 is high and 5 is low. For this section, the speakers are labeled 'Speaker A', 'Speaker B' etc. which may be different to the order you heard them in in the previous sections. There will be short, one sentence clips of each speaker as a reminder. Please make sure you know which label refers to which speaker to ensure your ranking is correct.

Click to hear a reminder of each speaker. They are labeled here as A - E, which may not be the order you heard them in earlier. Speaker A Speaker B Speaker C Speaker D Speaker E Which person would you be most likely to hire as an employee? Drag and drop the labels into a rank order (1 is high, 5 is low)

_____ Speaker A (1)
_____ Speaker B (2)
_____ Speaker C (3)
_____ Speaker D (4)
_____ Speaker E (5)

Click to hear a reminder of each speaker. Speaker A Speaker B Speaker C Speaker D Speaker E Which person would you most like to be friends with? Drag and drop the labels into a rank order (1 is high, 5 is low)

_____ Speaker A (1)
_____ Speaker B (2)
_____ Speaker C (3)
_____ Speaker D (4)
_____ Speaker E (5)

Click to hear a reminder of each speaker. Speaker A Speaker B Speaker C Speaker D Speaker E Which person would you most likely trust to take care of children? Drag and drop the labels into a rank order (1 is high, 5 is low)

_____ Speaker A (1)
_____ Speaker B (2)
_____ Speaker C (3)
_____ Speaker D (4)
_____ Speaker E (5)

The following questions are about you. Your responses to this survey are confidential, and the information you provide here will not identify you .

What is your gender?

- ❍ Male (1)
- ❍ Female (2)

What is your age?

- ❍ 18 (1)
- ❍ 19 (2)
- ❍ 20 (3)
- ❍ 21 (4)
- ❍ 22 (5)
- ❍ 23 (6)
- ❍ 24 (7)
- ❍ 25 (8)
- ❍ 26 (9)
- ❍ 27 (10)
- ❍ 28 (11)
- ❍ 29 (12)
- ❍ 30 (13)
- ❍ 31 (14)
- ❍ 32 (15)
- ❍ 33 (16)
- ❍ 34 (17)
- ❍ 35 (18)
- ❍ 36 (19)
- ❍ 37 (20)
- ❍ 38 (21)
- ❍ 39 (22)
- ❍ 40 (23)
- ❍ 41 (24)
- ❍ 42 (25)
- ❍ 43 (26)
- ❍ 44 (27)
- ❍ 45 (28)
- ❍ 46 (29)
- ❍ 47 (30)
- ❍ 48 (31)
- ❍ 49 (32)
- ❍ 50 (33)
- ❍ 51 (34)
- ❍ 52 (35)
- ❍ 53 (36)
- ❍ 54 (37)
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- 99 (82)
- 100 (83)

Is English your first language?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (please specify your first language) (2) _____

Do you speak any other languages?

- ❍ Yes (please specify) (1) _____
- ❍ No (2)

What is your nationality?

- ❍ British (1)
- ❍ U.S. (2)
- ❍ Other (please specify) (3) _____

If you selected British, which town/city/region are you from?

If you selected United States, which city and state are you from?

Do you have friends or family from the U.K.? Please explain.