

**A STUDY OF SINGAPOREANS' ATTITUDES TO ELEVEN  
EXPANDING CIRCLE ACCENTS OF ENGLISH**

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by

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## **Abstract**

Effective communication in English between its two billion users (Crystal, 2008), requires comprehension of others' English and a willingness to accept differences in English. While some studies have attempted to measure the attitudes of Inner Circle (IC) (Kachru, 1985) respondents towards IC Englishes, and other studies have focused on attitudes of Outer Circle (OC) and Expanding Circle (EC) respondents to IC English, there is a dearth of research on OC and EC respondents' attitudes to non-IC English. Therefore, this study addressed the need for further research focusing on OC respondents' attitudes to EC users' English. Specifically, this study of 31 Singaporeans attempted to gain an understanding of their attitudes towards Expanding Circle Accents of English (ECAE).

This study drew on direct and indirect approaches in language attitude research, involving a verbal-guise task using semantic differential scales to elicit attitudes to speakers on a range of solidarity and status traits, and interviews. Descriptive statistics derived from mean scores were used for quantitative analysis of the data from the verbal-guise task, while coding procedures were used for qualitative analysis of the interview data. The findings show the respondents displayed predominantly negative attitudes to eight of the eleven ECAE and slightly positive attitudes to three. Phonological features common to the ECAE, notably mispronunciation of particular phonemes and vowels added to consonant clusters, affected the respondents' attitudes. Moreover, certain prosodic features and the perceived degree of attractiveness and assertiveness affected attitudes to the ECAE. These findings indicate accent can affect listeners' attitude to speakers. The implications of this study have relevance to the discussions on World Englishes and English as an International Language to the extent that notions of attitude and intelligibility are central to both. Furthermore, the findings suggest attitude might be of greater significance than intelligibility when evaluating others' English.

## **Key words**

accent, Expanding Circle, language attitude, Outer Circle, varieties of English

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ArabicAE	Arabic-accented English
ChineseAE	Chinese-accented English
EC	Expanding Circle
ECE	Expanding Circle Englishes
ECAE	Expanding Circle Accented English(es)
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIL	English as an International Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
FarsiAE	Farsi-accented English
GermanAE	German-accented English
GreekAE	Greek-accented English
IC	Inner Circle
ICE	Inner Circle Englishes
KoreanAE	Korean-accented English
MGT	Matched-guise Technique
OC	Outer Circle
OCE	Outer Circle Englishes
PortugueseAE	Portuguese-accented English
SpanishAE	Spanish-accented English
SwahiliAE	Swahili-accented English
ThaiAE	Thai-accented English
TurkishAE	Turkish-accented English
VGT	Verbal-guise Technique

## Chapter One

### Background

I have long been interested in the richness, variation and diversity in English that is spoken within countries, across regions and in different parts of the globe. With this interest has come the fascination with wanting to understand the reasons why I find some kinds of English irritating or difficult to listen to: why I change the TV channel or radio station when a certain user of a particular kind of English begins to speak. The prejudices I hold and the judgements I make, consciously or unconsciously, reflect the attitude I have towards a speaker or to speakers of that kind of English, and to the sounds of that English. This attitude in turn determines my behaviour: to be receptive or not; to hear and accept the speaker's English or not; ultimately, to determine whether the communication is successful or not. Often, it is not a matter of intelligibility or comprehensibility, for even when I understand a speaker perfectly well, I may have a negative attitude to how he or she is speaking: to the kind of English being used. Consequently, my attitude plays a significant role in determining the degree to which the linguistic communication succeeds.

The BBC comedy series *Little Britain* provides humorous and exaggerated, but powerful, examples of the importance of attitude towards the English used by others. In one sketch, one of the characters, Marjorie Dawes is asking her group of 'Fat Fighters' what food cravings they have. She asks each member in turn and writes the items on a board: for example, chocolate and cake. Marjorie comes to ask Meera, an Indian lady, what she craves.

**Marjorie:** Mary?

**Meera:** Fish and chips.

**Marjorie:** Sorry, do it again...

**Meera:** Fish and chips.

**Marjorie:** She doesn't make sense...do it again.

**Meera:** Fish and chips.

**Marjorie Dawes:** Do it again.

**Meera:** Oh forget it.

*[Marjorie writes down 'CURRY' on the whiteboard]*

*(Slimmer of the Year, Little Britain, 2003)*

Clearly, Marjorie is a caricature: but like all caricatures she represents characteristics of real people. This is why the sketch is so significant, since it presents us with the profound issues of racial, cultural and linguistic prejudice. It could be argued that if Marjorie's attitude were determined entirely by racial and/or cultural prejudice, Meera might not have been accepted into the group. None the less, racial and cultural prejudice might have given rise to, and/or affected, the degree of linguistic prejudice Marjorie clearly displays. It could equally be argued that Marjorie found Meera's English was unintelligible and incomprehensible, but 'all speakers of English are capable of being intelligible (or unintelligible) to speakers of other varieties if they are so motivated' (Kirkpatrick 2007, p.35) and if the interlocutor is willing to accept the other's speech. However, this acceptance depends on attitude. In the example from *Little Britain*, Meera was motivated to be understood, but Marjorie was not motivated to accept Meera's utterances. This phenomenon gives rise to a number of important questions. What was it about the way Meera spoke that Marjorie found unacceptable? What was in Meera's speech that coloured Marjorie's attitude to it? Would Marjorie's attitude have been different if she had only heard Meera speaking? These issues can be applied beyond the context of the *Little Britain* sketch and expanded to the real world by asking further highly pertinent questions. As a speaker of English I must ask myself: How far am I, my neighbours, the readers of this thesis or any speakers of English different from Marjorie? What are our attitudes to the English others speak and how are these attitudes shaped? I hypothesise that there is a touch of Marjorie in all of us. Hence, there is a need to elicit, identify and understand the reasons for attitudes and behaviour vis-à-vis speakers of other kinds of English.

### 1.1 Attitudes to languages

There are compelling reasons why studies are undertaken into attitudes to languages. First, attitudes may lead to the establishment and perpetuation of stereotypes, whereby a speaker is assigned a set of characteristics associated with a particular group. For the purposes of this study, a '*stereotype*' should be understood as *an over-generalized and preconceived idea or impression of what characterizes*

*someone or something, especially one that does not allow for any individuality or variation* (Chambers 21st Century Dictionary). Second, in the field of linguistics, a sample of speech can evoke a listener's stereotypes of the perceived social group membership of a speaker, which may or may not represent the social realities (McKenzie, 2008). Third, in the field of social psychology, peoples' judgements are also considered important because it is believed that attitudes, which are summary evaluations, have a considerable degree of influence on behaviour (Bohner and Wanke, 2002): for instance, whether or not to accept the speech of the interlocutor, as illustrated by the *Little Britain* sketch above. Therefore, attitudes can be understood as composites of beliefs, feelings and intentions that are acquired through experience (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997) and predispose people to react and respond to specific objects, situations and other people in particular ways. More specifically, attitudes to languages are fundamental in predisposing people to react and respond to the languages, accents and varieties of languages of other people and, perhaps, to those people themselves.

Attitude plays a significant role in the way people make judgements about languages, accents and varieties, and we all have a tendency to be linguistically prejudiced to some degree, either positively or negatively (Giles and Powesland, 1975). When listeners believe that one kind of English sounds friendlier, more welcoming or less intelligent than others, these judgements illustrate the listeners' linguistic prejudices. The research hypothesis, therefore, is that the kind of English used will evoke particular images for listeners, and that these images will affect how the listeners judge the personal qualities of a speaker (Brettell, 1988). These images, and the judgements made about them, can depend on a number of factors, including the accent or dialect that a speaker uses. Therefore, it is important to understand the role attitude plays in making judgements about different accents and varieties of a language and, as a corollary, about the personalities of the speakers of those accents and varieties. It is equally important to try to ensure that these judgements can be supported rationally (Kirkpatrick, 2007) by identifying the attitudinal criteria or

specific traits that listeners use when making judgements about speakers of other kinds of English.

Attitudes to languages, accents and language varieties can have important and far-reaching consequences. For example, attitudes towards accents and language varieties can define speech communities, reflect in-group communication and help determine teachers' views of learners' abilities (Carranza, 1982). Negative attitudes to speakers of particular kinds of a language may affect the extent to which those speakers have access to higher education and employment opportunities for instance (Kamisli and Dugan, 1997). These circumstances may ultimately lead to the declining use of those particular accents and varieties. Conversely, positive judgements of a language may be a major factor in determining the spread of a language or making particular accents and varieties of it more popular. It is for these reasons that attitudes to, and judgements of, particular languages, accents and language varieties have been a traditional concern in the fields of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics (McKenzie, 2008) (see 2.6 and 2.7).

## 1.2 The study of language attitudes

Studies of attitudes to language and language varieties are of interest because they might further our understanding of key issues, such as language spread and language variation and change (Labov, 1984). Indeed, as mentioned above (see 1.1), the use and the spread of a language or a variety, may be measured through research into the attitudes people have towards it. This study responds to the need for further research in this field by investigating attitudes towards different kinds of English.

Attitudes towards varieties and speakers of varieties of English have been of interest in sociolinguistics and social psychology for the past few decades. This interest arose with the realisation that the spread of varieties might be determined to some extent by attitudes people have to their use and their users (Fishman and Rubal-Lopez, 1992). While the majority of language attitude studies have focused on British and American judgements of speakers of varieties of British and American English,



the attitudes of other speakers of English are also of considerable significance. Moreover, the attitudes that learners of English hold towards accents and varieties of English speech are also believed to be important (McKenzie, 2008). The spread of English around the world has led to the need to study the attitudes held by users of English in what Kachru (1985) called the Outer and Expanding Circles (see 1.3). Nevertheless, there have been few studies conducted into attitudes in these circles. Therefore, this study responds to the call for further research in this field, (Canagarajah, 2006; Berns, 2005; Jenkins, 2000) by investigating Singaporean (Outer Circle) attitudes towards different accents of English used in the Expanding Circle.

### 1.3 The context of this study

This study is located within the context of Kachru's (1985) three concentric circles model for acknowledging English language norms within particular English-using communities, including the Inner Circle (e.g. Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), the Outer Circle (the former British and US colonies) and the Expanding Circle (the rest of the world). This model offers three major strengths. First, it pluralises English 'so that *one* English becomes *many* Englishes' (Kirkpatrick 2007, p.28). Second, it does not suggest nor imply that one variety of English is superior, linguistically, to any other. Third, the term 'Expanding' allows for the development of new varieties and increased roles and functions of English within and between the countries in this circle. These considerable strengths commend this model as a suitable context in which to ground our understanding of the role of English in the world and attitudes to accents and varieties of the language.

There are a number of compelling reasons to focus attention on the English used in non-Inner Circle countries. Foremost is the fact that users of English in the Outer (OC) and Expanding (EC) Circles significantly outnumber those in the Inner Circle (IC) (Savignon, 2003), with about 80 per cent of the English speakers in the world being non-native speakers (Braine, quoted in Ke, 2006). This high demand for English, particularly in the Expanding Circle is likely to propel the development of Asian and European Englishes more rapidly than occurred in the IC and OC. Evidence

for this can be found in the increasing number of educational institutions in the EC that now conduct courses in English or operate wholly in the medium of English. In these institutions, learners are being taught English, and in English, by local teachers whose own English may be influenced by the indigenous culture and language. For example, China has over 200 million learners of English and more than one million indigenous English teachers (Braine, 2006). Furthermore, interaction in English via computer technology has expanded exponentially at both the intranational and international levels, making access and exposure to different kinds of English increasingly widespread. Coupled with this is the use of English as the *lingua franca* in international trade, commerce, education and popular culture in the EC (Crystal, 2003). Consequently, the intranational use of English provides opportunities for the development of new local accents and varieties of the language, while the international interaction allows for the development of regional *lingua franca* varieties of English (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

The factors outlined above lead to the supposition that if we are to gain a deeper understanding of current and potential trends in the kinds of English that are used around the world, greater attention needs to be given to the non-Inner Circle users of English and their varieties of the language. For the purposes of this study, a ‘*variety of English*’ should be understood as *a codified and documented form of English that has certain distinct and recognisable features of accent, prosody, syntax and lexis which may identify its user as a member of a particular geographical, national, social or cultural group*. With this in mind, the choice of Singaporeans as respondents for this study is pertinent to the issue of attitudes towards non-Inner Circle English because Singapore English is itself an established OC variety that has been well-documented and described (Deterding, 2005a; Low and Brown, 2005; Brown et al., 2000; Brown, 1999; Foley et al., 1998; Pakir, 1999, 1993; Tay, 1993; Foley, 1988; Platt and Weber, 1980; Tongue, 1979). Moreover, as a major regional centre of trade, commerce and finance, Singapore attracts a wide range of users of different kinds of English and, therefore, provides a suitable location in which to undertake research into attitudes towards some of these different accents of English.

#### 1.4 Englishes and accents of English

Some writers and researchers use the term ‘variety’ when describing and referring to the characteristics of the kinds of English used by particular geographical or national groups in the IC and OC (see 2.6). Many of these varieties have been well-documented and codified (for example, Kortmann and Schneider (2008), and have acquired recognition as ‘Englishes’, such as American English, Australian English, Singaporean English, and Indian English. However, much of the English used in the EC has only recently begun to be codified (for example, Cohen, 2005; Dogancay-Aktuna and Kiziltepe, 2005; Ustinova, 2005), and consequently it may be premature to refer to these kinds of English as varieties. Other authors (e.g. Selinker, 1972, 1992) refer to English used in some parts of the OC and particularly in the EC as ‘interlanguage’, or describe it as ‘learner English’ (Swan and Smith, 2001) replete with inaccuracy and deficiency. Meanwhile, other writers have focused on ‘accent’ (see 2.7) as a way of addressing the differences in English spoken within the IC, OC and EC. In this study, ‘*accent*’ should be understood as ‘*a characteristic style of pronunciation determined by (or at least associated with) the speaker’s regional, social, or linguistic background*’ (Riney, Tagaki and Inutsuka (2005). If how people speak English can be codified, the corollary is that there are discernable characteristics which make it identifiable and to some extent unique, but which might not qualify it to be considered a variety or an ‘English’. Nevertheless, Schneider (2003a) suggests that the first step in the developmental process for varieties of English is the emergence of a local accent resulting from transfer from the phonology of indigenous languages. It is for this reason that this study focuses on accents of English in the Expanding Circle.

To provide further focus, I propose to introduce the term ‘Expanding Circle Accents of English’ as a way of describing the English spoken in the recorded samples used in this study. Indeed, ‘Expanding Circle Accents of English’ is a label of convenience to describe the kinds of spoken English that are emergent, apparent and recognisable, and display certain characteristics that are possibly derived from the influence of the speakers’ mother tongue, but which may not yet be developed

sufficiently to be considered varieties: unlike the Englishes in the OC. Henceforth, the speech samples used in this study will be referred to generally as Expanding Circle Accents of English (ECAE) and, more specifically, as Korean-accented English (KoreanAE) and Thai-accented English (ThaiAE) for example. The key characteristics of each of the eleven ECAE used in this study are provided in Appendices 1 – 11.

### 1.5 The importance of this study

The value of this study is that it addresses a number of major contemporary issues in the field of English language, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics; and seeks to make a contribution to the existing body of knowledge on (1) language attitude studies, (2) English in the OC and EC, and (3) English as an International Language (EIL). Kachru (1985) suggested that allowance for a variety of English language norms within and across the IC, OC and EC would not lead to problems of intelligibility among World Englishes, but would engender the emergence of an educated variety of English, intelligible across all varieties of English, i.e. EIL. However, whereas the norms of one variety of English may be *intelligible* to users of other varieties of English, such norms may not be *acceptable* to those other users. (An example of this phenomenon was offered in the *Little Britain* sketch above.) Thus, the notion of EIL and the utility of World Englishes beyond their geographic boundaries should be considered as much in terms of acceptability as intelligibility. Such acceptability is determined by the attitude of the interlocutors who use and interact with other users of different kinds of English.

While considerable research has been undertaken into IC and OC varieties of English, few studies have been conducted that have focused on the distinctions and relationships between English in the OC and EC (Jenkins, 2000). Berns (2005) and Canagarajah (2006) suggest that more research is needed into the use of and attitudes towards English in the OC and EC. Taken in this context, this study is a timely and worthwhile undertaking because it addresses contemporary issues related to the theory and practice of English language use. Furthermore, it generates data that not only provide insights into the way in which users of one kind of English respond to other

kinds of English, but also offer insights into the factors that might be of significance for further understanding of the development of EIL.

This study offers a shift in focus that was motivated by the call for more research involving non-Inner Circle users of English (Jenkins, 2000). This study focuses on Singaporean listeners' attitudes to spoken different kinds of EC English. This focus is justified in light of findings in the literature indicating that, in general, spoken language is less influenced by standards than written language (Melchers and Shaw, 2003). While variation in World Englishes can be found at all levels of language, the most distinctive characterisations of varieties are most apparent in speech. Spoken language is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, Trudgill (1998) suggests that there is a trend towards increasing distinction and divergence in spoken English, whereas at other levels (such as the written word) there is increasing convergence of varieties. Secondly, the way people speak is closely related to their actual and perceived sociocultural identity (Morgan, 1997). Thirdly, establishing mutual intelligibility and acceptability in oral-aural interaction between users of different kinds of English has importance for the recognition of World Englishes (Melchers and Shaw, 2003; McKay, 2002; Smith, 1976). Therefore, this study attempts to make a contribution to the literature in this field by using samples of different accents of EC English with which to elicit attitudinal data from OC listeners.

#### 1.6 Research aims and objectives

The research purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of Singaporean attitudes towards ECAE. The selection includes samples of East Asian, South Asian, African, and Southern and Northern European speakers of English. The research problem lies in attempting to elicit the required responses in a manner that could produce pertinent, useable and trustworthy data. This problem may be overcome by giving careful consideration to the aims and objectives of the study.

The aims of this study are (1) to ascertain whether Singaporeans have different attitudes towards different ECAE, (2) to discover what different attitudes, if any,

Singaporeans have towards different ECAE, and (3) to understand why Singaporeans have different attitudes, if any, towards different ECAE. These aims might be achieved by having clear objectives as to how the study should be conducted.

The research objectives for this study were determined by the need to select and utilise people, instruments, methods and procedures that were most likely to produce a study that fulfilled the research aims as comprehensively as possible. To this end, the research objectives of this study were (1) to find and use suitable speech samples of ECAE, (2) to find and use suitable respondents to elicit data from, (3) to find and use suitable methods to elicit attitudinal data from the respondents, and (4) to find and use suitable methods to analyse the elicited attitudinal data gathered from the respondents. In identifying and attempting to adhere to these objectives, the research problem could be addressed and the aims of the study could be realised.

Central questions for this study are (1) What attitudes do Singaporeans have towards different ECAE? and (2) What factors determine Singaporean attitudes towards different ECAE? This study addresses these questions with the intention of contributing to a deeper understanding of some of the factors that determine attitudinal differences towards different accents of English. Hence, it is hoped that this thesis will make a contribution to the literature in the field of World Englishes and EIL. The research findings might be of significance for both researchers and teachers of particular varieties of English, English for intercultural/international communication, English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

Having established the research aims, objectives and the central questions of this study, it is important to state that this is not a study of Singaporean English, nor is it an extensive study of the specific ECAE that are presented in the speech samples. The English used by Singaporeans is not the central issue of concern in this study. Specifically, this study is concerned with Singaporeans' attitudes to the ECAE presented. Therefore, this study focuses on the elicitation, analysis and discussion of

Singaporeans' attitudes to a number of accents and the particular traits, features and characteristics in the eleven selected ECAE as they affect those attitudes.

### 1.7 Overview of this thesis

In this first chapter, I have attempted to explain the personal motivation surrounding the issue of how my attitude to a speaker of English plays a significant role in determining the degree to which linguistic communication succeeds. It is from this seed of thought that this study germinates. Having established the personal motivation driving this study, some professional reasons for wanting to investigate the issue of language attitudes were outlined. This was expanded to provide a rationale for the study, i.e. there is an identifiable need to elicit, identify and understand the reasons for attitudes and behaviour in relation to speakers of other kinds of English. The importance of this study was established by noting that attitude plays a significant role in the way people make judgements about languages and variations in languages, and identifying the need to understand the specific traits that people use when making judgements about speakers. Also in this chapter, I contextualised this study within sociolinguistics and, more specifically, within the discourse on World Englishes and EIL and described it in relation to Kachru's (1985) three concentric circles model. Furthermore, I have proposed the use of the term 'accented English' as a way of defining the kinds of English that many English speakers in the world use, and as a way of describing the kinds of English used by the speakers in the samples presented to the Singaporean respondents in this study. Finally, three key aims of the study have been outlined; the research objectives were described; and two central questions were introduced. This background has provided a brief introduction into the key ideas, constructs and themes that form the foundation and drive the direction of this thesis.

Chapter 2 provides a critical review of some of the literature relevant to a study on Singaporeans' attitudes to eleven ECAE. Firstly, the context of the study will be established by presenting a number of relevant theories, concepts and perspectives within the literature on World Englishes and EIL. Some models of English language spread will be discussed with the aim of establishing the reasons for adopting

Kachru's (1985) model as the basis for understanding World Englishes in this study. This discussion will be followed by an overview in which key ideas, positions and trends in World Englishes and EIL are compared, contrasted and evaluated. Secondly, relevant research into attitudes and language attitudes will be presented and discussed in relation to particular issues, challenges and ideas that are addressed in this study. Particular attention will be drawn to theories of attitudes and the primary approaches that have been adopted in investigations in the field of language attitude research. Key studies undertaken into attitudes to accents and varieties of English will be discussed in order to identify the research field in which the present study is situated, and to establish the contribution this study intends to make to the literature on language attitudes, World Englishes and EIL. Finally, a summary of the main themes and conceptual frameworks drawn from the range of literature will be presented in order to illustrate how they have informed and shaped this study.

Chapter 3 considers a number of key theoretical and practical concerns that are relevant for the preparation and operation of this investigation into Singaporeans' attitudes to eleven ECAE. Firstly, the research aims, objectives and questions of this study will be reiterated. Secondly, a review of relevant language attitude research will be presented, illustrating that the majority of methods and techniques fall into two major categories: (a) direct approaches requiring respondents to consider their attitudes to languages and varieties of languages and provide self-reports of these attitudes; and (b) indirect approaches to language attitude research utilising tangential data gathering techniques to gather attitudinal data. Thirdly, the instrument, namely the verbal-guise task and follow-up interviews, and procedures for data collection will be discussed. This discussion includes the selection of (a) the samples of ECAE, (b) suitable respondents, and (c) the research instruments. The operational aspects of the pilot study and the administration of the verbal-guise task and interviews will be explained. Fourthly, the procedures for data analysis will be described. Fifthly, issues related to the trustworthiness of this study are considered, followed by a brief discussion of ethical issues. Finally, some limitations of the study are considered. In presenting this chapter in this manner, I attempt to show that the research design and



chosen methods are appropriate and efficacious for obtaining relevant, reliable and valid data with which to address the research questions.

In Chapter 4, I attempt to present the key themes and findings that emerged from analyses of the data from the verbal-guise task and interviews. The data are analysed and presented in relation to (1) ECAE; (2) each of the fifteen traits; (3) the respondents' sexes; (4) the respondents' ages; (5) the respondents' educational level; (6) the number of languages other than English the respondents speak; and (7) issues that emerged from the interview data. These analyses were undertaken in an attempt to produce findings with which to address the research questions. Based on the evidence, it will become apparent that the Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes to different ECAE and these attitudes are determined by a number of factors, which can be summarised under the themes of solidarity traits and status traits, as presented *a priori* in the verbal-guise task, and phonological and prosodic characteristics, assertiveness and attractiveness, as emerged from the interviews.

Chapter 5 explores and discusses the key themes and findings that emerge from this study in relation to the results of previous research in the field of language attitude studies, and to consider the meaning and significance of these findings in order to make a contribution to the literature in this field. In particular, this discussion attempts to present an interpretation of the data so as to show how far they meet the aims of this study. Chapter 5 first provides an overview of the data drawn from the verbal-guise task. After showing that the Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes to the ECAE that were presented, the discussion proceeds to consider some of the factors arising from both the verbal-guise task and the interviews that might have affected the respondents' attitudes towards the ECAE.

The final chapter will conclude this thesis. Firstly, a summary of the key findings of the study will be provided. Secondly, the research aims and research questions will be reiterated. Thirdly, consideration will be given to the value of this

study and the implications of the findings. Fourthly, I will discuss some limitations of this study. Finally, recommendations for further research will be offered.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

Relevant theories, concepts and perspectives within the literature on World Englishes and English as an International Language need to be reviewed and discussed in order to provide the context for this study. However, it is necessary to draw a distinction between the notions of World Englishes and English as an International Language. In this thesis, the former term is used in reference to English that adheres to the norms and standards commonly found in a particular country or region and the latter term refers to a 'complex of linguistic features and communicative practices which make the variety widely comprehensible' (Melchers and Shaw 2003, p.179). In short, World Englishes are defined by their place of origin, while English as an International Language is defined by its scope of use.

If linguists, English-language teachers and users of English generally are to acknowledge the notions of World Englishes and English as an International Language, they must be prepared to accept and cope with a wide variety of accents (Rajagopalan, 2004) and other characteristics of English as it is spoken within and across Kachru's concentric circles. This is because English is the main foreign language being learnt in many parts of the world (Crystal, 2003). In spite of this phenomenon, speakers from the Inner Circle have tended to be viewed as 'the owners of the language, guardians of its standards, and arbiters of acceptable pedagogic norms' (Jenkins 2000, p. 5). However, the ownership of English is becoming more widespread (Widdowson, 1994) and new sources of norms, such as Indian, Filipino and Singaporean standards, have evolved. Thus, 'English as a commodity comes in many brands' (Luk and Lin 2006, p. 5) and the question of who owns English is being eclipsed by the issue of who has 'the authority and control over value judgement of different norms and usage of English varieties' (ibid).

In light of this expansion in the ownership of English, it is no longer an axiom that Standard English is necessarily associated with the standards and norms of any of

the countries in the Inner Circle (Xu, 2002). Phillipson (1992) argues that the notion of a single, global set of English language norms should be abandoned. He suggests standards should be based on local models of specific varieties of English, which promote and maintain international intelligibility. A consequence of this would be the rise of the intercultural speaker model (Kramsch, 1998) as a replacement for the native speaker model for users of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles. Nevertheless, there has been a dearth of research providing evidence to indicate whether different varieties of English have sufficient in common to be mutually intelligible (Jin, 2005), or whether certain varieties of English are acceptable to users of other varieties. Research in the areas of World Englishes and English as an International Language is greatly needed in order to test theories, identify trends and measure the extent to which certain accents and varieties of English are acceptable to users of other accents and varieties.

This chapter provides a critical review of some of the literature relevant to a study on Singaporean attitudes towards ECAE. This literature review will help to form an appropriate conceptual framework for this study. Firstly, a number of relevant theories, concepts and perspectives will be compared, contrasted and evaluated. Secondly, relevant research into attitudes and language attitudes will be presented and discussed in relation to particular issues, challenges and ideas that are addressed in this study. Thirdly, a summary of the main themes and conceptual frameworks that have informed and shaped this study will be presented. Finally, in light of the literature reviewed, a conclusion restating and justifying this study will be drawn.

## 2.1 Models of English language spread

A number of models that have attempted to categorise English and varieties of English in the world have been devised by scholars. One of the first to offer a model was Strevens (1980). This model transposes a family tree structure onto a map of the world. English is branched off into British and American varieties. The British branch provides off-shoots to African, Asian, Australasian and some Caribbean varieties of English, while the American branch provides growth to Asia-Pacific and other Caribbean varieties. Almost two decades after Strevens' World Map of English, a

model was put forward by Gupta (1997), in which a distinction is made between monolingual and multilingual speakers of English. Three criteria are added to this dichotomy: ancestral, contact and scholastic. These factors are combined to provide five categories of English: ‘monolingual ancestral’, such as British; ‘monolingual contact’, such as Caribbean; ‘monolingual scholastic’, such as Indian; ‘multilingual contact’, such as Singaporean; and ‘multilingual ancestral’, such as South African (Kirkpatrick, 2007). The monolingual/multilingual distinction is useful, and the categories it gives rise to are exemplified by national and geographical groupings, in much the same way as proposed by Stevens.

Circle-based models of English language spread have been provided by Kachru (1985), Gorlach (1990) and McArthur (1992). Kachru’s (1985) three concentric circles model acknowledges English language norms within particular English-using communities, in the Inner Circle (e.g. Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), the Outer Circle (the former British and US colonies) and the Expanding Circle (the rest of the world). Both Stevens’ (1980) and Kachru’s (1985) models have British and American English as the point from which other varieties of the language have emerged. However, the models proposed by Gorlach (1990) and McArthur (1992) place ‘International English’ and ‘World Standard English’ respectively at the centre of their circle models, with a surrounding circle of eight national and regional varieties leading to an outer circle of sub-varieties of English. These models appear to be inversions of Kachru’s circle model, but, unlike Kachru, they take account of the range of varieties of English within Britain and the USA. Criticisms could be aimed at all of these models for the emphasis they appear to place on dichotomies between Inner and Outer Circles, Native and Non-native users, or older and newer Englishes, which often appear to depend on perceived national and geographical boundaries. Moreover, these models may not take account of English users’ perceptions of and attitudes to different kinds of English. Perhaps most importantly, while these models help us to understand the use and the spread of English throughout the world, the spread and use of English and varieties of English is evolving. As such, these models should be revisited, adapted and developed further to

account for the evolution of English varieties that has occurred since their formulation and which appears to be continuing.

Each of the models discussed briefly above has made a contribution to our understanding of World Englishes. However, Kachru's (1985) model has been the one that has attracted the most attention and has gained the most recognition over the last two decades. This model is well-established and it has been the basis of a considerable amount of scholarship, although it is not without its weaknesses. Firstly, while the model acknowledges variations in spoken norms, it takes little account of the fact that, as Trudgill (1998) notes, there is much less variation between written norms of English across the circles. Secondly, with regard to the Inner Circle, it does not account for the vast number of varieties of the language that exist within British English and American English. Thirdly, it depends on the notion of a dichotomy between *native speakers* of English (the Inner Circle) and *non-native speakers* of English (Outer and Expanding Circles); the definitions of which have elicited significant debate (Davies, 2003; McKay, 2002; Medgyes, 1992, 1994). Nevertheless, in spite of these issues, Kachru's model offers 'a useful shorthand for classifying contexts of English world-wide' (Bruthiaux, 2003, p. 172). The strengths of this model are threefold: (1) it allows for the recognition of more than one English; (2) it does not suggest nor imply that one variety of English is superior or inferior to any other; and (3) it allows for the development of new varieties of English. Therefore, these strengths commend this model as a suitable context in which to ground our understanding of the role of English in the world.

## 2.2 World Englishes

English was introduced to, and spread within, countries in the Outer Circle by speakers of the language who were part of the process of colonisation. For this reason, the use of English in the Outer Circle has had a longstanding presence that began with its speakers spreading into new territories. On the other hand, 'As far as Expanding Circle territories are concerned, it is customary to cite them as cases where the English language spread, rather than its speakers' (Mesthrie 2006, p. 388). However, it is not

axiomatic that the use of English is more widespread or that proficiency levels are higher in Outer Circle countries than in Expanding Circle countries, because often levels of literacy, access to education and exposure to English are low in some countries in the Outer Circle. On the other hand, there are many developed countries in the Expanding Circle where knowledge of English and the use of English are more widespread than in some under-developed Outer Circle countries. This observation has been made by Melchers and Shaw (2003), who conclude that the categories of Outer and Expanding Circles do not correlate with the proportion of a population that can use English, nor whether English has the status of an official or unofficial language. Rather, Melchers and Shaw suggest that countries should be categorised according to the functions or domains of English within them.

Traditionally, Inner Circle users of English have been viewed as native speakers of the language, while those in the Outer and Expanding Circles have been viewed as non-native speakers. Recognising people as users of varieties of English rather than as non-native speakers is important because the term 'non-native' implies a lack of competence and proficiency. The consequence of this is that non-native speakers are assigned the role of perpetual learners (Kandiah 1998) whose English lacks authority. If language competence is defined more broadly than the native – non-native dichotomy allows, then many of the so-called 'second language' users of English in the Outer Circle and 'foreign language' users in the Expanding Circle have the same or higher proficiency levels than many 'native speakers' in the Inner Circle. Cook (2005) suggests that 'being a native speaker does not entail being literate, being comprehensible outside a regional variety, having a large vocabulary, or being adept at a range of styles' (p. 290). Acceptance of the notion of World Englishes allows those in the Outer and Expanding Circles to be recognised as English language users in their own right rather than as people who can never achieve native-speaker status (Cook, 2002). Moreover, recognition of World Englishes empowers users of English as transformers of their English (Donato, 2000) rather than merely as conformers to the English of others (Jenkins, 2006).

Varieties of English in the Outer Circle are most often found alongside two or three other languages that are used in different contexts and for different purposes. This means that users of Outer Circle Englishes vary in their levels of proficiency and in the extent to which their English displays features of the local variety. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) observe that the Englishes of Singapore, India, Nigeria and many other countries in the Outer Circle share a number of superficial linguistic characteristics which can lead to their categorisation as a group separate from Inner Circle varieties. Outer Circle varieties of English often share common characteristics because they tend to eliminate features which are typical of varieties of Inner Circle English, but not of other languages (Melchers and Shaw, 2003). Deterding (2005a) suggests that the variety of English found in Singapore is clearly different from the Englishes of the Inner Circle countries; and in this context, the distinction between Inner, Outer, and Expanding circles of English (Kachru, 1985) is more appropriate than the native speaker - non-native speaker dichotomy, which has also been commonly used to distinguish between varieties of English.

In many contexts in the Expanding Circle, spoken English is characterised by a mixture of British and/or US pronunciations, but many phonological characteristics of these Englishes derive from the users' mother tongues (Melchers and Shaw, 2003). English in the Expanding Circle ranges from the highly sophisticated to pidgins, which are used in interaction between interlocutors with varying levels of proficiency. This has led to a situation in which various localised English language norms have developed independently of one another. This diversity has resulted in a certain lack of standardisation between many of the Englishes in the Expanding Circle.

The wide range of proficiency levels and the apparent lack of standardisation have led authors such as Selinker (1972; 1992) to suggest that the kinds of English in the Expanding Circle are interlanguages. However, Jenkins (2006) believes that classifying Expanding Circle varieties of English as interlanguages 'ignores the sociolinguistic reality of the vast majority of learners and users of English in Expanding Circle contexts, particularly in Europe and East Asia' (p. 143). While a



small number of Expanding Circle users do need English for communication with speakers from the Inner Circle, the overwhelming majority do not. In spite of this, Jenkins (2006) argues that large numbers of proficient users of English in the Expanding Circle have been misled by the standard native speaker ideology into believing that their English is interlanguage because it is different from the Englishes of the Inner Circle, and that their English needs to be close to an Inner Circle variety in order for them to be competent users of the language.

The argument in favour of recognising World Englishes in their own right is strengthened by Schneider (2003a), who states that 'a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent historical, sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the emergence of New Englishes' (p. 44). This developmental process for varieties of English follows a pattern that includes (1) the emergence of a marked local accent caused by transfer from the phonology of indigenous languages, (2) the nativisation of grammar derived from constructions peculiar to indigenous languages, (3) the establishment of rules that develop from the linguistic habits of increasing numbers of users, which lead to (4) the de facto existence of a particular, recognisable variety of English with its own characteristics. Schneider's (2003b) typology allows for the history of English to take into account multilingual developments. It also makes it possible to view the historical development of Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes as similar to the development of Inner Circle varieties (Mesthrie, 2006).

The varieties of English in the Outer Circle and the Englishes of the Expanding Circle are learnt and used in situations in which Inner Circle speakers are not the target interlocutors, and therefore one might question the right of the latter (both academics and laymen) to regard themselves either as the guardians of standards or as the reference point against which all English usage is judged. The degree of influence that the Inner Circle users exert over other World Englishes may well depend largely on the extent to which the Outer and Expanding Circle users set and recognise their own norms, and establish and accept their own identities as users of a variety of

English. It is the recognition and acceptance of a variety of English by both its users and the users of other Englishes which legitimises the variety and empowers its users to the extent that they become qualified to judge what is acceptable usage in their own English. If these users of World Englishes recognise that they are on par with those in the Inner Circle, they will be able to make judgements about other Englishes and have the potential to identify characteristics across varieties that might constitute English as an International Language. This study on Singaporean attitudes towards ECAE makes a contribution to the recognition of World Englishes and addresses attitudinal factors that may be applicable to English as an International Language.

