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DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ATTITUDES TOWARDS FINNISH ENGLISH ACCENTS

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Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan kieliasenteita suomalaisten puhumaa englantia kohtaan. Vertailun kohteena on sekä suomalaisaksenttien vastaanotto suhteessa muihin vieraisiin aksentteihin että eroihin, jotka riippuvat kuulijan omasta taustasta. Tutkimuskysymyksiä oli siis neljä: miten suomalaisten puhumaan englantiiin suhtaudutaan, miten sen vastaanotto eroaa muiden oppijanenglantien vastaanotosta, millaisia eroja vastaanotossa on suomalaisten ja ulkomaalaisten välillä ja viimeisenä, miten äidinkielenään englantia puhuvien kuulijoiden arviot eroavat englantia vieraana kielenä puhuvien arvioista?

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen tausta on kieliasennetutkimuksessa ja englantia maailmanlaajuisena ilmiönä käsittelevässä kirjallisuudessa, joista ensimmäinen informoi tutkimuksen menetelmiä ja tulosten tulkintaa ja jälkimmäinen kontekstualisoi tutkimuksen sekä suhteessa olemassa olevaan kirjallisuuteen että englannin realiteetteihin ilmiönä. Käytetyt menetelmät perustuvat tilastotieteeseen, joista pääasialliset analyysin välineet olivat t-testi ja ristiintaulukointi.

Tutkimus toteutettiin sähköisellä kyselylomakkeella, joka sisälsi viisi ääninäytettä eri puhujista lukemassa samaa tekstiä. Vastaajia pyydettiin arvioimaan puhujien eri ominaisuuksia sanallistetulla Likertin asteikolla ja vastaamaan tavallisiin väestötieteellisiin kysymyksiin. Kyselyyn kerättiin vastaajia niin sosiaalisessa mediassa, Tampereen yliopiston sisäisillä tiedotuskanavilla, kuin kyselynjakosivustoillakin. Tutkimuskohteena olivat kaikki englannin käyttäjät, jotka osaavat englantia vähintään kyselyn täyttämiseen vaadittavalla tasolla. Tämän vuoksi kysely oli mahdollista täyttää vain englanniksi. Vastauksia kertyi lopulta 100 kpl.

Tuloksena todettiin, että suomalaisten puhumaan englantiiin suhtaudutaan melko hyvin niin itsessään kuin suhteessa muihin ei-äidinkielisiin englanteihin ja että suurimmat erot ilmenivät yksilöllisten puhujien välillä. Sekä suomalaiset että ulkomaalaiset vastaajat kokivat suomenenglannin helposti ymmärrettävänä ja suomalaiset osallistujat tunnistivat sen erityisen tarkasti verrattuna muihin tutkimuksen englanteihin. Suomenenglannin vastaanotossa oli johdonmukaisia eroja suhteessa kuulijan taustaan: sekä suomalaiset että englantia ei-äidinkielisesti puhuvat antoivat suomenenglannille negatiivisempia arvioita affektiasteikoilla kuin muut, vaikka pitivät päinvastoin suomenenglantia helpommin ymmärrettävänä kuin muut. Ainoa tilastollisesti merkittävä suhde löytyi miespuolisen näytteenantajan englannin vastaanotosta suomalaisten ja ei-suomalaisten välillä, joskin on argumentoitavissa, että otoksen pieni koko vaikutti löydösten vähyyteen.

Avainsanat: Language attitudes, ELF, Finnish English, Native Speaker Ideology

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1. Introduction

In the past few decades, English has become a truly integral aspect of Finnish life. Constant exposure to English via television, games, music, smart phone applications, and a flood of online media has led to a nationwide familiarity with the language – while a vigorous approach to language education has precipitated a high level of expertise in it. In 2011, over 60 percent of the participants of the *National Survey on the English Language in Finland* (NSELF) reported having studied English for at least 6 years and almost 60 percent of the responders thought English was at least moderately important in their life (Leppänen et al., 2011: 65, 93). In addition to the professional and economic advantages of knowing English, proficiency in the language allows Finns to pursue their personal and political interests within global communities: participating in grass-roots politics outside of the small sphere of Finnish-speakers, voicing their opinions to the world, and networking with people with similar interests would all be impossible for regular Finns without a basic grasp of English.

Given the importance of English in Finland, it is no surprise the relationship Finns have with English has been thoroughly researched, but it seems surprising what aspects of it have remained relatively untouched. Explored topics include Finns' attitudes to English in general, their attitudes to different varieties of English, how they use English, how and what English is taught, and even what Finns think about the nativity of English teachers (Leppänen et al., 2011; Hyrkestedt & Kalaja, 1998, as cited in Garrett, 2010: 160-163; Ranta, 2010; Mäkinen, 2014). Naturally, research has also delved into the features of the English that Finns produce (e.g. Toivanen, 1999) and even Finns' perceptions of "the native speaker" and speaker identities (Mauko, 2014). However, the onus in the literature tends to be overwhelmingly placed on the Finns and their point of view: their attitudes, preferences, and performance. Much less academic attention has been cast on the other party of the relationship – English. How do English-speakers view Finns? To be more specific, how are Finns received as users of English in the global English-speaking community? How is their performance assessed, what

characterizations are made based on their speech, and how are they received following these appraisals? Considering the global ubiquity of English and its great economic and social importance in Finland, the lack of study regarding attitudes towards Finnish English as a variety seems like an alarming gap in the literature. As argued previously, English has great relevance in Finnish life; however, this is equally true in the global economy, as competence in English is a significant personal and professional asset, which would make the question of how Finns are received as users of English a seemingly worthwhile target of inquiry.

However, it should be noted that whether one speaks English or not is not the only factor in the equations of the international marketplace – so is *how* one speaks English. The different ways speakers produce English influences how they are perceived, and a great deal of research has been conducted on attitudes towards specific varieties (e.g. He & Li, 2009:81; Bayard et al., 2001). People are judged on metrics such as likability, competence, and intelligence based on their language forms, and therefore knowledge of attitudes towards different language forms is a resource in itself. Furthermore, people often judge *themselves* based on the language they use – particularly when using a non-native language. For instance, as many as 53 percent of survey participants in the NSELF felt they did not know English well enough, and 17.2 percent reported they were ashamed of their English skills (Leppänen et al., 2011: 98). While one could argue that some of the responders may be factually correct in saying that their level of proficiency in English does not meet their actual needs, there is no argument to be made for the rationality or usefulness of learners feeling ashamed of their English, and such notions should be addressed at all levels of linguistic discourse.

The literature on the subject suggests that this shame is focused not only on one's individual speech, but on Finnish English overall. In the NSELF, 18 percent of responders chose Finnish English as the least appealing variety of English (Leppänen et al., 2011: 72) as did 18 percent of the participants in Mäkinen's (2014: 46) survey conducted on Finnish upper secondary school students. Similarly, in Rautionaho's (2016) experiment, 47 percent of Finnish participants ranked Finnish

English as the least pleasant variety of English (out of 6 specified varieties), while a control group consisting of non-Finnish participants did not evaluate Finnish English to be at all unpleasant. Negative attitudes towards Finnish English are so pervasive in the cultural canon that strong Finnish accents are derogatorily referred to as “rally English”, named after the heavily accented English spoken by Finnish Formula 1 drivers on television. The prevalence of these negative attitudes gives special importance to studying attitudes towards Finnish English specifically, and though holding negative attitudes towards a language form is by no means justified by research showing that such views are common, demonstrating a disparity between how Finns and non-Finns evaluate Finnish English would create a strong argument against the negativity and insecurity that characterize Finnish attitudes towards Finnish English, helping to cultivate learners’ confidence, language awareness, and self-image as English users.

However, these themes apply not only to Finland, but the entire world, owing to the ascension of English to the de facto global lingua franca, which did not come bearing opportunities alone. As the international spread of English mainly resulted from colonialism and the subsequent political and cultural dominance of the US, it may come as no surprise that English as a global phenomenon has been characterized by hierarchies, where Englishes differing from those of the colonialists’ – or more recently, the Native Speakers – are seen as inferior. Though these negative views may certainly have softened from those of the 19th century, there still persist attitudes on “proper English” that reproduce hierarchies where nonstandard varieties are placed below “Standard English” (see Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2007). This hierarchy is even permeated in the linguistic literature, as the perhaps most prominent model of global English in the last few decades, Kachru’s Circles model, overtly criticizes the defamation of Non-Native Speaker varieties while paradoxically structuring them into a hierarchy of their own. These themes are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 2, where an overview of the literature on modeling English is presented along with criticisms.

The hierarchical nature of global English becomes particularly relevant when considering that hundreds of millions of English users today receive their English through formal education. There are an estimated 750–1000 million people speaking English as a Foreign Language alone, and a further 430 million people for whom English is a second language used in education or politics (Crystal, 1997: 68–69). While acquisition of a native language may be influenced by the attitudes and beliefs of those the language is learned from, teaching is an organized activity and therefore requires decisions to be made about how it is organized, wherein the attitudes and beliefs that govern it manifest explicitly. In other words, there exist both overt and covert standards and practices for English teaching that regulate the acquisition of English for those that do not receive it as a native language, which are informed by the beliefs, ideologies, and politics of language. Though there are certainly differences between regions and individual schools, education in Europe is generally overtly informed by a standard of Native Speaker English, where the politically decreed goal of English education is to attain native-like competence rather than, for instance, to attain communicative competence, which arguably places Native Speaker English at the top of a hierarchy of English (Seidlhofer, 2011). Yet, as the overwhelming majority of communication in English happens with no native speakers at all (Beneke, 1991: 54, as cited in Seidlhofer, 2011) we are left with a question: who is it all for? In the end, it would appear that the answer is no one – as these practices are not informed by purpose, but rather, ideology.

In conclusion, the hierarchies of English are still present in the world, and what is more, they have real consequences. For instance, if a learner spends over ten years studying English in a classroom that values native-like speech most of all, how does it influence their image of themselves as English users? If despite having adept fluency as well as extraordinary communicative competence you never receive the highest grades, as they are reserved to those with native-like speech and accents, will you not consciously or unconsciously absorb the idea of being “below” those speakers? It would certainly seem so, as research has shown that speakers will even disparage their own language variety

if they are conscious of it being negatively stereotyped (Lambert et al, 1960, as cited in Preston, 2013). Though there are multiple explanations for what motivates language attitudes, and more specifically, negative language attitudes towards Non-Native Speaker varieties (see Chapter 3.2.) it seems implausible to argue that there is no connection between the negative attitude Finns exhibit over their English and the hierarchical nature of English.

The aim of this study, then, is not only to provide more information on Finnish English specifically, or to bolster speakers of Finnish English alone, but rather to begin examining the present state of English hierarchies residing in the minds of both Native and Non-Native users of English, and to provide more information for the theoretical models of English as well as their practical applications in English teaching. The research questions of the study are as follows:

1. How is Finnish English received...
 - a. In its own right?
 - b. Compared to other English as a Lingua Franca varieties?
2. How do evaluations of Finnish English differ depending on...
 - a. Whether the listener is a Native Speaker or not?
 - b. Whether the listener is Finnish or not?

The structure of the study is as follows. Chapter 2 details the theoretical models of English: Chapter 2.1. focuses on conventional models of English such as Kachru's Circles model and the EFL / ESL distinction as well as their critiques, Chapter 2.2. provides a competing model of English called ELF, describing in more detail the issues of the hierarchical models of English and the reality of present-day English, while Chapter 2.3. focuses on the sociopolitical realities of English in present-day Finland. In Chapter 3, we examine the theoretical basis of the study: Chapter 3.1. gives a broad outline on the study of language attitudes and its methods, while Chapter 3.2. focuses on the issue of attitudes towards Non-Native varieties specifically. In Chapter 4, the methodology of the study is presented divided into subsections on study design (Chapter 4.1.), data and participants (Chapter 4.2.),

and the actual process of collecting and analyzing the data (Chapter 4.2.). Results are detailed in Chapter 5, which is split into two subchapters based on the research questions they address: Chapter 5.1. is concerned with the reception of Finnish English in its own right as well as in comparison to other ELF varieties, while Chapter 5.2. introduces the results regarding how the listener's background influences their evaluation of Finnish English. Chapter 6 discusses the interpretation of the results, similarly divided into subsections according to the research question issued, with the addition of Chapter 6.3. to contemplate the implications of the results. Finally, in Chapter 7 a conclusion is presented.

2. Modeling English

This chapter focuses on the theoretical and political structures of English as a global phenomenon. Chapter 2.1. discusses the most ubiquitous, traditionally used theoretical models of English and their criticisms in the literature; Chapter 2.2. discusses a new theoretical model called English as a Lingua Franca and delves into the reasons why this was the chosen framework for the study at hand; finally, Chapter 2.3. describes the sociopolitical context of English in Finland in particular.

2.1. Kachru's Circles and the ESL / EFL distinction

No other language in the history of the world has ever evolved into the kind of linguistic Kraken that present-day English is. Its geographical spread spans the globe – and on top of that, dominates the Internet – while its functions range from the official first language of a country to the dominant lingua franca of global business, politics, and even leisure. The sheer volume of English use alone is unprecedented: the number of English speakers with native or native-like competence is 1,200 to 1,500 million in what Crystal (1997) calls a “middle-of-the-road” estimate – and that excludes completely the large number of speakers whose competence is not considered “native-like”. Consequent of this unprecedented expansion, it has become difficult for theorists to create analyses and models of English that sufficiently account for all of its tentacles and describe them aptly – the terminology and methodology of modelling English is littered with problematic concepts such as the aforementioned “native-like proficiency” which are difficult (if not impossible) to define, measure, and delimit.

Perhaps the most influential model used to examine English in its plurality is Kachru's Circles model (Kachru, 1992). The model consists of three concentric circles that represent three broad categories of global English, as shown in Figure 1. The Inner Circle consists of countries where English is a native language used for official functions; the Outer Circle of countries where English

has a special status due to colonialism; and the Expanding Circle of countries that were never colonized, yet voluntarily imported English to be learned at schools for the purpose of giving their citizens tools for international communication. What made the model so revolutionary at its time was the inclusion of an Outer Circle category that separated localized varieties of second-language Englishes from the learner Englishes of the Expanding Circle, thus

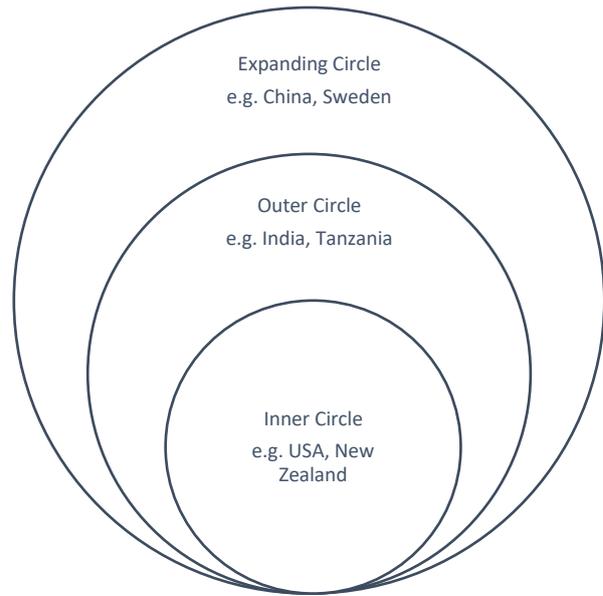


Figure 1: The Circles model

giving a special status to those varieties, which before Kachru's groundbreaking work were simply treated as incorrect, corrupt, and improper imitations of "good English". The Circles model provided a theoretical framework that allowed these varieties in particular to be recognized as legitimate regional varieties that had developed according to the needs of local language communities and consequently could even perhaps better satisfy those needs than an externally normativized, "proper" English. (Bruthiaux, 2003; Park & Wee 2009)

The strength of the Circles model is that it presents a fairly accurate generalization of the historical expansion of English. In the Inner Circle, native speakers of English brought their language along as they migrated to settle new land; in the Outer Circle, English was forced upon indigenous peoples and slaves by colonizers; in the Expanding Circle, English was imported as an asset to international relations and business. However, this is indeed a simplification, and the spectrum of English variation and its historical evolution is incredibly complex within the Circles themselves. In fact, "English Language Complex" is what Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008: 6) have chosen to call the whole of English as a global phenomenon. They identify 4 native and 8 non-native variant categories of English, the latter of which consist of: English as a Second Language (ESL), English as a Foreign

Language (EFL), Pidgin Englishes, Creole Englishes, Immigrant Englishes, Language-shift Englishes, Jargon Englishes, and Hybrid Englishes – all denoting disparate types of language formation. In addition to this diverse spectrum of development, the situation of present-day Expanding Circle countries is also becoming less and less homogenous as English takes on different functions on an international and intranational level – there have even been suggestions that countries such as Norway and Sweden may be moving toward an ESL paradigm.

Indeed, criticism of Kachru's Circles model is specifically concerned with its emphasis on history and an inability to account for other complexities of English. A summary of critiques was compiled by Park & Wee (2009: 389–391), who make the following remarks:

While Kachru's Three Circles model of World Englishes (Kachru 1985, 1986; Kachru and Nelson 1996) has been highly influential in highlighting the changing distribution and functions of English, it has also been criticized for its inability to account for the heterogeneity and dynamics of English-using communities, and for perpetuating the very inequalities and dichotomies that it aims to combat [...] Critics of the model contend that its wide scope, **aiming as it does to marry political history with sociolinguistic phenomena**, leads to an inconsistency in theoretical focus, since it veers rather unpredictably from focusing specifically on varieties, countries, speakers, or some combination of the three, as the analysis shifts from one circle to another [...] [*Emphasis added.*]

Truly, the greatest issue with the Circles model appears to be its scope and the difficulty of modeling categories for the colorful spectrum of English speakers, varieties, and contexts of use based on linguistic fact rather than historical developments – and it follows that three decades later, the model no longer accounts very well for current sociolinguistic realities. Bruthiaux (2003: 161) also notes of the model:

[...] because it is descriptively and analytically inconsistent as well as over-representative of a political agenda, the model has little explanatory power and makes only a minor contribution to making sense of the current configuration of English worldwide. In essence, the model suffers from the legacy of past successes. While the promotion of denigrated varieties was a just and timely objective, this concentration has left us with a primarily nation-based model which draws on specific historical events and which correlates poorly with current sociolinguistic data.

The “political agenda” refers here to Kachru’s openly admitted goal of dispelling myths and prejudice towards Outer Circle varieties of English. What may be added to Bruthiaux’s criticism is that aside from the model’s theoretical failings, it is ironic that in his endeavors to rid disparaged varieties of English of their stigma, Kachru has focused his efforts entirely on the Outer Circle and thus passively reinforced the status of other non-native Englishes as less valid (or entirely invalid) Englishes. Indeed, Kachru (1991: 5, as cited in Jenkins, 2007: 11) maintains that “there is a widely recognized and justified sociolinguistic and pedagogical distinction between ESL and EFL.”

Such a distinction, however, is difficult to convincingly maintain with present-day English, and does not accurately capture certain realities of today’s English. Nayar (1997: 9) offers a criticism of the terms ESL and EFL themselves, arguing that they have been “nurtured and promoted” by “the professional and commercial interests of the English language teaching enterprise” and that they are not based on linguistic fact, but rather “history and demography”. Indeed, when comparing ESL and EFL speakers based on linguistic fact alone, it often becomes difficult to identify what the consistent categorical differences between them are. Their similarities, on the other hand, are numerous: both have developed to suit the communicative purposes of non-native contexts of English, both exhibit linguistic features resulting from influence from the L1, and both have a diverse spectrum of speakers arranged on the two separate dimensions of fluency and “native-likeness”. These similarities are

particularly evident in how many researchers tend to use the two either interchangeably or often in conjunction, making no particular distinction between the two.

However, Nayar's aforementioned criticisms are mostly focused on terminology alone, criticizing the disparity in the use of ESL as a category, and evidently taking the validity of the term EFL as a given through summarizing it as the English of countries where "it is taught as a subject in schools but where it has no recognized status or function" (ibid. pp. 13). This, however, is presently not true in many countries categorized into the Expanding Circle – in fact, given the international importance and utility of English, hardly *any* countries in the world give English "no recognized status or function". Even arguing that English has no *intranational* status or function would be simply fallacious in the present day, as even Expanding Circle countries use English in a multitude of intranational contexts, such as business, higher education, and specific subcultures. Old characterizations of EFL simply fail to correspond to the reality of global English – as do Judd's (1987: 6, as cited in Nayar, 1997: 13) who says that English "serves little communicative function" and "has no special status or use over any other foreign language" in an EFL context – as English has undoubtedly attained the status of *the* international language, particularly in Europe. For more on the specific status and use of English in Finland, see Chapter 3.3.

For the purposes of this study, then, a more accurate model of English as a global phenomenon is required, which is discussed further in Chapter 2.2. However, the Circles model is also relevant to this study as a reflection of both historical and ideological realities – the hierarchic structure of ENL/ESL/EFL distinctions and a classification of English-using countries according to colonial history. Indeed, Park & Wee (2009) suggest that the model not be used to examine the linguistic reality of English as a global phenomenon but reinterpreted as a *representation* of the hierarchies that result from English ideologies. In this study, the Circles model is used precisely as a model of the global hierarchy of English, where the Inner Circle holds the highest status and power, Expanding Circle Englishes are given little to no status, and the Outer Circle is situated in the middle.

2.2. English as a Lingua Franca

For a model that more aptly captures the realities of English in non-native-speaker countries, we turn to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). This chapter gives an outline of the basic theory, strengths, and criticisms of ELF, contrasting it with Native Speaker Ideology, and offering arguments for why the latter is theoretically and ideologically erroneous in a global language context.

Native Speaker Ideology refers not to any explicit, clearly delimited, or consciously formed ideology, but rather a collection of beliefs and attitudes that form an ideology of English that idolizes Native English and posits it as the norm for all speakers. This ideology explicitly manifests in angry demands for minority speakers and Non-Native Speakers (NNS) to “speak proper English”, but also in more subtle ways: in English teaching curriculums that set attaining “native-like” English as the ultimate goal of learning, in self-proclaimed “grammar nazis” disdain for “grammatical errors” that are actually dialectal features, and Native Speakers’ (NS) bemused attitudes towards Non-Native Speakers with strong regional accents regardless of how high their communicative competence is. It may be easy to identify how such attitudes are unpleasant or even misguided on a surface level, but to understand how catastrophically erroneous the underlying assumption of native-normativity is, we must first discuss ELF and certain facts about English.

In opposition to Native Speaker Ideology, the underlying theoretical basis of ELF is the acknowledgement of the reality that English is different from every other language in history due to its pervasive global status as a lingua franca, which means that in the context of a foreign language it can no longer be analyzed in the same simplistic way as other languages. Crystal (1997: 68–69) gives the following estimates of English speakers globally:

- L1 speakers: 320–400 million
- L2 speakers: 430 million
- EFL speakers: 750–1000 million

Examining the numbers, it becomes immediately apparent that native speakers are vastly outnumbered and that the largest group of speakers is in fact the EFL (as called by Crystal) group. What is more, Beneke (1991: 54, as cited in Seidlhofer, 2011) gives the estimate that out of all communication where English is used as a second or foreign language, as much as 80 percent involves no native speakers at all. Seidlhofer (2011: 2) additionally notes that this estimate was “as long ago as 1991 and bearing in mind the growing figures for speakers in the ‘Outer’ and ‘Expanding Circles’, the percentage Beneke quotes is likely to be even higher now.” In other words, there is now a colossal group of non-native English speakers who are learning English *mainly to speak it with other non-native English speakers*. This is the unprecedented and entirely aberrant reality of present-day English, which scholars have encapsulated in varying terminology: English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), which was chosen for this study, English as an International Language (EIL), English as a Global Language, etc. (Seidlhofer, 2003: 9). The reasons why ELF in particular appears to be gaining academic traction as well as the reason it was found most suitable for this paper is reflected in this summary of the term’s merits by Jenkins (2000: 11):

ELF emphasizes the role of English in communication between speakers from different L1s, i.e. the primary reason for learning English today; it suggests the idea of community as opposed to alienness; it emphasizes that people have something in common rather than their differences; it implies that ‘mixing’ languages is acceptable [...] and thus that there is nothing inherently wrong in retaining certain characteristics of the L1, such as accent; finally, the Latin name symbolically removes the ownership of English from the Anglos both to no one and, in effect, to everyone.

As visible from Jenkins’ comments, the ELF model of English has complex ideological implications in stark opposition of Native Speaker Ideology. The most basic arguments and their differences can be found in Table 1. The largest ideological *and* pragmatical question posed by the ELF model is as follows: if most learners of English study the language to use it primarily in contexts that involve no

native speakers, why should the focus of their learning as well as the metric of their success be how well they imitate native speech, i.e. the “native-likeness” of their speech?