### 2.3 English as an International Language (EIL)

Drawing on the work of a number of authors (Jenkins, 2004; Seidlhofer, 2004; Sifakis, 2004; Smith, 1983a,b), it is possible to define English as an International Language as a common variety of English that is used for an extensive range of communicative purposes based on the need to create comprehensible discourse between interlocutors with varying levels of competence and proficiency in a wide range of communicative contexts (Sifakis and Sougari, 2005). This definition includes the uses of English within and across Kachru's circles, for intranational as well as international communication (Seidlhofer, 2005). Understood in these terms, EIL is synonymous with 'English as a lingua franca' (Prodromou, 2008; Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2001; House, 1999), 'English as a medium of intercultural communication' (Meierkord, 2002) and 'World English' (Rajagopalan, 2004). Most significantly, EIL is not a foreign language learnt for communication with Inner Circle users. It is a world language whose users communicate mainly with others with different mother tongues than their own (Jenkins 2006).

Kirkpatrick (2003) suggests that EIL liberates its users from 'standard monolithic norms' (p, 88) that have tended to be determined by the Inner Circle. Widdowson, (1994) raises a key point in relation to this when he states that:

'It is a matter of considerable pride and satisfaction for native

speakers of English that their language is an international means of communication. But the point is that it is only international to the extent that it is not their language.' (p. 385)

Although users of Inner Circle varieties of English are not excluded from communication in EIL, in general, it is a contact language between those who lack a common mother tongue or a common culture (Firth, 1996). In this context, levels of proficiency are critical since even if there are no native speakers of EIL (Rajagopalan, 2004) there must be proficient users of EIL. However, Bruton (2005) points out a paradox that, for the moment at least, the more proficient users of EIL are also users of established varieties of English that serve as reference points for norms and standards. Hence, at the grammatical level there might be common characteristics, such as a tendency for simplification or conflation (Kirkpatrick, 2003), while at the discourse and pragmatic levels there is likely to be variety of norms. This leads to the assumption that users of EIL contribute to a communicative repertoire (Saville-Troike, 2003) in which different linguistic characteristics may be accepted but not shared by all of its users. Research by Seidlhofer (2001) aims to identify any norms that exist or are emerging in EIL with a view to codifying a standard independent of Inner Circle varieties of English (Melchers and Shaw, 2003). Jenkins (2000) identifies which phonological features hinder mutual intelligibility and which do not. These studies have shown that EIL is not allied with any particular Inner, Outer or Expanding Circle variety of English. It is a variety determined by a set of communicative practices that make it comprehensible and acceptable to users of all varieties. However, attitude is central for EIL, for it can exist only where interlocutors are willing to accept the English of others irrespective of whether it is comprehensible.

There has been some debate among authors and researchers as to the significance of EIL. Rajagopalan (2004) enthusiastically predicts that English language learning and teaching will undergo dramatic changes as varieties of English yield to EIL 'as the most coveted passport to world citizenship' (p. 111). Sifakis and Sougari (2005) suggest that as teachers and learners become more aware of EIL

through the work of researchers such as Seidlhofer (2004; 2001), Granger (2003), Jenkins (2000), they will be more able to reflect on its implications for issues of identity and ownership, and be more aware of their own roles as users and developers of English as an International Language, as Li (2006) showed with students in China. However, Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006) believe that we are unlikely to see a global EIL emerge, but rather a number of distinct regional varieties. Evidence for this has been provided by Gramley and Patzold (2004) who note that African vernacular English, an English lingua franca found across Africa, has significantly different features from Asian varieties of English. This raises the notion of regional varieties of English spanning the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle countries within a particular geographic region (a regional EIL), rather than, or possibly in addition to, a global EIL. Moreover, patterns of global interaction might also be significant to the extent that, for example, an African variety could in the future have Asian as well as European influences. Clearly, then, more research is required to provide evidence for the existence of EIL.

The preceding discussion on issues related to World Englishes and EIL has repeatedly returned to the key issue of norms and standards. The main conclusion that can be drawn from this is that when users of English, particularly in the Outer and Expanding Circles, understand that they can legitimately determine what is acceptable to them, they then determine the norms and standards of their own English. For there to be greater levels of effective communication in English between its users in the Outer and Expanding Circles, where most of the interaction in English takes place, comprehension of others' English and a willingness to tolerate and accept differences in English are paramount. Ultimately, effective and successful communication in English depends on the attitude of interlocutors to the English used by themselves and others. Jenkins (2007) believes that attitudes to accent, in particular, play a major role in the way non-Inner Circle users of English perceive their own and others' English, and she suggests this 'may ultimately be found to override more basic intelligibility considerations' (p. 90). Hence, there is a need for research into language attitudes, which this study makes a contribution towards.

Having reviewed some relevant theories, concepts and perspectives within the literature on World Englishes and EIL, it is now necessary to take the discussion further to consider these in light of research into language attitudes. Relevant literature on attitudes and language attitudes will be presented and discussed in relation to particular issues, challenges and ideas that are addressed in this thesis.

#### 2.4 Theories of attitudes

This overview of theories of attitudes draws in part on the synthesis of key issues provided by McKenzie (2006). Attitudes have long been the focus of a considerable amount of research in the social sciences. Definitions of attitudes have been made according to different theories, but at the very basic level they are hypothetical constructs which, while they may not be directly observable, can be manifested in observable responses (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; cited in McKenzie, 2006). A useful definition of *attitude*, and the one adopted in this study, is that offered by Weber (1992) who suggests that it is '*an evaluative reaction – a judgement regarding one's liking or disliking – of a person, event, or other aspect of the environment*' (p. 117). It is these reactions and responses to attitudinal objects, such as people and languages that enable attitudes to be identified and measured.

Attitudes are important because they serve a number of functions. Attitudes are believed to contribute to knowledge organisation (Perloff, 2003). This is the process of categorising attitudinal objects, such as speakers and speech. This categorisation depends on the environment, with classification of attitudinal objects being made in terms of right and wrong, good and bad, pleasant and unpleasant. The ability to categorise objects and situations positively and negatively also serves a utilitarian function, in that it can aid in making decisions as to whether or not to approach or avoid an object or situation (Bohner and Wanke, 2002). Attitudes may also have an ego-defensive function, which is based on feelings of prejudice that may allow a person to feel better about themselves in relation to others. Closely related to the ego-defensive function is the social identity function. In this case, attitudes may promote

self-esteem, affirm central values, help maintain social relationships, reduce fear and enhance the ability cope with threats from the environment (McKenzie, 2006). However, these same attitudes could also highlight differences and deepen prejudices. The key factor is the degree of intensity or the level of vehemence with which an attitude is held (Oppenheim, 1992). The intensity of attitudes is of great significance because deeply held attitudes are likely to have serious consequences. Perloff (2003) suggests that attitude intensity can (1) affect judgement, (2) determine behaviour, (3) persist, and (4) be resistant to change. Therefore, research undertaken into attitudes should not only attempt to identify attitudes but should also seek to measure the intensity with which they are held.

Most research into attitudes has been conducted according to the Behaviourist and the Mentalist theories. Traditionally, as McKenzie (2006) notes, both these theories consider that attitudes are learnt through the process of socialisation rather than inherited. Behaviourism is based on the idea that attitudes can be inferred from observations of the behavioural units (reactions and responses) that a person makes to attitudinal objects. Hence, there is no requirement for self-reporting of attitudes, but reliance on data gathered through observation alone. However, Baker (1992) argues that this approach may not be a reliable indicator of attitude because observations of behaviour can be misunderstood, mis-categorised and mis-explained by the observer. Moreover, a Behaviourist approach can be criticized for adopting the view that attitude is the only factor determining behaviour. However, age, sex, social group and language background may be factors affecting attitudes (McGroarty, 1996; Tucker and Lambert, 1969; Labov, 1966; cited in McKenzie, 2006) and, therefore, determine behaviour.

Mentalism is based on the notion that attitudes are latent until they are aroused by attitudinal objects. According to this theory, attitudes are not directly observable but they can be inferred from introspection and self-reports. Mentalism assumes attitudes are formed from three components: cognitive, affective and conative. The cognitive component involves beliefs; the affective component involves emotional

responses; and the conative component refers to a predisposition to behave in certain instinctive ways (McKenzie, 2006). However, not all three of these components will always be represented in any particular attitude and they are not always distinguishable from each other (Bohner and Wanke, 2002). The strengths of this tripartite model, McKenzie (2006) suggests, are that it acknowledges the complexity of the human mind and it attempts to explain why a person may hold contradictory or ambivalent attitudes. Ambivalence in attitudes arises when there is uncertainty, inconsistency or conflict between the cognitive, affective and conative components. For example, a person may believe that all accents of a language are equal but, at the same time, he may feel uncomfortable in spoken discourse when other accents are being used. This feeling might arise from a conflict between the cognitive and the affective components of the person's attitude towards accents.

The cognitive component of an attitude may produce stereotyping of an attitudinal object. For example, samples of speech may evoke a listener's stereotypes of the speakers and the social groups which they are perceived to belong to. However, Tajfel (1981; cited in McKenzie, 2006) suggests that stereotypes serve a number of functions, which should not necessarily be viewed negatively. Firstly, stereotypes can help to make the world more coherent for a person. Secondly, they can establish and maintain group ideologies. Thirdly, stereotypes may also create and enhance favourable social differentiations between one social group and contrasting groups: the speakers of one accent or variety of English and the speakers of other accents or varieties, for instance.

The affective component of an attitude may be manifested in verbal and non-verbal responses. Examples of verbal affective responses include expressions of approval, appreciation, disapproval and disgust. Non-verbal responses involve physical reactions, such as changes in pulse rate and dilation of the pupils (McKenzie, 2006). However, there are considerable difficulties in measuring attitudes from non-verbal responses because it is extremely difficult to determine whether certain physical reactions indicate favourable or unfavourable attitudes

(Ajzen, 1988; cited in McKenzie, 2006). In addition, attitudes may have a strong affective component: for example, when a listener is unable to identify a particular accent or variety of English, but feels it is ‘unfriendly’ and, consequently, judges the sample negatively.

The conative component of an attitude becomes evident in behaviour: for example, accepting or not accepting the speech of an interlocutor. However, Baker (1992) points out that a major difficulty in using behaviour to predict or explain attitudes is that it may consciously or unconsciously be used to disguise or hide attitudes. This may occur, for example, when a person seems to exhibit a positive attitude towards a particular language variety but the internal attitude may be somewhat negative. Situations such as this may arise for a number of reasons, which may include seeking approval and avoiding disapproval from a particular social group.

The above discussion has provided a brief overview of theories of attitudes. Some of the functions of attitudes were presented, and the Behaviourist and Mentalist approaches to understanding attitudes were introduced. The strengths and weaknesses of these two approaches were discussed in relation to language attitudes. The three components (cognitive, affective and conative) of the Mentalists’ tripartite model for understanding attitudes were shown to be useful concepts for approaching the study of attitudes. The utility of the tripartite model, McKenzie (2006) concludes, has been one of the main reasons why most attitude research has adopted the Mentalist view.

## 2.5 Language attitude research

A comprehensive discussion on language attitude research and related issues is presented in Chapter 3. However, it is useful at this juncture to provide a brief introduction to the subject before moving the review of literature forward to discuss attitudes to varieties of English, attitudes to accents of English, some factors affecting language attitudes and Singaporean attitudes to English specifically.



In the field of language attitude research, verbal-guise tasks are often used as instruments to elicit and record responses to samples of language or other stimuli. For example, verbal-guise tasks have been used in conjunction with matched-guise passages, in which a single speaker reads a prepared text in a number of guises (see 3.1.2). This technique is particularly useful for investigating attitudes towards accent. Other studies have utilised verbal-guise procedures (see 3.1.2), which involve listeners rating different speakers of recorded samples of different accents or varieties on qualities such as intelligence and likeability. This method can include samples of free speech for investigating attitudes towards dialect and variety (Hiraga, 2005; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997). The verbal-guise technique has been used to elicit IC users' evaluations of non-IC speakers (e.g., Lindemann, 2003; Cargile and Giles, 1998; Cargile, 1997; Ryan, Carranza and Moffie, 1997). Both matched-guise and verbal-guise have been used to elicit the attitudes of OC and EC users of English in a number of studies (e.g., Qi, 2009; McKenzie, 2008; Kim, 2007; Hartikainen, 2000). These and other studies most pertinent to my research will be discussed in detail at the appropriate juncture in the proceeding discussion.

Of major concern is the nature of attitude and the problems it presents for researchers attempting to record and measure it. Some researchers have tried to address this issue by defining attitude in terms of observable responses. As stated earlier (see 2.4), Weber (1992) for example suggests that '*attitude is an evaluative reaction – a judgement regarding one's liking or disliking – of a person, event, or other aspect of the environment*' (p. 117). Weber goes on to state that attitude is non-neutral and it has a range of intensity. In order to attempt to measure this range of intensity, many researchers in this field utilise various forms of semantic differential scales in their verbal-guise tasks (see 3.1.2).

Research in the field of folk linguistics (e.g., Niedzielski and Preston, 2003) has also made use of interviews (see 3.1.1) and participant observation in order to get a closer look and to acquire a more detailed understanding of theories of language, including beliefs about language and judgements of it. It is argued that this type of

analysis 'provides much more information on why community members react as they do to different varieties, what aspects of varieties are salient for them and why, and the degree to which beliefs are shared in a community' (Lindemann 2005, p. 189). This closer look at reactions to OC and EC English affords researchers the opportunity to address the biases of respondents' descriptions and evaluations, and helps them to understand what people actually think about different accents and varieties of English.

## 2.6 Attitudes to varieties of English

One of the pioneering studies of attitudes towards varieties of English was undertaken by Tucker and Lambert (1969; cited in McKenzie, 2006). This study used the matched-guise technique with groups of northern white, southern white and southern black college students in the USA. It discovered that each group of respondents had distinct attitudes towards particular American varieties, rating some of them more positively than others. Since this ground-breaking study appeared, many researchers have conducted attitude studies, most of which have mainly focused on Inner Circle speakers' attitudes towards varieties of English. These studies include research conducted in Inner Circle countries, such as, Britain and the USA (Hiraga, 2005), Australia (Bradley and Bradley, 2001), the USA (Labov, 2001), New Zealand (Bayard, 1999), and Wales (Garrett et al., 1999). The data gathered from these studies have shown a considerable degree of consistency in relation to attitudes of speakers in the Inner Circle. For example, research indicates that standard speech varieties and rural non-standard speech varieties of English are judged most positively by Inner Circle speakers in terms of social status (competence) (Hiraga, 2005). Conversely, non-standard speech varieties are judged most positively in terms of social attractiveness (solidarity) when compared to standard speech varieties of English.

While a considerable amount of research has been undertaken into attitudes of Inner Circle speakers, until recently relatively few studies had focused on the attitudes of non-Inner Circle speakers towards varieties of English. However, the last two decades have witnessed an interest in the attitudes of OC and EC users' attitudes to

English, which has resulted in a number of significant studies. These studies include investigations into Japanese attitudes towards spoken varieties of English (McKenzie, 2008; Chiba, Matsuura and Yamamoto, 1995); Korean adults' attitudes towards varieties of English (Kim, 2007); the attitudes of secondary school students towards varieties of English speech (Hartikainen 2000); the relationship between language attitudes and national stereotypes of secondary school and university students in Denmark, (Ladegaard, 1998); and the attitudes of Austrian university students of English to Austrian varieties of English and Inner Circle English varieties (Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenboeck and Smit, 1997).

Research by McKenzie (2008) shows that the Japanese respondents' ratings of speakers of varieties of English speech are complex and often contradictory. This study suggests that when the perceived status of a variety of English is the dominant factor affecting attitudes, varieties of American English are rated more positively than other varieties. However, the study also indicates that when solidarity is the key factor, heavily-accented Japanese English or non-standard varieties of American and British English are judged more positively than the more standard varieties. An earlier study in Japan by Chiba, et al. (1995) gathered data showing that Japanese users of English have negative attitudes towards OC and EC English. The respondents, Japanese students of English, rated the personalities of IC speakers and non-IC speakers of English by listening to their speech. The speakers were from the United States and England and the non-IC speakers were from Japan and other Asian countries. In this study, the Japanese respondents rated the speakers of IC English more positively than the speakers of non-IC English in terms of social status, intelligence, and educational background. Chiba et al. suggest that the Japanese respondents' preference for IC English could be a reflection of the fact that IC Englishes are presented as the best models in English language lessons in Japan.

Also in East Asia, Kim (2007) investigated Korean adults' attitudes towards IC and non-IC varieties of English, particularly with respect to EIL. This study employed both a verbal-guise test and a verbal-guise task to elicit the respondents'

language attitudes. The verbal-guise test used six varieties of English that were selected based on Kachru's (1985) circles of English use: American and British English in the IC, Hong Kong and Indian English in the OC, and Korean and Taiwanese English in the EC. The data reveal that although the respondents preferred American English as a guiding model, they did not discriminate between IC and non-IC varieties of English. In addition, they considered English to be an international language used to communicate not only with IC speakers but also with speakers from the OC and EC speakers of English. The findings also indicate that, while the Korean respondents showed positive attitudes to nonnative English, they were not well aware of many varieties of English. From this study, Kim (2007) concludes English language teaching in Korea should place greater emphasis on developing Koreans' awareness of varieties of English so as to be able to use English more effectively for international communication.

In Europe, Hartikainen (2000), Ladegaard (1998) and Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) all used verbal-guise tests to elicit the language attitudes of students. In Finland, Hartikainen (2000) studied senior secondary school students' attitudes towards six standard varieties of spoken English speech: Received Pronunciation (RP), General American, General Canadian, General Australian, Scottish Standard English, and Standard Northern Irish English. RP and General Australian were rated higher than General American, and the Scottish and Northern Irish varieties. Although the respondents indicated that they were most familiar with General American English via access to the media, its lower rating appears to suggest that familiarity with particular variety of English might not determine attitude to it. Moreover, age, gender and school grades were not found to be major factors affecting the students' attitudes. However, this study indicates that parental attitude to and fluency in English, and personal contact with IC English speakers are the key factors affecting positive attitudes towards varieties of English.

In Denmark, Ladegaard (1998) used a verbal-guise instrument and an attitude questionnaire to investigate the language attitudes and national stereotypes of

secondary school and university students. The results show, when attitudes to RP, Standard American, General Australian, Scottish Standard English and Cockney were measured, RP was rated the highest in terms of status and it was considered to be the best model of pronunciation. Australian English and Scottish Standard English were rated more positively than Standard American, which may indicate that, as Hartikainen (2000) also showed, familiarity with a speech variety may not evoke a positive attitude to it. Data from the questionnaire on British and American culture also show that RP was the preferred variety of spoken English. Ladegaard (1998) suggests this preference may be due to RP being taught as the best spoken variety by English language teachers in Denmark. Furthermore, Ladegaard concludes that the students held subconscious stereotyped ideas about the speech varieties, which may have resulted in particular attitudes to the speakers of the specific varieties presented.

In Austria, Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) studied the attitudes of university students studying English. The respondents judged two samples of Austrians speaking English and three samples of IC English: RP, what is described as ‘near RP’ and General American. The two samples of Austrian English were rated the lowest, while the IC varieties of English were rated higher. The most highly rated variety was RP, which Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) suggest was a consequence of the respondents’ familiarity with this variety and because it was promoted as the model for English pronunciation in Austrian schools. This suggestion echoes the conclusion drawn by Ladegaard (1998) for the high ratings of RP in Denmark. However, it appears to contradict the findings of Hartikainen (2000), who concludes that there may be little correlation between attitude to and familiarity with particular varieties of English.

## 2.7 Attitudes to accents of English

One of the key and most obvious characteristics of spoken language is accent. Riney, Tagaki and Inutsuka (2005) offer a useful definition of accent as ‘a characteristic style of pronunciation determined by (or at least associated with) the speaker's regional, social, or linguistic background’. Moreover, Luk and Lin (2006)

suggest that ‘accent is a powerful linguistic marker of age generations, social identity, social class, education level, and ethnicity’ (p. 6). Much research conducted in this field has been concerned with gauging how the beliefs and attitudes of users of English toward accent can give rise to stereotypical assumptions based on different accents (Major, Fitzmaurice, Bunta, and Balasubramanian, 2002; Nesdale and Rooney, 1996) and how these beliefs and attitudes influence perceptions of social status (Cargile, 1997). Adding to this body of research, Riney et al. (2005) set out to (1) ascertain what pronunciation characteristics a group of Inner Circle and a group of non-Inner Circle speakers responded to when they assessed accent, (2) determine to what degree the two groups perceived accent similarly, and (3) discover whether Jenkins’ (2000; 2002) proposed model of English pronunciation would be more teachable than current Inner Circle-based models for Inner Circle to non-Inner Circle speaker interactions. While Jenkins (2002) focuses on intelligibility (i.e. word recognition), Riney et al. (2005) investigate perceived degree of accent. Indeed, it has been recognised for some time that particular aspects of accent can affect intelligibility and attitudes. James (1998), for example, suggests that ‘foreign accent can erect barriers to intelligibility’ (p. 213), and that ‘what is required is information concerning which phonological characteristics (especially those of the emergent New Englishes) precipitate most intelligibility loss when distorted by foreign accent’ (ibid). The research into intelligibility that James (1998) and Jenkins (2000; 2002) advocate is important and can be enhanced by studies that are concerned with perceptions of degree of accent (e.g. Riney et al., 2005), which may also have implications for the intelligibility and acceptability of OC and EC varieties of English.

A number of studies have attempted to elicit the attitudes of IC speakers of English to non-IC accented English. Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Liu and Shearman (2002) sought to evaluate attitudinal and affective responses toward non-IC accented English based on identity and intelligibility. The respondents, university students from the USA, listened to recordings of both IC and non-IC speech and evaluated these by responding to a verbal-guise task that included four items that measured

comprehension of the recorded speech. The results show that the speech samples of American English received higher ratings than non-native accents. Earlier research also shows, generally, IC speakers hold negative attitudes toward non-IC varieties of English. For example, Podberesky, Daluty and Feldstein (1990) conducted a study on evaluations of Spanish and oriental-accented English speakers in which IC respondents rated non-IC accents more negatively than standard speech with regard to social status, intelligence and education. Previously, Brennan and Brennan (1981) found that both Anglo-American and Mexican-American respondents rated standard American English speech more positively than Mexican-American accented speech in terms of solidarity and social attractiveness.

Few studies have attempted to elicit, measure and compare the attitudes of IC speakers and non-IC speakers in order to identify and examine any similarities and differences that might exist between these two groups. However, Barona (2008) has made a contribution to this body of research by conducting a study involving 30 female respondents: 15 IC speakers and 15 non-IC speakers (9 Spanish, 3 Portuguese, 2 Chinese and 1 Korean) living in the USA. The findings reveal that Korean-accented speech was rated higher than both Spanish-accented and Arabic-accented speech in terms of competence. Moreover, the Korean and the Spanish accents were rated similarly and more favourably than the Arabic accent with regard to integrity. However, the Spanish-accented speech was rated more positively than the Korean and Arabic accents in terms of social attractiveness. It is also noteworthy that the Arabic-accented speech was rated less favourably than the other accents on all traits. From these results, Barona (2008) concludes that accent, and the perceptions it evokes, has a significant impact on the evaluation of a speaker's personal characteristics and that it might affect the extent to which a non-IC speaker is perceived as having positive or negative qualities.

To date, it appears that only a handful of studies have focused their attention solely on the attitudes of non-IC speakers towards non-IC accents. These studies include investigations into Malaysian students' impressions of English accents

(McGee, 2009); attitudes of Hong Kong inhabitants to varieties of English (Qi, 2009) and the attitudes and conceptions of Finnish students to accents of English (Hakala, 2008). In Penang, Malaysia, McGee (2009) investigated students' impressions of a variety of accents used at the British Council there. This study shows the respondents had a preference for American and Scottish accents and a particular preference for British English for use in academic contexts. However, the respondents also acknowledged Malaysian English as an acceptable variety although with a usefulness limited to communication in Malaysia and with other Malaysians. Meanwhile, Qi, (2009) studied the attitudes of respondents in Hong Kong inhabitants to eight varieties of English: Received Pronunciation, General American English, Australian English, Philippine English, Tyneside English, Mandarin-accented English, and what are described as two Hong Kong varieties of English, one 'educated' and the other 'broad'. The findings indicate that the standard IC varieties were rated high by the respondents, whereas the educated Hong Kong accent was rated lower. Philippine English, Tyneside English and Mandarin-accented English were rated higher than the broad Hong Kong accent. Indeed, the broad Hong Kong accent was always rated the lowest: leading Qi (2009) to conclude that the more local, i.e. 'Hong Kong' a speaker sounds, the more negative the judgements of the speech will be. In short, the degree of accent affects listeners' attitudes, particularly in terms of solidarity rating.

In Finland, Hakala (2008) studied the attitudes and conceptions of three levels of students (lower secondary school, upper secondary school and trainee English teachers) toward six accents of English: Received Pronunciation, Standard American, Scottish English, Ghanaian English, Finnish English and Belgian English. Each group of respondents gave both positive and negative responses to each of the accents presented. The findings show that the younger respondents offered the strongest and widest range of ratings on the accents; while the older the respondents were, the narrower the differences between the ratings became. This suggests that the age of the listeners may have some affect on their attitudes to accents. The trainee teachers rated all accents more positively than the respondents in the other groups: possibly because as future English language teaching professionals they have a more



positive attitude to variations in language in general. However, overall the results between the three groups of respondents were very similar in terms of preferences. The Belgian English accent was rated the highest by all three groups. The Scottish English accent was generally rated more highly than Received Pronunciation and Standard American, although all the groups rated Scottish English lowest on 'competence'. Received Pronunciation was rated relatively high on most traits except for 'competence', while Standard American was rated evenly on all traits. The Ghanaian English rated relatively low by all groups, while the Finnish English accent had the most negative ratings overall. Hakala (2008) surmises that these two were rated low because they are strong accents, which are easily identifiable as not belonging to the Inner Circle. He further suggests that the fact that English from the IC and Belgian English are stress-timed, whereas Ghanaian English and Finnish English are syllable-timed, might have prompted the respondents' negative attitudes to the latter. This study also appears to support the findings of Hartikainen (2000) that there may be little correlation between attitude to and familiarity with particular varieties of English, since the respondents were reported to be unfamiliar with both the Belgian English and Scottish English accents and yet rated them both more highly than the more familiar Received Pronunciation and Standard American.

An earlier study by Gass and Varonis (1984) concludes that listeners who are familiar with an accent are likely to judge the speakers who use that accent positively because when listeners are used to listening to speakers of other kinds of English they are more attuned to deviations from their own English. However, while being tuned-in to another kind of English may lead to greater intelligibility, it may not necessarily result in the acceptability of the utterance. For example, Brooks (2002; cited in Levis, 2006) shows that even when listeners are familiar with a spoken variety and find it intelligible, it may be judged negatively because of social attitudes to the speakers of that kind of English. Hence, a variety of speech 'can be strongly accented and socially stigmatized while still being fully understandable' (Levis 2006, p. 253). Munro and Derwing's research (1999) provides evidence for the hypothesis that listeners' perceptions of *what* a speaker says are quite independent from their

judgements of and attitudes to *how* a speaker says it. Lindemann (2006) suggests the degree of accentedness, rather than the type of accent, perceived by the listener may influence attitude more than the listener's perception of the utterance itself.

Rubin's (1992) investigation shows that when listeners' expectations are based on the ethnicity of a speaker, these expectations can have an effect not only on the judgements of the speech as an Inner Circle or non-Inner Circle variety, but also on the listeners' ability to recall what was said. Brown (1992) found that listeners' beliefs about a non-Inner Circle speaker's nationality affected judgements of the speaker's language competence. In a study based on Rubin's research, Atagi (2003; cited in Lindemann, 2006), found that listeners perceived varying degrees of accent based on assumptions of the speaker's nationality and first-language background. Lindemann's (2005) study suggests that all speakers of non-Inner Circle varieties of English are judged by most respondents to be less correct, less friendly and less pleasant than speakers from the US, UK and Australia. However, it is particularly interesting to note that these judgements are based on perceptions of how people from certain countries speak English and not on actual spoken samples. These findings lead to the conclusion that all listeners have some degree of prejudice that can affect judgements of and attitudes to how other people speak.

Other research focusing on nationalities and spoken samples of English has found a range of listeners' judgements depending on the nationality of the speakers. For instance, Ryan and Bulik (1982) found that Spanish-accented English was rated more negatively than German-accented English. Lindemann (2003) studied IC speakers' reactions to Korean-accented speech without disclosing the ethnicity of the speakers to the respondents, who were required to speculate where each speaker was from and rate them on a number of traits. The respondents, who supplied their own categories, identified the Korean-accented speech as Indian, Latino, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Asian. The speakers identified generally as Asian were rated more favourably in terms of status and education than the speakers identified with the more specific labels. These findings appear to suggest that judgements are based on

the respondents' perceptions of how people from specific countries speak English rather than on the speech samples themselves. Lindemann (2006) suggests this may indicate that some listeners are more likely to be affected by their attitudes and expectations than others. Indeed, studies have shown that the greater the degree of accent in spoken English, the more negatively the variety is judged by listeners (Cargile and Giles, 1998; Ryan et al., 1997). This suggests that particular non-standard features of spoken English or features that are unfamiliar to listeners may contribute to listeners' negative judgements. Nevertheless, it is possible that some features of an accent or variety may be judged more positively; indicating that some accents and varieties of English may be more prestigious than others (Lindemann, 2005, 2001; Lippi-Green, 1997). Hence, Lindemann (2006) concludes it would be worthwhile investigating features of different kinds of English in order to determine which are most likely to elicit negative, neutral or positive judgements.

## 2.8 Other factors affecting language attitude

Research by Major, Fitzmaurice, Bunta, and Balasubramanian (2005) considers the importance of a range of factors affecting language attitude that include, rate of speech, accent, interlocutors' familiarity with accent, and accent sharing (Flowerdew, 1994). In addition, Major et al. (2005) emphasise 'the equal importance of other linguistic and pragmatic factors such as grammar, discourse features, dialect and topic familiarity, overall fluency, and interlocutors' attitudes' (Sifakis and Sougari 2005, p. 469). Indeed, the factor of interlocutors' attitudes has been highlighted in a number of studies that indicate that a willingness to accept differences in accents and varieties of English is important, if not essential for successful discourse. For example, the users of Asian varieties of English studied by Lee (2005) performed successful interaction and had no impediment to communication in spite of 'noticeable deviations in the areas of lexis, phonology, and morpho-syntax ' (p. 4). House (1999) reports that in a group of German, Dutch and Hungarian English-speaking students, there was almost no evidence of the interlocutors undertaking explicit repairs when misunderstanding occurred. Earlier, Firth (1996) had reported a 'let-it-pass' principle in Expanding Circle business talk in that interlocutors tolerated

ambiguity and did not expect reformulations or to negotiate meaning. Firth (1996) suggests that this kind of listening may be especially prevalent among Expanding Circle users of English. Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006) also provide from their data numerous instances in which one or more listeners did not fully comprehend what was being said, but that this did not interfere with the successful conduct of the conversation. When Sifakis and Sougari (2005) asked their respondents about normal communication between Expanding Circle users of English, the latter believed that rules and standards were less important than the need to create a discourse that was 'appropriate for the particular communicative situation and comprehensible for all interlocutors' (p. 481). Such research findings appear to indicate that attitude towards the English of others and willingness to accommodate other interlocutors leads to the acceptable use of different kinds of English.

Research has shown that the sex of speakers and listeners can affect their attitudes to each other. For example, Wilson and Bayard (1992) and Street, Brady, and Lee (1984) found that female speakers were rated lower than male speakers on all traits. On the other hand, Van-Trieste (1990) showed that among university students in Puerto Rico the lowest ratings were given by male respondents to male speakers and the highest ratings were given by female respondents to male speakers. This study also reported no significant difference in ratings given to female speakers by either the male or female respondents. Similarly, work by Cavallaro and Ng (2009) found no significant difference according to gender of the respondents towards a recording of a female speaking Singapore Standard English. However, when respondents were asked to rate the same female speaking Singapore Colloquial English, the females rated the speaker more negatively than their male counterparts on all traits, with the male respondents giving more positive ratings than females on all traits. These findings might suggest that the accent or variety of English spoken might be of more significance than the gender of the speaker as a factor affecting language attitudes.

While attitudes to a speaker may affect the success of spoken two-way interaction, they could also have a significant effect in situations in which there is no true interaction, for example, listening to the news, a radio programme or a lecture. Lindemann (2006) suggests that listeners' attitudes to speakers in these instances may facilitate or hinder the success of the communication. Moreover, our understanding of the world is shaped by our expectations and stereotypes (von Hippel et al., 1995) and it is these expectations and stereotypes that play a role at the most basic level of encoding of information. Therefore, listeners who hold negative attitudes to particular groups of speakers may perceive competent English speakers from those groups to be unintelligible.

Studies on attitudes to accents and varieties of English provide insights into how they and their features are perceived by speakers of other kinds of English. However, evaluations of accents and language varieties can be viewed as evaluations of the groups that speak them rather than of the variety *per se* (Lindemann 2005, p. 188). Miller (2004) offers the notion of 'audibility', which she defines as 'the degree to which speakers sound alike, and are legitimated by, users of the dominant discourse' (p. 291). Audibility draws attention to the role of power between the interlocutors and the way in which it can be used to deny Outer and Expanding Circle users of English the right to speak and to be heard (an example of which was provided in the *Little Britain* sketch, see Chapter 1). This denial could be due to a particular aspect of these users' English language, such as accent, not being considered acceptable and/or intelligible to the dominant interlocutors. However, the numerical dominance of the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle users of English means that they are becoming the dominant interlocutors who are able to separate themselves from the traditionally linguistically dominant Inner Circle users of English. Findings reported by Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006) suggest that the opportunity to establish or reaffirm their own identities, and the role of English language 'in the construction of those identities, seem to promote successful English language acquisition in the Outer and Expanding circles' (p. 448). It is argued that this has started to lead to a situation in which varieties of English will be dominated by local

inner circles, for example educated local users of English, rather than by the traditional Inner Circle. Lamb (2004) provides evidence for this in Indonesia, where learners of English model their variety of English on local, urban middle-class Indonesian speakers of English rather than the Inner Circle. Moreover, Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) suggest that users of Outer Circle varieties of English feel more comfortable with the local English vernacular than with Standard British English. The findings of these studies alert us to the need to recognise both established and emergent accents and varieties of English and to the need to address the issue of their acceptability.

As can be seen from the preceding discussion, a number of studies have attempted to measure the attitudes that IC users of English towards IC Englishes, while other studies have elicited data from OC and EC users of English to IC Englishes. There is also evidence of more recent studies attempting to measure the attitudes of users of English from the OC and EC, but these always include samples of IC varieties of English. There appears to be a dearth of studies that focus on OC and EC respondents' attitudes to non-IC English. Hence, there is a need for research into attitudes to English that utilise speech samples and respondents from beyond the IC. This study on Singaporean attitudes towards ECAE attempts to make a contribution to the literature by specifically focusing on a group of OC respondents' attitudes to EC English, and in so doing it aims to provide further knowledge and a deeper understanding of the attitudes of users of one variety of English to the kinds of English used by others.

## 2.9 English in Singapore

English is one of the four official languages in Singapore and it is the main language of education, administration and business. The three other official languages are Malay (the national language), Mandarin and Tamil, which represent the three major racial groups (Malay, Chinese and Indian) in Singapore. Gupta (1998) notes that language is highly politicised in Singapore and concludes that language and education policies have had a significant impact on the promotion of

English in many domains since it is officially the language of instruction in all government schools. The exception to the use of English in schools is in the teaching of mother tongue languages. In practice, this policy means that English is the *de facto* first language in Singapore while the mother tongue of each racial group has become its second language. In the Singaporean context, ‘mother tongue’ is officially defined as the language of an individual’s ethnic group based on paternal ancestry and may not reflect the actual language use of an individual (Gupta, 1998). However, government education and language policies have produced a population of which 80 per cent of those 15 years of age or over is literate in English, and 71 per cent of this group is also literate in two or more languages (Department of Statistics, 2011). These figures indicate that most Singaporeans have a repertoire of languages that includes English.

Concurrent with high levels of English literacy, the Singapore Census of Population 2010 indicates that the use of English in Singaporean homes has become more prevalent. In particular, the use of English as the main language spoken in the home is generally more prevalent among younger Singaporeans than their older counterparts. Figures show that English was the home language for 52 per cent of Chinese, 50 per cent of Indians and 26 per cent of Malays aged 5-14 years (Department of Statistics, 2011). When viewed in terms of Singaporeans’ levels of education, the use of English as the home language is more prevalent among those with higher levels of educational attainment. Figures indicate that 49 per cent of Chinese, 47 per cent of Malay and 38 per cent of Indian university graduates spoke English most frequently at home. In contrast, among Singaporeans without secondary school qualifications, 21 per cent of Indians, 6.4 per cent of Chinese and 4.4 per cent of Malays speak English most frequently at home (Department of Statistics, 2011). Correspondingly, there has been a decline in the use of mother tongue languages at home among Malay and Indian Singaporeans, and a decline in the use of Chinese dialects other than Mandarin among the Chinese community.

Although the recent trends outlined above provide an indication of the increasing popularity and use of English in Singapore, no distinction is made between the two main kinds of English used, namely Singapore Standard English and Singapore Colloquial English (see 2.10), both of which might be spoken in the home and in other contexts. However, generally, Singapore Standard English tends to be used in more formal contexts, such as at school or in the workplace, whereas Singapore Colloquial English tends to be used in informal domains, such as socializing with friends (Gupta, 1998), and where the interlocutors may not share the same mother tongue or educational levels.

## 2.10 Singaporean attitudes to English

A number of authors (Bao and Hong, 2006; Gupta, 1994; Platt, 1977; Richards and Tay, 1977) have concluded that there are two main varieties of English spoken in Singapore: Singapore Standard English and Singapore Colloquial English. Research (Gupta, 1994, 1989; Pakir, 1991; Richards, 1983) has shown that most Singaporeans use both varieties according to the social context in which interaction takes place. It has also been noted (Gupta, 1994, 1989; Pakir, 1991; Richards, 1983) that the use of these two varieties operates on a continuum rather than as two discrete forms, i.e., Singapore Standard English is spoken in more formal contexts, while Singapore Colloquial English is spoken in less formal contexts. Singapore Standard English is a variety that has a range of clearly identifiable features (Wee, 2004a; 2004b) and standards that have developed independently of the Inner Circle varieties (Schneider, 2007; Deterding, 2005a) to produce a variety that is distinct, but which is ‘not significantly different from other international standard varieties of English in terms of intelligibility’ (Cavallaro and Ng 2009, p. 146). However, Singapore Colloquial English has been heavily influenced by Chinese and Malay, resulting in lexical and phonological features and syntactic structures that are quite distinct from the standard varieties of English, such as Singapore Standard English. The features of Singapore Colloquial English have been extensively described by a number of writers (Chen, 2004; Wee, 2003, 2002; Brown, 1999; Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo, 2000, 1998).



Singapore Standard English is the variety officially sanctioned and prescribed by the authorities through the education system and via public awareness programmes such as the Speak Good English Movement, but Singapore Colloquial English is the variety that is most commonly used in everyday interaction between Singaporeans. Several studies (Simpson, 2007; Ho, 2006; Wong, 2005; Gupta, 1994) suggest that Singapore Colloquial English is a variety that is perceived to express and indicate high solidarity between its users. Research by Seah (1987) and Ooi (1986) compared the attitudes of Singaporeans towards Singapore Standard English, but not Singapore Colloquial English. Both studies indicate that Singaporeans are generally positive about the English spoken in Singapore. On the other hand, Kamwangamalu (1992) concludes that Singaporeans have ambivalent attitudes towards the way they speak. While Singaporeans are positive about their own accent, they consider Inner Circle varieties of English to be more prestigious than their own. This apparent contradiction might be explained by the emphasis placed on, in particular, British English in schools and the Speak Good English Campaign.

In Singapore, most researchers have elicited information about attitudes to Singapore English using direct approaches and methods of research, such as verbal-guise tasks (Tan and Tan, 2008; Poedjosoedarmo, 2002; Xu, Chew, and Chen 1998; Li et al., 1997; Kamwangamalu, 1992; Crewe 1979). The results from these studies show that there is acceptance of and appreciation for the value of Singapore Standard English. On the other hand, it is also apparent that the non-standard Singapore Colloquial English (Singlish) plays a significant role within Singaporean society. Other studies using more indirect approaches to eliciting language attitudes have been less common. A recent exception to this is research conducted by Cavallaro and Ng (2009). They used a matched-guise instrument with a single speaker providing samples of both Singapore Standard English (SSE) and Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) to elicit respondents' attitudes to the two varieties. This study shows that Singaporeans rate SSE higher than SCE on both

solidarity and status traits, except for honesty, which received the same rating for both SSE and SCE. However, the non-Singaporean respondents rated both varieties higher than their Singaporean counterparts did. The former rated SSE higher on most traits than the Singaporeans with the exception of fluency, kindness, and friendliness, which had the same rating from both groups. The non-Singaporeans gave similar ratings to SCE as the Singaporeans did for most of the Status traits. However, they rated SCE higher on all the solidarity traits than the Singaporeans except for honesty. Overall, this study shows there is a clear preference for the more standard form of English used in Singapore.

However, there is a dearth of research on Singaporean attitudes to other varieties of English. A rare study by Chia and Brown (2002) evaluated the attitudes of Singaporeans to Received Pronunciation, Estuary English and Singapore Standard English, finding that Received Pronunciation was rated more positively than the latter two varieties. Later, Deterding (2005b) found most of the Singaporeans in his study had problems accurately transcribing the utterances of speakers of Estuary English and suggested that being exposed to other common accents would prepare them better for international communication. Clearly, the number of studies conducted on Singaporean attitudes to English accents and varieties is small, which may indicate there is a need for more research in this field of linguistics. Moreover, to-date no reported studies have been undertaken on Singaporean attitudes towards accents of Expanding Circle English. Therefore, there is a need for research that can address these issues and contribute to our knowledge and understanding.

## 2.11 Summary of key themes

It is possible and necessary to extract several key themes from the preceding review of literature that informs and shapes the present study. The first of these themes is the fact that users of English in Outer and Expanding Circles significantly outnumber those in the Inner Circle (Savignon, 2003) strengthens the possibility that the users of English in the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle are increasingly

establishing their own varieties, which are distinct from those of the Inner Circle. This has given rise to ‘new and distinct linguistic and ethnic identities, or even communities, that had not existed previously and where for a while no one may be a “native speaker” of a particular language variety’ (Pavlenko 2002, pp. 295-296). The ‘legitimate appropriation of the English language’ (Jenkins 2006, p. 149) not only has significance for the development of World Englishes, but also has consequences for the development of EIL that emerges from any diversity and hybridity necessary to facilitate communication in English across varieties. Van Rooy (2006) argues that the concept of Kachru’s concentric circles needs to be explored further and calls for more research into language use patterns of Outer Circle versus Expanding Circle users of English. The present study on Singaporean attitudes towards selected Expanding Circle Accents of English heeds this call by eliciting data on attitudes of Outer Circle users of English to accents of English from the Expanding Circle.

A number of authors (Chisanga and Kamwangamalu, 1997; Davies, 1991; Jenkins, 2003, 2007; Wee, 2002; Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994) have raised the issue of ownership as a significant factor in the establishment and development of language varieties. A sense of ownership empowers speakers of an accent and users of a variety with confidence to use them and their peculiarities irrespective of whether they conform to standards generally derived from the Inner Circle. Ownership of one kind of English brings with it the right to make linguistic judgements on that and other kinds, in that any judgements are based on the legitimate ownership of and facility with a recognised and accepted accent or variety of World English. At the core of this concept is the different ways of knowing and using English as a set of linguistic resources (Leung, 2005). Just as Scottish, Irish, American and Australian Englishes have long been acknowledged as legitimate varieties by their owners and others, so the more recently emerged World Englishes are being increasingly acknowledged. Moreover, Jenkins (2007) suggests that with the codification and recognition of EIL as a legitimate means of communication ‘we shall be able to talk about Teaching English of Speakers of

Other Languages' (p. 252). Therefore, by recognising and accepting Outer Circle and Expanding Circle users of English as owners of their kinds of English, this study seeks to elicit data on attitudes from, on and about users of English whose judgements are legitimate and relevant to the discussions on World Englishes and EIL.

Jenkins (2000) observes that few studies have been conducted from the perspective of Outer and Expanding Circle listeners, and even fewer with Outer and Expanding Circle listeners and speakers. It is for these reasons that Berns (2005) and Canagarajah (2006) call for more research in this field. This present study was motivated by the call for more research involving Outer and Expanding Circle users of English. The study focuses on Singaporean listeners' attitudes to Expanding Circle Accents of English. This focus is justified in light of findings in the literature indicating that, in general, spoken language is less influenced by standards than written language (Melchers and Shaw, 2003). While variation in World Englishes can be found at all levels of language, such as spelling, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and discourse, the most distinctive characterisations of varieties are most apparent in speech. Spoken language is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, Trudgill (1998) suggests that distinction and divergence in spoken English appears to be increasing continuously, whereas at other levels varieties are converging. Secondly, the way people sound is closely related to their own and others' perceptions of their sociocultural identity (Morgan, 1997). Thirdly, establishing mutual intelligibility in oral-aural interaction between users of different World Englishes has importance for EIL (McKay, 2002; Melchers and Shaw, 2003; Smith, 1976). This study intends to make a contribution to the literature in this field by using only recordings of Expanding Circle Accents of English with which to elicit attitudinal data from Outer Circle listeners.

Language attitude research has focused mainly on two areas: Inner Circle users' attitudes to Inner Circle accents and varieties of English; and Outer and Expanding Circle users' attitudes towards Inner Circle accents and varieties of

English. In both cases, the Inner Circle provides the focal point for the research. This study seeks to elicit data from Outer Circle users of English by using samples that do not include Inner Circle speakers of English. As the above discussion of the literature indicates, most interaction in English takes place within, between and among Outer and Expanding Circle users of English. The corollary of this, and the core justification for this study, is that it is highly likely that if we are to understand language change and gain insights into current and future changes and directions in World Englishes and EIL, focus should be shifted from research relying on the Inner Circle to studies that focus on Outer and Expanding Circle users of English.

The vast majority of previous research into language attitudes has tended to use methods from direct approaches or indirect approaches exclusively (see 2.5). However, it could be argued that dependence on one method from a single approach might lead to inaccurate findings. Therefore, it might be beneficial for a study to draw on methods and techniques from both the direct and indirect approaches. This mixed approach, using a carefully selected combination of methods, may result in a study whose findings and conclusions provide a valuable, if modest, contribution to the field of language attitude research. It is this combined approach that will be adopted for the present study.

The key research questions for this study are (1) What attitudes do Singaporeans have towards different Expanding Circle Accents of English (ECAE)? and (2) What factors determine Singaporean attitudes towards different ECAE? In light of the review of relevant literature, these questions are highly pertinent to the discussion on World Englishes and EIL. The development of the notion of World Englishes in recent decades has created an academic environment in which it has become possible to study the characteristics of Outer and Expanding Circle English in an objective manner. There has also been a concurrent rise in the interest of the emergence of EIL, which has led to the recognition of the value of research that does not include the Inner Circle (Yoneoka, 2005). Bruton (2005) suggests that ‘there is unlikely to be any overriding intervention in the way the medium of English develops across the world. It will probably take its own course,

or, more to the point, the course its contextual use and users determine' (p. 256). Since most of its use and users are in the Outer and Expanding Circles, it would appear to be logical and most productive to focus studies on World Englishes and EIL beyond the Inner Circle. Such an approach also affords researchers the opportunity to conduct contrastive studies between World Englishes without reference to the standards and norms of the Inner Circle varieties. This study and the questions it seeks to answer are valid and applicable in the context outlined above.

The belief that users of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles learn and use English to communicate with interlocutors from the Inner Circle ignores the sociolinguistic reality of the current use of English in the world. Today, as in the past, English is not spread around the world by Inner Circle English teachers. 'It was the language of sailors and merchants and missionaries and farmers and foremen and ordinary workers' (Smith 2003, p. 95). The increasing use of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles among people from all walks of life calls for research into interaction among and between users of non-Inner Circle Englishes. The multinational and multicultural nature of EIL promotes and acknowledges linguistic variation, tolerance and mutual respect (Sakai, 2004) and empowers its users with a legitimate right to make judgements about it and other varieties. Therefore this study of Singaporeans' attitudes towards Expanding Circle Accents of English can be justified on the count that it might generate data that not only provide insights into the way in which users of one variety of English respond to other Englishes, but also offer a glimpse of the factors that might be of significance for further understanding of the development of English as an International Language.

This chapter has provided a critical review of some of the literature relevant to a study on Singaporean attitudes towards Expanding Circle Accents of English. Firstly, the context of the study was established by presenting a number of relevant theories, concepts and perspectives within the literature on World Englishes and

English as an International Language. A number of models of English language spread were discussed with the aim of establishing the reasons for adopting Kachru's (1985) model as the basis for understanding World Englishes in this study. This was followed by an overview in which key ideas, positions and trends in World Englishes and EIL were compared, contrasted and evaluated. Secondly, relevant research into attitudes and language attitudes was presented and discussed in relation to particular issues, challenges and ideas that are addressed in this study. Particular attention was drawn to theories of attitudes and the primary approaches that have been adopted in investigations in the field of language attitude research. Key studies undertaken into attitudes to accents and varieties of English were discussed in order to identify the research field in which the present study is situated, and to establish the contribution this study intends to make to the literature on language attitudes, World Englishes and EIL. Finally, a summary of the main themes and conceptual frameworks drawn from the range of literature were presented in order to illustrate how they have informed and shaped this study.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Methods**

The chapter considers some theoretical and practical concerns that are relevant for the preparation and undertaking of a study into Singaporean attitudes towards Expanding Circle Accents of English (ECAE). The elicitation of attitude judgements of language is an area of research that demands keen understanding and thorough preparation to ensure the research design is appropriate and efficacious for obtaining relevant, reliable and valid data.

At this point, it is useful to reiterate the research aims, objectives and questions of this study. The research aims of this study are:

- 1 to ascertain whether Singaporeans have different attitudes towards different ECAE;
- 2 to discover what different attitudes, if any, Singaporeans have towards different ECAE; and
- 3 to understand why Singaporeans have different attitudes, if any, towards different ECAE.

These aims might be achieved by having clear objectives as to how the study could be conducted.

The research objectives of this study are:

- 1 to find and use suitable samples of ECAE;
- 2 to find and use suitable respondents to elicit data from;
- 3 to find and use suitable methods to elicit attitudinal data from the respondents;
- 4 to find and use suitable methods to analyse the elicited attitudinal data gathered from the respondents.

In identifying and attempting to adhere to these objectives, the research questions could be addressed and the aims of the study could be realised.



Research questions not only determine the most appropriate methodology and operational considerations, but also establish the scope of the study by providing a clear focus on the sample and the type of data to be collected. The key research questions for this study are:

- 1 What attitudes do Singaporeans have towards different ECAE?
- 2 What factors determine Singaporean attitudes towards different ECAE?

Addressing these questions might lead to an understanding of some of the factors that determine different attitudes towards different ECAE. Such an understanding could make a contribution to the literature in the fields of World Englishes and English as an International Language.

The research design for this study should be determined by the questions I seek to answer, and this includes identifying and selecting appropriate methods with which to address the research questions. Mason (2006) suggests that research questions ‘give expression to, but are also bounded by, the particular ontological and epistemological perspectives that frame the research’ (p. 13). Reflecting on my research questions, I recognised that each of them might have different methodological implications, which would involve the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. While quantitative and qualitative research have traditionally been presented as two fundamentally different paradigms, Bryman (2001, 1998) and Hammersley (1992) have shown the distinctions between quantitative and qualitative research do not bear up to close scrutiny. Moreover, combining quantitative and qualitative research has become common to the extent that it is seen as a research approach in its own right, labelled as ‘multi-strategy’ (Bryman, 2004), ‘mixed methods’ (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003), and ‘multi-methods’ (Brannen, 1992) research. A mixed methods approach is required to address questions posed that may lead to the use of a range of methods for data gathering and analysis, particularly when we attempt to explore social phenomena that may be multi-dimensional. In such instances, research may be inadequate if it adopts a single quantitative or qualitative approach (Mason, 2006). The questions I pose in this study suggest the need for a mixed methods approach, in which data

on attitudes and the strength of attitudes can be gathered and analysed quantitatively, and the reasons for those attitudes can be identified through qualitative methods. This approach could include a verbal-guise task with closed questions, analysed using quantitative methods; and an interview, analysed using qualitative methods. A study by Bryman (2006) shows both these instruments and methods predominate in mixed methods studies; moreover, they are also widely used in language attitude research (see 3.1).

For this study, I propose to use a mixed method approach, which is compatible with and develops from a constructivist epistemology (Richards, 2003; Guba and Lincoln, 1994), which accepts that meanings are constructions, and that multiple versions of reality are possible. Within the qualitative constructivist tradition most researchers accept the idea of a range of legitimate methodological approaches. Generally, qualitative research requires reflexivity and flexibility with respect to research design, selection of methods, sampling and data analysis (Mason, 2006), and sometimes includes methods that traditionally have been associated with other paradigms, such as quantitative methods. This approach to addressing research questions is also essential for mixed methods studies in terms of the recognition and acceptance of different methods and understanding what they might yield. One of the key arguments for the use of a mixed methods approach centres on the value it has in providing a more complete picture of the issue being studied, than either quantitative or qualitative methods could produce individually, particularly with regard to the types of data and analyses. In a mixed methods study, there are a number of outcomes that can be derived (Bryman, 2001; Morgan, 1998; Hammersley, 1992). First, the same results might be produced by both quantitative and qualitative methods as a form of corroboration. Second, qualitative data analysis may be used for the elaboration of quantitative findings. Third, quantitative and qualitative findings could produce different results, but when considered together they provide different, but complimentary, insights into an issue. Fourth, the quantitative and qualitative data conflict and indicate contradictions in the findings. In each of these cases, the researcher is

required to reflect on the pluralist view of ‘reality’ and to recognise that different types of data may be formed by the assumptions and methods used to elicit (Brannen, 2005) and analyse them. As such, the researcher is adopting a mixed methods approach.

The corollary of basing this study on a mixed methods approach is that the methods and techniques used to gather and analyse data are drawn from quantitative and qualitative approaches to research. Richards (2003) suggests the key characteristics of qualitative research are that it will:

- 1 study human actors in natural settings, in the context of their ordinary, everyday world;
- 2 seek to understand the meanings and significance of these actions from the perspective of those involved;
- 3 usually focus on a small number of (possibly just one) individuals, groups or settings;
- 4 employ a range of methods in order to establish different perspectives on the relevant issues;
- 5 base its analysis on a wide range of features;
- 6 use quantification only where this is appropriate for specific purposes and as part of a broader approach (p. 10).

The adoption of a mixed methods approach for this research project can be justified in a number of ways by considering each of Richards’ (2003) points in relation to this study.

- 1 It may not always be possible to study people in their in natural, everyday settings. For this reason, it is necessary to provide respondents with objects, situations or stimuli that represent objects, situations or stimuli that are found in the real world. In the field of language attitude research, this has often been done by conducting experiments using matched-guise and verbal-guise techniques (see 3.1.2) with which to elicit responses from the target sample (see 3.2.3). This study uses the verbal-guise technique in

order to present the Singaporean respondents with real-world recordings of ECAE (see 3.2.7).

- 2 All research adopting a qualitative approach is focused on individuals, and it is, therefore, the most appropriate approach to take when attempting to elicit what attitudes respondents hold and why they hold such attitudes.
- 3 This study focuses on a small number of Singaporean respondents who are employed in one company in Singapore (see 3.2.3). The rationale for choosing Singaporeans was offered in Chapter 2 (see 2.9). However, the selection of a small group in one company was primarily determined by practical concerns that, as a lone researcher, a large number of respondents would have presented difficulties in terms of time, finance and logistics needed. Moreover, the amount of data generated by a larger sample might have proved to be overwhelming, particularly with respect to the analysis of interviews.
- 4 A number of methods and techniques are used in this study. Recordings of ECAE are used, employing the verbal-guise technique. The recordings are used in conjunction with a verbal-guise task utilising a semantic differential scale. While these methods and techniques can generate a substantial amount of quantitative data on the respondents' attitudes, they might not be sufficient to explore those attitudes at a deeper level. Hence, an additional qualitative method of interviewing is employed in which open-ended questions are asked in order to gain further insight into the respondents' attitudes (see 3.2.6).
- 5 Analysis of the data in this study is based on quantification of the responses to the traits in the verbal-guise task and coding of the interviews (see 3.3) to identify patterns and points of interest.
- 6 This study uses quantification to analyse the responses given on the semantic differential scale in the verbal-guise task (see 3.2.5), and in the form of descriptive statistics in order to identify and illustrate patterns that become evident during the analysis. This quantification is not presented in

isolation, but is considered in relation to the findings garnered from the interview data.

In light of the points outlined above, it can be seen that the adoption of a mixed methods approach for this study appears logical and appropriate: particularly when we bear in mind the advice offered by Hammersley (1992), who suggests that ‘our decisions about what level of precision is appropriate in relation to any particular claim should depend on the nature of what we are trying to describe, on the likely accuracy of our descriptions, on our purposes, and on the resources available to us; not on ideological commitment to one methodological paradigm or another’ (p. 163). The following sections of this chapter attempt to explain and illustrate in further detail the theoretical considerations and practical concerns underpinning this study: namely, language attitude research; data collection; data analysis; trustworthiness; ethical issues; and some limitations of this study.

### 3.1 Language attitude research

A number of methods and techniques have been utilised in language attitude research. The majority of these methods and techniques fall into two major categories: direct approaches and indirect approaches. Both of these, which adopt a Mentalist perspective (see 2.4), seek ways to identify and measure language attitudes in an attempt to expand our knowledge in the fields of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. The following discussion, which draws in part on the work of McKenzie (2006), provides a critical review of the direct and indirect approaches by presenting the strengths and weaknesses of each.

#### 3.1.1 Direct approaches

Research using direct approaches requires respondents to consider their attitudes to languages and varieties of languages and provide self-reports of these attitudes. This involves employing methods to question respondents in order to elicit personal accounts of their beliefs, feelings and knowledge of a particular attitudinal object. Different forms of verbal-guise tasks and interviews, which require spoken or written responses (Henerson et al., 1987; cited in McKenzie,

2006), are the most common methods used in the direct approach to gathering data on language attitudes. Verbal-guise tasks, surveys and polls may or may not require face-to-face interaction between the researcher and the respondent, whereas this close interaction is necessary in interviews. Moreover, verbal-guise tasks, surveys and polls generally consist of a set of predetermined questions and/or other items designed to elicit relevant data, but this may not necessarily be the case for interviews. Interviewers may begin with predetermined questions but, as the interaction progresses, they may ask ad hoc questions in order to pursue specific points or issues raised by a respondent. These methods and instruments are well-established and have been widely used in language attitude research (McKenzie, 2006).

Research conducted using these methods with a direct approach can, however, present difficulties for researchers using either spoken or written response instruments. McKenzie (2006) notes some of these difficulties can be negated by giving serious consideration to particular issues at the developmental stage of verbal-guise tasks and interview schedules. For example, the presence of slanted questions, which might include 'loaded' vocabulary, may tend to lead respondents to answer in a particular way than might otherwise have been the case. Therefore, Oppenheim (1992) suggests political terms such as 'democratic' and 'free' and emotive terms such as 'black' and 'natural', should be avoided by researchers when they are preparing instruments to measure attitudes. The actual or perceived social identity and sociolinguistic group of the interviewer (Nairn et al., 2005; Carter, 2003; Dyck, 1997) are other factors that may affect the kinds of responses that are elicited during the interaction with a respondent. Another potential difficulty lies in the language in which the verbal-guise task is written or in which an interview is conducted (Harzing, 2005; Ralston et al., 1995; Bond and Yang, 1982), since this also could determine to some extent the nature of responses. Each of these factors has important consequences for the conduct of research, the validity of research instruments and the reliability of methods used to undertake language attitude research adopting a direct approach.

An expansion of direct approaches to measuring language attitudes occurred with the development of perceptual dialectology. Preston (1989) adapted perceptual dialectology from folk-linguistics with the aim of broadening research into language attitudes by studying respondents' anecdotal accounts of how attitudes to language varieties develop and persist. Taken from this perspective, a person's own account of his beliefs and attitudes to language varieties and speakers of language varieties provides a clearer and more real context for explanations of language attitudes than the researcher-initiated verbal-guise tasks and interviews commonly used in other direct approaches (McKenzie, 2006).

Perceptual dialectology draws on a number of techniques that elicit attitudinal data from respondents. Preston (1999) offers a summary of some of these techniques. (1) Respondents are asked to draw boundaries on a map to indicate areas where they believe regional speech varieties can be found. (2) Respondents rank from 1 - 4 their perceptions of the degree of dialect difference from their home area (1 = same, 2 = a little different, 3 = different, 4 = unintelligibly different). (3) Respondents rank samples of speech or regions for correctness and/or pleasantness. (4) Respondents are asked to identify dialects by listening to speech recordings and being required to say where they think the speakers are from. (5) Respondents are interviewed about the tasks they have completed, for example, (1)-(4) above. This interview is followed with an open-ended conversation between the researcher and the respondent in which they discuss language varieties. As a direct approach, perceptual dialectology offers an interesting array of techniques that can be used to conduct language attitude research. A major strength of this approach, McKenzie (2006) suggests, is that the techniques it uses can be selected and adapted to meet the needs of any specific piece of research.

Preston (1999) suggests that the selection and adaptation of techniques used in perceptual dialectology should be expanded further and applied to new

contexts. This expansion could involve the inclusion of other techniques from other areas in the field of language attitude research. Most of the studies investigating attitudes using perceptual dialectology have been concerned with the judgements of IC speakers of regional varieties of languages (Kontra, 2002; Long and Yim, 2002; Dann, 1999; Hartley, 1999; Inoue, 1999; Demirci and Kleiner, 1998; cited in McKenzie, 2006). However, McKenzie (2006) notes, it is less easy to find examples of studies using techniques of perceptual dialectology that have a particular focus on non-IC speaker perceptions of and attitudes to language varieties, although research that utilises appropriate techniques from perceptual dialectology could offer new insights into non-IC speaker attitudes to accents and language varieties.

### 3.1.2 Indirect approaches

Indirect approaches to language attitude research utilise tangential data gathering techniques in circumstances in which it is not possible, undesirable or counter-productive to ask respondents directly about their attitudes to a particular object (McKenzie, 2006). For example, many people may be unwilling to reveal the prejudices they hold towards certain attitudinal objects. It is generally held that indirect techniques of attitude measurement are able to penetrate deeper than those used in a more direct approach. This is done by delving below the level of consciousness of respondents. Moreover, the indirect approach can be useful in identifying and investigating stereotypes, some of which respondents may not be aware they hold (Oppenheim, 1992).

The technique most commonly used for conducting research into language attitudes from an indirect approach is the matched-guise technique, which was pioneered by Lambert et al. (1960; cited in McKenzie, 2006) and Lambert (1967; cited in McKenzie, 2006). This technique was developed as a way of eliciting attitudes without asking respondents directly about their attitudes. The purpose of the matched-guise technique is to investigate attitudes to language varieties only and to avoid extraneous factors such as the voice quality of speakers and the



content of the spoken sample (Hiraga 2005). This is achieved by making recordings of a single speaker reading a passage of prose in a number of guises (i.e., the particular accents or varieties of a language being studied). Although the listeners (respondents) are unaware that the speaker in each recording is the same person, they are asked to judge these apparently different speakers on a range of personality traits (Brettell, 1988), by choosing alternatives on bi-polar semantic differential scales, such as honest/dishonest and educated/uneducated. The listeners' ratings on the semantic differential scales are thought to be representative of their stereotyped attitudes to the specific language or language variety on the recordings. Since its introduction, the matched-guise technique has become the standard method of measuring language attitudes, either in its original or modified form (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja, 1998). Research by Garrett et al. (2003) and Lindemann (2003) has echoed the work of earlier studies (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Edwards, 1994; Giles and Coupland, 1991) in narrowing down the key dimensions of language attitude to two over-arching categories: social attractiveness (solidarity) and social status (competence) (McKenzie, 2006).

In spite of its popularity, the matched-guise technique has been criticised on a number of important counts (Kalaja, 1997; Cargile et al., 1994; Ryan et al., 1988). A primary criticism is that the technique results in studies with low levels of reliability and validity. This argument has been made because it is difficult to generalise findings from experimental studies and apply them to real world situations (McKenzie, 2006). Moreover, the technique usually requires respondents to rate speakers on characteristics or traits that have been determined by researchers rather than on traits selected by the respondents themselves. This factor leads to a further problem of knowing whether the respondents understand the traits in the same way. For example, 'attractive/unattractive' could mean many things to many people. Hyrkstedt and Kalaja (1998) suggest an additional consequence of matched-guise instruments that contain researcher-selected traits is that they tend to suppress variability in responses.

The matched-guise technique has also been criticised for a lack of context, since respondents are not usually given any information about the situation in which the speech samples were produced (Bradac et al., 2001). This lack of contextualisation may lead respondents to make inferences about the speech samples and the speakers, which might affect their attitudes to them. In addition to context, Cargile (2002) argues that the content of a speaker's utterances can influence judgements as much as the way in which it is spoken. Finally, Hiraga (2005) contends that, as the content of the speech sample is always the same, the matched-guised technique can only measure attitudes towards the accents of varieties. In short, it can only be used to measure respondents' attitudes to the pronunciation of the 'reader' of the passage, but not the speech of the 'speaker' of a particular variety.

A number of modified forms and variations of the matched-guise technique have been developed in order to counteract the weaknesses outlined above. Modifications have been made in an attempt to overcome weaknesses in the presentation of language varieties and the procedures for the elicitation of attitudes inherent in the matched-guise technique (McKenzie, 2006). The most prevalent of these modified forms is the verbal-guise technique (e.g., McKenzie, 2008; Hiraga, 2005; Hartikainen, 2000; Ladegaard, 1998; Dalton-Puffer, 1997). This technique differs from the matched-guise technique in that several speakers (rather than one) provide the samples of speech varieties. This means that all the samples are authentic rather than being mimicked by a single speaker. A further departure from the matched-guise technique is the use of samples of natural or spontaneous speech from the range of speakers. Here the verbal-guise technique offers another dimension of authenticity since the respondents are not required to listen to the same text numerous times (e.g., El-Dash and Tucker, 1975; cited in McKenzie, 2006). Appropriately neutral samples of speech may be elicited through careful control of the content of the utterances: for example, by asking the speakers to complete a specific task, such as providing directions from a map (McKenzie, 2008). Moreover, to allow for the fact that traits that elicit attitudes from social

groups are likely to be highly culture bound, semantic differential scales are constructed for specific studies (e.g., El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001). Meaningful and suitable bipolar traits are garnered from representatives of the target group of respondents prior to the construction of the semantic differential scale. Alternatively, researchers have selected traits based on those used in similar previous studies, usually in consultation with focus groups representative of the intended sample of respondents. These modifications have helped make indirect approaches to language attitude research more robust and more flexible.

The brief discussion offered above has outlined some of the strengths and weaknesses of methods and techniques used in both direct approaches and indirect approaches to conducting research into language attitudes. However, the complexity of gathering data and measuring language attitudes has led to the suggestion (Garrett et al., 2003; El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001; Ladegaard, 2000) that researchers should look to a number of different techniques drawn from direct and indirect approaches. For example, McKenzie (2006) suggests, matched-guise and verbal-guise techniques could be complemented by interviews and written responses or methods from perceptual dialectology in order to provide greater credibility, reliability and validity to language attitude studies. Therefore, research that employs suitable combinations of methods may offer sociolinguists and social psychologists ways to gain a more profound understanding of attitudes to accents and varieties of languages, and the speakers of accents and varieties.

### 3.2 Data collection

The following sections provide a discussion of key factors and issues that were considered during the preparatory and operational stages of this study in relation to the research objectives and pertaining to the methods used for the collection of suitable data with which to address the research questions. The data collection instruments are a verbal-guise task and interview. These instruments were designed, and the data gathering process was conducted, using methods and techniques drawn from the field of language attitude research.

### 3.2.1 The pilot study

The essential prerequisite for any reliable and valid research is meticulous preparation for the collection of data and their subsequent analysis. Hence, it was necessary for me, as a researcher, to anticipate what I should do, what difficulties I should expect, how much I should cover in a given time and how I should address these issues (Sampson, 2004). By rehearsing the procedures and activities involved in gaining access to, and working with, an identified pilot sample of respondents, I gained insight and breadth of knowledge that enabled me to better understand potential problems and be better prepared to deal with the intricacies of managing the particular spaces, times, places, and people (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) necessary for the successful completion of the research project. This allowed me to plan the form of this study and improve upon the research design by taking advantage of the learning opportunities that the pilot offered.

The formulation of sound research aims, the conception of clear research questions and the development of a suitable research instrument are essential, but do not guarantee the success of a project. Indeed, the quality of a research instrument is tested only when it is used in situ with respondents. When this occurs, the researcher might find that the elicitation instrument does not perform as intended and that it fails to provide data that meet the aims or answer the questions fundamental to the research enterprise. While sharing drafts of instruments, such as verbal-guise tasks and questions for interviews, with other researchers helped me to avoid potential difficulties and inadequacies, the only genuinely effective way of discovering how items behave was by using them with a pilot sample of respondents from the target group. This preparation for the study was necessary in order for me to attempt to identify instances of where the instrument might work against my intentions (Nairn et. al., 2005) and to identify shortcomings and omissions and adapt or reject items or questions as necessary (Sampson, 2004). Consequently, the findings garnered from the pilot study became learning tools and facilitation instruments that helped me in my attempt to

develop and undertake a credible, valid and reliable study. One of the major advantages of a pilot study is that in addition to providing an opportunity to operationalise a research instrument to gather initial findings, it can also provide the researcher with the opportunity to revisit the respondents and to shift their role from research subjects to research analysts. By viewing the respondents as a source of feedback on the structure, format, and conduct of the study, I could gain insight into any shortcomings that were not apparent while the pilot study was being undertaken. This means that there are two potential and valuable types of findings that can be generated from a pilot study: those generated by the research instruments and those generated by seeking feedback from the respondents.

Ten respondents (six females and four males) participated in the pilot study, which was conducted between 8<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> November 2008. The respondents were all Singaporeans working in a service company in Singapore. The average time I spent with each respondent completing the verbal-guise task (semantic differential scale) and conducting the interviews was forty-nine minutes. The samples of ECAE the respondents were required to listen to were taken from recordings for *Learner English* by Swan and Smith (2001) (3.2.2). The verbal-guise task comprised two sections. The first part elicited information on the background of the respondents. The second part listed fifteen traits to elicit attitudinal judgements that were recorded utilising semantic differential scales. Ten of the traits selected sought to measure the degree of solidarity respondents felt towards the speakers on the recording and five of the traits sought to identify the degree of status accorded to each ECAE by the respondents. The inclusion of both solidarity and status traits to elicit attitudinal judgements is well documented in other studies on language attitudes (e.g., Hiraga, 2005; Dalton-Puffer, 1997; Ryan and Giles, 1982) since these two dimensions are important factors affecting language use. The respondents were required to listen to six selected ECAE (German, Spanish, Arabic, Turkish, Chinese and Thai). The range of samples was restricted to six as this was a number commonly found among many language attitude studies; particularly in more recent research (e.g., McKenzie, 2008; Kim,

2007; Hiraga, 2005). After all the recordings had been heard and responded to, I asked several questions to elicit further attitudinal judgements and to check the validity of the responses given on the semantic differential scales.

All the respondents in the pilot were invited to participate in a post-pilot group discussion to provide their feedback on the format and conduct of the study. This feedback presented me with the opportunity to assess the operational aspects of the elicitation instruments. It highlighted issues and potential problems relating to the number of items, font and layout, length and number of pages, time taken to complete the verbal-guise task and the clarity of the instructions to the respondents for example. These were addressed in the post-pilot period to allow for improvement in the verbal-guise task and interviews in this study. Furthermore, the usefulness of the pilot became evident, as it provided me an opportunity to test the utility of the speech samples as a tool for eliciting responses.