Table 1: The Differences of Native Speaker and ELF Ideology based on Seidlhofer (2011), Jenkins (2007)

NS ideology	ELF ideology
English belongs to native speakers and ‘resides’ in them	ELF is distinct from native English and is not defined by native speakers
English norms are decided by native speech	English norms can be negotiated within the communicative situation depending on communicative needs
The target of English learning is (and should be) native-like speech and cultural assimilation	The target of English learning should be efficient communication in international contexts, and native-like speech should not be a criterion for fluency
NNS variants are learner errors	NNS variants are acceptable features of localized or globalized English that should only be considered errors if they hinder intelligibility
Communication between NNSs is an imperfect imitation of NS	Communication between NNSs is distinct from NS

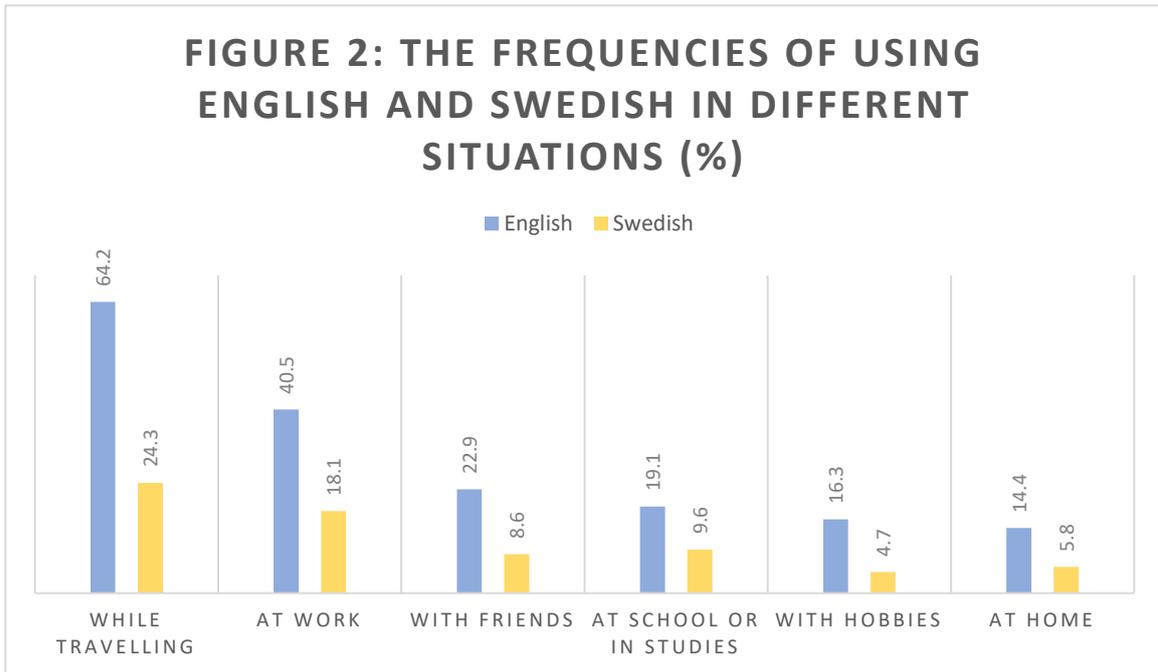
The natural conclusion of ELF ideology is that what in the Circles model would be called Expanding Circle varieties should be acknowledged as legitimate varieties of English that serve the communicative needs of their speech communities just as well or perhaps better than native English, and it logically follows that English teaching in these regions should not be obstinately focused on eradicating non-native language features where they do not hinder intelligibility. Modiano (Jenkins, J., Modiano, M. & Seidlhofer, B., 2001: 13) goes as far as to remark: “IF, THROUGH [sic] a EU decree, a distinctive European variety of English became the official language [...] and was the standard for English language education, *second-language* status would be immediately established.” In other words, one may argue that the only thing keeping what Jenkins, Modiano, and Seidlhofer (ibid.) call ‘Euro-English’ from being considered a legitimate Outer Circle variety is formal

recognition. Naturally, more research is required on the linguistic features and functions of ELF, as well as effective teaching practices, before linguistically sound categorizations and stable terminology can be established; however, ELF scholars have already begun the work and produced significant results, such as Jenkins' (2000) investigation into which phonological ELF features hinder intelligibility and which do not. What remains is for the scientific community to boldly re-examine English as a global phenomenon without being confined to outdated representations that no longer accurately capture the reality of English – for as Jenkins (2000: 160) astutely put: “There is really no justification for doggedly persisting in referring to an item as “an error” if the vast majority of the world’s L2 English speakers produce and understand it.” Ergo, this study will categorize Englishes only by the distinction of Native Speaker and Non-Native Speaker English, where the “nativeness” of a speaker is established by the individuals themselves. Non-Native Speaker Englishes that their users speak to communicate with Native and Non-Native Speakers alike are referred to as ELF Englishes.

2.3. English in Finland

The status English occupies in Finland is that of a uniquely dominant foreign language. Though learning English in Finnish schools is technically optional, nearly everyone elects to study it – as many as 98 percent of secondary school students learned English in 2000–2001 and 87.6 percent of elementary school students chose English for their first foreign language in 2000 (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003). Finns are generally quite capable English users and speak it in a variety of situations –

below (Figure 2) is a comparison of the frequencies at which Finns reported using English compared to Swedish in different situations in the NSELF (data from Leppänen et al., 2011: 58–59).



The dominance of English in Figure 2 is particularly halting when one considers the fact that while English has no officially recognized status in Finland, Swedish is in fact the *second official language* in Finland, legally equal to the majority language Finnish. In other words, English is more commonplace than one of the official languages in Finland.

The de facto dominant status of English in Finland is may be largely the result of the cultural dominance of the United States and the consequent prevalence of English in entertainment. Unlike many other European countries, Finland elected to use subtitles instead of dubbing for foreign television shows and movies, leading to Finns being constantly bombarded by English from a young age. In addition to film, English emerges in music, games, and software; given the country's small population, translations in Finnish are often not created at all, which may have been the reason for Finns becoming accustomed to consuming many types of entertainment and services in English. Similarly resulting from the small pool of speakers, the segment of the Internet using Finnish as a primary language is rather small (cf. French or Spanish use online) and Finns browse English language sites and social media a great deal. Furthermore, English has a particularly notable role in

subcultures such as gaming, hip hop, or fanfiction communities, where English words and expressions are mixed in with Finnish and code-switching is a common phenomenon. Leppänen (2007) delved into four different youth language contexts to investigate the de facto position of English in Finland, arguing that for these youth English is not as much a foreign as an additional language that allows them to express themselves, construct their personal identities, and build communities based on those identities and shared interests. While discussing English in the Finnish hip-hop community in particular, Leppänen (2007: 160) arrives at a particularly salient observation:

[...] for them, the lyrics could in principle be either in English or Finnish, and there is no obvious reason why all of the text could not be in English. In fact, in the same way as some professional Finnish hip-hoppers select English as the language for their lyrics, it is also possible to find examples of completely English lyrics on Finnish hip-hop sites. The Finnish hip-hop fans thus can be seen to constitute a social group for whom English may already be an additional everyday resource along with Finnish. **For them, English has already lost its foreignness.** [*Emphasis added.*]

Indeed, while it is indisputable that English has a far more notable status in Finland than that of just a foreign language, one may also make a convincing argument for why it should be regarded as a second language.

However, to arrive at a discussion of the formal features of Finnish English as a variety, we must first consider whether Finnish English can even be regarded as a variety of English. Leimgruber (2013: 5) warns against haphazard labeling of language as geographical varieties, demonstrating with Singapore English as an example how inconsistent definitions of said varieties may be among different speakers. Leimgruber (2013: 5–6) also states:

More worryingly, however, there is a comparable mismatch between the use, among linguists, of similarly-labelled varieties and their interest in an accurate description. Such labels suggest

a certain degree of uniformity within the variety which is often lacking. In the case of ‘Singapore English’, internal variation is considerable, and the only uncontroversially shared feature is the geographical delimitation of the unit of analysis [...] Such a definition is not linguistic but geographical and political, and a close analysis of the varieties of English on both sides of the Singapore Straits would show that Singapore English and Malaysian English are in fact quite comparable in form. What distinguishes them most is their sociolinguistic status within their respective countries.

One may notice that Leimgruber’s (ibid.) criticisms are exactly those presented against a literal interpretation of Kachru’s Circles model in chapter 2.1., and do in fact constitute important caveats to linguists. However, whether they justify entirely relinquishing labels such as Singapore English or Finnish English is highly debatable, as the same criticisms could be made of categorizing languages *in general*: though the Norwegian spoken at the immediate proximity of the Swedish border may more closely resemble the Swedish spoken on the other side of said border than for example the Norwegian spoken in the capital, hardly anybody is willing to argue that calling it ‘Norwegian’ is erroneous or a meaningless distinction. This is because linguists already know that language exist in a continuum and do not treat categorizations as absolute: a language form can be categorized and examined in many different ways that may even contradict each other. For example, Finnish English is most definitely a part of Euro English, and more broadly, English as a Lingua Franca, but there is simultaneously merit in examining it at the level of a nation state. For as Park & Wee (2009: 401) note: “[...] even though a speaker’s use of language may be positioned simultaneously on levels other than that of the nation-state, how this language use stands in relation to institutionalized standard varieties or identity-based national languages often constitutes an important aspect of its local meaning.” Therefore, whether or not Finnish English constitutes a linguistically consistent and absolutely distinct entity, examining this politically and geographically delineated variety of English is meaningful, as it provides insight into linguistic behavior, identity, and hierarchy. For this reason,

complex discussion of what ‘variety’ constitutes are forfeited in favor of recognition that the term Finnish English, as any other regional variety, is a simplification of a complex and diverse linguistic reality that may not be fruitful in other investigations.

Little research exists on the formal features of Finnish English specifically, though some investigations have been made. Jarvis & Odlin (2000) compared the prepositional systems of adolescent Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking learners of English, concluding that the Finnish-speakers’ prepositional systems had several distinctive and fairly prevalent features, such as the preference for zero prepositions and prepositions resembling the use of the Finnish illative such as ‘into’ or ‘to’. Sajavaara & Dufva (2001: 249–250) examined the phonology of Finnish learners of English, concluding that Finns struggle most with producing the consonantal sounds of English, having issues with voicing, duration, and aspiration. Hirvonen (1970: 76–77) compared the communicative intonation of Finnish and English, noting that subtle differences in English intonation may elude Finnish learners of English and gave a practical example: “The use of a falling intonation in general questions, for example ‘Have you been here long?’, gives the question an air of brusqueness reminiscent of a cross-examination, which might create rather an embarrassing situation for the innocent Finn [...]”. Naturally, one may credibly argue for the linguistic interpretation of these findings as learner errors (in a technical sense) that are more illuminating of transfer and second language acquisition processes than the features of a stable variety; indeed, research into Finnish immigrant communities in the Anglosphere could perhaps provide more compelling literature on the subject. However, it remains that there exists a fairly large community of Finnish English speakers whose language has distinct features that are very recognizable – in Rautionaho’s (2016) investigation, Finnish English (along with Indian English) was the most recognized variety.

A particularly notable aspect of Finnish English is that there is a very well-known stereotype of what Finnish English sounds like, particularly among Finns. Pronunciation forms the core of this stereotype, with heavy Finnish accents often being derided as “rally English” or “tankero English”,

both names originating from instances of Finnish public figures' idiosyncratic English use on television. This stereotype appears to be at the heart of Finnish perceptions of Finnish English in particular and will be discussed more in chapter 3.2.

3. Language Attitudes

In this chapter, we discuss the theory and sociopolitical realities of language attitudes. While chapter 3.1. discusses the essential theory behind language attitude research and describes the theoretical framework of this study, chapter 3.2. focuses specifically on the reception of Non-Native Speaker English varieties and its potential scientific explanations.

3.1. The Fundamentals of Language Attitudes

Humans have an innate tendency to make swift judgements of each other based on language. These judgements are informed by a myriad of clues ranging from word choices to intonation. Some of these judgements are accurate, and some are not – for instance, listeners may successfully associate a speaker with a specific geographic region based on their pronunciation of certain sounds, but they may also mistakenly associate them with a region they have never even set foot in. However, the validity of these assumptions does not rely merely on correct guesses, as some linguistic judgements are not informed by factual information to begin with. For instance, Jamaican dialects are often associated with personality traits such as “relaxed”, or “happy-go-lucky”, which may lead people – consciously or unconsciously – to assign these traits to a person speaking in a Jamaican dialect. This happens despite the fact that there is no actual evidence that this particular person has those traits or that those traits are particularly common in speakers of Jamaican dialects in general.

Similarly, dialects associated with different social classes may lead not only to one’s social class being guessed at, but also judgements of their character being made. Depending on the speaker, the listener, and a number of other contextual factors, a dialect associated with the upper class may be perceived as either “educated” or “snobbish”, a dialect associated with rural areas may be judged as “warm” or “unsophisticated”, and dialects associated with minorities may be thought of as “cool” or “weird”. These types of evaluative reactions to people’s language use are known as language attitudes, and as one may deduce from the examples above, they are incredibly important for research

due to how they influence our view of people based on their language – indeed, as Dragojevic et al. (2017: 387) note: “[...] negative language attitudes are consequential because they can have a number of adverse communicative and other social consequences, including discrimination in the workplace, housing, courts and education [...]” In other words, these attitudes influence not only our personal thoughts of individuals, but may have severe consequences on a societal scale.

It is not easy to define what ‘attitudes’ actually mean – there are many proposed definitions for the term, all of them with their own merits and demerits. This study is based on a cognitive-behavioral interpretation of attitudes, where attitudes are interpreted as mental constructs of individuals that cannot be directly examined, but manifest “directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour” (Oppenheim, 1982: 39, as cited in Garrett, 2010: 19). In this view of language attitudes, there are 3 key components that language attitudes are made of:

1. The **cognitive** component (i.e. what is **thought**)
2. The **affective** component (i.e. what is **felt**)
3. The **behavioral** component (i.e. what **action** is taken)

This division should by no means be interpreted as indisputable: it is difficult to dissect abstract concepts into absolute subcategories. Rather, the purpose of this terminology is to take note of the many facets of language attitudes that can be investigated. This study concentrates on the affective and cognitive components; a focus which has been criticized for being overrepresented at the expense of the behavioral component in the literature but suits the purposes and allotted resources of this particular study, as attitudes towards Finnish English in particular have yet to receive much academic attention. Therefore, preliminary research should be executed before assembling more difficult experimental settings that can produce valid results concerning the behavioral aspect of language attitudes towards Finnish English.