A number of useful findings were derived from a post-pilot group discussion to which all the participants were invited. The purpose of this discussion was to elicit feedback on the format and conduct of the study. This information could be used to help me refine the methodology and instruments used for a full-scale study. Six of the ten respondents who participated in the pilot study took part in the post-pilot discussion with me. The key findings of the discussion fall into four main categories: (1) the samples of ECAE, (2) the verbal-guise task, (3) the time taken to complete the verbal-guise task and interview, and (4) the interview. Firstly, all of the respondents stated that they would have been willing to listen to more than the six recorded samples. When asked how many samples they would have felt comfortable listening to, five of the respondents said that 'ten to twelve' samples would have been acceptable and would not have been unduly taxing for them. Two of the respondents suggested that the samples were too short to allow for all the traits listed in the verbal-guise task to be considered adequately. They felt that longer recordings would have enabled them to have made better informed attitudinal judgements. Secondly, all of the respondents

agreed the format of the verbal-guise task was user-friendly. However, there were some differences of opinion with regard to Section B of the verbal-guise task: the list of traits with the semantic differential scales. One of the respondents felt there were too many traits listed. The same respondent suggested that a seven-point scale was too wide, requiring him to ‘think for too long’ on some of the traits. Thirdly, all of the respondents felt the time required to complete the verbal-guise task and the interviews was not burdensome. Five of the respondents said they would willingly have given more time if additional recordings and interview questions had been included. Fourthly, there was unanimous agreement that the format and style of the interview were suitable for encouraging the respondents to think out loud about their attitudes to the recorded ECAE. All of the respondents stated that the interviewer encouraged them to account for the responses they had given on the semantic differential scales without feeling they were being challenged or tested. Overall, the post-pilot discussion between the respondents and I proved to be a useful evaluative tool that provided feedback that led to further development and refinement of the research instrument.

### 3.2.2 Selection of samples of Expanding Circle Accents of English

The first research objective of this study was to find and use suitable samples of Expanding Circle Accents of English. Initially, I intended to gather my own original recordings of samples. However, this approach was abandoned when it became apparent that finding suitable Expanding Circle speakers who were willing to participate in this study proved to be extremely difficult. The second approach I considered was to use recordings of authentic samples taken from the media. The challenge with this approach was to find recordings in which speakers provided samples that (1) did not involve controversial topics that might affect the attitude of listeners; (2) were discussing the same or a similar topic, to provide a level of uniformity across the samples; and (3) had high-quality recordings, to avoid unnecessary distractions for listeners. After searching radio, television and internet sources for a number of weeks for samples that matched these characteristics, I was compelled to conclude that using this method would take an

inordinate amount of time and effort to find suitable samples of Expanding Circle Accents of English. The third approach I adopted was to search published EFL and ESL related materials that included recordings of spoken English. This extensive search led me to a set of recordings made to accompany *Learner English* by Swan and Smith (2001). It is a selection of recordings from this publication that provide the samples of Expanding Circle Accents of English that are used in this study.

The adoption of recordings from *Learner English* can be justified by the fact that this publication focuses on what Swan and Smith (2001) call the interlanguage of speakers of a particular mother tongue. 'By 'interlanguage' we mean *the variety of a language* that is produced by non-native learners. In some cases...the language focused on can be taken as *broadly representative of a whole group*' (Swan and Smith 2001, p. ix) (italics added for emphasis). They go on to suggest that the overall patterns they identify in the spoken (and written) samples they provide tend to be language-specific and, therefore, identify characteristics of Thai English, Arabic English, German English and others. Indeed, the authors claim that the primary concern of their publication is to 'characterize these various kinds of English' (Swan and Smith 2001, p. xi). However, it should be noted that the samples are representative of emerging varieties and should not be viewed negatively as examples of deficient forms of English. Thus, the underlying rationale for using these recordings in this study has some credence so far as they are representative samples of particular Expanding Circle Accents of English.

An additional rationale for selecting these samples lies in their range and utility. In each of the recordings, the speakers of selected samples of Expanding Circle English perform the following spoken tasks. They:

- 1 read the introduction to a story (Appendix 12);
- 2 continue the story in their own words using a picture strip (Appendix 13);
- 3 read a shopping list (Appendix 14);



4 give brief details of their nationality, place of birth and first language.

In this study, the respondents listened to tasks 1-3 of the recordings. I did not want the information in task 4 to be known to the respondents, as knowledge of these details may have affected the respondents' attitudes to the speakers (Atagi, 2003; Brown, 1992; Rubin, 1992). The intention in not revealing this information was to attempt to ensure the respondents focused on the accent of English being spoken rather than being concerned with the speakers' nationalities. Tasks 1 and 3 provide samples of highly controlled speech on non-controversial, neutral topics, while task 2 offers opportunities for the production of semi-controlled speech through picture description. Rossiter et al., (2008) suggest that pictures are useful in research contexts because they maintain some control over the language that is elicited, but give the speakers sufficient flexibility to provide a sample of their speech that is relatively realistic. Further rationale for using these samples is that they are (1) good examples of particular accents, (2) clear recordings, (3) a good selection of accents, and (4) a convenient and appropriate source of ECAE.

The most compelling reason for the selection of recordings from Swan and Smith (2001) is that it provided me with the opportunity to use a combination of matched-guise technique (MGT) and verbal-guise technique (VGT) (3.1.2) in this study. The most frequently employed method to elicit and measure language attitudes is MGT. In MGT, a single speaker reads a text in different guises (speech samples). While this technique might well be suited to a study that investigates attitudes to a small number of accents and varieties of language (for example, Cavallaro and Ng, 2009), it is less suitable for studies that seek to elicit attitudes to a larger number of accents and varieties, and it is even less suitable for studies that involve accents and varieties that cross national or regional boundaries. This is due to the fact that it is highly unlikely that one person can mimic a wide range of accents and varieties of English to an equal degree of 'authenticity'. However, the issue of authenticity can be overcome with the adoption of VGT, in which different speakers provide real, rather than mimicked, samples of language. In short, VGT typically requires respondents to listen to recordings of natural speech

from different speakers, whereas MGT involves respondents listening to read texts. In both techniques respondents are usually asked to evaluate each speaker on a number of personality traits, most commonly using a bipolar semantic differential scale (see 3.1.2 and 3.2.5). This study uses a combination of MGT and VGT in two key ways. Firstly, the speakers of each accent read aloud the same texts (telling a story and reading a shopping list): a technique borrowed from MGT. However, in MGT a single speaker, rather than a number of speakers, reads aloud the same text mimicking different accents. Secondly, spontaneous speech is provided by a number of speakers as they describe the picture story. The elicitation of spontaneous speech is a technique borrowed from VGT. In general, samples of speech from read texts tend to be standardised, varying only at the segmental phonetic level and exhibiting a limited range of prosodic features; whereas samples of free speech often display a wider range of lexical, syntactical and morphological features of the speakers' varieties of a language (McKenzie, 2008). By using these techniques of MGT and VGT in tandem, this study is able to draw on the strengths of both in order to elicit Singaporean attitudes to samples of Expanding Circle Accents of English.

Based on the findings of the pilot study, eleven recordings were selected for inclusion in this research project. These provided samples of the following accents of English: German, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Farsi, Arabic, Turkish, Swahili (Tanzanian), Chinese, Korean and Thai. I felt this was a sufficient number to provide a range of samples without over-burdening the respondents in terms of time and mental effort. This selection also ensured that respondents were required to give their attitudinal judgements to ECAE from different geographical areas: namely, Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. In order to eliminate a major variable, i.e., sex of the speaker, only samples of male speakers were used in this study: since research (e.g., Wilson and Bayard, 1992; and Van-Trieste, 1990) has shown that the sex of the speaker can affect listeners' attitudes. The duration of the recordings ranged from 1 minute, 43 seconds to 2 minutes, 56 seconds. The topics discussed on the recordings were suitable for this study because they were likely

to present few content problems for the Singaporean respondents who listened to the recordings. In addition, this content was non-controversial and universal. Therefore, respondents could relate to it easily and focus on making attitudinal judgements of the language. However, a perennial problem with recorded language is that speakers' *recording speech* may be different from their *natural speech*. The approach taken was to accept that the speakers may speak more formally than usual when being recorded and to recognise that this might not be a major concern since it is often the case that formal English is used in many social, business and educational contexts in which people are most likely to be exposed to other kinds of English.

### 3.2.3 Selection of suitable respondents

The second research objective of this study was to find and use suitable respondents to elicit data from. Chapter 2 shows that most language attitude studies have focused on the Inner Circle users of English: as the sources of speech samples, as the respondents, or both. The literature also shows that the vast majority of users of English are in the Outer and Expanding Circles. Therefore, I decided to focus this study on the non-Inner Circle users of English. Having selected Expanding Circle accents for the samples, I decided to select respondents from the Outer Circle. I chose to further focus this study on Singaporeans for a number of sound methodological and practical reasons. Firstly, Singapore has a well-established and codified variety of English. Secondly, English is the medium of instruction in state schools and in the majority of private educational institutions. Thirdly, English is the language of administration and one of the four official languages of the country. Fourthly, Singapore is a cosmopolitan city-state, in which English is used by a diverse range of people speaking English with the characteristics of their specific accents or variety. Fifthly, I live in Singapore and, therefore, could gain access to Singaporeans willing to participate in this study. Each of these factors provides logical, practical and compelling reasons to select Singaporeans as suitable respondents for this research project.

The selection of respondents was narrowed down through a combination of purposive sampling and opportunity sampling. The selection was purposive in that I decided to seek the respondents from a single source, rather than search for them in different places. I felt the best source of suitable respondents would be from a company or organisation. The focus was then placed on service companies since almost seventy per cent of Singaporeans are employed in the service sector (Statistics Singapore, 2009). Therefore, respondents working in this sector of the economy would probably be somewhat representative of the wider population. At this point, the opportunity sampling came into effect because I approached a friend, who is the Human Resources manager of a large and leading Singaporean service company based in Singapore, to gain access to a population from which respondents could be sought. Having secured his permission, a letter (Appendix 15) explaining the purpose of my research and seeking participants was sent to 150 employees via the company's internal mail system in January 2009. By the end of February 2009, 19 people had agreed to participate in the study. However, I felt that a larger sample was needed in order to provide sufficient data. Once again I sought the help of the Human Resources manager who sent a reminder notice by email to those who had not responded to the letter. This action resulted in a further fourteen people agreeing to participate, although two of these people dropped out later.

On the whole, the methods for selection of the respondents proved to be efficacious to the extent that a significant amount of time, money and effort were saved by identifying one company as the source for the respondents. Moreover, the final sample size of 31 Singaporean respondents (Appendix 16) provided a range varying in age, sex and educational level: factors that may affect attitudes to the selected Expanding Circle Accents of English.

#### 3.2.4 Selection of the research instruments

The third research objective of this study was to find and use suitable methods to elicit attitudinal data from the respondents. Having located this study

within a mixed method mixed methods approach, it seems most logical to adopt methods and use instruments that are commonly employed in language attitude research. I hoped that comparisons of the data derived from two complementary methods might help to validate the findings. The methods I used were (1) rating speech samples using a verbal-guise task with a semantic differential scale, and (2) interviews. This dual approach to data gathering, attempting to utilise sound methods and robust instruments aimed at ensuring the trustworthiness of the study and its findings.

By using a combination of verbal-guise task and interview to gather data for this study, I attempted to ensure that the data, the findings and the conclusions that are drawn might be confirmed and validated utilising more than a single method. The data gathered in the interviews and analysed using qualitative methods should help to give further support and insight into the responses given in the verbal-guise tasks, which are analysed using quantitative methods, so as to attempt to produce a sound, plausible and trustworthy study.

### 3.2.5 The verbal-guise task

A major reason for using a verbal-guise task in this study is that verbal-guise tasks are among the most common forms of data elicitation and collection, ranging from tightly controlled closed-end responses to open-ended responses (Allison, 2002; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000; McDonough and McDonough, 1997; Creswell, 1994). The former provide data that can be codified conveniently in pre-determined ways, while the latter result in data that require a great deal of interpretation and qualitative analysis. By developing a self-report instrument I had to make three basic assumptions about the respondents. These assumptions are that they (1) can read and understand the items, (2) possess the knowledge or information to respond to the items, and (3) are willing to respond to the items honestly (Wolf, 1988). The latter assumption is of paramount importance in any research instrument that depends upon self-reporting to gather data.

However, it is absolutely necessary when conducting an investigation into attitudes.

In language attitude research, verbal-guise tasks are often used as instruments to elicit and record responses to recorded language or other stimuli. In order to attempt to measure this range of intensity, many researchers in this field have utilised various forms of semantic differential scales in their verbal-guise tasks (e.g., Qi, 2009; Barona, 2008; McKenzie, 2008; Hiraga, 2005). There are several reasons why semantic differential scales are effective instruments of attitude measurement. Firstly, they offer high level of reliability and validity. Secondly, they can be developed, administered and coded relatively easily. Thirdly, they provide a measure of the intensity with which an attitude is held. However, the success of the semantic differential scale as an instrument for gathering data is dependent upon the options the respondents are required to select from. These options usually take the form of traits represented as a number of adjectives that can be used to describe the object (e.g., an individual or an accent) that respondents are required to react to in order to record their attitudes. Added to these traits is the range of intensity that the researcher elicits and allows or encourages the respondents to record. This range is often presented on a continuum numerically (such as 1 for ‘strongly disagree’ and 7 for ‘strongly agree’) or symbolically (such as -- for ‘strongly disagree’ and ++ for ‘strongly agree’). Other forms of semantic differential scale require respondents to record their attitudes on a range utilising a points scale from one extreme to another (such as friendly – unfriendly, the former holding a value of 1 and the latter holding a value of 7). In this case, respondents record the intensity of their attitude towards the object. To conduct this study, I needed to formulate an appropriate semantic differential scale for inclusion in the verbal-guise task. Following the pilot study (see 3.2.1), it became evident whether or not the traits, options and ranges presented on the first draft of the verbal-guise task were (1) appropriate and applicable and (2) could record the type of measurable data required to present findings on respondents’ attitudes to the selected ECAE.

The verbal-guise task developed for this study (Appendix 17) comprised two sections. Section A (Figure 1) seeks to elicit information on the background of the respondents. This information is of value in that it may establish factors that might have significance for and/or contribute to the attitudes of the respondents. These factors can also provide potential reference points with which to categorise and structure the analysis of the data generated by the verbal-guise task.

Figure 1: Section A of the Verbal-guise task

**Section A**

*Please complete this section with information about yourself.*

1. Nationality \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sex Male      Female (circle one)
3. Age \_\_\_\_\_
4. Highest educational qualification \_\_\_\_\_
5. English is my only language Yes      No (circle one)
6. If your answer to item 5 is 'no', what other languages do you speak?  
\_\_\_\_\_

In Section B of the verbal-guise task, I listed fifteen traits to elicit respondents' attitudinal judgements to the recorded samples of English and utilised a semantic differential scale for each bipolar set of traits. The fifteen traits employed in this study originated from lists of traits that had been utilised in previous language attitude studies (e.g., Brettel, 1988; Dalton-Puffer et al, 1997; Hiraga, 2005). The final selection was made based on feedback from the respondents in the pilot study in light of the suggestion by El-Dash and Busnardo (2001) that reactions to particular adjectives are likely to be culture-bound. However, it was not necessary to follow the recommendation of Garrett et al. (2003) to substitute adjectives used to describe traits in previous studies with more culturally specific ones, since the Singaporean respondents in the pilot made no suggestion to do so and appeared to have no problems understanding the traits

they were given. Fifteen was the number of traits the respondents in the pilot study felt comfortable considering: more than this might have been too mentally taxing and time-consuming. Based on my review of the literature, the number of traits in previous studies ranges from eight (Cavallaro and Ng, 2009) to seventeen (Brettel, 1988). Moreover, it appears that solidarity traits tend to be more numerous than status traits in the majority of studies, although it should be noted that this observation is based on my own reading of relevant literature rather on statistical evidence. Following this perceived tendency, ten of the traits in this study sought to measure the degree of solidarity respondents felt towards the speakers on the recordings (Figure 2) and five of the traits sought to identify the degree of status accorded to each accent by the respondents (Figure 3).

Figure 2: Solidarity Traits

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable

Figure 3: Status Traits

11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

The inclusion of both solidarity and status traits to elicit attitudinal judgements is well documented in other studies on language attitudes (e.g., Cavallaro and Ng, 2009; Hiraga, 2005; Dalton-Puffer, 1997; Ryan and Giles, 1982; Carranza and Ryan, 1975) since these two dimensions are important factors affecting language use. The most positive and negative traits, e.g. friendly –



unfriendly, powerful – powerless, were placed randomly at either end of a seven-point scale (see Figs 2 and 3). This random positioning was done in an attempt to minimise any potential left-right bias and to encourage the respondents to consider the traits carefully. At the data analysis stage of the study, the most positive ratings were converted to a value of 7 and the most negative to a value of 1. The rationale for using a seven-point scale is that previous attitude research has usually utilised semantic differential scales with an uneven number of divisions so as to provide respondents with a neutral position on the scale. Moreover, Lemon (1973) found that a scale with seven points is the optimum for most attitude measurement purposes.

### 3.2.6 The interviews

In addition to the verbal-guise task, I wanted to gather attitudinal data using a second research instrument in an attempt to corroborate and strengthen any findings and conclusions. I felt the most suitable method to provide an alternative source of relevant data was an interview. The aims of the interview were (1) to investigate the reasons for respondents' choices on the semantic differential scales; and (2) to allow the respondents to express themselves freely in discussing their attitudes to the ECAE offered. These aims could be achieved by developing an interview schedule with open-ended questions (Appendix 18), in contrast to the highly-structured verbal-guise task.

In qualitative research, the interview is seen as a social encounter (Rapley, 2001), social event (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) or an interactional activity in which the interviewer and the interviewee generate knowledge together by constructing for themselves specific roles and identities in relation to the research question, the topic of the interview and to each other. Consequently, both I, as the interviewer, and the respondents influence the process of data collection and the process of making meaning from our encounter (Shah, 2004). This is true of any interview, but it is most significant when cultural, racial, ethnic and gender differences exist and are taken into account. These, and other factors, must be

considered in the collection and analysis of interview data in order to account for the possibility of misunderstandings arising from differences in cultural norms and mores. The corollary of this is that objectivity is not possible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), since both the interviewer and the interviewee responds to his own and the other's perceived cultural and social subjectivities. Thus, it was advantageous for me as the interviewer to have some understanding of the interviewees' culture and background in as much as it is of significance for the conduct and outcome of an interview. In my case, I have lived and worked in Singapore for sixteen years, and, therefore, have considerable depth of knowledge of and exposure to Singaporean culture, which should minimise the possibility of misunderstandings arising from cultural differences between me and the Singaporean respondents.

### 3.2.7 Administration of the verbal-guise task and interviews

Thirty-one respondents participated in this study. The data collection was undertaken in Singapore between March and June 2009. The respondents were all Singaporeans working in a service company in Singapore. The average time I spent with each respondent was one hour and thirty-two minutes for completion of the verbal-guise task and interviews. The data collection was always conducted in the homes of the respondents at a time specified by them. The use of the respondents' homes meant that they were in a comfortable and familiar environment during the data gathering session. Prior to our meeting, I advised each respondent of the need for an unbroken and uninterrupted period for completing the verbal-guise task and conducting the interview. In an attempt to ensure a degree of uniformity, I followed standard procedures in the administration of the verbal-guise task and the interview.

The respondents were told that the purpose of the research was to seek their attitudes towards the ECAE. Also they were advised that the verbal-guise task and the interview were not a test of their English. The first part of the data collection involved the completion of the verbal-guise task (Appendix 17). The verbal-guise task papers were numbered, but respondents were not required to give

their names or any other identifying information. Thus, all respondents participating in this research project were ensured complete anonymity. I kept a separate record of the names of the respondents and the numbered verbal-guise task paper they had completed. This procedure was necessary to allow any follow up or member checking that might be required at a later date.

In Part A of the verbal-guise task, the respondents were asked to state (1) their nationality (to confirm that only Singaporean speakers of English were included in the survey sample), (2) their sex (to check for distribution of the sexes), (3) their age, (4) their highest educational qualification, (5) whether English was their only language or one of their languages (monolingualism, bilingualism or multilingualism might be an important variable affecting the respondents' opinions), and (6) what other languages they spoke. In Part B of the verbal-guise task, the respondents were required to listen to eleven recorded samples of ECAE (German, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Farsi, Arabic, Turkish, Tanzanian, Chinese, Korean and Thai). These samples were selected from the Compact Disc *Learner English* by Swan and Smith (2001) (see Addendum). However, the respondents were not given any information about the samples. The respondents were told they could spend as much time as they liked completing the verbal-guise task, replaying the recordings if they wished to do so, in order to respond most appropriately by marking the semantic differential scales for each sample. The last part of the data gathering session comprised an interview between me and each respondent, in which I asked several open-ended questions (Appendix 18) related directly to their completed verbal-guise task so as to (1) encourage them to give reasons for their responses, (2) elicit further attitudinal judgements, and (3) to check the validity of the responses given on the semantic differential scales.

Two audio machines were used during the sessions: one to play the samples of ECAE from a Compact Disc and the other to record the interviews with the respondents. In order to alleviate the potential stress and inhibiting factors that the presence of the recording device might cause, it was necessary to

provide a warm-up, i.e., small-talk, prior to recording so that respondents would be less conscious of being recorded. In addition, the recorded samples of ECAE were played on a portable CD player (Phillips AZ1146) while a smaller device (Olympus VN-5500PC) was used for recording the respondents during the interviews. The use of the smaller, but clearly visible, device was intended to take respondents' minds off the fact the interviews were being recorded, and thus, encourage them to be more candid in stating their attitudinal judgements.

The above discussion has outlined the rationale for the selection of data collection methods for this study into Singaporean attitudes to ECAE. It has provided an explanation of the selection of (1) the samples of ECAE, (2) suitable respondents, and (3) the research instruments. It also provided a description of the pilot study and the administration of the verbal-guise task and interviews at the data collection stage.

### 3.3 Data analysis

Having discussed the research design and methods of data collection for this study, it is now necessary to consider the approach and methods for data analysis. On this issue, I find the conclusions drawn by Coffey and Atkinson (1996) to be particularly useful. They state that, 'Analysis is not about adhering to any one correct approach or set of right techniques; it is imaginative, artful, flexible, and reflexive' (p. 10). However, whatever approach is taken, for the analysis of data to be successful, Wolcott (1994) suggests it must combine categorisation and interpretation in a process that involves description, analysis and interpretation. Firstly, description shows what is happening based on what is reported to and/or observed by the researcher: in this study, the data from the verbal-guise task and interviews. Secondly, analysis focuses on the identification of key features and the relationships between them. Thirdly, interpretation involves attempting to understand what the data mean. This process of analysis is not necessarily linear, but involves description, classification and connection in

which the researcher progresses from looking at data to providing an account (Dey, 1993).

The data from the verbal-guise task were elicited utilising a semantic differential scale with a form of Likert scale with an intensity range of 1 - 7. This type of scale shows that one score or rating is higher or lower than another one, and indicates higher-numbered responses reflect a more favourable attitude than the lower-numbered responses. Microsoft Excel was used to calculate the mean scores of the responses. I opted to use the mean score (i.e., the sum of all the elements divided by the total number of elements) in my analysis of the verbal-guise task responses using descriptive statistics. The use of the mean is a common procedure in verbal-guise task research, which also has the advantage of making results accessible and convenient to interpret. Moreover, the distribution of responses can be presented easily in graphs, such as bar charts when the mean score is used.

After collecting the interview data and considering it in relation to the research aims, objectives and questions and the context of this study, I began the process of categorisation. However, to some extent, categorisation began when the aims and objectives of the study were devised and when the verbal-guise task and interview schedule were developed. Nevertheless, these categories needed to be expanded and later refined. This process began in earnest when I started preliminary data analysis of some verbal-guise tasks and interviews before the data collection stage was fully completed. This kind of preliminary engagement with the data, Silverman (2000) suggests, should begin as soon as possible so as to allow the researcher to test and assess decisions about ideas, methods and techniques for data analysis. In particular, this early analysis enabled me to experience the practicalities of coding and categorising the data I had gathered. The aim at this stage was not to produce a set of definitive or fixed categories but to generate a set of broad categories from which more refined ones could emerge.

To analyse the interviews, I listened to the recordings and made notes of my first impressions and listened a second time to expand on these notes. This process was repeated many times until I felt nothing more could be garnered from further listening at this stage. Later I transcribed the interviews, read through them and made further notes. These transcriptions were carefully proof read and checked independently by the inside informant. After repeating this process, I cross-checked the notes and codes I had made during the listening sessions with the notes and codes I made during the readings of the transcripts. I adopted this two-pronged approach in an attempt to get an understanding of the data from both the spoken and written words. By coding and note taking through two different processes of listening and reading, I hoped to notice things in one that I had failed to notice in the other. With this approach, the coding generated 19 categories (Table 1, p.84).

In organising the data, the important factor was to be open-minded to different perspectives and to be able to see both the wood and the trees. In so doing, I followed the advice given by Richards (2003) that, 'What matters most is not so much the niceties of technique as finding a method that will allow relationships to be noticed and alternative arrangements to be tried and assessed' (p. 274). In this way, I was able to consolidate the categories I identified into nine themes (Table 2, p.85), which were selected from the themes that did not appear to replicate the solidarity and status traits presented *a priori* in the verbal-guise task. However, the categories in three of these themes (attractiveness, credibility and eloquence) correspond to solidarity traits, and the categories in two of the themes (assertiveness and confidence) correspond to status traits. The four other identified themes (phonology, prosody, fluency and clarity) were derived from categories focusing on the respondents' perceptions of the speakers' ability to use English. Upon reflection, these themes were further consolidated into four major themes: phonology, prosody, assertiveness and attractiveness (Table 3, p.86). The first two of these major themes drawn from the interviews provide data on the characteristics of each speech sample and how those characteristics might affect

the respondents' attitudes to the speakers; while the latter two themes indicate a significant correspondence to and a level of consistency between the solidarity and status traits presented *a priori* and those elicited from the respondents. To this extent, a clear link has been established between the items on the semantic differential scales in the verbal-guise task and the categories and themes drawn from the interviews.

### 3.4 Trustworthiness of the study

In order to ensure what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as the 'trustworthiness' of this research, I needed to consider the procedures for undertaking the study and the parameters of the paradigm in which the research is located. For this reason, two different research methods derived from language attitude research traditions were utilised in this study in response to Denzin's (1997) observation that interpretations that are derived from more than one method are 'certain to be stronger than those which rest on the more constricted framework of a single method' (p. 319). The strength of this study lays in the fact that verbal-guise task data were compared with data obtained from the interviews. In discussing the trustworthiness of my study, I will refer to Maxwell's (1992) notions of credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability, which I found to be particularly useful in understanding and addressing issues of trustworthiness.

At the research design stage, challenges to the trustworthiness of the research were identified and steps were taken to minimise these. The focus for the research questions, together with temporal and financial constraints, determined the nature of, and the procedures for, the study. Allowing insufficient time and funds for the completion of the project would have raised concerns as to its

Table 1: Categories Derived from Coding

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
emphasis highlighting stress	articulate diction enunciate elocution pronunciation	beat fast hurried pace plodding rate rhythm slow speed tempo	hard heavy pitch smooth sound quality tone tune	effortless faltering forced flowing fluent flowing natural smooth stilted unforced	clear coherent comprehensible intelligible plain simple understandable	dragging imprecise mumbled muttering slurred unclear words	articulate eloquent expressive fluent persuasive well-expressed	certain confident conviction positive self-assured sure	cautious hesitant shy tentative timid uncertain unsure
11 appealing attractive boring charming pleasant pleasing unpleasant	12 believable credible comfortable convincing persuasive	13 active assertive dynamic forceful lively talkative	14 docile meek modest passive submissive subservient	15 calm gentle mild placid	16 amenable easiness easy-going laid back relaxed too easy-going	17 authority serious	18 familiarity	19 deliberate steadiness	



Table 2: Categories Consolidated into Themes

Phonology	Prosody	Fluency	Assertiveness	Attractiveness	Clarity	Confidence	Credibility	Eloquence
articulate diction enunciate elocution pronunciation	emphasis highlighting stress  beat fast hurried pace plodding rate rhythm slow speed tempo  hard heavy pitch smooth sound quality tone tune	effortless faltering forced flowing fluent flowing natural smooth stilted unforced	active assertive dynamic forceful lively talkative docile meek modest passive submissive subservient  calm gentle mild placid  amenable easiness easy-going laid back relaxed too easy-going	appealing attractive boring charming pleasant pleasing unpleasant	clear coherent comprehensible intelligible plain simple understandable  dragging imprecise mumbled muttering slurred unclear words familiarity	certain confident conviction positive self-assured sure  cautious hesitant shy tentative timid uncertain unsure  authority serious	believable credible comfortable convincing persuasive	articulate eloquent expressive fluent persuasive well-expressed  deliberate steadiness

Table 3: Categories Consolidated into Major Themes

<b>Phonology</b>	<b>Prosody</b>	<b>Assertiveness</b>	<b>Attractiveness</b>
Phonology	Prosody	Assertiveness	Attractiveness
	Fluency	Confidence	Eloquence

trustworthiness. Similarly, inappropriate research instruments would not have provided adequate data with which to address the research questions. The fact that the research instruments yielded relevant and usable data is an indication of the trustworthiness of the research design. This was achieved by undertaking a pilot of the survey instruments with a sample of respondents, all of whom were Singaporeans. By making changes to the verbal-guise task and interview, based on the comments of the pilot respondents, I sought to establish the trustworthiness of the instruments. Consequently, attempts were made to ensure trustworthiness by devising appropriate instruments that had a sound theoretical base and adhered to practices common to language attitude research. This, in turn, helped to establish the *credibility* (internal validity) of this study in that, at a later stage, the description and explanation of the findings could be supported by the data based on responses obtained via the verbal-guise task and the interviews.

At the data gathering stage, further challenges to the trustworthiness of the study were considered. Fundamentally, there is the issue of the respondents providing accurate, correct and honest responses. The extent to which respondents are trustworthy depends in large part on the sample and the techniques employed to select the sample and gather data from it. Nevertheless, as a researcher operating within the Constructivist paradigm, I should report accurately the data as it is provided by the respondents. In most cases, this means that I am compelled to make assumptions with regard to the honesty and integrity of the respondents, if any findings are to be drawn from the data. I attempted to make this study trustworthy by undertaking a rigorous survey that was derived

from clear objectives and specific research questions. The findings emerged from data gathered using appropriate research instruments, which had been developed using standard piloting and sampling techniques. Furthermore, the data yielded by the research instruments were suitable for addressing the research questions, enabling me to analyse and present the findings using procedures that also attempted to ensure trustworthiness. Therefore, a carefully selected and appropriate sample responding to trustworthy research instruments could provide data from which a degree of *transferability* (external validity) might be possible.

At the data analysis stage of the research, I attempted to ensure the trustworthiness of the study in a number of ways. Firstly, I used standard statistical techniques (using Microsoft Excel) for analysing the data obtained from the semantic differential scales used in the verbal-guise task. Secondly, the classification and coding of the interview data were revised as new instances and relationships emerged during the analytical process. Thirdly, an inside informant was used to check the statistical data and the coding of the interview data. Each of these checks enabled me to analyse the data in accordance with procedures appropriate to and derived from qualitative methods of inquiry.

Attempts were made to minimise untrustworthiness at the data reporting stage by addressing the findings to the research questions and thus, maintaining a focus for the presentation of the data. This meant that the data were examined and re-examined in order to eliminate, or at least minimise, inaccurate reporting of the meaning and implications of the data. This was achieved by attempting to present the data with clarity and avoiding the overly selective use, misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the data. As was the case at the data analysis stage, every attempt was made to present accurate and complete descriptions of the data. Through member validation, I tried to ensure that the interpretations I made and the classifications and coding I identified were grounded in the data respondents had provided. In this way, every effort was made to ensure that the conclusions

drawn could be sustained by the data, and would, therefore, provide evidence of the *confirmability* (objectivity) of this study.

Ultimately, assumptions of trustworthiness can be made based on the choice of paradigm, the research question, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis. For this study to show *dependability* (reliability), it must demonstrate that it is replicable (1) over time using the same respondents, (2) using other respondents and (3) using an alternative instrument to gather the same data. However, the opportunity to replicate or repeat a study is rarely presented to the social scientist. For this reason, conclusions as to the *dependability* of the project must be drawn from the discussion above. By attempting to follow appropriate procedures with rigour and being cognisant of recording specifics of the respondents, processes, and methods of analysis and data collection, I hoped to attain a considerable degree of trustworthiness for this study.

### 3.5 Ethical issues

The key ethical issues for research with respondents Richards (2003) suggests are consent, honesty, privacy, ownership and avoidance of harm. These issues were addressed and taken into account in this study by following the standard and widely accepted guidelines set out by the British Association of Applied Linguistics. As a researcher, I had the responsibility to protect the interests of all the respondents who gave their informed consent voluntarily based on information provided about the study. It was incumbent on me to inform, explain and provide assurances to the respondents. Firstly, the respondents were informed how much of their time was likely to be required and of their right to withdraw from the study at any time. Secondly, I explained in layman's terms (1) the purpose of the study, (2) the methods that would be used, (3) what would be expected of them, and (4) how the samples or data they provided would be used. In informing the respondents of the purpose of the study, i.e., to elicit their attitudes about the samples of language, I departed from

tradition, in that the actual purpose of the research is usually kept from respondents involved in studies using indirect methods. It would have been possible to debrief the respondents at the end of the interviews to inform them of the real intent of the study, as is often the case with the use of indirect methods. However, I felt I had an ethical duty to be candid with my respondents, who welcomed me into their homes during the data collection sessions. For this reason, I informed the respondents of the purpose of the study: thereby, being direct in the use of indirect methods. Thirdly, I attempted to assure the respondents that (1) they would remain anonymous in order to protect their identities; (2) the information they provided would remain confidential; and (3) use of the data generated would be for the sole purpose of this study (Richards, 2003; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000; McDonough and McDonough, 1997; Creswell, 1994). By adhering to these recognised standards of ethics, the rights of the respondents and the responsibilities of the researcher remained of paramount importance and formed an integral part of this study.

### 3.6 Some limitations of this study

While I have taken considerable effort to ensure this study is based on sound theoretical and practical foundations, inevitably, as with all research, there are limitations to this project. The limitations I have identified relate to (1) the choice of respondents, (2) the selection of the speech samples, and (3) the research instruments. The key points of these limitations are highlighted below.

With regard to the choice of respondents, my sample treats all Singaporeans as a homogeneous group. Although age, sex and educational background are factors that are considered in this study, other factors such as occupation and income bracket, which might affect attitudes, are not included. Moreover, additional social correlates, such as race and ethnicity, might also have an influence on the findings. However, the relatively small sample size of thirty-one respondents limits the possibility of such detailed and extensive analysis and does not allow for maximum variation.

In terms of the selection of the speech samples, the first limitation is that, while they are examples of ECAE that are representative of the wider group, they might also be considered as samples of interlanguage rather than samples of emerging varieties. The second limitation is that this study uses only one recorded sample of each of the selected ECAE. When using one speech sample as representative of a variety, Hiraga (2005) points out that ‘we have to consider that that particular speech sample is merely *one* example of the dialect, other people in the same area, of the same social class, age and sex may not all speak identically’ (pp. 294-295). A third limitation with the speech samples is that because I did not use recordings specifically made for this study, I could not account for nor control the ages of the speakers. This is a potential weakness because Gallois, Callan, and Johnstone (1984) showed that the age of the speaker can influence the respondents’ attitudes. Fourthly, while every effort was made to conceal the nationality of the speakers in this study, research by Atagi (2003; cited in Lindemann, 2006) found that even the perceived nationality or background of a speaker, rather than the actual speech sample itself, can affect how listeners respond.

Limitations to the research instruments stem from the fact it is obvious that their purpose is to elicit attitudes to accents of English. This could be a problem since Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest that when respondents are aware that their attitudes are being sought, they are likely to respond more favourably than might actually be the case. Closely related to this is the phenomenon of social desirability bias (Oppenheim, 1992), which is the tendency for respondents to give what they perceive to be the most socially desirable or socially appropriate responses, particularly during interviews. Of more concern is acquiescence bias (Oppenheim, 1992), which occurs when respondents agree or disagree with items irrespective of the content so as to gain the approval of the researcher. Consequently, the responses elicited might not be an accurate reflection of the respondents’ attitudes; thus, casting some doubt on

the trustworthiness of the data. However, since I conducted the verbal-guise tasks and interviews individually in the privacy of the respondents' homes, and with a guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality, the effects of these limitations may have been reduced.