In addition to the former division of the components of language attitudes, distinctions are made concerning what aspect of the speaker is judged based on language. In other words, language attitudes are generally divided to evaluations of **status** and **solidarity**. Attributes related to status consist of qualities such as “educated”, “intelligent”, or “competent”, and language varieties with high status are called prestige varieties, as they enjoy a position of high social status – for instance, individuals with Received Pronunciation (RP), which is sometimes referred to as “BBC English”, are typically associated with the upper class, high social standing, and extensive formal education. Solidarity, on the other hand, relates to evaluations of traits such as “warm”, “sympathetic”, or “likable”, and language varieties rated high on the solidarity scale typically carry **covert** prestige: though they do not hold high status in society, they may elicit positive reactions, particularly from individuals that identify with subgroups that are associated with the language variety. For instance, in direct contrast to RP, speakers of Cockney English are often stereotyped as uneducated or unintelligent, but simultaneously may appear more approachable, down-to-earth, or likable than their RP peers. It would seem that even in the world of language one cannot have it all: high-status dialects are typically ranked low on solidarity traits, and conversely high-solidarity dialects low on status traits. Furthermore, as dialects are strong markers of identity, people typically associate more solidarity with dialects spoken in their communities and groups they identify with. In other words, Cockney speakers may rate speakers of Cockney or other dialects associated with working class people more highly on solidarity traits, which is particularly noticeable in communicative contexts where a shared low-status language variety is chosen over the standard variety in order to build solidarity.

A leading explanation for how language attitudes function involves social categorization and stereotypes. Social categorization refers to the process where upon hearing another person’s speech we mentally place them into a social category such as ‘upper class’, ‘conservative’, or ‘gay’. After this mental filing, theoretically, the stereotypes that we hold relevant to those categories are activated, and applied to the speaker. There is evidence to support this theory – for example, Dragojevic et al.

(2018) found that a low status dialect was evaluated less favorably, and a high-status dialect more favorably when they were identified correctly. In other words, because the same speaker was evaluated differently depending on how they were categorized, we may deduce that social categorization is relevant to language attitudes. What is more, in their groundbreaking research Niedzielski (1999) discovered that social information actually influences how we perceive speech itself, as Detroit-area residents reported the vowels in a speech sample of a fellow Detroiter differently depending on whether they were told they would listen to a Detroiter or a Canadian; similarly, Blair et al. (2002) demonstrated that traits related to black stereotypes were applied more to individuals whose afro-centric facial features were more prominent – regardless of other factors, such as attractiveness. However, it has also been suggested that stereotypes may be applied directly to a dialect itself, as suggested by Milroy and McClenaghan (1977: 8–9, as cited in Preston, 2013) who found that certain well-known accents were evaluated consistently between listeners who could and could not identify the accents: “Presumably by hearing similar accents very frequently [one] has learnt to associate them with their reference groups. In other words, accents with which people are familiar may *directly* evoke stereotyped responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group.” In this case too, then, internalized stereotypes guide language attitudes.

Recent research has delved into processing fluency as another potential agent of language attitudes, which seems appropriate considering how it is fluency in particular that is often cited as an explanation or justification for negative evaluations of non-native speakers in particular (Shuck, 2004). It has been found that fluency does in fact affect language attitudes: Dragojevic & Giles (2016) demonstrated that listeners evaluated speakers more negatively in noisy environments where both processing fluency and performance were low, while Dragojevic et al. (2017) established a similar effect by comparing evaluations of heavily foreign-accented speakers and mildly foreign-accented speakers. While discussing how fluency informs negative attitudes, Dragojevic & Giles (2016: 399)

note that besides the obvious affective explanation for why fluency negatively informs speaker evaluations – the explanation that, simply put, it is frustrating for listeners to have to expend more energy to understand the speaker – judgements may be informed by the application of naïve theories:

People’s naïve theories about processing fluency reflect their assumptions of what makes it easy or difficult to process information [...] People may have several naïve theories that link their metacognitive experiences of fluency to their language attitudes. For example, **people may believe that the ease or difficulty they experience processing a communicative message depends on the sender’s competence and/or goodwill. People commonly place the burden of communication disproportionately or even entirely on the sender ...** [*Emphasis added.*]

In other words, a non-native speaker’s poor comprehensibility may be treated not as a practical circumstance resulting from their language skill (and having to communicate in a non-native language), but as an indicator of their personal qualities or intentions. However, neither group perceives these findings as contradicting the idea of stereotypes and social categorization behind language attitudes – in fact, Dragojevic & Giles (2016: 414) specifically state: “The fluency- and stereotype-based accounts of the language attitudes process are neither mutually exclusive nor contradictory. Rather, they complement one another and represent two parallel mechanisms of the same process.”

3.2. Attitudes Towards Non-Native Varieties & Finnish English

Non-native varieties of English are typically plagued with negative attitudes that sometimes culminate into extreme prescriptivism and even discrimination. These attitudes have traditionally been most prolific in letters to editors and discussion forums, but have more recently begun to propagate online comment sections and social media posts. The grievances aired range from humorous disdain to impassioned haranguing against the use of “corrupt” or “improper” English, and

are typically authored by native speakers. However, negative bias is not limited to the judgement of native speakers, nor any other outsider of the speech community in question – speakers of a variety that is the recipient of negative language attitudes may themselves show the same bias, sometimes even more harshly than outsiders (Lambert et al, 1960, as cited in Preston, 2013). It would seem that people submit to common evaluations and stereotypes even when it means they must downgrade their own linguistic variety.

This self-deprecating quality seems particularly characteristic of Finnish users of English. *The National Survey on English Language in Finland* (Leppänen et al., 2011) reported, among other findings, that:

- The majority of participants (53 %) felt they do not know English well enough. (pp. 98)
- Only 4 percent of participants did not feel their English skills were inadequate in any situation. (pp. 99–100)
- 17,2 percent of participants reported that they are “ashamed” of their English skills. (pp. 98)
- 18 percent of participants chose Finnish English as the least appealing variety of English, surpassed in unpopularity only by Indian English. (pp. 72)

Similar results were found by Mäkinen (2014: 46) with 18 percent of Finnish upper secondary schoolers choosing Finnish English as the least pleasant variety of English, and Rautioaho (2016) with 47 percent of Finnish participants choosing Finnish English as the least pleasant when asked to rank 6 varieties of English. Conversely, Finnish English was chosen as the most appealing only by 7 percent of respondents in the NSELF (Leppänen et al., 2011: 71). What is more, because of the common phenomenon of Finnish celebrities’ English skills being lambasted by the public, Leppänen et al. (2011: 76) asked survey participants how they feel hearing a famous Finn speaking English poorly: 28,3 percent reported feeling “sympathy”, 20,4 percent “amusement”, 13,1 percent

“embarrassment on behalf of Fins”, and 9,5 percent “irritation”; only 13,8 percent reported a positive feeling, “admiration for a good effort”.

However, this is not to say that Finnish attitudes towards Finnish English are nothing but negative. Leppänen et al. (2011: 98) also found that 38,1 percent of respondents are “proud” of their English skills, and Ranta (2010: 163) found that with the 70 % Finnish school students who reported they did not keep to a specific variety in their use of English, “[t]he most frequently (34%) cited motivation was the fact that students considered it unnecessary, ‘phony’, or even counter-productive to cling to a particular native variety, instead showing confidence in their ‘own personal variety’ ...”. Furthermore, Ranta (2010: 165) states:

The students were also of the opinion that in communicating in English the most important thing is getting one’s message across rather than being grammatically correct (89% agreed with the statement). **However**, it is also notable that when presented with the statement: ‘I feel uneasy expressing my thoughts in English if I am not sure of the grammatical correctness of what I want to say’, as many as 37% of the students agreed.
[*Emphasis added.*]

As an explanation for this apparent contradiction, Ranta (ibid.) suggests that the anxiety concerning grammatical correctness may result from English teaching in Finland placing excessive weight on teaching grammar. Ranta (2010: 167) also notes that students seem aware of the disparity between “school English” and communication in real world situations, and appear to mentally separate the two. It would seem, then, that despite intellectually recognizing the difference between genuine communication in English and classroom English – which is modeled after Native Speaker standards – students are unable to resist the influence of the latter on their self-confidence.

In summary, it could be argued that though Finns are mostly conceptually aware and in agreement with key tenets of ELF ideology, such as the fact that English learner will mostly use

English with other non-native speakers (Ranta, 2010: 162), and that NE does not constitute the only valid standard of English (Ranta, 2010: 163–164), on an affective level they still possess negative bias towards their own variety of English – even though the negative sentiment might not be shared by foreigners (Rautionaho, 2016).

4. Methodology

This chapter details the methods of the study: the survey design (Chapter 4.1.), data and subjects (Chapter 4.2.), and the analysis of the collected data (Chapter 4.3.).

4.1. Design

The chosen method for the study was a varied guise technique (VGT) online survey distributed via social media (mostly Facebook.com), survey sharing sites (e.g. SurveyCircle.com), and Tampere University's internal communication channels. The survey consisted of demographic questions and audio clips of 5 different non-native English speakers reading the same short passage from a story, which were followed by direct questions regarding the respondents' impressions towards the speakers. The full survey is attached in Appendix 1. The survey software used was E-lomake while the audio clips were hosted on Clyp, a free online audio hosting site. A pilot test was arranged to ensure the functionality of this design, receiving feedback from 5 testers whose suggestions for improvement were then implemented in the final design of the survey.

The audio samples for the survey were acquired from five ELF speakers of varying backgrounds. The speakers' information is detailed in Table 2 in the same order as the samples appeared in the survey and the text used is presented in Appendix 2. Native English speakers were not included in the samples as the reception of Finnish English accents in comparison to the speech of other ELF speakers was of particular interest, as it allowed the study to distinguish between a general negativity toward Non-Native Speaker Englishes and disparagement of Finnish English in particular, thus ascertaining whether the disparagement of one's own English that emerges in Finnish culture (see Chapter 3.2.) is a specifically Finnish trait or one shared by Non-Native Speakers in general. Furthermore, in order to acquire a satisfactory number of participants, the survey needed to be kept brief, for which reason the absolute maximum of speakers to be included was set at five. The number of Finnish English speakers was decided to be two, as any conclusions drawn from attitudes towards

only a single Finnish English speaker would be difficult to argue for, but the inclusion of a majority of Finnish speakers would make the subject of the study blatantly apparent, thus potentially affecting the results (the topic of the study was presented in generic terms as “listener attitudes to different speakers”). A further detail that ought to be noted of the speakers is that with the exception of the Chinese speaker, all of them participate in the gaming subculture where English has a special function as the lingua franca of all communication: ergo, they speak English on a daily basis in an ELF setting. The Danish Male and Norwegian Male were the only ones with native-like accents; other participants had somewhat heavy non-standard accents.

Table 2: Background Information on the Sample Speakers

Sample	Sex	Age	Nationality	Highest degree completed
DM	M	35	Danish	Junior high school
CF	F	41	Chinese	Bachelor’s degree
FM	M	27	Finnish	High school
NM	M	33	Norwegian	High school
FF	F	22	Finnish	High school

The audio clips were edited with Audacity to reduce background noise, improve quality, and to make the speakers less identifiable – as the survey was circulated via social media, which emphasizes personal connections, it was important to reduce the risk that the speakers would be recognized and evaluated on that basis. The pitch of the samples was therefore altered by 5 to 15 per cent, which allowed the speakers’ identities to be less apparent while the sound remained fairly natural. In the pilot run, a respondent commented on one of the samples sounding computer-generated; the editing of the sample in question was reduced to restore authenticity.

For the questions regarding the audio clips, a 5-step Likert scale was used to measure various attitudes towards the speakers. The scale used verbal descriptions commonly used for Likert scales: “not at all” for 0, “slightly” for 1, “moderately” for 2, “very” for 3, and “extremely” for 4 – this

ensured that responses were meaningful and could be interpreted in comparison to each other as well as independently. Respondents were asked to estimate traits related to solidarity and status such as likability, trustworthiness, intelligence, competence, and successfulness on the scale. Respondents were then provided two open fields to describe any additional impressions about the speaker and their thoughts on where the speaker is from, but were also informed that these fields are optional.

The online survey using VGT was chosen for a number of reasons. Online surveys enable a large sample, which in turn allows for a statistically reliable comparison of language attitudes. Furthermore, it has been argued that social desirability bias – i.e. the tendency to give socially acceptable answers even if they are not entirely honest – is less prominent in surveys compared to interviews (Oppenheim, 1992: 126, as cited in Garrett, 2010:45). This is a particularly important point for the study of language attitudes and attitudes in general, as negative language attitudes towards minority or Non-Native Speaker varieties in particular may be heavily socially sanctioned. Using VGT, on the other hand, ascertains that the attitudes expressed by participants are not influenced by the meaning or content of what the speakers in the samples are saying.

A justified criticism of VGT is that respondents may still be influenced by the speakers' extralinguistic features, such as pitch or vocal timbre – however, the only known method for eliminating the effect of extralinguistic features, matched guise technique (MGT), was fundamentally unsuitable for this study for several reasons. First, as the Finnish English investigated in this study is arguably a learner variety, there are no speakers that can produce genuine Finnish English along with, for instance, American English, or Indian English: the speech would instead be an imitation of a foreign accent, which, arguably, would undermine the validity of the study as respondents would be evaluating one speaker's imitations or a stereotype of Finnish English, rather than the variety itself. Secondly, even in more opportune research contexts, procuring a speaker who speaks or can convincingly imitate several language varieties is difficult and resource-heavy. Finally, there have been studies using both MGT and direct approach methods where it was concluded that the simpler

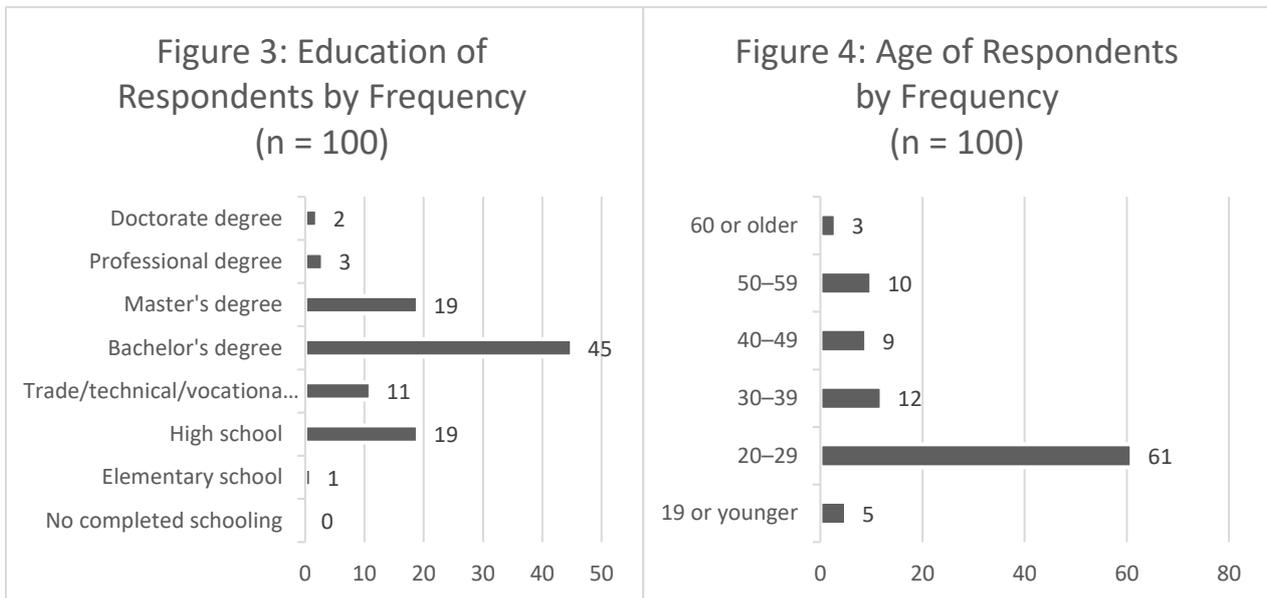
direct method yielded the exact same results (e.g. Giles, 1970, as cited in Garrett, 2010: 42-43) – though converse results have also been found (e.g. Lambert et al., 1965, as cited in Garrett, 2010: 42-43). For the purposes of this fairly preliminary study, VGT was the more suitable method and its flaws were combated in the study design by including a suitably large number of speakers of different sexes and varying levels of education. Age was not considered a significant factor, as listeners tend to significantly underestimate the age of speakers older than young adults (Hughes & Rhodes, 2010: 294).

The greatest flaw in the survey design was the small number of speakers and the fact that the audio samples appeared in a fixed order. This was particularly devastating considering that as the study used VGT, respondents would hear the exact same text in each sample, which meant that by the last sample the text used became predictable to participants. However, due to limitations in resources and the survey software available, this issue could not be resolved; instead, it was simply taken into account in the analysis of the data.

4.2. Data and Participants

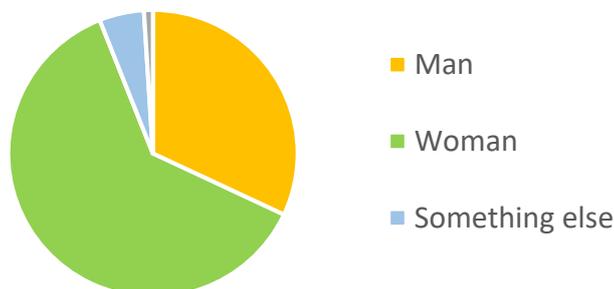
The survey was circulated on social media platforms, survey sharing websites, and Tampere University's internal communications. Though it could not be established which platform individual respondents found the survey on, the majority of participants appeared to hail from Facebook, SurveyCircle, and SurveyTandem. The use of survey sharing sites can be justifiably criticized for skewing results, which – unfortunately – this survey also provides evidence for. College-educated, young adult, and women demographics were vastly overrepresented in this study (see Figures 3, 4, 5), which is very likely a consequence of relying on survey sharing sites, and perhaps, social media, as it emphasizes personal connections and individuals with personal experience of academia may be more motivated to participate in the research of others. However, survey sharing sites were used out of necessity rather than design, as a sufficient number of participants could clearly not be reached in

the time allotted without them, and therefore having certain demographics overrepresented or the participants externally motivated was concluded to be preferable to having an overly small sample.



As for nationality, a total of 20 countries were represented, though the majority hailed from Finland, the UK, and the US; other nationalities typically only had 1 respondent each. The full list of countries and corresponding number of respondents is given in Appendix 5. Both native and non-native English speakers were well represented, with 47 of respondents reporting they speak English as a native language, and the remaining 53 saying they do not.

Figure 5: Gender of Respondents (n = 100)



When asked whether they were filling out the survey in a quiet environment, 92 respondents replied “Yes”, and the remaining 8 “No”, which suggested the noisiness of the environment did not constitute a significant effect on survey results.

4.3. Data Collection and Analysis

The initial runtime of the survey was extended twice in order to attain the minimum of a hundred respondents, the final runtime being from January 9th to February 7th in 2019. A total of 101 responses were initially obtained, but one response was deleted as it was an obvious duplicate (the responses being the exact same not only on the Likert scale questions, but also in free fields), thus resulting in a new total of 100 responses.

Data from the survey were processed in SPSS 25, where each respondent was sorted into two binary categories: Finnish versus not Finnish, and Native Speakers (NS) versus Non-Native Speakers (NNS), the former established based on their response to which country they hail from and the latter on a response to a direct question: “Do you speak English as a native language?” The four status and solidarity items were averaged to form the status scale and the solidarity scale. A third scale for overall affect was averaged based on all eight items. Processing fluency was treated as a separate value. Finally, the open answers to the question “Where do you think the speaker is from?” were sorted into three categories based on whether respondents were able to correctly indicate a non-native speaker, incorrectly assumed them to be a native speaker, or gave no input on the matter. The latter category consisted of empty fields, answers only indicating “I don’t know”, as well as answers that were irrelevant or indecipherable (e.g. “from some place, where is war and destruction”). Answers indicating a country in the Anglosphere (e.g. USA, Britain) were treated as an incorrect assumption of Native-Speaker status, while countries or regions where English is mostly learned as a foreign language were categorized as correctly identifying a Non-Native Speaker. Countries traditionally placed in the Outer Circle were more difficult to categorize, but were ultimately classified as incorrect Native Speaker assumptions, as all of them are socially recognized as legitimate English varieties in the present day (e.g. Jamaican English and South African English).

To establish the reliability of the scales, Cronbach’s Alpha was calculated for all three scales: solidarity scale ($\alpha = .91$), status scale ($\alpha = .93$), and affect scale ($\alpha = .95$). To assess the differences

in Finnish English evaluation according to the listeners' English speaker background and nationality, two independent variable t-tests were performed. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to process all groups in one analysis was not possible due to multicollinearity, as for self-evident reasons being a member of the native English-speaking group correlated with membership in the non-Finnish group. Initially, processing fluency was to be subjected to t-tests as well; however, the assumption of normality could not be satisfied in the Shapiro-Wilk test for neither the Finnish Male (FM) sample processing fluency ($p < .001$) nor the FF sample processing fluency ($p < .001$), and therefore only affect scales were analyzed.

The affect scales for the Finnish English samples were kept separate given that the Finnish Female (FF) voice stimuli was clearly distinct from all four other samples and elicited distinct reactions from all participants. The reason for this was likely the different quality of the recording compared to other samples, as many open field answers noted that she sounded as though she was about to laugh (which was, indeed, apparent in the recording).

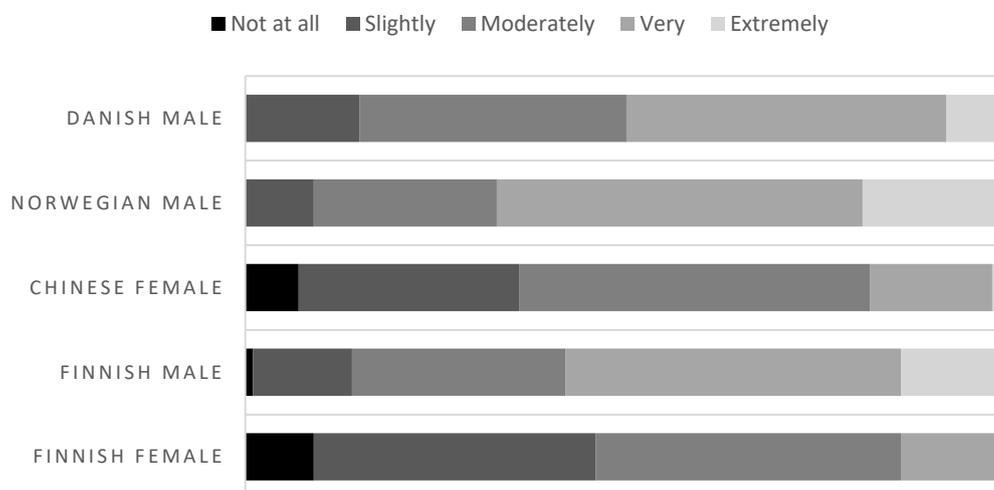
5. Results

This chapter details the results of the survey. The first chapter examines the reception of the Finnish English (FinE) samples and compares it with other English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) varieties by examining processing fluency, the three scales measuring affect (status, solidarity, and overall affect), as well as responses to open-ended questions. The second chapter discusses the relationship between listener background and FinE reception, presenting various descriptive statistics as well as the results of the independent variable t-tests.

5.1. Reception

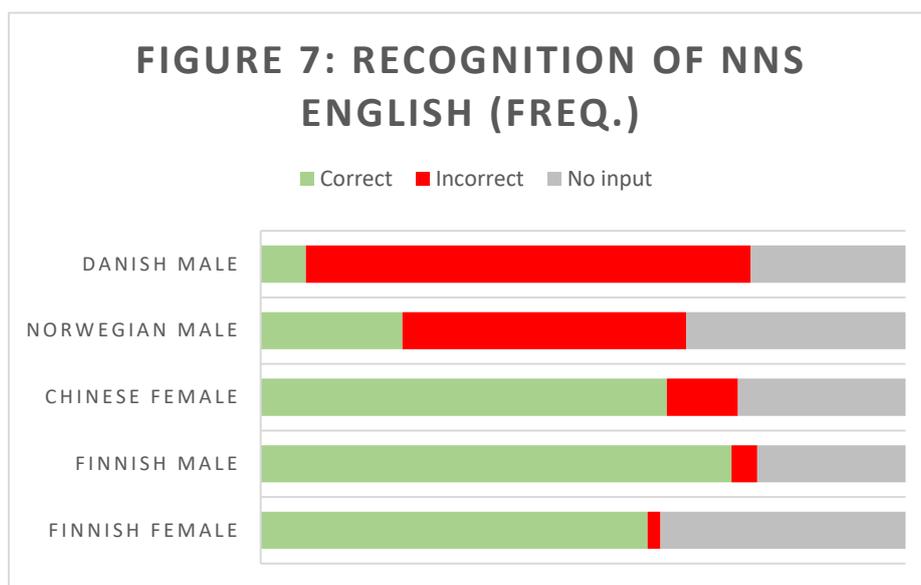
Concerning reception, the most striking feature was the startling similarity in both status and solidarity assessments; differences in mean, median, mode, standard deviation, and variance were all marginal, and the only variety that slightly differed from the group was the Finnish Female sample (see Appendix 4) – which, as previously stated, had certain issues with recording quality. Consequently, no great differences between the overall affect of the different samples could be detected (see Appendix 5 for a comparative representation of the affect scales of each sample by frequency). The greatest difference between FinE and other ELF varieties emerged in the single-

FIGURE 6: "HOW EASY IS THE SPEAKER TO UNDERSTAND?" (FREQ.)