The potential for listener fatigue is a risk any study of this type should consider. For this reason, the number of samples was an issue I sought feedback on from the participants of the pilot study, and the decision to employ eleven samples of ECAE was taken on the basis of those respondents stating overwhelmingly that they would not be over-burdened by 'ten to twelve' samples of similar length to those presented in the pilot. Moreover, fifteen was the number of traits the respondents in the pilot study stated they would feel comfortable considering. The fact that the data were gathered in the respondents' homes meant that they would, perhaps, be more relaxed and, consequently, be less fatigued by the process than might be the case if they were in unfamiliar surroundings. The respondents were also informed that they could take a break from listening at any point.

The sample size of 31 respondents might be identified as a potential limitation to a study that utilises quantitative analysis. However, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) state 'a sample size of thirty is held by many to be the minimum number of cases if researchers plan to use some form of statistical analysis on their data' (p. 93). While a larger sample might have given greater scope for more rigorous statistical analyses, the sample of 31 does afford variation in terms of ages, sexes and educational levels of the respondents, and provides a quantifiable range of responses that help to address the research questions.

The purpose of this chapter has been to consider a number of key theoretical and practical concerns that are relevant for the preparation and operation of this qualitative investigation into Singaporean attitudes towards

selected ECAE. Firstly, the research aims, objectives and questions of this study were reiterated. Secondly, a review of relevant language attitude research was presented, illustrating that the majority of methods and techniques fall into two major categories: (a) direct approaches requiring respondents to consider their attitudes to languages, accents and varieties of languages and provide self-reports of these attitudes; and (b) indirect approaches to language attitude research utilising tangential data gathering techniques to gather attitudinal data. Thirdly, the instruments, namely the verbal-guise task and interviews, and procedures for data collection were discussed. This discussion included the selection of (a) the samples of ECAE; (b) suitable respondents; (c) the research instruments. The operational aspects of the pilot study and the administration of the verbal-guise task and interviews were explained. Fourthly, the procedures for data analysis were described and the categories and themes were presented. Fifthly, issues related to the trustworthiness of this study were considered, followed by a brief discussion of ethical issues. Finally, some limitations of the study were considered. In light of the above, I hope to have shown that the research design is appropriate and efficacious for obtaining relevant, reliable and valid data with which to address the research questions.



## **Chapter Four**

### **Themes and Findings**

This chapter presents the themes and findings that emerged from analysis of the data derived from the verbal-guise task using a semantic differential scale (Appendix 17) and a follow-up interview (Appendix 18), which were both designed to elicit data on the attitudes of Singaporeans to different Expanding Circle Accents of English (ECAE). In analysing the data, I attempt to make comparisons across respondents, across the ECAE and across the verbal-guise task and interviews. I endeavour to achieve this by conducting quantitative analysis of the data from the verbal-guise task and a qualitative analysis of the data from the interviews. By utilising this mixed, qualitatively-driven approach to data collection and data analysis, I hope to be able to organise and classify the data so as to relate them to the research aims and the research questions of this study.

At this juncture, it is useful to reiterate the aims and questions of this study. The research aims are:

- 1 to ascertain whether Singaporeans have different attitudes towards different ECAE;
- 2 to discover what different attitudes, if any, Singaporeans have towards different ECAE; and
- 3 to understand why Singaporeans have different attitudes, if any, towards different ECAE.

The first and second research aims might be met through the data gathered in the verbal-guise task, while the third research aim might be met by data derived from the interviews with the respondents.

There are two key research questions for this study.

- 1 What attitudes do Singaporeans have towards different ECAE?
- 2 What factors determine Singaporean attitudes towards different ECAE?

Both of these questions might be addressed by using the data gathered via the verbal-guise task, and more particularly, data garnered from the interviews might be related to the second research question.

This chapter comprises two main sections: each one deals with the themes and findings of the verbal-guise task data and the interview data. In the first section (4.1), data from the verbal-guise task are presented according to key themes and categories. This section offers analyses of responses by (1) the selected ECAE; (2) by each of the fifteen traits; (3) by the respondents' sexes; (4) by the respondents' ages; (5) by the respondents' educational level; and (6) by the number of languages other than English the respondents speak. To close this section, an overview of the key themes and findings from the verbal-guise task are presented. In the second section (4.2), issues that emerged from the interview data are presented and illustrated with selected comments from the respondents.

#### 4.1 Themes and findings from the verbal-guise task data

The first step of the analysis of the data collected via the verbal-guise task was to tabulate the information given by the respondents in Section A. This section elicited information about each of the respondents. At this point, it would be useful to provide a general overview of the respondents using information given in Section A of the verbal-guise task (Appendix 17). In summary, a total of 31 Singaporean respondents completed both the verbal-guise task and the interview. The sample population comprised 19 females and 12 males, with a mean age of 29 years. The education levels of the respondents ranged from secondary to university, with educational qualifications ranging from 'O' Level to Masters Degree (Appendix 16). The vast majority of respondents were bilingual or multilingual. Further details of the data are presented in the relevant sections below.

The second step of the analysis of the data collected via the verbal-guise task was to tabulate the ratings given by the respondents in Section B. The ratings given on the verbal-guise task by each of the 31 respondents to the 15 descriptors for each of the 11 ECAE provided a total of 5,115 data points. These data points were examined in a number of ways and according to several categories. Data for the categories of (1) sex, (2) age, (3) highest educational level, and (4) number of languages other than English, were gathered in Section A of the verbal-guise task and cross-referenced with ratings given on the traits to each of the ECAE presented in Section B of the verbal-guise task. Consequently, all ratings given by all respondents were included and examined for each trait and for each ECAE, and according to the categories of sex, age, highest educational level, and number of languages other than English. In addition to being analysed according to each ECAE and each trait, the data were further consolidated into solidarity and status traits (see 3.2.5) (Table 4). The analysis involved adding the raw scores and calculating the means derived from the ratings given by respondents on the verbal-guise task. These forms of data analysis provided sets of descriptive statistics that could be presented clearly and effectively in tabular and graphical forms.

Table 4: Solidarity and Status Traits

<b>Solidarity Traits</b>	<b>Status Traits</b>
friendly	intelligent
trustworthy	educated
sociable	successful
sincere	wealthy
reliable	powerful
comforting	
selfless	
kind	
honest	
likeable	

Before an analysis of the data gathered in Section B of the verbal-guise task could begin, the bipolar traits were reorganised so that all negative and positive ratings were to the left and right respectively. This was achieved by converting all the negative ratings to 1, 2, 3 and all the positive ratings to 5, 6, 7, with neutral ratings remaining at 4. An example is provided in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Conversion of Traits

(a) original form (on the verbal-guise task)

friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable

(b) after conversion

unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly
untrustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	trustworthy
unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
insincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sincere
unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable

In an attempt to ensure clarity and ease of presentation, I chose to present the data largely in the form of mean scores (the sum of all the elements divided by the total number of elements), which is a procedure widely used in verbal-guise task research. The data for mean scores are presented graphically: specifically, in the form of bar charts because they are relatively easy to read and understand in terms of the visual representation of patterns that show the scores of the respondents as they vary across the ECAE and across the given the traits. Moreover, bar charts offer a convenient way to compare and to cluster data using descriptive statistics. It should be noted that, in constructing the charts, I placed the ECAE and traits with the greatest number of negative responses to the left of the charts, and, therefore, the ECAE or traits with a greater number of neutral and/or positive responses tend to appear further to the right of the charts.

On charts showing comparison in terms of solidarity and status traits, mean scores for the former always appear to the left of each pair.

#### 4.1.1 Analysis of responses by each ECAE

All 31 respondents rated the eleven selected ECAE on the 15 traits provided in the verbal-guise task. It is useful to reiterate at this point that the respondents were not informed of the language background of the speakers of the ECAE. The samples were identified according to the speaker number given on the original recording.

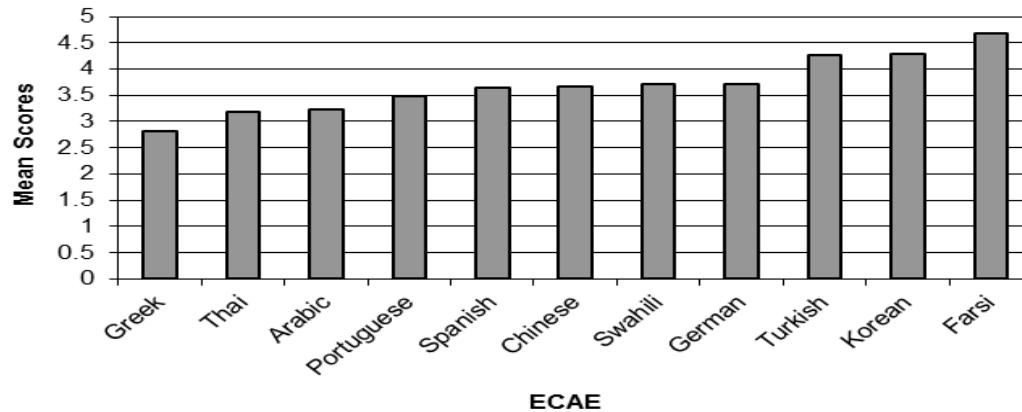
Overall, six of the ECAE (GermanAE, SpanishAE, PortugueseAE, TurkishAE, SwahiliAE, KoreanAE) were rated lowest on the status trait ‘powerful’, and the others were rated lowest on solidarity traits. Five of the ECAE (GreekAE, FarsiAE, ChineseAE, KoreanAE, ThaiAE) had their highest mean for the status trait ‘educated’, while GermanAE, PortugueseAE, TurkishAE and SwahiliAE had the solidarity trait ‘honest’ as their highest score.

#### 4.1.2 Analysis of responses by trait

All 31 respondents rated the eleven selected ECAE on the 15 traits provided in the verbal-guise task. An analysis of the combined mean scores for the ECAE for the solidarity traits (Figure 5) shows GreekAE was rated the lowest with a mean of 2.81, while FarsiAE had the highest mean of 4.68. Low scores were also recorded for ThaiAE (3.18) and ArabicAE (3.24). KoreanAE and TurkishAE were rated above neutral at 4.27 and 4.28 respectively. The overall mean for the combined solidarity traits was 3.67 (SD 0.54).

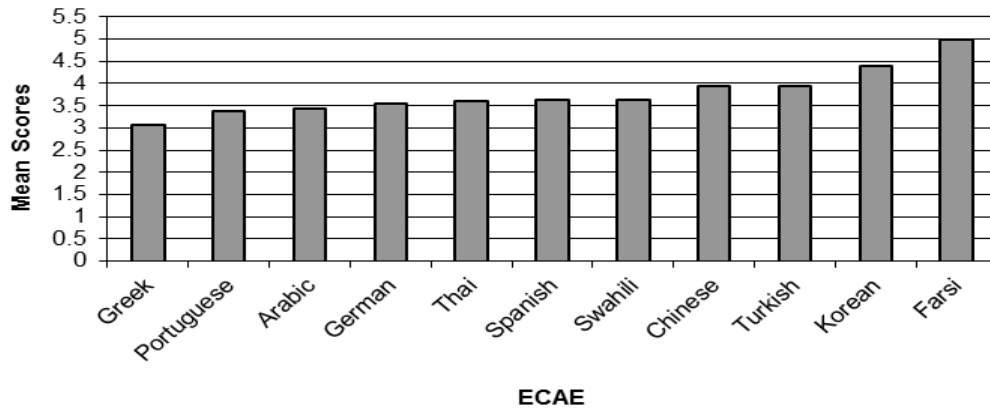
The mean scores for the ECAE for the status traits (Figure 6) reveal GreekAE had the lowest rating at 3.06, and the next lowest scores were for PortugueseAE (3.39) and ArabicAE (3.44). FarsiAE was rated the highest with a

Figure 5: Mean Scores for Solidarity Traits



mean of 4.99, while KoreanAE also scored above the neutral mark at 4.40. ChineseAE and TurkishAE recorded similar scores of 3.93 and 3.94 respectively. The overall mean for status traits was 3.78 (SD 0.53).

Figure 6: Mean Scores for Status Traits



Overall, the preceding data indicate GreekAE had the lowest means for all traits, while FarsiAE had the highest means for all traits. Trends in the means for the solidarity traits reveal ArabicAE and ThaiAE were rated second lowest on five traits each, whereas TurkishAE and KoreanAE tended to alternate in being rated second highest across the solidarity traits. However, less consistency appears in the middle-rated ECAE, although ChineseAE, SpanishAE, SwahiliAE and GermanAE generally had means in the middle of the range. For the status traits, PortugueseAE and ArabicAE were rated second and third lowest

respectively. Although KoreanAE was rated second highest on all status traits, ChineseAE was rated third highest on ‘educated’, ‘wealthy’ and ‘powerful’. TurkishAE was rated fourth highest on four of the status traits. As with the solidarity traits, there was less consistency in the ratings of the ECAE with means in the middle of the range.

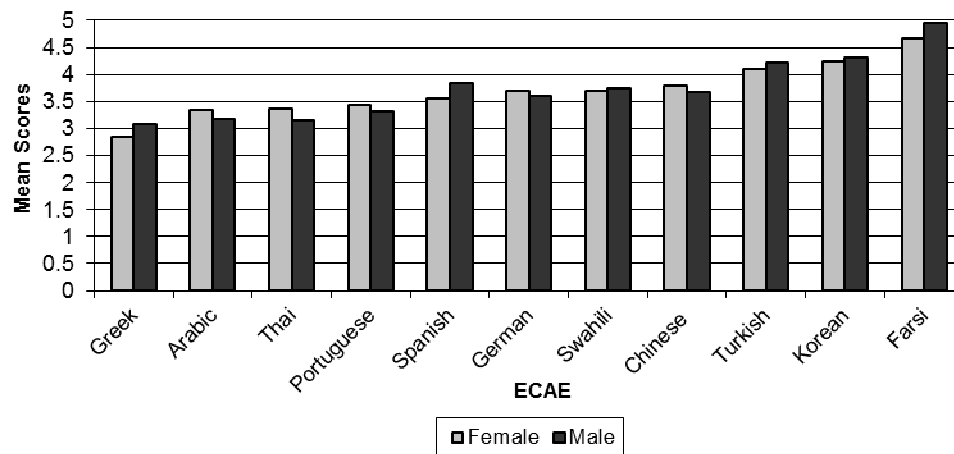
#### 4.1.3 Analysis of responses by sex

Research has shown (Cavallaro and Ng, 2009; Wilson and Bayard, 1992; Van-Trieste, 1990) that the sex of speakers and listeners can affect attitudes to each other. Although all the recordings in this study were of male speakers, it is worth investigating whether the sex of the respondents is a factor affecting their attitudes to the ECAE. The distribution of the sexes among the respondents is 19 females and 12 males. In this section, comparisons of female and male responses to the eleven ECAE are presented and discussed in a number of ways. Firstly, analyses of female and male responses to all the ECAE across all traits are provided. Secondly, female responses are analysed according to solidarity and status traits and comparisons of both are made. Thirdly, male responses are analysed according to solidarity and status traits and comparisons of both are given. Finally, comparisons are made of the ratings of female and male respondents according to solidarity and status traits for each ECAE.

The mean scores of the female respondents show GreekAE was the least favoured, with a rating of 2.84. FarsiAE received the most positive ratings, while the remaining ECAE had mean scores ranging from 3.34 to 4.24. The overall mean for the female respondents was 3.67 (SD 0.52). The mean scores of the male respondents reveal GreekAE received the lowest rating (3.07), while FarsiAE was the one most favoured. TurkishAE and KoreanAE received ratings of 4.21 and 4.32 respectively. The overall mean for the male respondents was 3.75 (SD 0.58). A comparison of mean scores of the female and male respondents (Figure 7) indicates the overall trend is very similar for both sexes. The female respondents rated ArabicAE, ThaiAE, PortugueseAE, GermanAE

and ChineseAE marginally higher than their male counterparts. Conversely, the male respondents rated GreekAE, SpanishAE, SwahiliAE, TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE a little more positively than did the female respondents. Moreover, GreekAE was least favoured by both sexes, while FarsiAE received the most positive ratings from both female and male respondents.

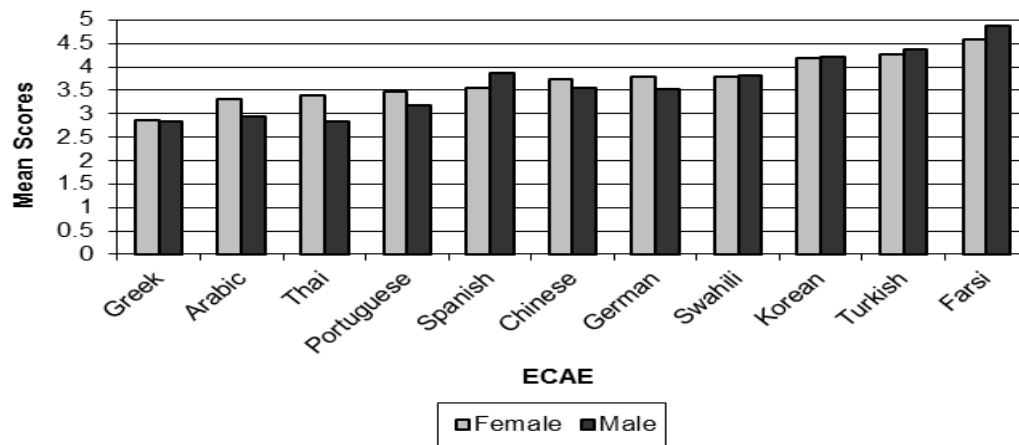
Figure 7: Mean Scores for ECAE for Female and Male Respondents



A comparison of the female and male respondents' mean scores for the ECAE in relation to the solidarity traits (Figure 8) reveals both sexes gave similar ratings to GreekAE (2.85 and 2.84) and SwahiliAE (3.80 and 3.81). The males gave higher ratings to SpanishAE, TurkishAE and FarsiAE, whereas the females rated ArabicAE, ThaiAE, PortugueseAE, ChineseAE and GermanAE more positively than their male counterparts. The greatest difference in mean scores was for ThaiAE, which was rated at 3.39 by the females and 2.83 by the males.

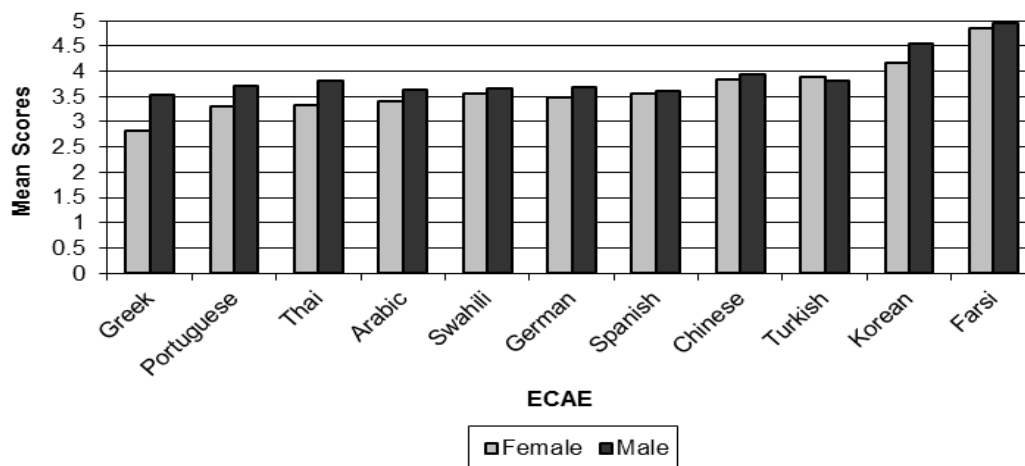


Figure 8: Mean Scores for Solidarity Traits for Female and Male Respondents



A comparison of the female and male respondents' mean scores for the ECAE in terms of status traits (Figure 9) shows, with the exception of TurkishAE, the male respondents' gave higher ratings than the females. The largest difference in the means was for GreekAE, with the females rating it at 2.81 and the males at 3.52. Other significant differences appear in the means for PortugueseAE and ThaiAE, with the male respondents rating these more positively than ArabicAE, SwahiliAE, GermanAE and SpanishAE.

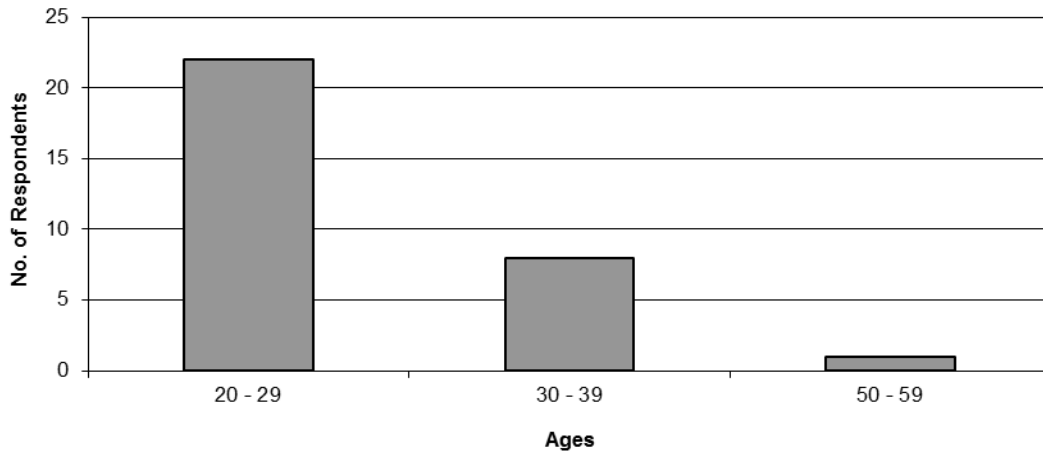
Figure 9: Mean Scores for Status Traits for Female and Male Respondents



#### 4.1.4 Analysis of Responses by Age

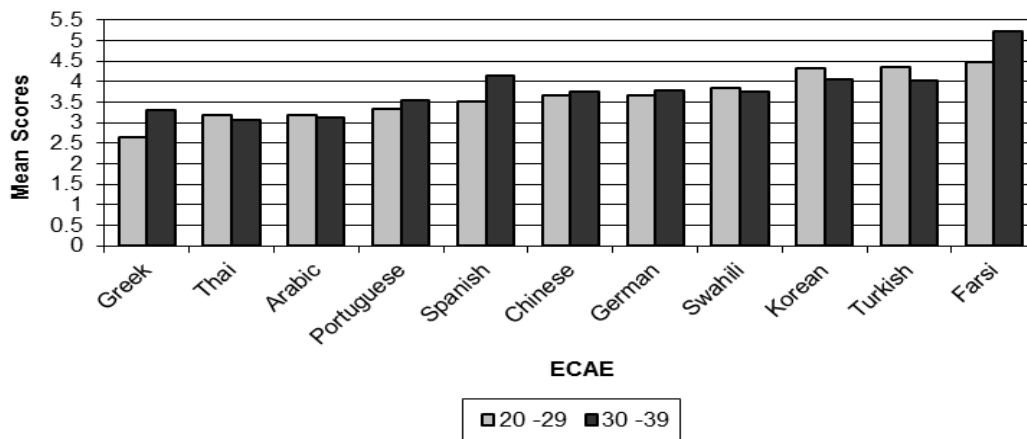
There appears to be a lack of research showing whether a listener's age affects attitudes to accents; hence, it worth investigating this variable. An analysis of the distribution of ages among the respondents (Figure 10) reveals twenty-two of the respondents were aged 20 – 29, eight were aged 30 – 39 and one respondent was aged 50 – 59. The youngest respondent was 22 years old and the oldest was 55 years old. The age range was 33 years and the mean age was 29 years. The scores from the lone respondent aged 55 were not included in the figures as it is standard practice to exclude outliers when calculating means.

Figure 10: Distribution of Ages of the Respondents



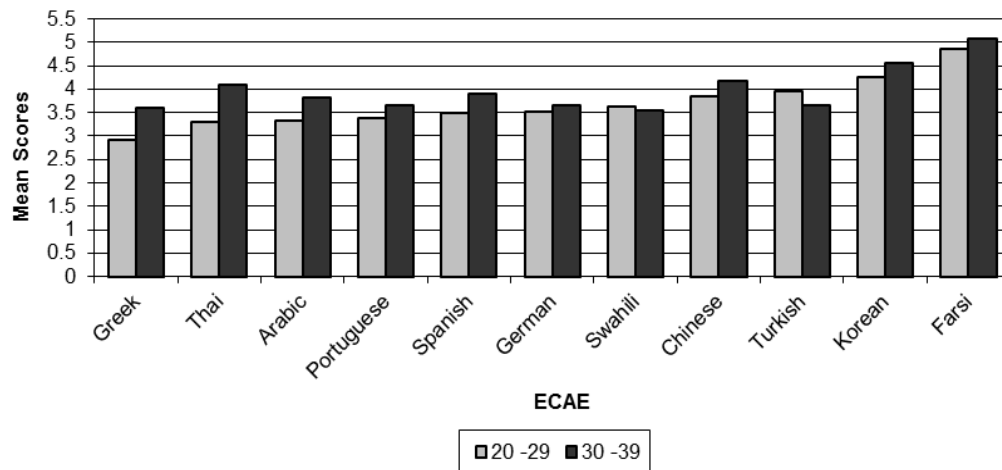
A comparison of the mean scores for both age groups for the ECAE in relation to the solidarity traits (Figure 11) shows the respondents aged 30 – 39 gave the highest ratings to GreekAE PortugueseAE, SpanishAE, ChineseAE and GermanAE; whereas those aged 20 – 29 rated SwahiliAE, KoreanAE and TurkishAE more highly than their counterparts in the other age groups. The overall combined mean for both age groups for solidarity traits was 3.73 (SD 0.56).

Figure 11: Mean Scores for Solidarity Traits for Both Age Groups



A comparison of the mean scores for both age groups for the ECAE in terms of status traits (Figure 12) shows those aged 30 – 39 gave higher mean scores to GreekAE, ThaiAE, SpanishAE, ChineseAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE than their counterparts. The respondents aged 20 –29 gave the lowest ratings to ThaiAE, ArabicAE, PortugueseAE and GermanAE than those in other age range. The overall combined mean for both age groups for status traits was 3.81 (SD 0.53).

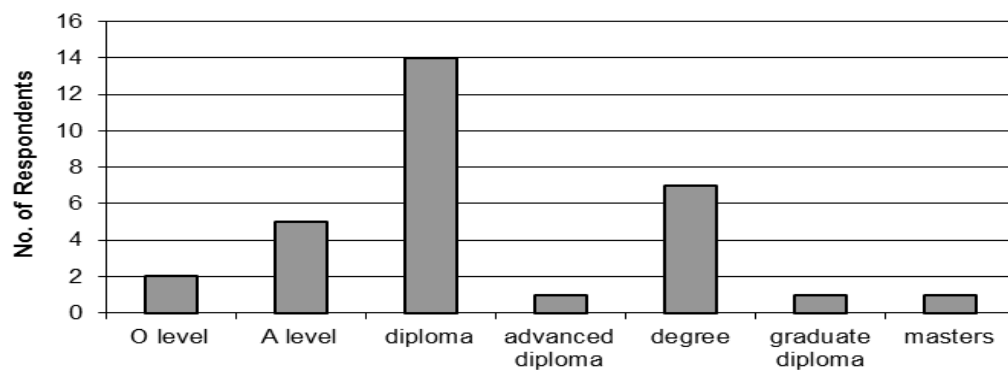
Figure 12: Mean Scores for Status Traits for Both Age Groups



#### 4.1.5 Analysis of responses by educational level

Few studies have investigated educational level as a factor affecting language attitudes (e.g., Hakala, 2008; Ladegaard, 1998) and these have been limited in the range of educational levels of their respondents. Therefore, there may be some value in investigating this potential variable. An analysis of the highest educational levels of the respondents in this study (Figure 13) shows there was a range from O level to master's degree. Two of the respondents finished their education at O Level, while five continued to A Level. Fourteen respondents completed their education at diploma level and seven had university degrees. Two respondents completed post-graduate studies. To facilitate the analysis and to present the data more clearly, the highest educational levels of the respondents have been consolidated into three main categories (Figure 14): namely Secondary (O and A level), Polytechnic (diploma and advanced diploma) and University (degree, graduate diploma and master's degree).

Figure 13: Highest Educational Levels of Respondents



A comparison of the mean scores for the ECAE for the different levels of education (Figure 15) shows for GreekAE, ThaiAE, PortugueseAE, ChineseAE and KoreanAE the mean scores were commensurate with the level of education, i.e. the lower means were from the secondary-educated respondents and the higher scores were from the university-educated respondents. However, SwahiliAE, TurkishAE and FarsiAE were rated lower by the university-educated respondents than by their counterparts. TurkishAE and FarsiAE were rated the highest by those educated to the polytechnic level.

Figure 14: Education Levels of Respondents (Consolidated)

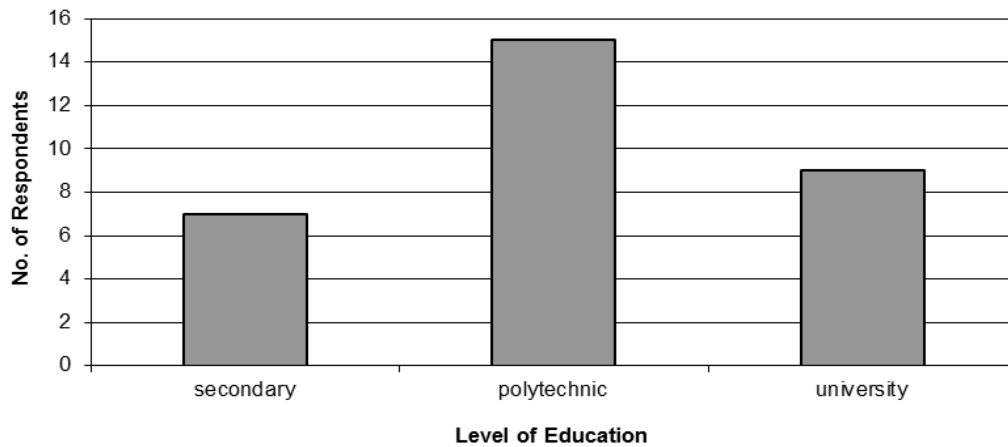
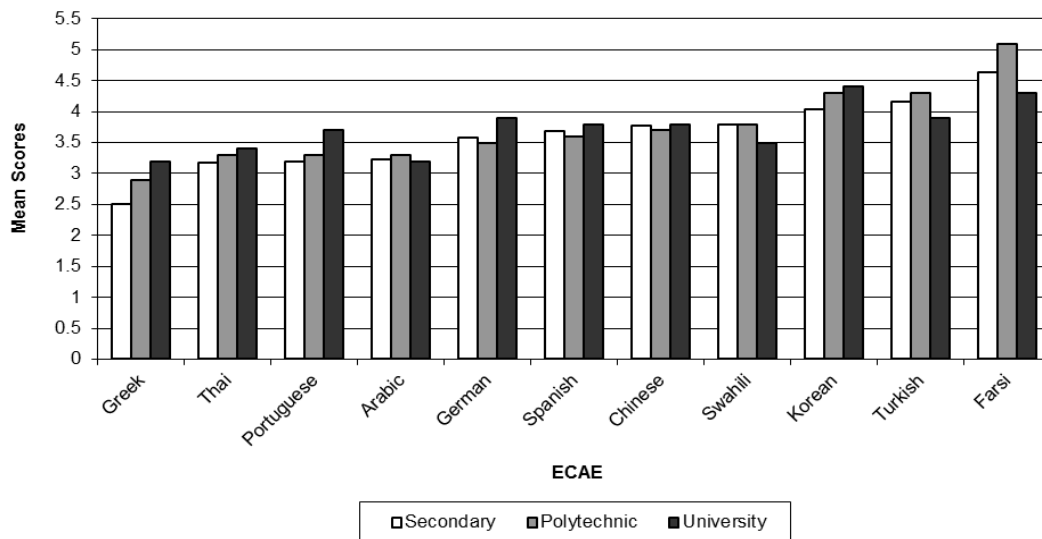


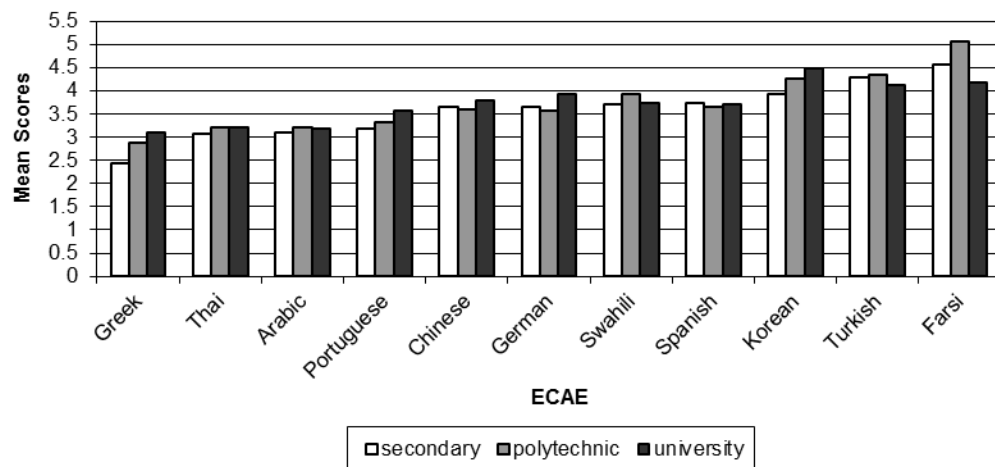
Figure 15: Mean Scores for ECAE According to Educational Level



A comparison of the mean scores for the ECAE for the solidarity traits for the different levels of education (Figure 16) reveals for GreekAE, ThaiAE, ArabicAE, PortugueseAE, ChineseAE, GermanAE and KoreanAE the mean scores were commensurate with the level of education, i.e. the lower means were given by the secondary-educated respondents and the higher scores were given by the university-educated respondents. However, TurkishAE and FarsiAE were rated

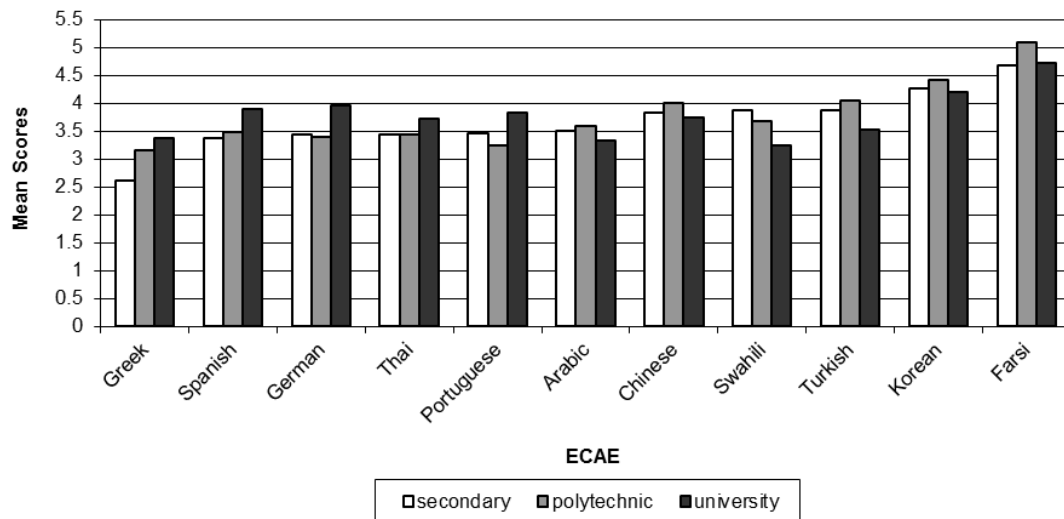
lower by the university-educated respondents on the solidarity traits than by their counterparts. The polytechnic-educated respondents had similar mean scores as the university-educated respondents for ThaiAE and ArabicAE, and had similar mean scores as the secondary-educated respondents for ChineseAE, GermanAE and TurkishAE. SwahiliAE and FarsiAE were rated the highest by those educated to the polytechnic level. The overall mean for solidarity traits for the ECAE for three levels of education was 3.66 (SD 0.55).