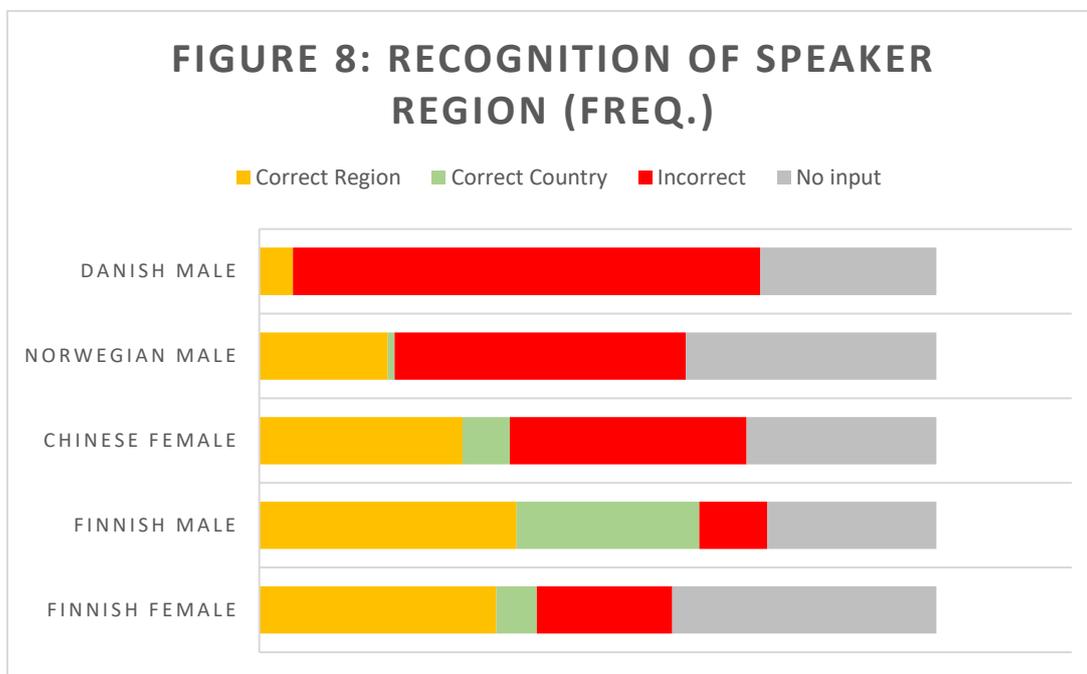
question category of processing fluency: both the Chinese Female and Finnish Female samples were evaluated more negatively than other speakers (see Figure 6). Interestingly, while all three male samples were evaluated favorably, the Finnish Male sample differed from the other two in that it very clearly was not native-like English.

Respondents were fairly accurate in recognizing speakers' origin as well as their NNS status with the exception of the DM and NM samples, of which the Danish Male sample was incorrectly categorized as NS English by 69 % of respondents and the Norwegian Male by 44 % of respondents. However, the majority were able to correctly assign the other samples as NNS English (see Figure 7). A likely explanation for this difference may be individual difference rather than differences between English varieties: the Norwegian and Danish speakers had the most nativelike accents that (evidently) passed for Midwestern US accents.



Finnish English accents seemed particularly recognizable to participants, who were able to pinpoint the Finnish Male specifically as Finnish more than any other sample, while many were able to identify the Chinese Female's English as Asian English or the other speakers as European, Nordic, etc. (see Figure 8). The significant accuracy in the case of the Finnish Male likely resulted from the large number of Finnish survey participants: indeed, out of the 27 respondents who correctly

identified the Finnish Male, 23 were Finnish; similarly, all 6 respondents able to pinpoint the Finnish Female as a Finn were all Finnish themselves.



The open field questions initially garnered a fair number of responses, which, however, seemed to dwindle later in the survey, as the number of responses was (in the order they appeared in the survey): 52 for the Danish Male, 45 for the Chinese Female, 43 for the Finnish Male, 34 for the Norwegian Male, and a pattern-breaking 42 for the Finnish Female, which ostensibly results from the noticeably negative response to that sample. However, there were almost as many respondents leaving favorable freely worded assessments for the Finnish Female (e.g. “Happiest sounding so far”, “Cheerful”) as there were negative ones (e.g. “didn’t like the voice”, “It bothered me that the person was laughing”) – based on the open answers, it would seem that respondents were split in whether they reacted to the different quality of the FF sample negatively or positively. There were also interesting similarities in open field answers for the Finnish Male speaker – 5 participants called the sample “bored”, “lazy”, or “distracted”; two respondents described him as “confident”, while one participant reported he “sounds like a ‘tough guy’”, and another dubbed him “A rock band vocalist”. Some interpretations were noticeably specific – the Danish Male was said to sound like “the person

who plays Lemony Snicker[SIC]”, the Norwegian Male “a Star Wars character”, and the Finnish Female “a goth with piercings” – but most responses simply stated the gender or NNS status of the speaker. There were also several complaints for recording quality for all speakers as well as generic statements of personal preference (e.g. “I don’t like the voice”, “Pleasant voice”). Overall, the differences between open field assessments of the speakers were not remarkable.

5.2. Effect of Participant Background

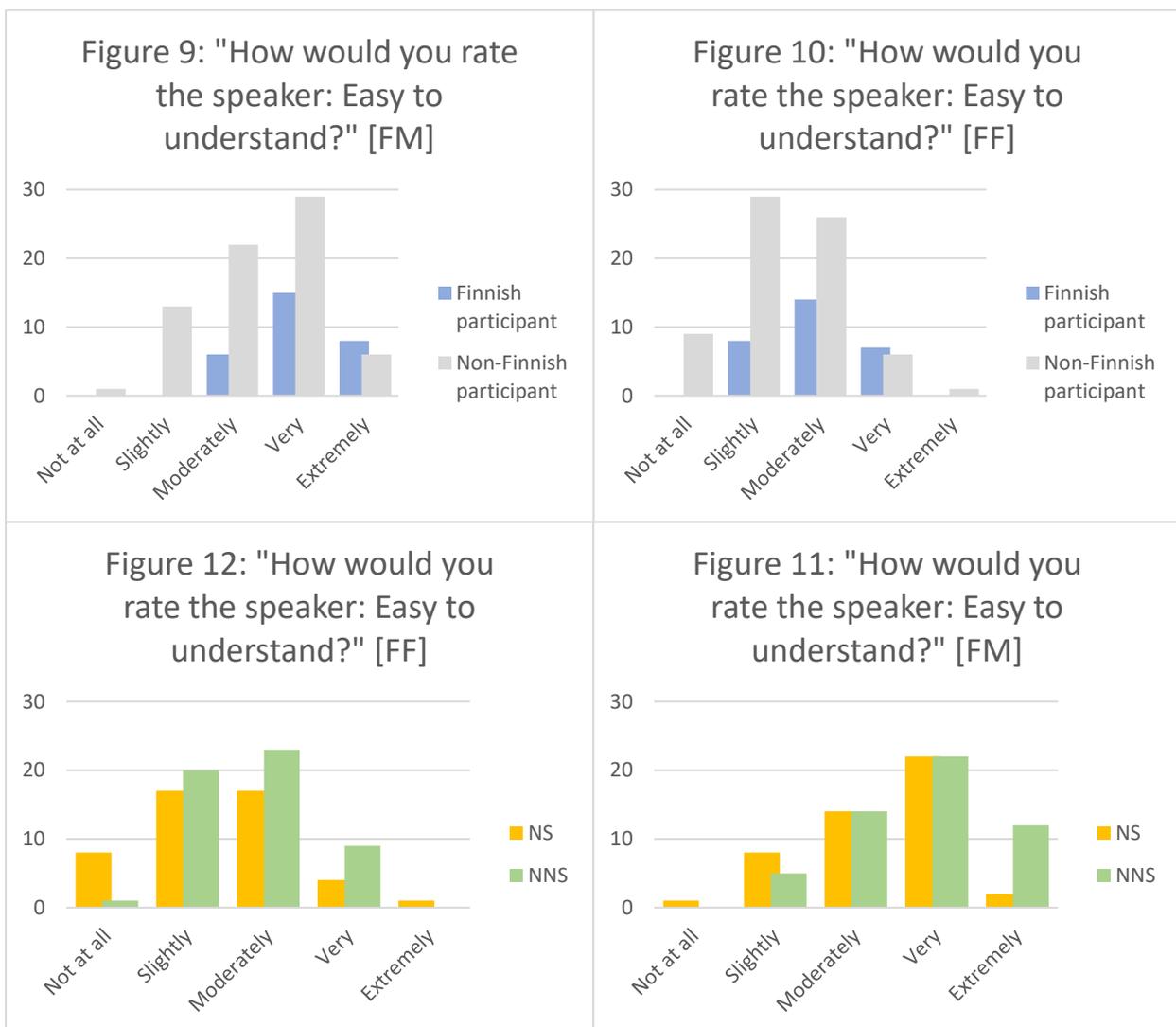
Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Affect Scales

Scale	Group	N	Mean	SD	Shapiro-Wilk <i>p</i>	Levene’s test <i>p</i>
Affect [FF]	Finnish	29	1.50	0.57	.366	.199
	Not Finnish	71	1.82	0.74	.084	
	NS	47	1.85	0.75	.436	.430
	NNS	53	1.61	0.85	.030	
Affect [FM]	Finnish	29	1.78	0.70	.319	.809
	Not Finnish	71	2.05	0.76	.132	
	NS	47	2.08	0.81	.454	.425
	NNS	53	1.88	0.68	.655	

There were noticeable differences in mean affect scale both between the Finnish and non-Finnish group as well as the Native Speaker and the Non-Native Speaker group. The Finnish group (N = 29) and the NNS group (N = 53) were both associated with a lower mean in affect for both Finnish English samples, though the difference was greater in the case of the Finnish versus non-Finnish group (see Table 3 for full report). In order to ascertain whether non-Finnish and Native Speaker participants truly had a statistically significant tendency for higher affect rating, an independent samples *t*-test was performed. The condition of normality was satisfied for all of the four comparative groups on both affect scales, with the sole exception of the Non-Native Speaker group’s FF affect scale ($p = .030$), which was therefore excluded from analysis, via Shapiro-Wilk test (see Table 3), and to test

the homogeneity of variances Levene's F test was implemented and concluded to be insignificant for all groups (see Table 3), conveying that there was no statistically significant difference in variances.

The independent samples *t*-test for the Finnish versus non-Finnish groups demonstrated a statistically significant effect on the FF affect scale $t(98) = -2.05, p = .043$; the effect on the FM affect scale being insignificant ($p = .115$). In other words, Finnish participants were associated with a statistically significantly lower affect rating than the non-Finnish participants. The *t*-test for the Native-Speaker versus Non-Native Speaker groups showed no statistically significant effect on neither FF Affect ($p = .084$) nor FM Affect ($p = .180$). The only apparently generalizable finding, then, being the difference in affect scale between Finnish and non-Finnish participants in the case of the FF sample.



A crosstabulation of processing fluency revealed that there was a subtle difference between the Finnish and Non-Finnish participant group. While the most frequent rating in both groups for the FM sample was “very easy to understand”, Finnish participants never chose the most negative option “not at all easy to understand” for either Finnish English sample, and overall favored the middle and upper middle options “moderately easy to understand” and “very easy to understand”. Non-Finnish participants favored the lower middle option “slightly easy to understand” more and 9 of them reported the FF sample to be “not at all easy to understand”. However, though the Non-Finnish group appears to be slightly harsher in its evaluation, this may result from the fact that the Finnish group is smaller ($n = 29$) than the Non-Finnish group ($n = 71$): as visible in Figure 9 and 10, the distribution curve is similar, though in the case of the FF sample the distribution of the Finnish participants centers on the middle ground while the Non-Finnish group tapers to the negative end of the scale.

Similar trends emerged in crosstabulations with Native Speaker versus Non-Native Speaker participants. A considerable total of 12 NNS participants called the FM sample “extremely easy to understand” while only one NS participant chose that option. This difference is particularly striking considering that the number of participants in these two groups is much more equal than the previously discussed Finnish and Non-Finnish group, with 47 NS participants and 53 NNS participants. Furthermore, this categorization was established by directly asking the participants “Do you speak English as a native language?”, while the Non-Finnish category encompasses every participant who listed a country different than Finland in the question: “Select your country.” Thus, there is a possibility that some participants who, for example, identify as Finnish but have spent more time living in a different country were misidentified as Non-Finnish. For the FF sample, 8 NS participants chose “not at all easy to understand” along with only 1 NNS participant; simultaneously, all the middle categories were chosen more by NNS participants than NS participants with 20 versus 17 in “slightly easy to understand”, 23 versus 17 in “moderately easy to understand”, and 9 versus 4 in “very easy to understand”. It would then seem that both NS participants and Non-Finnish

participants were harsher in their estimates of the Finnish English speakers, which emerges more clearly with the NS versus NNS distinction, as the distributions of responses clearly differ despite fairly even numbers of participants (see Figure 11 and 12).

6. Discussion

6.1. The Reception of Finnish English

There was some variation between the reception of the two FinE samples included in the study, but generally FinE was received well both on its own and in comparison to other ELF samples. In fact, the Finnish Male sample was evaluated particularly well considering that the two other samples evaluated equally well were so native-like that participants often mistook them for Native Speaker English, while the Finnish Male was easily recognized as Non-Native Speaker English. It seems that the fairly heavy accent strength present in the sample influenced neither affect nor processing fluency very negatively.