Figure 16: Mean Scores for Solidarity Traits for All Education Levels



A comparison of the mean scores for the ECAE for the status traits for the different levels of education (Figure 17) shows for GreekAE and SpanishAE the mean scores were commensurate with the level of education, i.e. the lower means were given by the secondary-educated respondents and the higher scores were given by the university-educated respondents. However, ArabicAE, ChineseAE, SwahiliAE, TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE were rated lower by the university-educated respondents on the status traits than by their counterparts. The polytechnic-educated respondents had the highest mean ratings for ArabicAE, ChineseAE, TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE, but they had the lowest mean for PortugueseAE. The overall mean for status traits for the ECAE for three levels of education was 3.73 (SD 0.05).

Figure 17: Mean Scores for Status Traits for All Education Levels



#### 4.1.6 Analysis of responses by number of languages other than English

To date, it appears no research has been undertaken to ascertain whether the number of languages a respondent speaks affects their language attitudes. However, it is worth investigating this potential factor. An analysis of the number of languages other than English spoken by the respondents (Figure 18) reveals 17 of the respondents speak one other language, 11 speak two other languages and two of the respondents speak three other languages. Only one of the respondents reported having English as his sole language. Further analysis (Figure 19) shows that 21 of the respondents were speakers of Chinese, 18 were speakers of Malay, two were speakers of Japanese and there was one speaker each for Tamil, Malayalam, German and Arabic. The scores from the lone respondent with no language other than English were not included in the figures in accordance with the standard practice to exclude outliers when calculating means.

Figure 18: Number of Languages other than English Spoken by Respondents

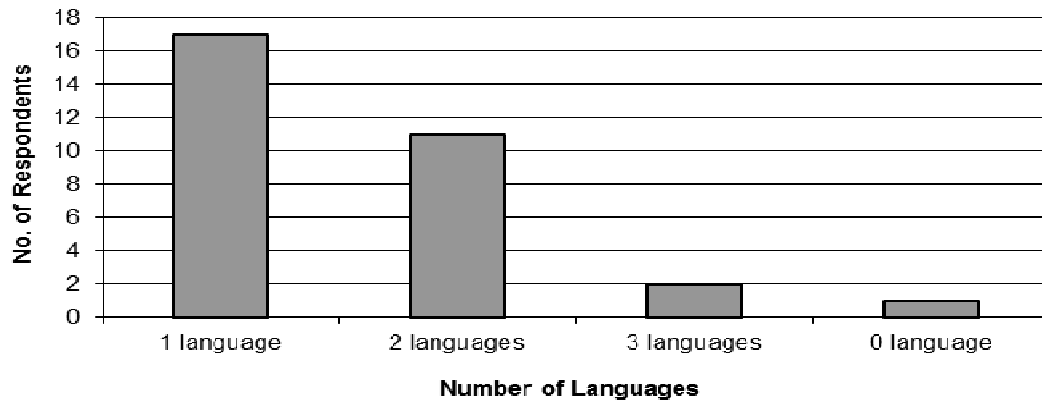
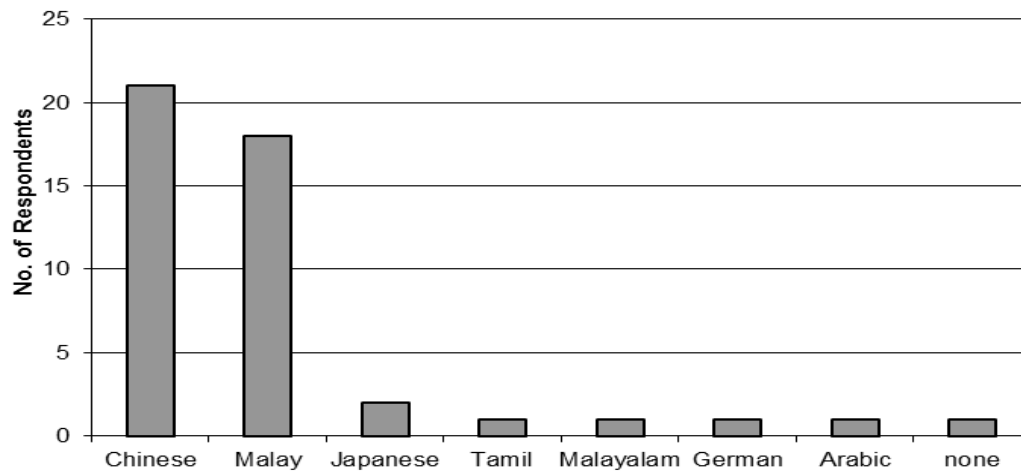


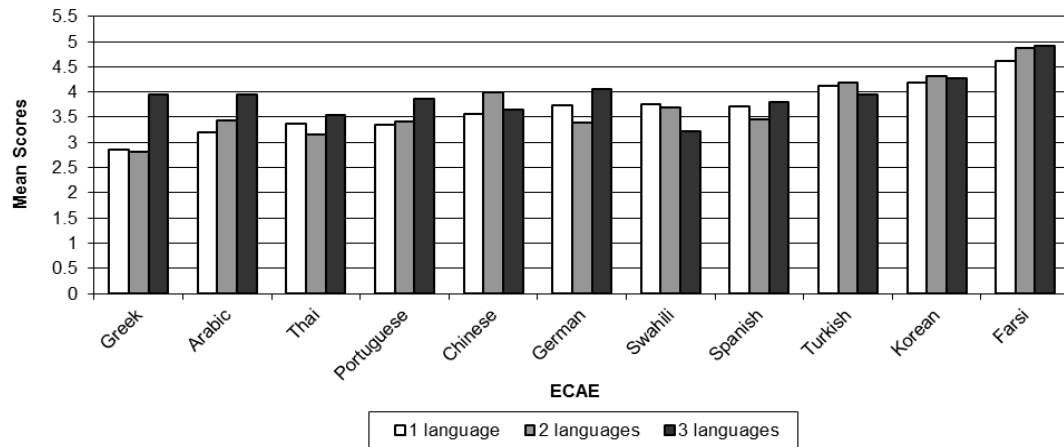
Figure 19: Respondents' Other Languages



A comparison of the mean scores for the ECAE for all the respondents according to the number of languages they speak other than English (Figure 20) indicates the respondents with three other languages rated GreekAE, ArabicAE, ThaiAE and PortugueseAE higher than their counterparts. The speakers of two other languages gave the highest ratings to ChineseAE, TurkishAE and KoreanAE. FarsiAE had the highest mean scores from all the respondents.

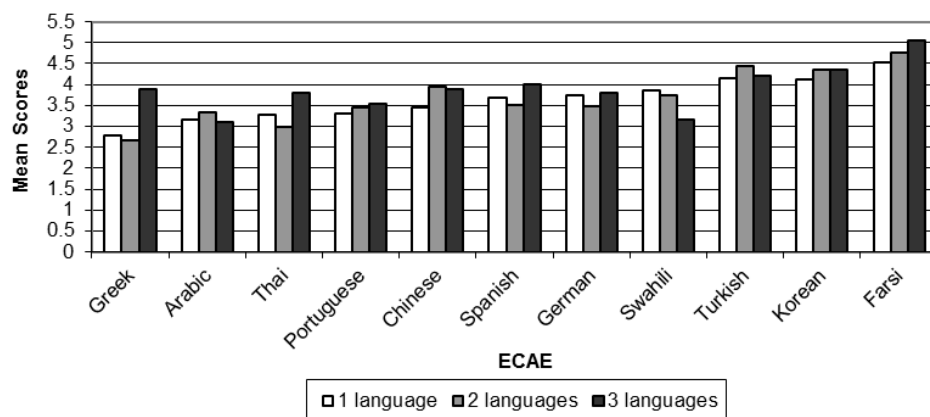


Figure 20: Mean Scores for Respondents with Languages other than English



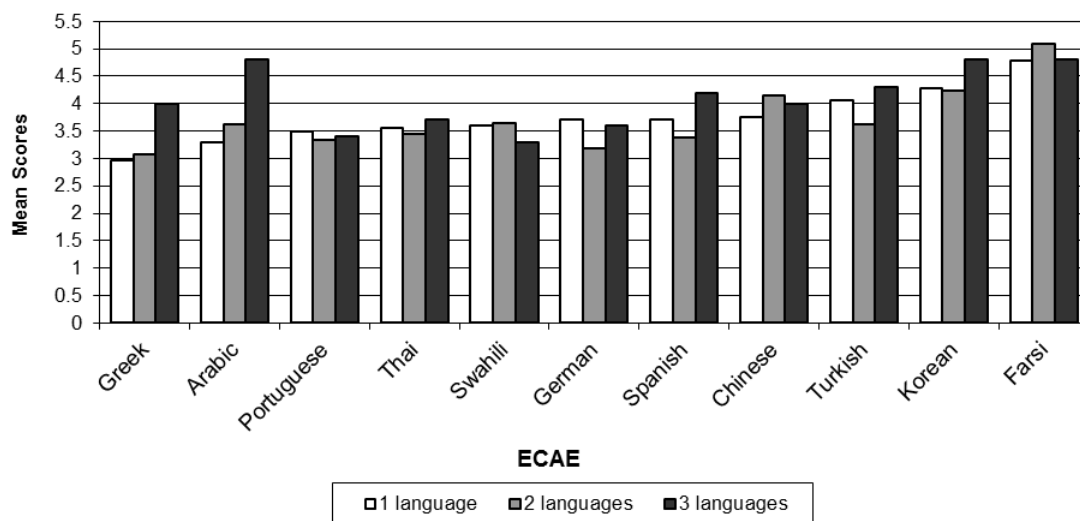
A comparison of the mean scores for the solidarity traits according to the number of other languages spoken (Figure 21) reveals ChineseAE, TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE recorded the lowest mean scores from the respondents with one other language. The respondents with two other languages gave SpanishAE and GermanAE the lowest scores, while ArabicAE and TurkishAE had the highest ratings. The respondents with three other languages rated ThaiAE, PortugueseAE and GreekAE highest and SwahiliAE the lowest on the solidarity traits. There was an overall mean of 3.73 (SD 0.55) for solidarity traits for the ECAE for the respondents who speak 1 – 3 languages other than English.

Figure 21: Mean Scores for Solidarity Traits for Respondents with Languages other than English



A comparison of the mean scores for the status traits according to the number of other languages spoken (Figure 22) reveals the respondents with one other language recorded the lowest mean scores for GreekAE, ArabicAE, SwahiliAE and ChineseAE. However, this group had higher ratings than their counterparts for PortugueseAE and GermanAE. SwahiliAE, ChineseAE and FarsiAE were given the highest ratings on the status traits by the respondents with two other languages. However, this group recorded lower mean scores for SpanishAE, GermanAE and KoreanAE than did the other respondents. GreekAE, ArabicAE, ThaiAE, SpanishAE, TurkishAE and KoreanAE had the highest means from the respondents with three other languages, whereas this group rated SwahiliAE lower on status traits than their counterparts. The overall mean for status traits for the ECAE for the respondents who speak 1 – 3 languages other than English was 3.80 (SD 0.55).

Figure 22: Mean Scores for Status Traits for Respondents with Languages other than English



#### 4.1.7 Overview of themes and findings from the verbal-guise task

There appears to be a considerable amount of consistency in the responses across the different factors in relation to the ECAE. Clearly, GreekAE had the lowest means for all traits, while FarsiAE had the highest means for all traits.

Trends in the means for the solidarity traits reveal ArabicAE, ThaiAE and PortugueseAE were generally rated low, while TurkishAE and KoreanAE were consistently rated higher than most of the ECAE. However, there was less consistency in the ratings of the ECAE with means in the middle of the range.

In relation to traits, six of the ECAE were rated lowest on the status trait ‘powerful’. Five of the ECAE had their highest mean for the status trait ‘educated’ and four had the solidarity trait ‘honest’ as their highest score.

With regard to the respondents’ sexes, this study reveals that GreekAE was least favoured, whereas TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE received the most positive responses from both sexes. GreekAE and SwahiliAE were rated equally by the female and male respondents on the solidarity traits, while SpanishAE was rated equally on the status traits. However, six ECAE received higher ratings on the solidarity traits from the females than from the males, while nine received higher ratings on the status traits from the males. Overall, the findings show that there was no major difference in terms of the ratings based on responses according to the respondents’ sexes.

The findings indicate that the respondents’ ages do not have an apparent impact on their attitudes to the ECAE. The data show that the most positive response from all the age groups was given to FarsiAE, with the respondents aged 20 – 29 rating it slightly lower than their older counterparts. GreekAE, ThaiAE and ArabicAE were rated the lowest by both age groups.

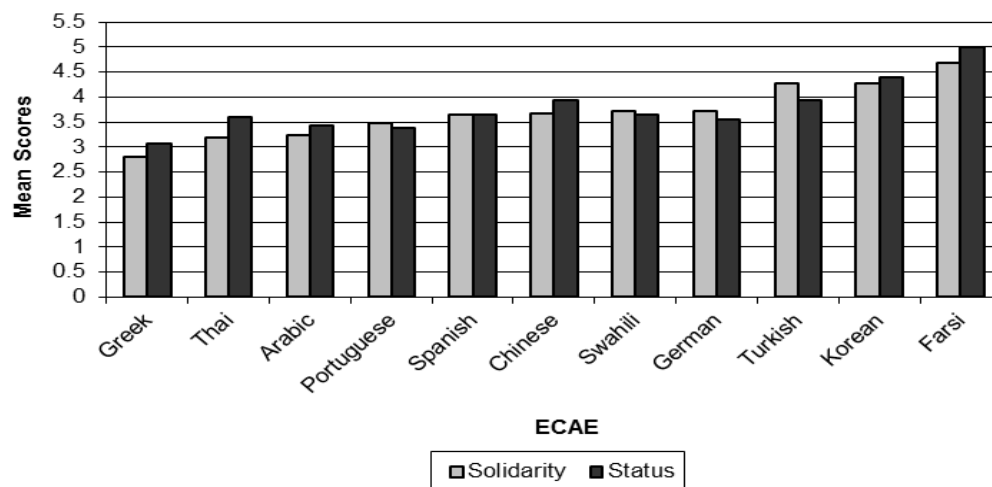
The findings on the respondents’ levels of education reveal that for GreekAE, ThaiAE, PortugueseAE, ChineseAE and KoreanAE the mean scores correlated with the level of education, i.e. the lower means were given by the secondary-educated respondents and the higher scores were given by the university-educated respondents. However, SwahiliAE, TurkishAE and FarsiAE were rated lower by the university-educated respondents than by their

counterparts. Most notably, GreekAE was rated the lowest by respondents of all education levels. FarsiAE had the highest ratings from the secondary and polytechnic educated respondents, while the university-educated respondents rated KoreanAE highest.

In relation to the number of languages other than English spoken by the respondents, the findings show that FarsiAE was the most favoured irrespective of the number of languages spoken. GreekAE was rated the lowest by the respondents with one and two other languages, and ThaiAE and PortugueseAE both received low ratings from the respondents with one language other than English. The respondents with three languages other than English rated SwIE the lowest, while GermanAE was given a neutral rating by the respondents with three other languages, who also rated TurkishAE and KoreanAE above neutral.

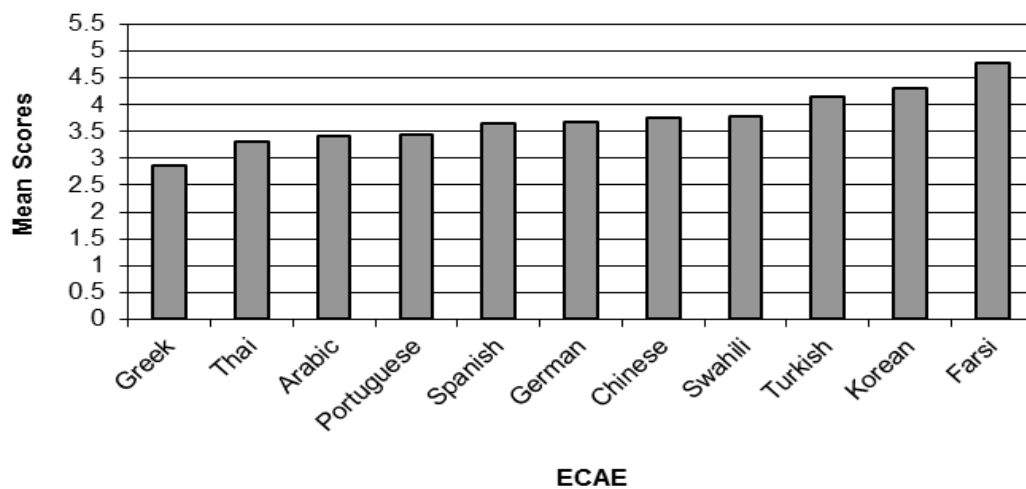
A comparison of mean scores for the ECAE for the solidarity and status traits (Figure 23) indicates GreekAE, ThaiAE, ArabicAE, ChineseAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE had lower means for the solidarity traits than for the status traits, while the converse was true for the other ECAE, with the exception of SpanishAE, which was rated equally on both sets of traits.

Figure 23: Mean Scores for Solidarity and Status Traits



A comparison of the combined mean scores for all ECAE (Figure 24) shows the most negatively evaluated ECAE were GreekAE, ThaiAE, ArabicAE, and PortugueseAE: although it should be noted that the majority of ECAE presented were also rated below the neutral level. However, TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE were consistently the highest rated ECAE on both sets of traits.

Figure 24: Combined Mean Scores for ECAE



This section has presented the key themes and findings that emerged from analyses of the verbal-guise task data. However, it should be noted that there are limitations to undertaking and presenting analyses based solely on descriptive statistics. Key among these limitations is the lack of data on the possible relationships between the variables, and on the confirmation of the existence of specific traits. The use of inferential statistical analyses of the data in this study could have offered greater depth to the findings from the responses to the verbal-guise task. The proceeding section will turn attention to the themes and findings that became evident following an analysis of the interview data.

#### 4.2 Themes and findings from the interview data

All 31 of the respondents who completed the verbal-guise task participated in interviews designed to elicit qualitative data on the respondents' attitudes to the eleven ECAE. The themes and findings that emerged from a qualitative analysis of the interview data are presented in tabular and graphical form where appropriate, while samples of raw data elicited in the interviews are offered in the form of excerpts from the transcripts for the purpose of illustration. Understandably, the respondents did not have the appropriate metalanguage with which to express their ideas and attitudes in technical terminology. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that terms such as 'pleasant', 'clear', and 'soft spoken' do not equate with factors determining accent, and that other factors, such as voice pitch and voice quality, might also affect the respondents' perceptions and attitudes to a given speaker.

The first question was, 'What kinds of English do you usually listen to?' Table 5 lists the kinds of English the respondents stated they were exposed to.

Table 5: Kinds of English the respondents were exposed to

<b>Kinds of English</b>	<b>No. of Responses</b>
Singaporean	31
American	31
Malaysian	24
Chinese	22
British	18
Indonesian	17
Filipino	14
Indian	14
Australian	8
Japanese	6
Korean	4
European	3
German	1

All the respondents said they were usually exposed to Singaporean English and American English, and two-thirds or more of the respondents usually listened to Malaysian, Chinese and British English. Three of the respondents stated they were

usually exposed to European English. When encouraged to express more clearly what they meant by ‘European English’, each attempted to provide a definition, the most succinct of which was offered by Respondent 17, who said:

‘Something, like, you know it’s not British or American or one of those, but it’s someone from Europe who’s speaking. Someone, well, you can see he’s not Asian, but I don’t know if, where he’s from. Just European, but his English is good. They all sound similar.’

When the kinds of English given by the respondents are categorised according to the three concentric circles model (Kachru, 1985) (Table 6), it can be seen that they listen to a range of Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle varieties of English. The Inner and Outer Circle varieties of English, in particular Southeast Asian (Singaporean, Malaysian and Filipino) and South Asian (Indian) varieties are the most frequently encountered. Nevertheless, the widest range of kinds of English they listened to came from the Expanding Circle (Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, German and ‘European’). While the Inner Circle varieties had slightly more responses than those from the Expanding Circle, the former represented a narrower range (American, British and Australian).

Table 6: Kinds of English the respondents were exposed to categorised according to the three circles model

Inner Circle		Outer Circle		Expanding Circle	
American	31	Singaporean	31	Chinese	22
British	18	Malaysian	24	Indonesian	17
Australian	8	Filipino	14	Japanese	6
Total Responses	<b>57</b>	Indian	14	Korean	4
		Total Responses	<b>83</b>	European	3
				German	1
				Total Responses	<b>53</b>

The second question was, ‘Where do you usually listen to these kinds of English?’ An analysis of the responses (Table 7) reveals that the workplace was the location in which all the respondents were exposed to the widest range of English, while places for shopping and leisure activities also provided opportunities for exposure to different kinds of English. Generally, the respondents listened to the narrowest range at home, although one of the respondents was exposed to three varieties when attending part-time classes.

Table 7: Where the respondents were exposed to different kinds of English

<b>Work</b>	<b>Shops</b>	<b>Leisure</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>College</b>
Singaporean	Singaporean	Singaporean	Singaporean	Singaporean
Malaysian	Malaysian	Malaysian	American	British
Chinese	Chinese	Chinese	British	Australian
Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian	
Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	Filipino	
Indian	Indian	Indian	Indian	
American	American	American		
British	British	British		
Australian	Japanese			
Japanese	Korean			
Korean	European			
European				
German				

Further analysis of these responses indicates that in addition to the location in which the respondents listened to the stated varieties of English, the nature of the type of exposure also varied. Specifically, there was a much greater opportunity for face-to-face exposure to Outer and Expanding Circle English in each of the locations listed in Table 7. Face-to-face exposure to Inner Circle varieties was, on the whole, limited to occasional workplace activities and attending classes. Other than in these contexts, most of the respondents were exposed to Inner Circle varieties indirectly in the form of music, films and television programmes via the radio, at the cinema and watching television at home. Conversely, the home was the place in which the respondents had direct



contact with Outer and Expanding Circle English. The most common instances of this direct exposure were in the form of contact with family (Singaporeans) and domestic workers and neighbours (Singaporeans, Indonesians, Filipinos and Indians). In short, direct, face-to-face exposure to Outer and/or Expanding Circle English predominated, whereas there was a greater likelihood that exposure to Inner Circle varieties was indirect.

The third question was, ‘Which of the kinds of English you have listened to on the recording do you least like?’ Four of the ECAE were frequently offered in response to this question. These were identified on the recording as Speakers 12, 16, 26 and 10: namely, GreekAE, ArabicAE, ThaiAE and PortugueseAE respectively. However, GreekAE had the most responses to this question, making it the least liked.

After identifying the ECAE they least liked, the fourth question was, ‘Why do you least like that kind of English?’ In this regard, the themes appearing frequently in many of the responses to this question and to question 6 replicated or were identified with the solidarity and status traits presented in the verbal-guise task. However, 19 categories were derived from coding of the interviews (see Table 1, p.83), which were consolidated into nine themes (see Table 2, p.84). Upon reflection, these themes were further consolidated into four major themes: phonology, prosody, assertiveness and attractiveness (see Table 3, p.85).

A number of the respondents made specific references to the phonological features and prosody of the ECAE. In respect of phonology, some respondents drew particular attention to the production of /b/ and /p/ in ArabicAE, while others also commented on the /h/ in GreekAE and SpanishAE. Respondent 5 found the ArabicAE ‘a bit irritating’ on this count and Respondent 23 exemplified the opinion of other respondents with her comment that GreekAE sounded ‘heavy, hard, unpleasant because of that ‘h’ sound.’

A general response to the phonology of the less favoured ECAE is typified by the observation of Respondent 12, who referred to GreekAE in the following manner.

‘It’s not clear, not always clear. Some of the words are, seems they’re not clear enough to understand. No. I understand, but it doesn’t sound right.’

In a similar vein, Respondent 22 offering his opinion on ThaiAE echoed the voices of several other respondents when he said:

‘I know what he’s saying. It’s no problem understanding, but it’s the, the way he’s talking. I don’t like it much. Say, like, some of the words could be clearer.’

At the prosodic level, the main theme emerging from the respondents who mentioned this issue were stress and intonation patterns exemplified by some of the least liked ECAE. Relevant comments included that by Respondent 8 in reference to ThaiAE, in which she opined:

‘Stressing the words. Yeah, which word. Which words are stressed, I think it’s not right sometimes. Maybe the tune of the sentences could be better or maybe I’m not familiar with that way of speaking. It sounds okay, but yeah, the stressing of certain words. ‘

Respondent 25 also provided a comment that captured the same theme when speaking of GreekAE.

‘He should emphasise things more so it’s easier to follow what he’s saying. Emphasise so that it’s clearer and more, nicer to

listen to. I think better emphasis on certain words would improve the intonation and make it flow smoothly. It's not smooth and tuneful.'

Another common theme emerging as a reason for least liking a particular ECAE was an apparent lack of assertiveness. ThaiAE was specifically given as an example of this by some of the respondents who favoured it the least. Respondent 2 used the term 'submissive' when reflecting on her reasons for not liking ThaiAE. This was a view repeated by Respondent 13, who suggested that:

'It sounds like he's very modest, too modest maybe. Subservient and very submissive. Very nice, but not confident enough. I think the way he speaks makes him sound quite weak.'

A number of references to a lack of confidence and seeming 'unsure of himself' were also made in respect of GreekAE, ArabicAE, PortugueseAE and SwahiliAE. Moreover, the notion of the speakers of these ECAE appearing 'hesitant' provided further evidence that a perceived lack of assertiveness was a factor in the respondents' choice of least favoured ECAE.

A fourth major theme in the respondents' reasons for not liking an ECAE was the lack of attractiveness in the way it was spoken. A typical explanation for this factor was offered by Respondent 16, who when speaking of GreekAE suggested that:

'People who sound like that don't attract people's attention. You don't want to keep listening. I think you switch off quickly because they don't grab you with their speech, I don't mean the topic: just how they sound doesn't attract you and make you want to give them your attention. Sorry, but I don't think many people would be bothered to keep listening to that kind of English.'

This sentiment was reflected several times in relation to GreekAE and to a lesser extent in reference to ThaiAE, ArabicAE and SwahiliAE.

The fifth question was, ‘If you did not speak Singaporean English, which of the kinds of English you have listened to on the recording would you prefer to speak?’ FarsiAE, KoreanAE and TurkishAE (Speakers 15, 25 and 17 respectively) were the ones most frequently offered in response to this question. Most noteworthy was FarsiAE, which had the highest number of favourable responses, making it the most liked ECAE overall. However, Respondent 31 stated that he would not prefer to speak any of the eleven ECAE. His reasons for this response were explained in the following manner.

‘I think most of them doesn’t have a very good stress, word, word stress. They don’t speak proper diction. If, they’re not very clear. They don’t pronounce the word properly.’

Interestingly, this explanation echoed some of the reasons offered by a number of the respondents for their choice of ECAE they least liked.

After identifying the ECAE they preferred to speak, the sixth question was, ‘Why would you prefer to speak that kind of English?’ In this regard, most responses reflected the solidarity and status traits in the verbal-guise task. Additional themes were the same as those that affected the respondents’ choice of the least liked ECAE.

In terms of phonology, many of the respondents were of the opinion that the speaker of FarsiAE in particular pronounced words ‘clearly and ‘with ease’. With regard to prosody, the ‘flow’ of the speech was the most common reason for favouring a particular ECAE in relation to pronunciation. Respondent 3 echoed the

attitude of many to the most preferred ECAE when, speaking of KoreanAE, she stated that:

‘In the part where he tells the second part of the story, when he uses his own words, he has a good tone, like he’s comfortable and easy without thinking too much about how the words sound. There’s a flow and there’s nothing difficult really. Not perfect, but comfortable. Say, like he’s not trying too hard. No effort, but good.’

Comments on ‘flow’, ‘right emphasis’, ‘smoothness of speech’ and ‘smooth rhythm’ also indicated that pronunciation at the sentence level was an important factor in the respondents’ selection of the ECAE they most liked.

Assertiveness emerged as a major factor in determining the most favoured of the eleven ECAE. The comment made by Respondent 19 typifies the general belief among many of the respondents that FarsiAE was:

‘...very convincing. He speaks with conviction and confidence and I think he is likely to stand his ground in any argument or disagreement. I would trust him, I guess, because he is so sure and convincing.’

KoreanAE and TurkishAE were also perceived to project an image of assertiveness. Respondent 1 suggested with regard to TurkishAE:

‘It’s strong, but not overbearing or pushy. It’s as if he’s very confident and sure. I get a feeling of conviction from him. No shyness. Quite confident and a bit assertive in a gentle way if that makes sense.’

With regard to attractiveness, FarsiAE, KoreanAE and TurkishAE were perceived by many respondents to promote an image of a speaker who is able to ‘get along with people easily.’ Respondent 6 explained as follows why she (and others) found FarsiAE the most attractive.

‘I was more interested in what he was saying. Although it was so similar to what the others said, I was drawn by some kind of gentleness that attracts me to listen to him more carefully than some of them. He seems like a nice person when he speaks like that. Kind of attractive, yeah.’

In a similar vein, several respondents preferred FarsiAE, KoreanAE and TurkishAE because they gave the impression of approachability, being relaxed and being self-assured, which were perceived by a number of the respondents to be attractive features of these ECAE.

GermanAE was perceived as being attractive by a number of respondents because it was ‘pleasant’ and ‘nice sounding’. Respondent 26 explained why he had a strong impression of the attractiveness of GermanAE in the following manner.

‘He seems like a down-to-earth person who would help others. I don’t think he sounds aggressive or forceful. The way he speaks doesn’t put you off him’

However, Respondents 2 and 4 felt that GermanAE evoked a particular sense of unsociability and insincerity. The most telling remarks in this regard were made by Respondent 4.

‘I get the feeling he’s shy. Soft spoken and shy. So he probably doesn’t make friends easily. It won’t be easy for people to talk to him’

‘If he’s shy, you don’t really know much about him, so how can you be sure of this person? Maybe he just says things but doesn’t mean them.’

A further noteworthy factor affecting the attitudes to GermanAE is the extent to which it suggested powerlessness to some of the respondents. An analysis of the possible reasons for this impression reveals that it appears to be derived mainly from the feeling that the speaker was lacking in assertiveness. Respondent 15 offered a general expression to this attitude when she concluded that GermanAE ‘did not convey any sense of authority.’

The most prevalent view among the respondents was that SpanishAE provoked a feeling of unfriendliness. This attitude largely stemmed from the impression of impatience and what Respondent 11 referred to as ‘the hurried way of speaking’. Moreover, some respondents offered the way the speaker ‘slurred his words’ and the speech being ‘a bit slurred’ as further examples of the sense of impatience conveyed by SpanishAE. A comment by Respondent 19 encapsulates the attitude of others in this regard.

‘It’s like he can’t get the words out fast enough. He’s in a hurry, so some of the words aren’t so clearly pronounced. It’s like he’s just talking, not in a friendly way, not to communicate with someone, but just to get it over with.’

These factors, Respondent 9 suggested, ‘give me the idea he’s not friendly. He’s only interested in talking and maybe, maybe he’s not friendly because he doesn’t listen.’ In contrast, Respondents 4 and 7 both felt that SpanishAE reflected a talkative nature, with the corollary being that talkative people tend to be friendlier than those who are reticent. Nevertheless, the generally held perception was that SpanishAE reflected a lack of sincerity and likeability.

The predominant attitude among the respondents to PortugueseAE was negative in spite of many of them having the impression of this accent being ‘relaxed’ and ‘informal’. The foremost factors promoting this negative attitude were that a number of the respondents associated being relaxed and informal with a lack of sincerity. In addition, PortugueseAE was perceived as exemplifying both a lack of education and a lack of wealth: issues that were addressed by Respondents 9 and 26 respectively.

‘My impression is he’s not so smart. Not educated to a very high level because he’s a bit, how can I say? A bit lazy in how he speaks. Not so educated I think.’

‘He’s kind of laid back: not very dynamic. I guess he’s not so well off because he doesn’t seem like he would work hard to earn, to study, to work hard to get good pay or make his own company.’

On the other hand, the apparent relaxed and informal nature of PortugueseAE caused some respondents to feel a sense of kindness and honesty from the speaker.

Some of the key factors affecting the attitudes of the respondents to GreekAE have been discussed above in relation to the reasons for it being the least favoured of the ECAE included in this study. In particular, Respondents 6, 15, 24, and 25 had very negative attitudes to GreekAE. The latter two respondents, who have the lowest education level within the group, voiced their opinions on GreekAE in the following manner.

‘Everything is just okay. The way he’s talking is good enough but it’s not a good example of how to speak English. It’s everything.



Maybe he's not used to speaking English so much, so that's why he's not so confident and able to say things fluently and clearly.'

'Compared to the others, this is the worst because he keeps stopping and making mistakes and breaking the flow of what he's saying. If that's the way he really speaks English, I think it's not so good.'

While these comments echoed the attitude of many of the respondents, Respondent 31 (with the highest education level in the group), along with Respondents 19 and 29, felt that GreekAE gave them the impression of the speaker being educated, if somewhat hesitant and 'lacking in social skills.'

Several of the major factors affecting the attitudes of the respondents to FarsiAE have been discussed above in relation to the reasons for it being the most favoured of the ECAE in this study. The predominant attitude to FarsiAE is positive, particularly in relation to status traits, phonology, prosody, assertiveness and attractiveness. The most commonly held perception was that FarsiAE evoked a sense of the speaker being intelligent, well-educated, successful and powerful because, as Respondent 21 stated in a representative comment:

'His speaking is relaxed, but quite precise at the same time. Everything he says is clear and I get a feeling he is confident in using English and just generally confident.'

Nevertheless, Respondents 22 and 25 both had the view that FarsiAE made the speaker unlikeable, since the apparent ease with which he spoke and the 'tone he used' gave the impression that he was 'a bit snobby' and 'a bit high'.

On the whole, ArabicAE engendered negative attitudes among the respondents. Foremost factors in these negative attitudes were the perceptions that this English gave the speaker the impression of being unfriendly, unsociable, untrustworthy, discomforting and, thus, not likeable. Added to these factors was the sense of powerlessness that many of the respondents associated with ArabicAE. Typical explanations were along the lines of that given by Respondents 2 and 10 respectively.

‘Not so friendly. He’s mumbling. It’s like if he doesn’t want to really talk or doesn’t have anything interesting to say. It’s quite a boring way of speaking, so I don’t like it very much.’

‘I get the feeling that he’s very humble. Quiet and unable or unwilling to be forceful in the way he presents himself. It’s not that his English is bad: no, it’s okay. But there’s nothing compelling me to keep listening. There’s no power in the way he speaks. Probably because he has no power anyway, in life.’

Many of the respondents offered similar reasons for their negative opinions of ArabicAE. Moreover, the lack of distinction between /b/ and /p/ was a further issue that emerged as a contributing factor to the negative attitudes held by the majority of respondents to ArabicAE.

TurkishAE generally prompted positive attitudes from the respondents. The most often stated factors affecting these attitudes were related to the perceived confident and relaxed manner of the speaker. Respondents 11 and 19 had the most positive attitudes to TurkishAE. The following comment from the former of these respondents indicates the key issues on this accent on which their attitudes were based.

‘He’s careful in how he says things, but it’s not like he is trying too hard to say it. There’s easiness to his manner that usually shows someone is confident and believable. Yes, it sounds like a likeable person who’s probably helpful and I think successful because of those things. Like I just said, confident and believable.’

In contrast to the largely positive opinions, negative attitudes to TurkishAE were expressed specifically with regard to the power traits by Respondents 22, 26 and 27, who proposed that this accent suggested powerlessness because it evoked the perception of the speaker being ‘too nice’ and ‘too easy-going’.

SwahiliAE was perceived by many of the respondents as epitomising nicety and modesty, which they viewed as positive attributes. However, several of the respondents adopted a negative attitude to this English on account of what they identified as apparent ‘problems’ with pronunciation at the phoneme level. While many commented that some of the words were not clear, several of the respondents made specific mention of the confusion between /r/ and /l/ in certain instances. A statement from Respondent 14 typifies the comments on this aspect of SwahiliAE.

‘Listen to how he says umbrella. Does he, can he say /r/ and /l/ clearly? I don’t think he does. It’s unclear sometimes if it’s /r/ or /l/ and sometimes he says /r/ when it should be /l/. He should know the difference. I think that lets him down.’

In terms of assertiveness, SwahiliAE was judged negatively, since, in the view of many respondents, the speaker sounded poor, powerless and lacking in confidence. This perception arose from the impression that the speaker was ‘timid’, ‘a bit too gentle’ and ‘shy’.

ChineseAE was viewed by a number of respondents as being ‘deliberate’ and ‘serious’, while also evoking a sense of nicety and modesty. However, with regard to this ECAE, such modesty was not perceived to be a sign of powerlessness or lack of confidence, but rather as Respondent 19 suggested:

‘I think it seems modest, because it’s quiet and not loud and brash or over-confident. I get a sense of steadiness when I hear this one. Although it’s not the best one say in pronunciation and being clear, but it’s easy to follow and deliberate in what’s said.’

However, some respondents were of the opinion that the apparent seriousness in the sample of ChineseAE gave the impression of being somewhat unsociable and unlikeable. In this regard, Respondent 7 summarised a number of comments with his observation that:

‘He’s not so fluent. I, yes, I think he speaks clearly mostly but his words don’t flow easily. He’s trying too hard to be exact or trying not to make a mistake, so my impression is he knows the language but he’s not so comfortable with it.’

These factors prompted the attitude among several of the respondents that ChineseAE lacked attractiveness.

In relation to KoreanAE, the generally held attitudes were positive. This impression arose from the perception that this English sounded ‘happy’, ‘cheerful’, ‘confident’ and ‘self-assured’. The latter two factors appeared to be foremost in leading many of the respondents to view KoreanAE as indicating intelligence and being educated. Moreover, the ‘easy-going style’ of this variety made it appear attractive to several of the respondents. As Respondent 6 explained:

‘...has a pleasant sound to it. There’s a nice tone and everything is clear and it’s easy to listen to.’

However, Respondents 19 and 30 (both male Malay speakers) felt that the ‘niceness is put on’ and it ‘seems nice but not so true’. Both of these respondents suggested that while they had no problem in understanding KoreanAE, they had some reservations about how friendly and comforting the speaker was. These sentiments were also echoed by a small number of other respondents.

ThaiAE was largely perceived as evoking a sense of being nice and modest. However, these factors caused negative attitudes in a number of respondents as they gave the impression of a speaker who was lacking in social skills. In particular, five of the male respondents (17, 19, 22, 24 and 26) expressed negative attitudes to this English. Factors that emerged as reasons for these negative attitudes were generally related to the solidarity and status traits. Moreover, a lack of assertiveness was an evident issue in forming some attitudes to ThaiAE. A comment by Respondent 17 exemplifies the statements made by others in this regard.

‘The person comes across as soft. It’s like as if he could be pushed around and taken advantage of by other stronger people. He’s probably a nice guy, but that doesn’t mean people like him. I don’t like guys, especially, who can’t stand up for themselves. That’s the idea I get from this person.’

On the whole, ThaiAE did not promote the development of particularly positive attitudes among the respondents.

The findings from the interviews, together with the data from the verbal-guise tasks, provide evidence of the Singaporean respondents’ attitudes to the eleven ECAE presented. It can be seen that GreekAE is the least favoured on all

solidarity and status traits and on the phonological and prosodic levels, in addition to the degree to which it appears to signify assertiveness and attractiveness. Conversely, FarsiAE is the most positively rated of the ECAE on the same traits and characteristics. Between these two, a range of attitudes to the other ECAE is discernible from the data.

This chapter has presented the key themes and findings emerging from analyses of the data from the verbal-guise task and interviews in this study. Based on the evidence offered, it is apparent that the Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes to different ECAE and these attitudes are determined by a number of factors, which can be summarised under the themes of solidarity traits and status traits (as presented *a priori* in the verbal-guise task), and phonology, prosody, assertiveness and attractiveness, as emerged from the interview data. These findings and related issues are explored and discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

## Chapter Five

### Discussion

This chapter attempts to present the key themes and findings emerging from this study in relation to the results of previous research in the field of language attitude studies, and to consider the meaning and significance of these findings in order to make a contribution to the literature in this field. In particular, this discussion attempts to present an interpretation of the data in relation to the aims of this study, which are:

- 1 to ascertain whether Singaporeans have different attitudes towards different Expanding Circle Accents of English (ECAE);
- 2 to discover what different attitudes, if any, Singaporeans have towards different ECAE; and
- 3 to understand why Singaporeans have different attitudes, if any, towards different ECAE.

Moreover, this discussion of the findings attempts explicitly to show how they address the research questions that prompted this study, namely:

- 1 What attitudes do Singaporeans have towards different ECAE?
- 2 What factors determine Singaporean attitudes towards different ECAE?

This discussion first presents an overview of the data the verbal-guise task. Then, having shown that the Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes to the ECAE that were presented, the discussion proceeds to consider some of the factors arising from both the verbal-guise task and the interviews that might determine the respondents' attitudes towards the different ECAE. In particular, the findings are discussed in relation to (1) the respondents' sexes; (2) the respondents' ages; (3) their levels of education; (4) the number of languages other than English they speak; (5) their familiarity with, and possible stereotyping of, the ECAE; and (6) the phonology and prosody of the eleven ECAE. Finally, a brief summary of the key themes and findings is offered.

## 5.1 Overview

The findings indicate that in terms of both solidarity and status traits GreekAE was rated the lowest, while FarsiAE had the highest rating. ThaiAE, ArabicAE and PortugueseAE had low ratings on the solidarity traits and only TurkishAE and KoreanAE, along with FarsiAE, were rated above the neutral level on these traits. With regard to the status traits, ArabicAE and PortugueseAE were rated low, while KoreanAE and FarsiAE were the only ones rated higher than neutral. When the ECAE are compared in terms of the solidarity and status traits, it can be seen that GreekAE, ThaiAE, ArabicAE, ChineseAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE had lower ratings for the solidarity traits than for the status traits, while the converse was true for the other ECAE, with the exception of SpanishAE, which was rated almost equally on solidarity (3.65) and status (3.64).

From these findings, clusters of mean scores within a difference of 0.10 for solidarity traits (Table 8) and status traits (Table 9) can be identified. When means for both sets of traits are consolidated, clusters within a difference of 0.20 become evident (Table 10).

Table 8: Clusters according to solidarity mean scores

Cluster Range	Difference	ECAE
3.18 – 3.24	0.06	Thai, Arabic
3.65 – 3.72	0.07	Spanish, Chinese, Swahili, German
4.27 – 4.28	0.01	Turkish, Korean

\* GreekAE, PortugueseAE and FarsiAE are not in any clusters.

Table 9: Clusters according to status mean scores

Cluster Range	Difference	ECAE
3.39 – 3.44	0.05	Portuguese, Arabic
3.56 – 3.64	0.08	German, Thai, Spanish, Swahili
3.93 – 3.94	0.01	Chinese, Turkish

\* GreekAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE are not in any clusters.



Table 10: Clusters according to combined mean scores

Cluster Range	Difference	ECAE
3.31 – 3.45	0.14	Thai, Arabic, Portuguese
3.64 – 3.76	0.15	Spanish, German, Chinese, Swahili
4.16 – 4.31	0.15	Turkish, Korean

\* GreekAE and FarsiAE are not in any clusters.

It is useful at this point to restate that the range of responses on the semantic-differential scale utilised in the verbal-guise task was 1 – 7, from most negative to most positive, with a score of 4 providing a neutral rating. With this in mind, it is noteworthy that eight of the ECAE were rated negatively by this group of Singaporean respondents. Moreover, of the three ECAE rated above neutral overall, TurkishAE was rated marginally below neutral on the status traits. Furthermore, while KoreanAE and FarsiAE were rated positively on both sets of traits, the findings show that the respondents did not display a strongly positive attitude to either of these.

The clusters in Table 10 indicate the relative strength of the respondents' attitudes to the ECAE as reflected in their responses to the verbal-guise task. When the ECAE in each cluster are analysed according to their features (see Appendices 1-11), it may be possible to identify common phonological and prosodic characteristics that might be factors affecting attitudes. The commonalities illustrated in Tables 11 – 13 might provide an indication of the features of the ECAE that promote negative attitudes and possibly determine the strength of those attitudes.

Table 11: Common features of ECAE in the lower cluster

Common Features	ThaiAE	ArabicAE	PortugueseAE
mispronunciation of /ɪ/	✓	✓	
/e/	✓	✓	✓
/ɒ/		✓	✓
/æ/	✓		✓
/p/		✓	✓
/θ/	✓	✓	✓
/ð/	✓	✓	✓
/f/	✓	✓	
/tʃ/	✓		✓
/dʒ/	✓	✓	✓
Glottal stops before initial vowels	✓	✓	
Vowels added to consonant clusters	✓	✓	

Table 12: Common features of ECAE in the middle cluster

Common Features	SpanishAE	GermanAE	ChineseAE	SwahiliAE
mispronunciation of /ʊ/	✓		✓	✓
/æ/	✓	✓	✓	✓
/əʊ/	✓	✓		✓
/ɜ/	✓	✓		
/dʒ/	✓	✓	✓	✓
/θ/		✓	✓	✓
/ð/		✓	✓	✓
/h/	✓		✓	✓
/r/	✓		✓	✓
Vowels added to consonant clusters			✓	✓
Equal stress given to all syllables	✓		✓	✓

Table 13: Common features of ECAE in the higher cluster

Common Features	TurkishAE	KoreanAE
mispronunciation of /ɪ/	✓	✓
/æ/	✓	✓
/ɔɪ/	✓	✓
/əʊ/	✓	✓
/ʌ/	✓	✓
/θ/	✓	✓
/ð/	✓	✓
/dʒ/	✓	✓
Vowels added to consonant clusters	✓	✓

The means derived from responses to the verbal-guise task and analysis of the interview data reveal the respondents' attitudes to the ECAE range from negative to mildly positive. Evidently, the respondents' attitude to the GreekAE was the most negative. This was followed by a less negative attitude to ArabicAE, ThaiAE and PortugueseAE. Marginally negative attitudes were identified for GermanAE, SpanishAE, SwahiliAE and ChineseAE, whereas marginally positive attitudes were recorded for TurkishAE and KoreanAE. The respondents' attitude to FarsiAE was mildly positive. These findings show that, in general, the Singaporean respondents have different attitudes towards different ECAE, but that these differences are not wide. On the whole, the respondents have negative attitudes towards the majority of the ECAE presented in this study and they do not have strongly positive attitudes to any of them. How these findings relate to issues raised in this study and in previous research is explored below.

## 5.2 Respondents' sexes

The findings of this study (see 4.1.3) reveal that for both the female and the male respondents GreekAE was the one least favoured, whereas TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE received the most positive responses from both sexes. GreekAE and SwahiliAE were rated equally by the female and male respondents on the solidarity traits, while SpanishAE was rated equally on the status traits. However, six (ArabicAE, ThaiAE, PortugueseAE, ChineseAE, GermanAE and KoreanAE) received higher ratings on the solidarity traits from the females than from the males. On the other hand, nine (GreekAE, PortugueseAE, ThaiAE, ArabicAE, SwahiliAE, GermanAE, ChineseAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE) received higher ratings on the status traits from the males than from the females. These findings contrast with those of Van-Trieste (1990), who found that female respondents gave higher ratings to male speakers than did male respondents. Moreover, Cavallaro and Ng (2009) showed that females rated the speaker of Singapore Colloquial English more negatively on all traits than their male counterparts did, while there was no significant difference in the ratings from

female and male respondents for a speaker of Singapore Standard English. The findings from my study show that the female respondents exhibited more positive attitudes to male speakers of the ECAE in terms of solidarity and the male respondents had more positive attitudes in relation to the status traits. Nevertheless, it should be noted that only KoreanAE, TurkishAE and FarsiAE rated above neutral on the solidarity traits and only KoreanAE and FarsiAE rated above neutral on the status traits by both the female and male respondents.

### 5.3 Respondents' ages

This study indicates the age of the respondents (see 4.1.4) does not appear to affect their attitudes to the ECAE. The data show that the most positive response from both age groups was given to FarsiAE, with the respondents aged 20 – 29 rating it slightly lower than their older counterparts. GreekAE, ThaiAE and ArabicAE were rated the lowest by those aged 20 - 29 and 30 – 39. While it would be useful to compare these findings to other research in the field, I am not aware of other studies that have sought specifically to ascertain whether the age of respondents is a factor affecting attitudes to ECAE. Although, Gallois, Callan, and Johnstone (1984) showed that the perceived age of the speaker could influence the respondents' attitudes to the variety of language spoken, there appears to be a dearth of research into the affect the age of the respondents may have on their attitudes. Indeed, many language attitude studies have been undertaken either with respondents of the same age group (e.g., Cavallaro and Ng, 2009; McKenzie, 2008; Bresnahan et al., 2002; Hartikainen, 2000; Ladegaard, 1998), or the age of respondents has not been reported and data have not been presented in relation to the ages of the respondents.

However, Hakala (2008) did refer generally to the age groups of the respondents in a study on the attitudes of Finnish students towards accents of English. The three groups of respondents (lower secondary school students, upper secondary school students and student teachers) gave both positive and negative responses to all the accents. It was found that the younger respondents gave the

widest differences in ratings to the accents and they offered the most negative responses; whereas the older the respondents were, the narrower the differences between the ratings became. Nevertheless, differences in the mean ratings of the accents were remarkably similar for each of the three age groups. While Hakala's study (2008) had a relatively narrow age range of respondents, consisting of teenagers and young adults, it does seem to indicate the same finding as this study of Singaporean respondents aged 22 to 36: that is, that age appears not to be a significant factor in determining attitudes to ECAE. However, the narrow age range of this group does not allow for much comparability.

#### 5.4 Respondents' levels of education

The findings for the ECAE based on the respondents' levels of education (see 4.1.5) show that for GreekAE, ThaiAE, PortugueseAE, ChineseAE and KoreanAE the mean scores correlated with the level of education, i.e. the lower means were given by the secondary-educated respondents and the higher scores were given by the university-educated respondents. However, SwahiliAE, TurkishAE and FarsiAE were rated lower by the university-educated respondents than by their counterparts. GreekAE was rated the lowest by respondents of all education levels. FarsiAE was given the highest rating by the secondary and polytechnic-educated respondents, while the university-educated respondents gave the highest rating to KoreanAE.

When these findings are viewed in terms of the solidarity and status traits, the data show that on the solidarity traits for GreekAE, ThaiAE, ArabicAE, PortugueseAE, ChineseAE, GermanAE and KoreanAE the ratings were commensurate with the level of education, i.e. the lower ratings were given by the secondary-educated respondents and the higher ratings were given by the university-educated respondents. With regard to the status traits, the findings for the different levels of education reveal that for GreekAE and SpanishAE the mean scores were commensurate with the level of education, i.e. the lower ratings were given by the secondary-educated respondents and the higher ratings were

given by the university-educated respondents. However, ArabicAE, ChineseAE, SwahiliAE, TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE were rated lower by the university-educated respondents on the status traits than by their counterparts. The polytechnic-educated respondents gave the highest ratings on the status traits to TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE, but they gave the lowest ratings to PortugueseAE. Overall, these findings suggest the respondents' levels of education do not have a significant effect on their attitudes to the ECAE presented.

There is an apparent lack of studies that have compared the educational levels of the respondents with regard to how these levels might affect attitudes to ECAE. However, a number of studies in this field have been conducted using respondents from particular educational levels and within certain institutions. These studies include investigations into the attitudes of secondary school students (Hartikainen, 2000), secondary school and university students (Ladegaard, 1998), secondary school students and student teachers (Hakala, 2008), and university students (McKenzie, 2008; Bresnahan, et al. 2002; Cargile, 1997; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Chiba, et al., 1995). The results of McKenzie's (2008) study of Japanese students revealed that, in terms of status, varieties of American English were rated highly, whereas the Japanese variety of English was rated more highly on solidarity traits. Similarly, Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) revealed the low status given to non-Inner Circle varieties and a general preference for Inner Circle varieties among Austrian university students. This study corroborated the findings of Chiba, et al. (1995), which showed that non-Inner Circle users of English rated Inner Circle varieties more favourably than non-Inner Circle varieties on status traits. However, the results of the study by Cargile (1997) indicated that Inner Circle users of English judged samples of Chinese English speech similarly to samples of standard American English speech on status traits, but they were rated lower on solidarity traits. Moreover, Bresnahan, et al. (2002) concluded that samples of American English were rated more positively than non-Inner Circle English, and intelligible non-Inner Circle



English was rated more favourably than unintelligible non-Inner Circle varieties. While these studies have provided valuable insight into the attitudes of students to varieties of English, none of them offered comparative data on respondents with different levels of education and none have attempted to show how educational differences might affect attitudes to accents and varieties of English. One possible exception to this is Hartikainen (2000), who reported that school grades were not a significant factor affecting the attitudes of respondents to different varieties of Inner Circle English. However, this study compared grades within a group of secondary school students: unlike my study, which sought to compare attitudes based on the different educational levels of adult respondents.

#### 5.5 Number of languages other than English

In relation to the number of languages other than English spoken by the respondents (see 4.1.6), the findings show FarsiAE was the most favoured irrespective of the number of languages spoken. GreekAE was rated the lowest by the respondents with one and two other languages, while ThaiAE and PortugueseAE both received low ratings from the respondents with one language other than English. In addition, the respondents with three languages other than English rated SwahiliAE the lowest, while FarsiAE had the highest rating. GermanAE was given a neutral rating by the respondents with three other languages, and these also rated TurkishAE and KoreanAE above the neutral level. These findings indicate the number of languages other than English spoken by the respondents does not have a significant effect on their attitudes to the eleven ECAE.

Although several studies into language attitudes have involved respondents from Outer and Expanding Circle countries, for example in Singapore (Cavallaro and Ng, 2009); in Malaysia (McGee, 2009); in Hong Kong (Qi, 2009); in Korea (Kim, 2008); in Japan (McKenzie, 2008; Chiba, et al., 1995); in Finland (Hakala, 2008; Hartikainen, 2000); in Denmark (Ladegaard, 1998); in Austria (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997); and in Turkey (Kamisli and Dugan,

1997) these studies did not provide details of the number of languages other than English spoken by their respondents and they did not present findings in relation to this factor that might potentially affect attitudes to ECAE. A search for other studies in the field of language attitudes that have been interested specifically in the number of languages spoken by the respondents has proven fruitless. Therefore, it is not possible to discuss these findings in relation to conclusions drawn from other studies in terms of how the number of languages other than English might affect attitudes to ECAE. The dearth of studies in this area might be due to a lack of interest by other researchers. However, I felt it was worth exploring the possibility that the use of more than one language might promote openness to different ways of speaking, which could result in a greater willingness to acknowledge and accept differences within a particular language.

#### 5.6 Familiarity and stereotyping

The findings from the interviews in this study revealed that many of the respondents spoke some of the mother tongues of the speakers in the samples (Chinese, German and Arabic). Moreover, many of the respondents were exposed to some of the ECAE in the samples in their environment (ChineseAE, KoreanAE and GermanAE). However, it should be noted that the respondents were not given any explicit or implicit information that could enable them to identify the ECAE presented in this study. Nevertheless, while Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) found that their respondents had an 85 per cent accuracy rate in identifying the countries of origin of speakers in their study, there is no evidence (although none was sought) to suggest the Singaporean respondents in my study identified the source of any of the speech samples. This lack of identification may be of some relevance since Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) concluded that respondents' positive attitudes to a particular variety of English are due to familiarity with the variety. As a corollary, this familiarity might evoke preconceived ideas and notions about an accent or variety and its speakers amounting to stereotyping, which could affect the findings and raise questions as to whether the attitudes elicited are related exclusively to the speech samples or

are determined by the respondents' perceptions of the speakers' countries of origin and the preconceived notions that the respondents might hold in relation to these. Since, Rubin (1992), Brown (1992) and Atagi (2003: cited in Lindemann, 2006) all found that preconceived notions about speakers can affect attitudes to how they speak, I attempted to eliminate this variable as far as possible so that the respondents might focus on the language being produced rather than on the speaker *per se*.

There is little evidence to suggest that stereotyping and familiarity with a particular ECAE affected attitudes towards the other ECAE presented in this study. With regard to the Chinese-speaking respondents, attitudes to ChineseAE were mixed in terms of both solidarity and status traits. While 68 per cent of the respondents were Chinese speakers, the overall rating for ChineseAE was below neutral on both sets of traits. This finding could be an indication that the respondents identified ChineseAE and rated it negatively due to negative attitudes to China and Chinese people, which is a highly speculative supposition. Alternatively, it might be more likely that the respondents did not identify the speaker's country of origin and rated it as a sample of English rather than as 'Chinese' English. In fact, some of the highest ratings for ChineseAE were from respondents who were not speakers of Chinese; while on the other hand, the lowest rating for ChineseAE was also given by a non-Chinese speaking respondent. For the other ECAE, there appears to be no direct relationship between familiarity and the ratings given, since it is apparent that the respondents had little or no exposure to the highest and lowest rated ECAE. Although four of the respondents had some familiarity via the workplace with KoreanAE, none of the respondents are speakers of Korean and none of them declared any exposure to FarsiAE and TurkishAE. In spite of these facts, these were the three ECAE that received overall ratings above the neutral level. Similarly, while there was only one Arabic speaker among the respondents and there were no Greek or Portuguese speakers, (and no apparent exposure to these) these ECAE were given consistently low ratings on both solidarity and status

traits. These findings suggest there was an absence of familiarity with these ECAE, and that preconceived ideas about the speakers probably did not affect the respondents' attitudes.

Moreover, there is no evidence that the respondents in this study identified the language backgrounds of the speakers in any of the speech samples. Consequently, there is also no evidence of stereotyping and the potential affect it has for determining the attitudes of the respondents to the eleven ECAE. The conclusion that may be drawn, therefore, is that the attitudes elicited from the respondents are probably not significantly affected by familiarity and stereotyping. These findings appear to support the conclusions drawn by Ladegaard (1998) that familiarity with a speech variety does not necessarily affect attitudes to it: a finding corroborated by Hartikainen (2000), whose study also indicated that there was no correlation between familiarity and attitude.

#### 5.7 Phonology and prosody

The findings of this study appear to support those of Qi (2009), McKenzie (2008), Cargile and Giles (1998), Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), and Ryan et al. (1997), who found that the stronger the accent of a variety is perceived to be, the more negative attitudes to it are. This conclusion suggests that certain features of ECAE may contribute to respondents' negative attitudes to them. The most negatively evaluated ECAE in this study are GreekAE, ArabicAE, ThaiAE and PortugueseAE: although it should be noted that the majority of ECAE presented were also rated below the neutral level. More specifically, GreekAE, ArabicAE and PortugueseAE had the lowest ratings for both solidarity and status traits. Moreover, these ECAE also prompted the most negative comments in the interviews in relation to phonological and prosodic features. These three appear to have been perceived by many of the respondents as being 'stilted' (Respondent 8) and 'heavily-accented' (Respondent 29), as well as having 'a very strong accent' (Respondent 16) and 'not pronouncing

properly' (Respondent 17) for example. These comments provide an indication that phonology and prosody may have contributed to the negative attitudes of the respondents to these ECAE. Conversely, this study also appears to support research by Lindemann, (2005, 2001) and Lippi-Green, (1997), which allows for the possibility that some features of pronunciation and some non-Inner Circle accents can be evaluated more positively, and therefore, judged as being less stigmatised and having a higher status than others. This seems to be the case for FarsiAE in particular, since it was judged to be 'clear in words and rhythm' (Respondent 23), 'nicely pronounced' (Respondent 18) and 'a good accent' (Respondent 10). Indeed, FarsiAE received no negative comments from the respondents in relation to phonology and prosody. These factors may provide a possible explanation for it being the most highly rated ECAE on both solidarity and status traits.

In a study by Barona (2008), Inner Circle and non-Inner Circle respondents rated Arabic, Spanish and Korean accented English differently, although they were not informed of the linguistic backgrounds of the speakers. The Korean-accented speech had a higher rating than both the Spanish-accented and the Arabic-accented speech in terms of competence (status traits). The Korean and the Spanish accents received similar and higher ratings than the Arabic accent in terms of integrity (solidarity traits). However, the Spanish-accented speech was rated higher than the Korean and Arabic accents in relation to attractiveness (a solidarity trait). Like the Singaporean respondents in my study, Barona's (2008) respondents rated the Arabic-accented speech lower than the other two accents on all traits. Unlike Barona's respondents, the Singaporeans in my study rated KoreanAE significantly higher than SpanishAE on solidarity traits, and it emerged that KoreanAE was considered to be more attractive than SpanishAE. Nevertheless, the general trend between these three ECAE appears to be remarkably similar in both studies. The phonology and prosody of the ECAE presented in my study could account to some extent for the difference in attitudes to these three. The findings emerging from analysis of

the interviews show the phonology and prosody of ArabicAE and SpanishAE were commented on more negatively than was the case for KoreanAE. This evidence may provide a possible indication that phonological and prosodic characteristics may be a factor in determining the respondents' attitudes to ECAE.

In terms of ChineseAE, the Singaporean respondents' ratings place it in the middle cluster (Table 9, p.153) of the ECAE. This finding echoes that of Qi (2009), who discovered that respondents in Hong Kong also gave ratings to Mandarin-accented English that also ranked it in the middle range of eight accents of English. However, the Hong Kong accent was rated lower on both status and solidarity traits than other accents. These results show that, like the Singaporean respondents in my study, Qi's respondents in Hong Kong displayed negative attitudes to ChineseAE. In a similar vein, GermanAE in my study was also rated negatively on both solidarity and status traits, which placed it in the middle cluster. This finding relates to the results of Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), which found that low ratings on status traits were given to Austrian-accented (GermanAE) samples of English by Austrian respondents. However, whereas Qi (2009) included samples of Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle Accents of English and Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) had samples of Inner and Expanding Circle accents, my study presented ECAE exclusively. Nevertheless, with regard to ChineseAE and GermanAE, the findings of my study appear similar to those of previous research.

More generally, the findings of McKenzie (2008) and Chiba, et al. (1995) showed that Japanese respondents have negative attitudes towards Expanding Circle accents with regard to status traits. However, this study shows that the Singaporean respondents not only have negative attitudes to most of the ECAE presented in terms of status, but also with regard to solidarity. Evidence for this can be seen in the fact that while nine of the eleven ECAE were rated negatively on status traits (the exceptions being FarsiAE and KoreanAE), eight

of them were also rated negatively on solidarity traits (with the exception of FarsiAE, KoreanAE and TurkishAE). Moreover, the two that were rated above neutral on both sets of traits (FarsiAE and KoreanAE) did not provoke strongly positive attitudes or high ratings, which suggests that, generally, ECAE are judged negatively. Analysis of the interviews seems to corroborate the findings that emerged from the verbal-guise task. Therefore, overall, these findings appear to indicate, and support the findings of other research, that phonological and prosodic characteristics seem to have contributed to the Singaporean respondents' attitudes to the ECAE presented in this study.

## 5.8 Summary

The discussion offered above has attempted to present the key themes and findings that emerged from this study. The findings were discussed in relation to the results of previous research in the field of language attitude studies. More specifically, this discussion attempted to present and interpret the data in order to show how far they meet the aims and address the questions of this piece of research, each of which is summarised below.

The first of the research aims of this study was to ascertain whether Singaporeans have different attitudes towards different ECAE. The findings of this study show that, in general, the Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes towards different ECAE.

The second research aim was to discover what different attitudes, if any, Singaporeans have towards different ECAE. The findings reveal that the respondents have negative attitudes towards the majority of the ECAE presented in this study and they do not have strongly positive attitudes to any of these.

The third research aim was to understand why Singaporeans have different attitudes, if any, towards different ECAE. The findings of this study appear to indicate that the respondents have different attitudes because they

perceive the ECAE differently in terms of a range of solidarity and status traits (presented *a priori* in the verbal-guise task), and in relation to phonological and prosodic characteristics, and perceived attractiveness and assertiveness.

The first research question this study sought to address was, ‘What attitudes do Singaporeans have towards different ECAE?’ It can be seen from the different ratings given by the respondents in the verbal-guise task and analysis of the interview data that their attitudes to the ECAE range from negative to mildly positive. Specifically, the respondents’ attitude to GreekAE was the most negative, while less negative attitudes were evident to ArabicAE, ThaiAE and PortugueseAE. Marginally negative attitudes were identified for GermanAE, SpanishAE, SwahiliAE and ChineseAE, whereas marginally positive attitudes were seen for TurkishAE and KoreanAE. The respondents’ attitude to the FarsiAE can be described as mildly positive.

The second research question this study sought to address was, ‘What factors determine Singaporean attitudes towards different ECAE’ The findings of this study reveal that the sex of the respondents may be a factor that determines attitudes to a certain extent, as it was found that the female respondents exhibited more positive attitudes to the ECAE in terms of solidarity and the male respondents had more positive attitudes in relation to the status traits. However, overall, GreekAE was the least favoured and TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE were the most favoured by both sexes, which might indicate that sex was not a major factor determining the respondents’ attitudes. In terms of the age of the respondents, their levels of education and the number of languages other than English spoken by them, the findings seem to indicate that these factors do not appear to have a significant impact on their attitudes to the ECAE presented. Moreover, it can be assumed that, since the language backgrounds of the speakers were not revealed and the respondents were not asked to identify them, the attitudes elicited from the respondents are probably not determined by familiarity and stereotyping. However, this study appears to indicate, and support the



findings of other research, that phonology and prosody, and the apparent degree of assertiveness and attractiveness of the ECAE affected the Singaporean respondents' attitudes to them.

The findings of this study show that when asked to judge ECAE on a range of solidarity and status traits, and when given the opportunity to express their attitudes and reasons for those attitudes, the Singaporean respondents displayed predominantly negative attitudes to the majority of the ECAE presented to them. These findings seem to indicate that the accent a speaker uses appears to affect whether or not the speaker is perceived as having positive or negative qualities. In short, the Singaporean respondents' perceptions of the speech samples presented in this study play a role in influencing their attitudes towards particular ECAE.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion

This study arose out of an interest in, and a desire to learn more about, the attitudes people have towards different accents of English. It began on a personal level with the recognition that I, and others, have language prejudices and the judgements I make, consciously or unconsciously, reflect the attitude I have towards a particular accent or variety of English. This attitude in turn determines my behaviour as to whether to be receptive or not, and to listen to and accept the speaker's English or not. I offered an example of this phenomenon from *Little Britain*, in which Meera was motivated to be understood, but Marjorie was not motivated to accept Meera's utterances. I hypothesised that there is a touch of Marjorie in all of us. The research hypothesis, therefore, was that the way a person speaks English will evoke particular images for listeners, and that these images will affect how the listeners judge the personal qualities of a speaker. Consequently, I identified a need to elicit, identify and understand the reasons for attitudes and behaviour vis-à-vis speakers of other accents and varieties of English. However, it was important to try to ensure that these judgements could be supported by identifying the attitudinal criteria or specific traits that listeners use when making judgements about speakers.

While the initial motivation for undertaking this study arose from a personal interest, the impetus for conducting the research was on a more academic and professional level, as I surmised that the findings of a study into attitudes to Expanding Circle Accents of English (ECAE) might be useful for providing insights into how users of one kind of English respond to speakers of other ECAE. Such insights could indicate the factors that might be of significance for further understanding of World Englishes and the development of English as an International Language. More specifically, the findings might be of value to both researchers and teachers of particular varieties of English, English for intercultural/international communication, ESL and EFL.

In attempting to make a contribution to this field, this study has led me on a journey that has taken me through a wide range of literature that enabled me to discover and draw from the methods, approaches, findings and discussions of previous research. These discoveries were instrumental in the decision to focus on the Outer and Expanding Circles and in identifying Outer Circle users of English as the most suitable respondents and ECAE as the attitudinal objects for this study. Moreover, the investigation of relevant literature also facilitated the selection of methods and the design of instruments with which to elicit the data that were sought, and the procedures for analysis that were required in order to gain some understanding of attitudes towards ECAE.

## 6.1 Review of this thesis

In Chapter 1, I attempted to explain the personal motivation surrounding the issue of how my attitude to a speaker of English plays a significant role in determining the degree to which linguistic communication succeeds. It was from this seed of thought that this study germinated. Having established the personal motivation driving this study, some professional reasons for wanting to investigate the issue of language attitudes were outlined. This was expanded to provide a rationale for the study, i.e. there is an identifiable need to elicit, identify and understand the reasons for attitudes and behaviour in relation to speakers of other kinds of English. The importance of this study was established by noting that attitude plays a significant role in how people make judgements about languages and variations in languages, and identifying the need to understand the factors that affect judgements about speakers. Chapter 1 also contextualised this study within sociolinguistics and, more specifically, within the discourse on World Englishes and EIL and described in relation to Kachru's (1985) three concentric circles model. Furthermore, I proposed the use of the term 'accented English' as a way of defining the kinds of English that many English speakers in the world use, and as a way of describing the kinds of English used by the speakers in the samples presented to the Singaporean respondents in this study.

Chapter 2 provided a critical review of some of the literature relevant to a study on Singaporeans' attitudes to Expanding Circle Accents of English. Firstly, the context of the study was established by presenting a number of relevant theories, concepts and perspectives within the literature on World Englishes and EIL. Some models of English language spread were discussed with the aim of establishing the reasons for adopting Kachru's (1985) model as the basis for understanding World Englishes in this study. This discussion was followed by an overview in which key ideas, positions and trends in World Englishes and EIL were compared, contrasted and evaluated. Secondly, relevant research into attitudes and language attitudes was presented and discussed in relation to particular issues, challenges and ideas that are addressed in this study. Particular attention was drawn to theories of attitudes and the primary approaches that have been adopted in investigations in the field of language attitude research. Key studies undertaken into attitudes to varieties of English were discussed in order to identify the research field in which the present study is situated, and to establish the contribution this study intends to make to the literature on language attitudes, World Englishes and EIL. Finally, a summary of the main themes and conceptual frameworks drawn from the range of literature were presented in order to illustrate how they have informed and shaped this study.

The main purpose of Chapter 3 was to consider a number of key theoretical and practical concerns that were relevant for the preparation and operation of this investigation into Singaporeans' attitudes to eleven ECAE. Firstly, the research aims, objectives and questions of this study were reiterated. Secondly, a review of relevant language attitude research was presented, illustrating that the majority of methods and techniques fall into two major categories: (a) direct approaches requiring respondents to consider their attitudes to languages and varieties of languages and provide self-reports of these attitudes; and (b) indirect approaches to language attitude research utilising tangential data gathering techniques to gather attitudinal data. Thirdly, the instruments, namely the verbal-guise task and interviews, and procedures for data collection were

discussed. This discussion included the selection of (a) the samples of ECAE, (b) suitable respondents, and (c) the research instruments. The operational aspects of the pilot study and the administration of the verbal-guise task and interviews were explained. Fourthly, the procedures for data analysis were described. Fifthly, issues related to the trustworthiness of this study were considered, followed by a brief discussion of ethical issues. Finally, some limitations of the study were considered. In presenting this chapter in this manner, I attempted to show that the mixed method research design and chosen methods were appropriate and efficacious for obtaining relevant, reliable and valid data with which to address the research questions.

In Chapter 4, I attempted to present the key themes and findings that emerged from analyses of the data from the verbal-guise task and interviews. The data were analysed and presented in relation to (1) ECAE; (2) each of the fifteen traits; (3) the respondents' sexes; (4) the respondents' ages; (5) the respondents' educational level; (6) the number of languages other than English the respondents speak; and (7) issues that emerged from the interview data. These analyses were undertaken in an attempt to address the research questions. Based on the evidence, it became apparent that the Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes to different ECAE and these attitudes are determined by a number of factors, which can be summarised under the themes of solidarity traits and status traits (presented *a priori* in the verbal-guise task), and phonological and prosodic characteristics, assertiveness and attractiveness, as emerged from the interviews.

The purpose of Chapter 5 was to explore and discuss the key themes and findings that emerged from this study in relation to the results of previous research in the field of language attitude studies, and to consider the meaning and significance of these findings in order to make a contribution to the literature in this field. In particular, this discussion attempted to present an interpretation of the data so as to show how far they meet the aims of this study. Chapter 5 first provided an overview of the data drawn from the verbal-guise task. After

showing that the Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes to the ECAE that were presented, the discussion proceeded to consider some of the factors arising from both the verbal-guise task and the interviews that might have affected the respondents' attitudes towards the ECAE.