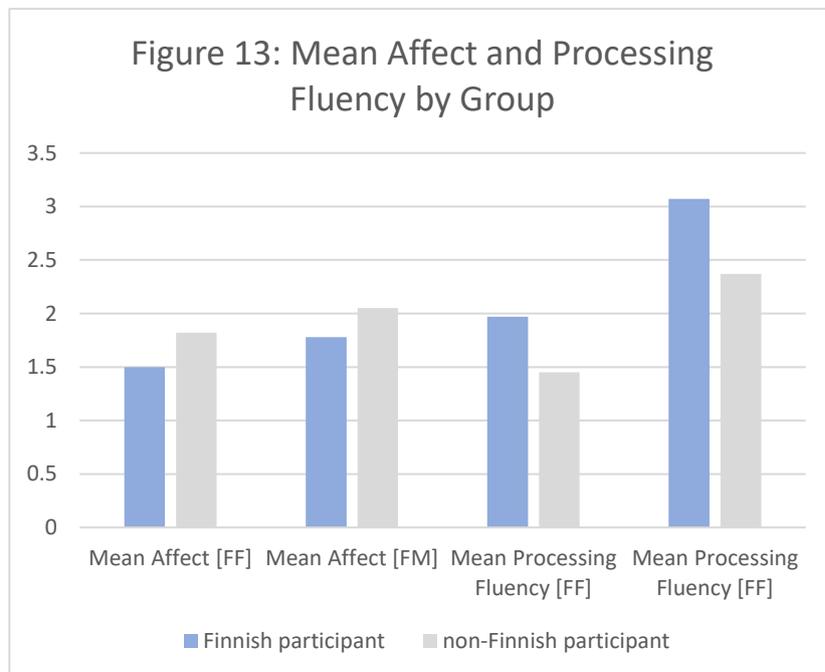
FinE was in general a very recognizable type of English in terms of accent, as a notable number of participants were able to pinpoint the Finnish Male as Finnish in particular – though most of them were Finnish participants. There were few strongly negative reactions to FinE, though it must be noted that there was a great gap between how the FM sample and FF sample were evaluated. Though it was concluded that there was a considerable difference in recording quality – mainly, that the FF sample sounds as though the speaker is about to laugh – the difference cannot be entirely ignored, and it must therefore be remarked that reactions may vary greatly depending on the individual speaker. Overall, it was noticeable how little difference there was between the evaluation of FinE and other ELF Englishes, the biggest gap forming between the FinE samples themselves (or rather, between the FF sample and all others). It would also seem as though female speakers were evaluated more negatively than male speakers, but considering how there were only 5 speakers, this seems mostly coincidental – though it is interesting to note in conjunction that the majority of participants were women, which should hypothetically lead to a pro-woman bias because of a solidarity effect.

6.2. The Effect of Participant Background

Speaker background appeared to play a part in how Finnish English is evaluated, though results were mixed. Though there were noticeable differences between groups in the data, only one statistically significant effect was found: Finnish participants were more likely to rate the FF sample more negatively on the affect scale than non-Finnish participants. This finding certainly aligns with the themes discussed in Chapter 3.2.: the self-deprecation of negatively stereotyped Non-Native Speaker English varieties as well as the Finnish disparagement of “rally English”, i.e. strongly accented Finnish English. However, it is surprising that only the FF sample seemed affected by this negativity, as the FM sample was more easily recognized as Finnish English and was arguably as heavily accented as the FF sample. One may conjecture that high recognition of a variety would lead to increased solidarity from respondents of the same ethnic group – which did appear to happen: the Finnish mean rating on the solidarity scale for the FM sample was 1.74 (SD = .76), while the FF sample mean was 1.53 (SD = .71). Yet, the non-Finnish group had an even higher mean for both samples, with 1.94 on the solidarity scale for the FM sample (SD = .79) and 1.82 for the FF sample (SD = .80).

This difference between Finnish and non-Finnish respondents appeared to be the emergent theme of the study. While Finnish people did evaluate FinE more favorably in processing fluency, non-Finns were more favorable regarding overall affect, rating on average the FM sample 0.27 points higher than the Finns, and the FF sample 0.32 points. While one may easily explain Finnish participants finding Finnish English easier to process by noting that Finns are more attuned to it: not only are they very likely to hear it being spoken throughout their lives, but they also have the advantage of sharing a native language with the speakers, which means that they may be intuitively able to grasp the phonetic and grammatic rules governing Finnish English that result from transfer. What is more difficult to explain is why the non-Finnish participants would respond to Finnish English more favorably despite – according to their scores – having a harder time processing it. Based

on existing literature on language attitudes, one would expect FinE to carry covert prestige among Finns, resulting in higher solidarity scores, and the non-Finnish participants to react more negatively to varieties that are more difficult for them to process (see Dragojevic & Giles, 2016). However, specifically because these expectations were defied, it appears more justified to interpret these findings not as foreigners responding to Finnish English particularly favorably, but rather as Finnish participants reacting to it negatively, which corresponds to previous findings particularly in Rautionaho (2016). However, it should be yet again noted that the groups were very different in size, which may in part affect the findings, the Finnish group having only 29 participants versus the 71 non-Finnish participants.



Yet, very similar themes emerge in the comparison of NS and NNS participants. Crosstabulation shows that like the Non-Finns, Native Speakers were harsher in evaluating processing fluency and more positive on the affect scale – though this time the difference was slightly smaller, with a 0.20-point average difference with the FM sample and 0.24 with the FF sample. The consistency, however, is surprising, as this would suggest that though Finnish and Non-Native Speaker participants have an easier time processing FinE, they still view the speakers more negatively.

There are a number of possible explanations for this finding. The simplest is that these data are coincidental and results from a sample too small and/or lack of control in the study environment – which would appear to be supported by the lack of statistically significant findings in the t-tests. Another technical explanation could be the tendency to give neutral or socially acceptable answers – responding negatively to foreign accents is not considered particularly admirable and may even be associated with racism, which the highly educated, who are vastly overrepresented in this study, are quite likely to be conscious of. It could also be conjectured that participants have no particularly positive or negative response to FinE because they have no existing stereotype associated to the variety. This explanation is supported by the fact that when the mean scores are referenced with the verbal labels on the Likert scale that were visible to participants, the average response seems rather neutral: the label for 2 on the scale was “moderately”, paired with a positive adjective, and NS participants rated the FM sample affect as 2.08 (SD = .81) and the FF sample as 1.85 (SD = .75). However, the fact that Finnish English was so recognizable to participants of all backgrounds particularly in the case of the FM sample seems to undermine the explanation. Finally, it could also certainly be the case that Finnish and NNS participants indeed have a negative stereotype of Finnish English or NNS Englishes in general, which is negatively affecting their evaluation.

6.3. Implications

The findings of this study seem particularly interesting when contrasted with the existing literature. Though the negative stereotyping of NNS Englishes was to be expected based on prior knowledge regarding language attitudes, it is surprising that Native Speaker participants do not appear invested in such stereotypes at all, possessing instead a fairly neutral and evenly distributed affect score. This is particularly fascinating in that it lies in direct contradiction to Native Speaker Ideology. Though no Native Speaker samples were included in the survey, two of the ELF speakers had accents so native-like that most participants mistakenly labeled them as Native Speakers, including many participants who are Native Speakers themselves. This would suggest that for all effects and purposes, these

speakers' English was mostly viewed as NS English, and therefore should have been held above other speakers according to Native Speaker Ideology. Are NS participants then consciously or unconsciously rejecting Native Speaker Ideology, or perhaps less susceptible to it than NNS participants?

While the idea of the highly educated participants of this survey rejecting an irrational ideology that originated from colonialism is hardly surprising – especially considering that the survey was distributed in English on social media, which means it is very likely that the participants engage in ELF communication regularly on the internet – the suggestion that Non-Native Speakers hold on to Native Speaker Ideology more firmly than Native Speakers themselves has interesting implications. Though it may initially seem counterintuitive, considering that the NNS participants have most likely been subjected to English teaching entirely dictated by Native Speaker Ideology their entire lives, it is hardly implausible to think that they may have internalized some aspects of it. When viewed from the point of view of ELF ideology, the situation appears truly absurd: the gatekeepers of English, who are disparaging NNS accents lest they be confused with “proper English”, are now the speakers of the “improper” Englishes themselves – though on the positive side, the differences in evaluation are rather small. One may also argue that evaluations overall were not particularly negative; however, the study design resulted in mostly positive affect being measured, as there were no questions specifically measuring negative responses.

There are two main implications that may be drawn from the findings, though they do come with a gargantuan caveat. Firstly, as it seems that Native Speakers do not respond negatively to Finnish English accents, do not prefer native-like English to Finnish English, and in fact have more favorable affect toward Finnish English than Finnish people themselves, the need to appease Native Speakers by attaining native-like English no longer applies to English teaching. In conjunction with the fact that the overwhelming majority of interactions in English for English learners happens with other NNS, there truly seems to be no reason to continue modeling English teaching by Native

Speaker Ideology as opposed to a model informed by linguistic research on intelligibility and communicative efficiency. Secondly, while it is not of particular concern that individuals may exhibit a slight preference for an English variety over another, speakers of Finnish English should be made aware of the fact that their English, even if strongly accented, is received well across the globe and therefore they should at least feel no need to disparage it or feel ashamed of their own English. However, as satisfying it would be to end the discussion with such a decisive conclusion, the caveat must be addressed: which is that the scope and execution of the study make any reliable inferences difficult, if not impossible to draw from the data.

Unfortunately, there were many flaws in the design and execution of the study. The sample size was much too small and not representative of the general population, as there were several groups that were overrepresented: women, people aged 20 to 29, and highly educated people. This likely resulted from the reliance on survey sharing websites, which unfortunately was a necessity given the limited schedule and resources available for data collection. The samples used were not controlled for accent strength, fluency, or audio quality, as some of them were recorded on different microphones in different conditions, again, due to limited resources and the difficulty of finding suitable foreign speakers within a specific locale. Similarly, due to limitations with the survey software available, the samples appeared in a fixed order, which is inadvisable – though it surprisingly had no immediately apparent effect on the results of the survey.

Future research with greater sample sizes as well as a more controlled study environment overall is required for more conclusive results. It would be of particular interest to observe how accent strength influences the results; or how comparisons between NS and NNS accents would change the outcome; or how negative affect differs between the groups compared in this study. A more extensive study that includes features other than accent may also have radically different results, as a distinctive trait of ELF is the non-standard usage of syntax, prepositions, and idiomatic expressions. Furthermore, it may be fruitful to question NS and NNS speakers alike on what they believe informs their attitudes

toward a given variety, or perhaps even on how much their personal views align with Native Speaker Ideology. In any case, for an improved survey design, additional resources are of the utmost importance, as the greatest impediment in this study was the necessity of stopgap solutions, which resulted from a lack of resources.

7. Conclusion

This study has found that Finnish English is received fairly well, both in its own right as well as in comparison to other ELF varieties, but there seem to be more significant differences in reception between individual speakers than there are between ELF varieties, as the Finnish Female was rated very poorly compared to all other sample and the Finnish Male was received as favorably as the two native-like samples included in the survey. Notable emergent traits of Finnish English were that it was considered quite easy to process and that it was very recognizable as NNS English and as Finnish English in particular – at least by Finnish participants.

As for the effect of participant background, the most significant differences between the Finnish and non-Finnish groups as well as the NS and NNS groups were the same: Finns and Non-Native Speakers both rate Finnish English more highly on processing fluency but lower in affect than non-Finns and Native Speakers. However, the only one of these relationships that was statistically significant was the effect on the FF affect scale between the Finnish and non-Finnish group. The lack of statistically significant findings may or may not result from the small scope of the study, both regarding the sample size and the number of speakers used in the analysis, and therefore no particularly compelling findings on the matter can be presented, though the data seems to imply that Finnish people and NNS have more negative affect toward Finnish English, which suggests that those participants are more influenced by Native Speaker Ideology.

Further research is required on the topic to make convincing overall arguments regarding the themes of this study, but based on the tentative results it would appear that Finns do seem particularly disparaging of Finnish English even though it is generally well-received and considered easy to understand. In conjunction with the literature presented in Chapter 3, it would seem that there is indeed a need for a more results-oriented method of English teaching that does not revolve around Native Speaker Ideology, as English users across the globe do not appear to adhere to the hierarchy

represented by the Circles model as strictly as they may have in previous decades, thus presenting no need for English teaching to be modeled to satisfy the standards of NS English. Furthermore, based on the overall neutral foreign response to Finnish English, it is our recommendation that Finnish English users adopt a similarly neutral or positive attitude toward even heavily accented Finnish English and focus on developing their communicative competence rather than trying to achieve native-like English.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Survey

About the survey (Cover Letter)

This is a survey investigating the impressions different speakers make on listeners. It will take about 10-15 minutes to complete, and requires sound. If possible, please fill it in a quiet environment. Deadline for responses is 23rd January, 2019.

The survey consists of five different voice samples that you are asked to evaluate. The responses to this survey are used for a master's thesis study at Tampere University.

Thank you in advance for participating!

Background Information (Demographic Questions)

<p>Select your country. [Drop-down selection: All officially recognized countries]</p>
<p>Do you speak English as a native language?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p>
<p>Select your age group.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> 19 or younger <input type="checkbox"/> 20–29 <input type="checkbox"/> 30–39 <input type="checkbox"/> 40–49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50–59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60 or older</p>
<p>Select your gender.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Man <input type="checkbox"/> Woman <input type="checkbox"/> Something else <input type="checkbox"/> I don't want to answer</p>
<p>Select your highest degree of education. [Note: If currently enrolled, select highest degree completed.]</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No completed schooling <input type="checkbox"/> Primary/elementary school <input type="checkbox"/> High school <input type="checkbox"/> Trade/technical/vocational training <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor's degree <input type="checkbox"/> Master's degree <input type="checkbox"/> Professional degree <input type="checkbox"/> Doctorate degree</p>

Are you filling this survey in a quiet environment?