The remainder of this final chapter will conclude this thesis by (1) considering the value of this study, (2) discussing some of its limitations, and (3) offering recommendations for further research.

## 6.2 Value of this study

The value of this study is that it addresses a number of major contemporary issues in the field of English language, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics. Moreover, this study makes a contribution to the existing body of knowledge on (1) language attitude studies, (2) Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes, and (3) English as an International Language, as discussed in Chapter 2. This contribution becomes evident when the strengths of this study are considered.

Of particular value is the use of the term 'Expanding Circle Accents of English' as a way of describing the English spoken in the recorded samples in this study. It is used to describe the kinds of spoken English that are emergent, apparent and recognisable, and display certain characteristics that are possibly derived from the influence of the speakers' mother tongue, but which may not yet be developed sufficiently to be considered varieties.

This study shows Singaporean respondents do have different attitudes to different ECAE and these attitudes are determined by a number of factors, which can be summarised under the themes of solidarity traits and status traits and phonology, prosody, assertiveness and attractiveness. The findings indicate the most negatively evaluated ECAE were GreekAE, ThaiAE, ArabicAE, and PortugueseAE; while TurkishAE, KoreanAE and FarsiAE were the highest rated.

However, eight of the ECAE were rated below the neutral level. This study identified common phonological and prosodic characteristics of ECAE clustered according to the strength of the respondents' attitudes to them (see 5.1).

A strength of this study is that it used tried and tested methods from the field of language attitude research, and specifically employed an instrument and procedures of the verbal-guise technique (see 3.1.2) in which a single text was read by different speakers followed by samples of free speech. This technique was used in tandem with interviews, in order to elicit attitudinal data from the respondents. Therefore, it is based on and builds upon previous studies in the field of language attitude research, and in so doing it provides evidence of Singaporeans attitudes to the selected ECAE: thereby extending our knowledge of language attitudes a little further.

Most previous language attitude research has been conducted with students as respondents, especially in universities. However, this study gathered data from a group of adults working in a service company; thus adding value to the field to the extent that it provides attitudinal data from the kinds of respondents who have hitherto been largely underrepresented in previous studies. Moreover, while many studies on language attitudes have focused their attention on ascertaining and/or measuring the attitudes of Inner Circle speakers toward speech, a relatively small number of studies have been concerned with the attitudes of Outer Circle speakers of English towards Non-Inner Circle Englishes (see 2.6 and 2.7). The value of this study is that it adds to the body of literature in the latter group. Indeed, of further value is the fact that it may be unique, in that it is the only one that I am aware of that exclusively investigates attitudes to ECAE. Furthermore, this study gathered data exclusively from Outer Circle respondents' on their attitudes to ECAE, which is a focus that appears not to have been addressed in previous studies.

More specifically, the findings make a modest contribution to the literature concerned with identifying common characteristics of EIL and English as a Lingua Franca (e.g., Jenkins, 2007, 2000; Kirkpatrick, 2007, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2005, 2001) to the extent that it identifies the phonological and prosodic features common to the ECAE clustered according to the strength of attitude found in the Singaporean respondents. This may help to gain further understanding of the features of ECAE that engender particular attitudes to them.

This study has shown that the kind of ECAE a speaker uses may affect whether or not that person is perceived by the Singaporean respondents as having positive or negative qualities. In addition, the findings of this study indicate that accent has some effect on the evaluation of a speaker with regard to a number of solidarity and status traits. It might be possible to extrapolate from these findings that the perception of an individual's speech can influence the extent to which a listener has positive or negative attitudes towards someone who speaks a particular ECAE. These findings show that this study has addressed the research questions and met the aims it set out to achieve: in so doing, it makes a modest contribution and adds value to the body of knowledge on language attitudes, World Englishes and EIL. Moreover, these findings appear to have implications not only for learners of English, but also for teachers and researchers, and particularly for those concerned with English for intercultural/international communication, ESL and EFL.

The foremost theoretical implications of this study relate to the World Englishes debate and contribute to the discussion on EIL, to the extent that notions of attitude and intelligibility are central to both. In relation to World Englishes, this study noted the distinguishing features of eleven ECAE and utilised recordings of these ECAE that were intelligible and comprehensible to the respondents. The ability to comprehend and a willingness to accept differences in the English of others are essential for effective communication in English between its users in the OC and EC. Acceptance of World Englishes



affords those in the Outer and Expanding Circles recognition as English language users in their own right with their own varieties and accents. However, effective and successful communication in English and between Englishes depends on the attitude of interlocutors to the English used by themselves and others. A key implication of the findings of this study is that, as Jenkins (2007) believes, attitude to accent does appear to have a role in how non-Inner Circle users of English perceive the English of others. Furthermore, it seems that attitude could be a factor that might be of greater significance than intelligibility when evaluating others' English.

With regard to EIL, Kachru (1985) suggests that allowance for a variety of English language norms would engender the emergence of an educated variety of English, intelligible across all circles of English, i.e. EIL. However, the findings of this study indicate that while the eleven ECAE are intelligible to the Singaporean respondents, they, or certain characteristics of them, are not acceptable; resulting in negative attitudes to the majority of ECAE presented. The implication of this finding is that intelligibility alone may not be the dominant factor in the establishment and development of EIL, but that acceptability is also a key factor in EIL. This study identifies the phonological features that might have affected the attitude of the respondents to the eleven ECAE. These identified characteristics across the ECAE might be indicative of some of the acceptable and unacceptable characteristics of EIL, since these characteristics are not associated exclusively with any one of the ECAE. While Jenkins (2000) identifies the phonological features that appear to foster or hinder intelligibility, this study identifies characteristics of the ECAE that seem to affect the degree to which intelligible English is acceptable to the respondents. The implication here is that the existence of EIL is dependent upon not only the extent to which common linguistic features make this variety intelligible, but also on the degree to which interlocutors find the English being produced acceptable.

The major pedagogical implications of this study are most pertinent to language policy, teacher education, and the teaching of pronunciation and listening. As the use of English expands in geographical range and contextual scope, it is imperative that language planners and English language educators know how English is being used and to be aware of English users' attitudes towards different kinds of English. In particular, the findings of this study and other research on language attitude could be considered when formulating a language policy, in selecting an English language model for instruction, and in designing and creating language teaching materials. Greater attention could be paid to the varieties and accents of English that engender more positive attitudes, so that learners might incorporate certain phonological characteristics of these varieties and accents into their own speech. Consequently, the English that learners produce could not only be more widely intelligible, but also more acceptable to users of other kinds of English. In particular, the features of pronunciation of ECAE that appear to affect attitudes, such as those identified in 5.1 above, could be highlighted to teach learners which sounds to avoid in their own pronunciation of English and to teach them which sounds might lead to a more positive attitude to them by their interlocutors. This kind of language training might be particularly useful to those working in call centres or in other areas of customer service in which international and intercultural communication in English is required. Moreover, English language teachers could train learners to be more effective and discerning listeners by introducing them to varieties and accents from the Inner and Outer Circles and a range of ECAE. This enhanced listening ability might serve to promote greater acceptance of World Englishes on the one hand, and to improve communicative ability in EIL on the other.

### 6.3 Limitations of this study

Several limitations to this study were discussed in Chapter 3. However, a number of additional limitations should be acknowledged in relation to the sample of respondents, the speech samples and the data collection methods. The first limitation is that I used a convenience sample, which is generally held to be

inferior to other sampling methods in terms of being representative of a wider population and, as such, limits the external validity of this study. In addition, the sample size of 31 respondents somewhat limited the scope for a more detailed analysis, whereas a larger sample might have enabled rigorous statistical analyses and yielded more extensive results on a wider range of factors affecting language attitudes. A further limitation with the sample could lie in the fact that the data were collected from respondents working in one service company in Singapore and, therefore, it could be argued that these Singaporean respondents were considered as a homogeneous group, which may not necessarily be the case. Linguistic and social factors, such as the English language proficiency levels of the respondents and their ethnicity, may influence their perception of, and attitudes to, different kinds of English, but there were no attempts to measure or account for these factors in this study. Therefore, the relatively small sample size and the restricted range of factors addressed are clearly limitations to this study.

The most obvious limitation with the speech samples stems from the fact only one sample of each ECAE was used with which to elicit language attitude data. Although the speakers in the samples were selected because they exemplified the characteristics of the ECAE (see 3.2.2), it should be borne in mind that they are single examples of the particular ECAE, and other users of these ECAE may not speak identically to the speakers in the samples. However, the use of a single representative sample is common practice in language attitude research.

While I attempted to reduce the number of variables in the samples, for example by selecting only male speakers, it was not possible to make a selection based on the ages of the speakers. This might be seen as a limitation because, as Gallois, Callan and Johnstone (1984) show, the perceived age of a speaker can also influence respondents' attitudes.

An additional limitation might lie in the nature of the speech samples, i.e., a reading of a short story and a list, with only a short segment of free speech. However, this emphasis on reading aloud reduced the number of variables and led the respondents to focus more attention on accent rather than other factors such as lexis and syntax. However, despite these limitations with the speech samples, I felt they were outweighed by the advantages they offered as a means of eliciting the respondents' language attitudes (3.2.2).

Limitations with the data collection methods and procedures most specifically relate to the use of the direct approach in gathering language attitude data from respondents. These factors include social desirability bias and acquiescence bias (Oppenheim, 1992): the former being a tendency for respondents to offer responses they perceive to be the most socially desirable and acceptable; and the latter being the extent to which respondents agree or disagree with verbal-guise task items and interview questions irrespective of their content so as to gain the approval of the researcher. In both circumstances, the respondents might not be stating their actual perceptions and real attitudes, thus possibly calling into question the validity of the data. However, I attempted to address these limitations, in particular with regard to social desirability bias, by conducting both the verbal-guise tasks and interviews with the respondents individually and by assuring them of anonymity and confidentiality.

Two major limitations are evident in the methods used for data analysis. The first issue arises from the lack of inferential statistical analyses of the data gathered in the verbal-guise task. While descriptive statistics can help to present findings that are clear, they do not necessarily provide data of a depth to afford a more detailed analysis of specific factors, which can be identified using statistical methods, such as cluster analysis or ANOVA. The second limitation in regard to data analysis lies in that fact that the respondents' perceptions and attitudes may have related to factors which are not technically determinants of accent, such as fluency, tone and voice quality. The respondents' attention to these paralinguistic

variables might have distracted them for focusing on factors such as phonological features of the samples of ECAE, which do determine accents.

The limitations acknowledged above are by no means unique to this study, and can be found in other studies in the field of language attitude research and other forms of social science. Nevertheless, these limitations and others discussed (see 3.6) have arisen to some extent from the fact that as a lone researcher with limited time, money and resources I had to make choices that I deemed to be the most appropriate and to select instruments, methods and procedures I judged to be the most efficacious with which to attempt to address the aims, objectives and research questions of this study. Moreover, these limitations are to some extent also determined by the bounds of my intellectual and academic capacity and my capabilities as a lone researcher.

#### 6.4 Recommendations

Overall, this study appears to have achieved its aims and objectives, and has provided results that address the research questions, in that it has used appropriate and efficacious methods for collecting and analysing data on Singaporeans' attitudes to eleven Expanding Circle Accents of English. However, as the discussion on the limitations of this study has shown, some improvements are needed and recommendations can be made to strengthen future research that might attempt to replicate or build upon it.

In order to gain a broader and more profound understanding of language attitudes, the replication of this study in other locations and with other respondents might provide opportunities for gathering further data. Also, the number and range of personality traits included in the verbal-guise task could be extended so as to elicit respondents' attitudes on a wider range of characteristics. This extension of the range of traits, and/or the use of other traits, is likely to provide more quantitative data from which to draw conclusions on respondents' attitudes. In addition, more extensive interviewing could be undertaken to include

more open-ended questions to gather more data that is not predetermined by the researcher's selection of traits and use of semantic differential scales. This measure might allow the respondents to be less constrained in their choices and it could provide more extensive and detailed qualitative data with which to address the issue

This study could be replicated using another sample of Singaporean respondents with the aim of comparing their attitudes to those of my respondents. Indeed, comparative research could be undertaken to include a wider range of respondents, such as those with differing levels of exposure to EC English and OC English, for example, to ascertain whether this factor affects language attitudes. Moreover, research into the effect that language proficiency of the listener and speaker might have on language attitudes could be a useful area of research, which could be included in a study that builds on this one. Further research can also be conducted in other locations with other OC and EC respondents. Data gathered from these studies could be used to compare the attitudes each group of respondents has towards a set of particular ECAE. The findings from studies such as these might enable those concerned to gain a greater understanding of the language attitudes people have and why they have them.

This study included eleven samples of ECAE; however, for further research it might be productive to use other speech samples with which to elicit language attitudes in order to identify more definitively the common characteristics that affect attitudes. In addition, the inclusion of different speakers of each selected ECAE should be considered for further research. For instance, speech samples of female speakers and speakers of different ages could be used to discover if respondents' attitudes are similar for each ECAE when samples of speakers of a different sex and age are utilised. A comparison across these variables might also help to identify features affecting attitudes to ECAE. In addition, a wider range of ECAE speech samples could be investigated to

determine whether respondents have similar attitudes to them. Furthermore, the content of speech samples in future studies could include more free (but controlled) speech, to allow for more characteristics of the ECAE to be exhibited by the speakers. These characteristics might have a significant impact on the attitudes respondents have towards different ECAE. By adopting these measures, researchers building on this study could gather further data to provide a deeper understanding of the extent to which, if any, these factors affect attitudes to speakers of ECAE.

Finally, several general recommendations can be made based on the findings of this study. Firstly, there appears to be a need for further research into the features of pronunciation of ECAE that particularly affect attitudes. It might be fruitful to undertake research into the characteristics of ECAE speech to ascertain the extent to which each is judged positively or negatively. Secondly, with the increasing use of English around the world in multiple contexts, it is necessary that English language educators be aware of English users' attitudes towards different kinds of English. In particular, these attitudes should be considered in the selection of an English language model, and in the development of language teaching materials; since, as this study shows, the users of English decide whether, and to what extent, they have positive or negative attitudes to specific ECAE. Thirdly, English users' awareness of different kinds of English could be utilised in language classrooms so that they might have a broader appreciation for differences in the language, and recognise their own way of speaking English as valid and, to varying extents, acceptable to others. Fourthly, this study suggests the need for further comprehensive research into language attitudes, specifically in respect to developing a more profound understanding of the notions and realities of World Englishes and EIL.

This study addressed its research aims and research questions with the intention of contributing to a deeper understanding of some of the factors that determine attitudinal differences towards ECAE. The relevance of this study was established by noting that attitude plays a significant role in the way people make judgements about accents, and identifying the need to understand the specific traits that people use when making judgements about speakers of other kinds of English. The context of this study is within the field of sociolinguistics and, more specifically, within the discourse on World Englishes and EIL. The core justification for this study was that if we are to understand language change and gain insights into current and future changes and directions in World Englishes and EIL, focus should be shifted from research relying on the Inner Circle to studies that focus on Outer and Expanding Circle users of English. This study has offered such a shift in focus by attempting to ascertain Singaporeans' attitudes to eleven ECAE.

The findings show that when required to judge selected ECAE on a range of solidarity and status traits, and when given the opportunity to express their attitudes and reasons for those attitudes, the Singaporean respondents displayed predominantly negative attitudes to the majority of the ECAE presented to them. In offering these findings, it is hoped this thesis will make a modest contribution to the field of language attitude research, World Englishes and English as an International Language. Moreover, the findings might be of significance for those concerned with English language education in relation to English for intercultural and international communication, ESL and EFL.



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## Appendices

### Appendix 1 Key Characteristics of German-accented English

#### Phonology

1. /e/ and /æ/ are often confused.
2. /ɔ:/ and /əʊ/ are often confused.
3. /eɪ/ is sometimes pronounced /ɜ:/.
4. /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ are rare in German and are often pronounced /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ respectively.
5. /θ/ and /ð/ do not occur in German and are often replaced by /s/ and /z/.
6. /w/ is often replaced by /v/.

#### Stress

German compounds are usually stressed on the first element and compounds in GermanAE might follow this pattern. Weak forms are less common in German than in English and words like 'but', 'and', 'as' might be overstressed.

#### Intonation

Northern German intonation is very similar to English intonation, whereas Southern German often has rising glides in mid-sentence.

[Adapted from Swan (2001)]

## Appendix 2 Key Characteristics of Spanish-accented English

### Phonology

1. /iː/ and /ɪ/ are often confused with /i/.
2. /ɑː/, /æ/ and /ʌ/ are confused with /a/.
3. /ɜː/ and /ɒ/ are confused.
4. /uː/ and /ʊ/ are confused.
5. /əʊ/ is often not distinguished from /ɔː/.
6. /p/, /t/ and /k/ are often pronounced like /b/, /d/ and /g/ respectively.
7. There is a tendency to use /t/ for final /d/, /k/ for final /g/ and /p/ for final /b/.
8. /n/ or /ŋ/ often replace /m/ in final position.
9. /b/ is often not distinguished from /v/.
10. /ʃ/, /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ tend to be pronounced /tʃ/.
11. /r/ is flapped and is pronounced in all positions.
12. /h/ is replaced by /X/.
13. /j/ is often pronounced /dʒ/.

### Stress

Spanish is syllable-timed and sentences spoken in English tend to be pronounced with even stress on all parts of speech.

### Intonation

Spanish tends to have a narrower pitch range than English and emphasis is expressed by length rather than by higher pitch.

[Adapted from Coe (2001)]

### **Appendix 3 Key Characteristics of Portuguese-accented English (European Portuguese)**

#### Phonology

1. /i:/ is confused with /ɪ/.
2. /e/ is confused with /æ/.
3. /ɑ:/ is confused with /æ/.
4. /ɒ/ is confused with /ɔ:/ and sometimes with /ʌ/.
5. /ʊ/ is confused with /u:/.
6. /ʌ/ might be pronounced /æ/ or /u:/.
7. /p/, /t/ and /k/ are often pronounced like /b/, /d/ and /g/ respectively.
8. Initial and medial /t/ and /d/ might be confused.
9. Vowels before /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are nasalised.
10. /z/ might be replaced by /s/ or /ʃ/.
11. /θ/ and /ð/ are replaced by /s/ and /z/ or /t/ and /d/ respectively.
12. /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are pronounced /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ respectively.
13. Initial /h/ has no equivalent in Portuguese and might be omitted or uttered unnecessarily.

#### Stress

European Portuguese is stressed-timed and speakers generally pronounce sentences correctly in English, but unstressed syllables might be excessively reduced.

#### Intonation

Declarative sentences often have a marked low fall, tending to make the final word inaudible. Question tags tend to have rising intonation in all cases.

[Adapted from Shepherd (2001)]



## Appendix 4 Key Characteristics of Greek-accented English

### Phonology

1. /i:/ usually replaces /ɪ/, causing pairs like *beat* and *bit* to sound similar.
2. /e/ or the Greek sound /a/ usually replace /æ/, so that *bad* is pronounced *bed*.
3. The Greek sound /a/ usually replaces /ʌ/.
4. /e/ usually replaces /ɜ:/ and /ə/.
5. /ɑ:/ and /u:/ are usually replaced by the Greek sounds /a/ and /u/ respectively.
6. The Greek sound /o/ usually replaces /ɒ/, /əʊ/ and /ɔ:/, so that confusion exists between words such as *not/note/nought*.
7. The Greek sound /a/ usually replaces /e/ in diphthongs such as /eə/, /ɪə/ and /ʊə/.
8. /ʃ/ tends to be pronounced /s/, so that *short* sounds like *sort*.
9. /z/ often replaces /ʒ/.
10. /z/ often replaces /s/ before /m/.
11. /m/ and /n/ usually precede /b/ and /d/ respectively.
12. /ŋ/ is usually followed by /g/.
13. /X/ usually replaces /h/.
14. /r/ is always pronounced irrespective of its place within a word.
15. /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ tend to be pronounced /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ respectively.

### Stress

Speakers of GreekAE tend to pronounce one primary stress in English words and do not stress secondary syllables. This may be because only one syllable is pronounced in each word in Greek. GreekAE speakers tend to use a syllable-timed rhythm. Moreover, they often stress weak forms, such as *but*, *and*, *than* unnecessarily.

### Intonation

Intonation features of Greek, such as a high fall where English would have a low rise, are often carried over into English causing Greek speakers of English to sound impolite.

[Adapted from Papaefthymiou-Lytra (2001)]

## Appendix 5 Key Characteristics of Farsi-accented English

### Phonology

1. /i:/ often replaces /ɪ/ so that *ship* is pronounced *sheep* for example.
2. /ɑ:/ is often pronounced /ʌ/.
3. /æ/ is often replaced by /e/, so that *bat* becomes *bet*.
4. /u:/ is often confused with /ʊ/, with *pull* being pronounced *pool*.
5. /ə/ tends to be stressed.
6. /ɒ/ often replaces /ɔ:/.
7. /ɜ:/ is often pronounced as /e/ + /r/.
8. /aʊ/ is often replaced by /ɑ:/.
9. /eə/ is often pronounced as /e/ + /r/.
10. /ɒ/ often replaces /əʊ/.
11. /ʊə/ is often pronounced as /u:/.
12. /θ/ and /ð/ are often confused and may be replaced by /t/.
13. /ŋ/ is often pronounced as /n/ + /g/.
14. /w/ and /v/ tend to be confused.
15. Farsi speakers have difficulty producing /r/ as it is used in English.
16. Dark /ʌ/, as in *peel*, presents problems for Farsi Speakers of English.
17. A short vowel tends to be added to the beginning or middle of consonant clusters. For example, 'estar' for *star*, 'estream' for *stream*, 'perice' for *price*, and 'attempts' for *attempts*.

### Stress

Stress in Farsi is very predictable and usually falls on the final syllable of a word. This means the less predictable stress patterns in English, particularly where stress alters meaning, such as *present* and *present*, may not be clear in FarsiAE. Moreover, speakers of FarsiAE may give weak forms and vowels in unstressed syllables full value.

### Intonation

The main intonation patterns in English present few problems for Farsi speakers. However, particularly when reading aloud, speakers of FarsiAE may not clearly indicate stress and have little variation in tone.

[Adapted from Wilson and Wilson (2001)]

## Appendix 6 Key Characteristics of Arabic-accented English

### Phonology

1. Most English vowels are often not pronounced accurately. For example, /e/ and /ɪ/ are often confused, and /ʊ/ often replaces /o/.
2. /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are often pronounced short and are confused with /e/ and /o/ respectively.
3. Glottal stops before initial vowels are a common feature of ArabicAE.
4. /g/ and /dʒ/ are often confused.
5. /h/ tends to be pronounced hard.
6. /r/ is a voiced flap and the post-vocalic form is pronounced strongly.
7. /p/ and /b/ are often confused, with the latter being most commonly used.
8. /f/ and /v/ are often confused, with the former being most commonly used.
9. /k/ and /g/ are often confused, so that *tack* becomes *tag* for example.
10. While /θ/ and /ð/ occur in classical Arabic and some Arabic dialects, speakers of ArabicAE tend to replace these with /t/ and /d/ respectively.
11. /ŋ/ is usually pronounced as /n/ or /n/ + /g/.
12. A short vowel tends to be added to the middle of consonant clusters. For example, 'setar' for *star*, 'berice' for *price*, and 'neckist' for *next*.

### Stress

Arabic is stress-timed and word stress is regular and predictable. This means the less predictable stress patterns in English, particularly where stress alters meaning, such as *content* and *content*, may not be clear in ArabicAE. Moreover, speakers of ArabicAE tend to give weak forms and vowels in unstressed syllables full value.

### Intonation

The main intonation patterns in English present few problems for Arabic speakers. However, particularly when reading aloud, speakers of ArabicAE may intone or chant and have little variation in tone.

[Adapted from Smith (2001)]

## Appendix 7 Key Characteristics of Turkish-accented English

### Phonology

1. /ɪz/ is usually replaced by /ɪ/ or /ɪə/.
2. /æ/ often replaces /e/ preceding /n/, so that *men* becomes *man*.
3. /e/ often replaces /æ/.
4. /ɪ/ and /ə/ tend to be devoiced when between /s/ and another consonant. For example, 'sport' for *support*.
5. /ɔɪ/ and /əʊ/ are often confused, such as in *law* and *low*.
6. /uɪ/ is replaced by /ʊ/ in closed syllables and with /ʊə/ in the final position.
7. Final position /eɪ/, /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/, /ɪ/ tends to be devoiced and replaced by /h/.
8. /eɪ/ usually replaces /eə/, so that *bear* is pronounced *bay*.
9. /θ/ and /ð/ tend to be replaced by /t/ and /d/ respectively.
10. /b/, /d/ and /dʒ/ are devoiced in the final position. For example, *lap* for *lab*, *bat* for *bad*, and *batch* for *badge*.
11. /v/ and /w/ are usually confused.
12. /ŋ/ is often pronounced as /ŋ/ + /k/ or /ŋ/ + /g/.
13. When reading, speakers of TurkishAE pronounce /r/ wherever it is written.
14. Clear /l/ and dark /l/ are often confused.
15. /m/, /n/ and /l/ are usually pronounced very short devoiced, making them difficult to perceive at times.
16. A short vowel tends to be added to the beginning or middle of consonant clusters. For example, 'estar' or 'setar' for *star*, 'dirink' for *drink*, and 'perice' for *price*.

### Stress

Speakers of TurkishAE have difficulty with the pattern of long stressed syllables and short, reduced unstressed syllables. In Turkish, the final syllable carries the main stress in most words, although there is a tendency for negative verb forms to have an earlier stress. Interrogatives are usually stressed, whereas in English they are stressed only for emphasis.

### Intonation

Falling-rising patterns occur in Turkish with a fall on the final clause. This pattern tends to be applied to English also.

[Adapted from Thompson (2001)]

## Appendix 8 Key Characteristics of Swahili-accented English

### Phonology

1. /ɪ/, /i:/ and /eə/ are often confused and replaced by /i/.
2. /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɜ:/ and /eə/ are often confused and replaced by /e/ or /a/.
3. /ɑ:/, /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ are often confused and replaced by /a/.
4. /ɒ/, /ɔ:/, /əʊ/ and /ɔɪ/ are often confused and replaced by /o/.
5. /ʊ/, /ʊə/ and /u:/ are often confused and replaced by /u/.
6. /ɪ/ and /r/ are often confused.
7. /h/ is often unpronounced, so that *hat* becomes *at*.
8. /θ/ and /ð/ are usually replaced by /t/ or /s/ for the former and /d/ or /z/ for the latter.
9. Confusion often occurs between these pairs: /k/ and /g/, /t/ and /d/, /p/ and /b/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.
10. /s/ sometimes replaces /ʃ/.
11. A short vowel tends to be added to the middle of consonant clusters. For example, 'ekisipilain' for *explain*, and 'sitirong' for *strong*.

### Stress

Speakers of SwahiliAE tend to give equal stress to every syllable, so that weak forms are usually overstressed. They often place the primary stress on the penultimate syllable of a word, which conforms to the pattern in Swahili.

### Intonation

The usual pattern is a low fall even when the conventional pattern in English uses a rise. Consequently, it may not be clear when a speaker of SwahiliAE is asking a question.

[Adapted from Grant (2001)]



## Appendix 9 Key Characteristics of Chinese-accented English

### Phonology

1. /ɪ/ and /i:/ are often confused.
2. /ʊ/ and /u:/ are often confused.
3. /æ/ is often replaced by /e/, /ʌ/ and /ɑ:/.
4. /a/ sometimes replaces /ʌ/.
5. Diphthongs are usually pronounced short, lacking distinction between the component vowels.
6. /b/, /d/ and /g/ tend to sound more like their voiced equivalents.
7. /v/ is often replaced by /f/ or /w/.
8. /n/ and /l/ are often confused.
9. /θ/ and /ð/ are usually replaced by /t/, /f/ or /s/ for the former and /d/ or /z/ for the latter.
10. /h/ tends to be pronounced as /x/.
11. /s/ usually replaces /z/.
12. /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ tend to be pronounced heavily.
13. /l/ and /r/ may be confused.
14. /l/ in final position is sometimes replaced by /r/ or it may be followed by /ə/. Sometimes /l/ is dropped from the end of a word.
15. There is a tendency to drop final consonants or to add a glottal or unreleased stop.
16. A short vowel tends to be added to the beginning or middle of consonant clusters. For example, 'estar' or 'setar' for *star*, 'dirink' for *drink*, and 'perice' for *price*.

### Stress

Speakers of ChineseAE tend to give equal stress to every syllable, and weak forms are usually overstressed.

### Intonation

Speakers of ChineseAE often add a high falling tone to individual syllables rather than using intonation to affect the meaning of a whole sentence. Consequently, ChineseAE may sound either flat or rather jerky.

[Adapted from Chang (2001)]

## Appendix 8 Key Characteristics of Korean-accented English

### Phonology

1. /æ/ is usually replaced by /e/.
2. /o/ replaces /ɔ:/ and /əʊ/.
3. /ɜ:/ is usually replaced by /ə/.
4. Short and long vowel pairs, such as /ɪ/ and /i:/, are often confused.
5. There is often no distinction between unvoiced and voiced pairs such as /t/ and /d/, /k/ and /g/.
6. /l/ and /r/ may be confused, and /r/ is difficult for most speakers of KoreanAE to pronounce.
7. /b/ usually replaces /v/.
8. /p/ usually replaces /f/.
9. /θ/ and /ð/ are usually replaced by /s/ and /d/ respectively.
10. /z/ is replaced by /dʒ/.
11. /ʃ/ is replaced by /s/, which in final position receives an additional /ɪ/ or /e/, so *fish* becomes *fishy* for example.
12. /s/ and /z/ are often not pronounced in final position.
13. With /t/, /z/ and /dʒ/, there is a tendency to add /ɪ/ or /e/ when they are in the final position.

### Stress

Speakers of KoreanAE tend not to place stress on any syllables or individual words, creating a rather flat and regular sound.

### Intonation

Speakers of KoreanAE often produce a monotonous intonation, which may cause them to sound bored.

[Adapted from Lee (2001)]

## **Appendix 11 Key Characteristics of Thai-accented English**

### Phonology

1. Glottal stops usually occur before initial vowels.
2. Words ending in a vowel often have the final vowel lengthened.
3. /æ/ is often lengthened.
4. /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ are usually replaced by /ɜː/ and /ɔː/ respectively.
5. /v/ is often replaced by /w/ in initial position.
6. /θ/ is usually replaced by /t/ or /s/ in initial position.
7. /ð/ is usually replaced by /t/, /d/ or /s/ in initial position .
8. /tʃ/ usually replaces /ʃ/ in initial position
9. /s/ usually replaces /z/ in initial position.
10. In final position, /t/ replaces /d/, /θ/, /ð/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.
11. /p/ replaces /f/ and /v/ in final position.
12. /n/ replaces /l/ in final position.
13. /r/ is difficult for most speakers of ThaiAE, and is usually replaced by /l/.
14. A short vowel /ə/ usually occurs in some consonant clusters.
15. Consonant clusters in final position are usually reduced to the first phoneme of the cluster with the latter part dropped.

### Stress

Equal stress and timing tend to be given to each syllable, causing a rather staccato effect. The final syllable of words is often given the primary stress.

### Intonation

Speakers of ThaiAE tend to speak with a sharp up-and-down tone and may seem rather impolite.

[Adapted from Smyth (2001)]

## **Appendix 12 Reading Text**

Copyrighted material. See Swan, M. and Smith, B. (2001) *Learner English* (2nd edn), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 357

### **Appendix 13 Picture Story**

Copyrighted material. See Swan, M. and Smith, B. (2001) *Learner English* (2nd edn), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 359

## **Appendix 14 Shopping List**

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## Appendix 15 Letter and Consent Form

Abdel Halim Sykes  
[REDACTED]

Dear [REDACTED]

As part of my studies for the Doctor of Education with the University of Leicester, I am undertaking research into attitudes to accents of English.

I am looking for Singaporeans who are willing to participate in a study that will involve (1) listening to eleven recordings and completing a questionnaire and (2) participating in an interview. The whole process should not take more than two hours of your time.

I wish to assure you of complete confidentiality and anonymity. Furthermore, any information you give will be used for the purposes of this particular research project only.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please write your name and contact details and sign below.

Name:

Address:

Email:

I am willing to participate in this study. I understand that any information I provide will be used solely for this research project.

Sign: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Please return your completed form to [REDACTED].

Thank you. I look forward to your participation.

[REDACTED]

Abdel Halim Sykes



## Appendix 16 Overview of Respondents' Profiles

<u>No</u>	<u>sex</u>	<u>age</u>	<u>education</u>	<u>languages other than English</u>
1	female	27	degree	Chinese (Mandarin)
2	female	22	degree	Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese)
3	female	26	degree	Chinese (Mandarin, Hokkien)
4	female	26	degree	Malay
5	female	25	diploma	Malay
6	female	28	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay
7	male	30	advanced diploma	Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese
8	female	25	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin)
9	female	31	diploma	Malay
10	female	25	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese
11	female	29	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese)
12	female	29	A level	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay
13	female	27	A level	Chinese (Cantonese), Malay
14	male	55	A level	Malay, Tamil, Malayalam
15	female	26	A level	Malay
16	female	29	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin)
17	male	37	graduate diploma	Chinese (Mandarin)
18	female	32	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay
19	male	27	diploma	Malay, Arabic
20	male	26	degree	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay
21	female	24	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay
22	male	28	degree	Chinese (Mandarin, Hokkien)
23	female	27	degree	Malay
24	male	26	O level	Chinese (Mandarin, Hokkien)
25	female	25	O level	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay
26	male	32	diploma	[none]
27	female	31	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay
28	male	28	diploma	Malay
29	male	29	diploma	Chinese (Mandarin)
30	male	33	A level	Malay
31	male	36	masters	Chinese (Mandarin), Malay, German

## Appendix 17 Verbal-guise task

Dear Participant,

As part of my studies for the Doctor of Education with the University of Leicester, I am undertaking research into attitudes to accents of English.

Your participation will involve (1) listening to eleven recordings and completing a form and (2) participating in an interview. The whole process should not take more than two hours of your time.

The questionnaire is anonymous **so please DO NOT put your name on it**. Also, please answer honestly, as there is no particular correct answer that is being sought. If you do not wish to complete any part of the questionnaire, you are free to leave it blank.

I wish to assure you of complete confidentiality and anonymity. Furthermore, any information you give will be used for the purposes of this particular research project only.

Abdel Halim Sykes

### Section A

*Please complete this section with information about yourself.*

1. Nationality \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sex                                      Male    Female (circle one)
3. Age                                      \_\_\_\_\_
4. Highest educational qualification \_\_\_\_\_
5. English is my only language                                      Yes    No (circle one)
6. If your answer to item 5 is 'no', what other languages do you speak?  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Section B

*Listen carefully to the recordings. You will hear eleven samples of English being spoken. As you listen, circle a number 1-7 for each of the traits that are listed below to record your attitude to each speaker. You may listen to each speaker more than once. Complete the list of traits for each speaker before proceeding to the next one.*

### Speaker Four

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

### Speaker Seven

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

### Speaker Ten

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

### Speaker Twelve

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

### Speaker Fifteen

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

### Speaker Sixteen

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

Speaker Seventeen

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

Speaker Twenty-one

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

Speaker Twenty-four

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

Speaker Twenty-five

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

Speaker Twenty-six

1	friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unfriendly
2	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	untrustworthy
3	unsociable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sociable
4	sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere
5	unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reliable
6	discomforting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	comforting
7	selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	selfless
8	kind	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unkind
9	dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
10	likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unlikeable
11	intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unintelligent
12	uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	educated
13	unsuccessful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	successful
14	wealthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	poor
15	powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	powerless

*Thank you for your responses. You will now be asked a few questions about your attitude to the samples of English you have heard on the recordings.*



## **Appendix 18 Interview Questions**

### A. Fixed questions for all respondents

1. What kinds of English do you usually listen to?
2. Where do you usually listen to these kinds of English?
3. Which of the kinds you have listened to on the recording do you least like?
4. Why do you least like that kind of English?
5. If you did not speak a Singaporean English, which of the kinds of English you have listened to on the recording would you prefer to speak?
6. Why would you prefer to speak that kind of English?

### B. Additional questions as required

For items that the respondents mark 1,2 or 6,7, ask why they chose the extreme.

For example:

What was it about that speaker's English that made you feel he/she was very reliable?

What was so discomforting about that speaker's English?