- Yes
 No

Questions about Voice Samples

Listen to the following clip once.

[Voice Sample 1]

How would you describe the speaker you just heard?					
	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Extremely
Easy to understand	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Likable	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Trustworthy	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nice	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Cool	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Smart	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Educated	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Competent	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Successful	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Do you have any other impressions about the speaker? [Note: If there's nothing in particular, you may leave this blank.]					
Where do you think the speaker is from? [Note: If you don't know, you may leave this blank.]					

Listen to the following clip once.

[Voice Sample 2]

How would you describe the speaker you just heard?					
	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Extremely
Easy to understand	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Likable	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Trustworthy	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nice	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Cool	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Smart	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Educated	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Competent	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Successful	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Do you have any other impressions about the speaker? [Note: If there's nothing in particular, you may leave this blank.]					
Where do you think the speaker is from? [Note: If you don't know, you may leave this blank.]					

Listen to the following clip once.

[Voice Sample 3]

How would you describe the speaker you just heard?					
	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Extremely
Easy to understand	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Likable	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Trustworthy	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nice	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Cool	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Smart	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Educated	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Competent	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Successful	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Do you have any other impressions about the speaker? [Note: If there's nothing in particular, you may leave this blank.]					
Where do you think the speaker is from? [Note: If you don't know, you may leave this blank.]					

Listen to the following clip once.

[Voice Sample 4]

How would you describe the speaker you just heard?					
	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Extremely
Easy to understand	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Likable	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Trustworthy	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nice	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Cool	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Smart	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Educated	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Competent	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Successful	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Do you have any other impressions about the speaker? [Note: If there's nothing in particular, you may leave this blank.]					
Where do you think the speaker is from? [Note: If you don't know, you may leave this blank.]					

Listen to the following clip once.

[Voice Sample 5]

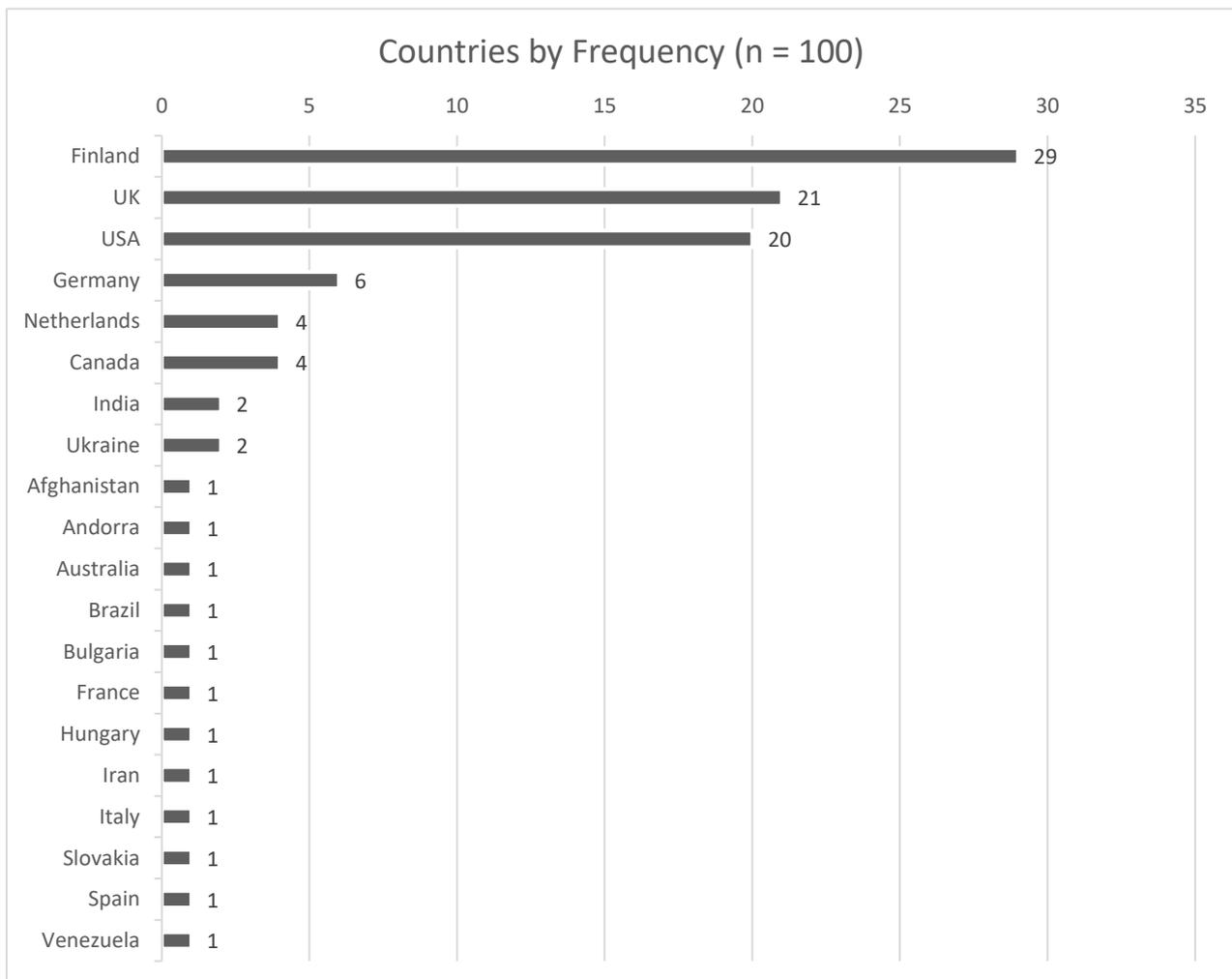
How would you describe the speaker you just heard?					
	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Extremely
Easy to understand	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Likable	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Trustworthy	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Nice	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Cool	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Smart	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Educated	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Competent	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Successful	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Do you have any other impressions about the speaker? [Note: If there's nothing in particular, you may leave this blank.]					
Where do you think the speaker is from? [Note: If you don't know, you may leave this blank.]					

Appendix 2: Text used in Samples

“There is a story – I cannot tell it – I have no words. The story is almost forgotten but sometimes I remember. The story concerns three men in a house in a street. If I could say the words I would sing the story. I would whisper it into the ears of women, of mothers. I would run through the streets saying it over and over. My tongue would be torn loose – it would rattle against my teeth.”

Excerpt from *The Dumb Man* by Sherwood Anderson, 1921. [Accessed 19 March, 2018 at <http://www.online-literature.com/sherwood-anderson/1467>]

Appendix 3: All Countries of Participants



Appendix 4: Descriptive Statistics on the Evaluation of Finnish English and Other ELF

Varieties

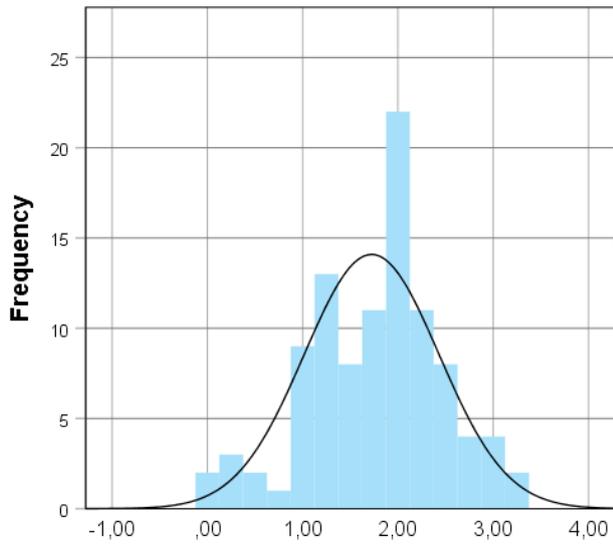
A. Status Scale

Speaker	Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Variance
Finnish Female	1.71	1.88	2.00	0.77	0.59
Finnish Male	2.05	2.00	2.00	0.85	0.72
Chinese Female	2.04	2.00	2.00	0.77	0.59
Norwegian Male	2.24	2.25	2.00	0.74	0.54
Danish Male	2.24	2.25	2.00	0.74	0.55

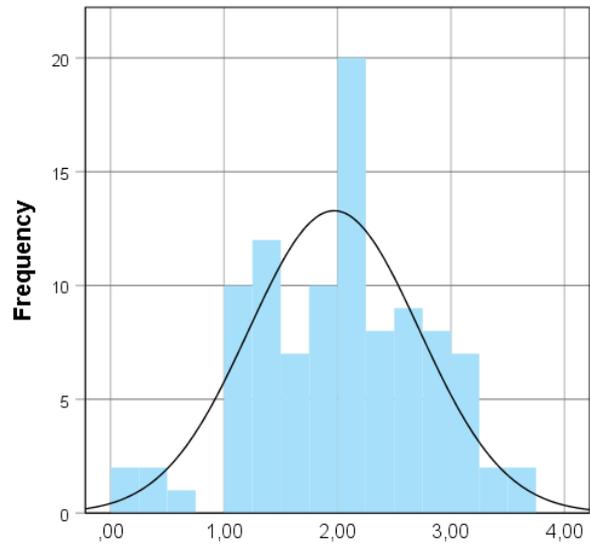
B. Solidarity Scale

Speaker	Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Deviation	Variance
Finnish Female	1.73	1.75	2.00	0.78	0.61
Finnish Male	1.89	2.00	2.00	0.78	0.61
Chinese Female	1.91	2.00	1.75	0.70	0.50
Norwegian Male	1.89	2.00	1.75	0.73	0.54
Danish Male	1.86	1.88	2.00	0.75	0.56

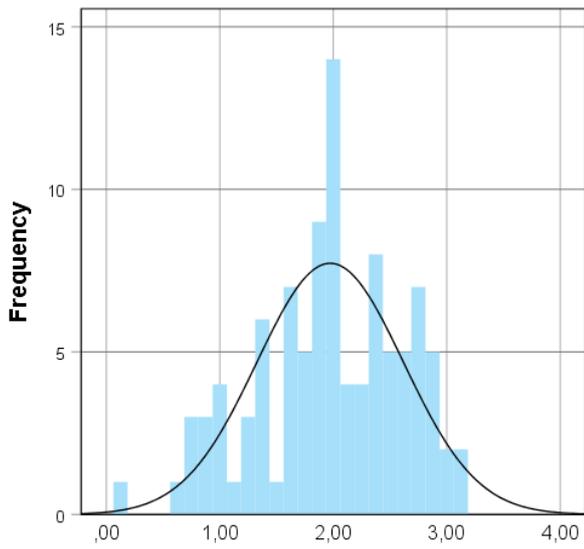
Appendix 5: Histograms of Affect by Frequency



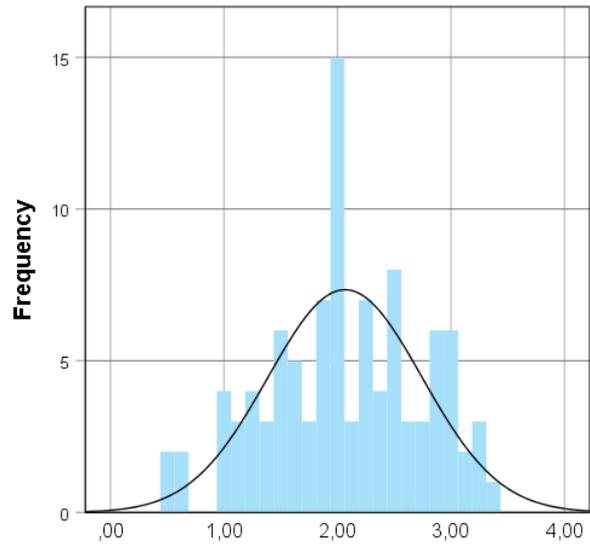
Affect [FF] (n = 100)



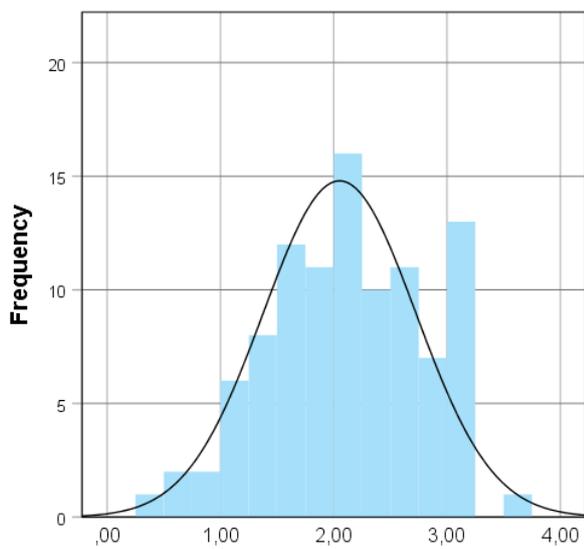
Affect [FM] (n = 100)



Affect [CF] (n = 100)



Affect [NM] (n = 100)



Affect [DM] (n = 100)