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ATTITUDES TOWARDS AMERICAN AND BRITISH ENGLISH

- A Survey of the Attitudes of Finnish Twenty-to-Thirty-Year-Olds

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ABSTRACT

Hannele Kivelä: **Attitudes Towards American and British English - A Survey of the Attitudes of Finnish Twenty-to-Thirty-Year-Olds**
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British English has the status of European standard English and it is associated with the school world. American English on the other hand has a strong presence in the Finns' lives especially in the free time through media. This thesis aimed to discover what kinds of attitudes Finnish young adults have towards standard American and British English, and which variety they prefer. In addition, this thesis aimed to investigate the possible reasons behind these attitudes, which is a topic that has not been widely investigated.

The theoretical background of this study is in applied linguistic, language attitude research, and folk linguistics. The results help to explain linguistic variation in the English spoken by Finnish young adults. The results are of interest and value to English teachers and to various language professionals who work with or in English.

The study was carried out with an electronic questionnaire, which contained direct multiple-choice questions related to language preference and use, open-ended questions, and questions utilising semantic differential scales. The data consist of the responses of 242 Finnish young adults (aged 20-30). The answers were analysed mainly quantitatively. The qualitative data received from the open-ended questions was analysed by identifying themes and categorizing the answers accordingly, i.e. they were also analysed quantitatively, which allowed the comparison of these results. The study compared the attitudes to American and British English, and the reasons behind these attitudes, as well as possible gender differences. The results partly support the results attained from earlier studies concerning related and similar topics. In addition, the results shed light on the reasons behind these language attitudes and thus explain them.

A clear majority of the respondents reported preferring British English. Female participants preferred British English in greater number than male participants. Reasons given for this preference were British English's pleasantness to the ear, television programmes, and positive associations. Those participants who preferred American English reported it had to do with the television programmes and films they have watched, and the music they listen to. Based on the results attained from the semantic differential scales, both varieties are seen mostly in a positive light. However, American English and its speakers are associated with more negative adjectives than British English. Women tended to evaluate both varieties slightly more positively. In the light of the results, British English appears to still be the prestige variant of English in the eyes of Finnish young adults. As for American English, it is perceived as easier to understand and more casual than British English. The greatest single reason for using a specific variety was greater contact with the said variety, which had resulted in greater familiarity with the variety and thus that variety felt easier and more natural to use. Negative feelings and associations towards the other variety also guided the choosing of one's preferred variety of usage, especially negative feelings to American English. The choice to aim to use British English was justified with its higher status and the origin of the English language.

The results suggest that despite of the vast media presence of American English, British English is still the prestige variety of the two, but American English in turn appears to be more accessible in the eyes of Finnish young adults. Even though the majority of respondents preferred British English, the greater contact with American English through media has caused even some of those who prefer British English still aim to use American English. As a conclusion, American English may well be on its way to become the dominant standard English variety in Finland.

Keywords: language attitudes, semantic differential scale, survey, American English, British English

TIIVISTELMÄ

Hannele Kivelä: **Attitudes Towards American and British English - A Survey of the Attitudes of Finnish Twenty-to-Thirty-Year-Olds**
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Brittienglannilla on eurooppalaisen standardienglannin status ja se assosioidaan koulumaailmaan. Amerikanenglanti puolestaan on voimakkaasti läsnä etenkin suomalaisten vapaa-ajalla esimerkiksi median kautta. Tämän tutkielman tavoitteena oli selvittää, millaisia asenteita suomalaisilla nuorilla aikuisilla on amerikanenglantia ja brittienglantia kohtaan, ja kummasta varieteetista vastaajat pitävät enemmän. Lisäksi tutkielmassa pyrittiin selvittämään mahdollisia syitä kyseisten asenteiden takana, sillä aihetta ei ole vielä laajasti tutkittu.

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen tausta on soveltavassa kielitieteessä, kieliasennetutkimuksessa ja kansanlingvistiikassa. Tutkimustulokset auttavat ymmärtämään kielellistä variaatiota suomalaisten tuottamassa englannin kielessä ja niistä hyötyvät englanninopettajat sekä erinäiset kieliasiantuntijat, jotka työskentelevät englannin kieltä käyttäen.

Tutkimus toteutettiin sähköisellä kyselylomakkeella, joka sisälsi suoria monivalintakysymyksiä kielipreferenssiin ja englannin kielen käyttöön liittyen, avoimia kysymyksiä, sekä semanttisia differentiaaliasteikkoja. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostui 242 nuoren suomalaisen aikuisen (20-30-vuotiaiden) vastauksista. Vastauksia analysoitiin pääosin kvantitatiivisesti. Avoimista kysymyksistä saatu kvalitatiivinen data teemoiteltiin ja saatettiin vertailukelpoiseen numeeriseen muotoon, ja näin ollen myös sitä tutkittiin kvalitatiivisin keinoin. Tutkimuksessa vertailtiin asenteita amerikanenglantia ja brittienglantia kohtaan ja syitä niiden takana, sekä mahdollisia sukupuolieroja vastauksissa. Tutkimustulokset osin tukevat aiempien samaa aihetta käsitelleiden tutkimusten tuloksia. Lisäksi tulokset valottavat syitä kyseisten kieliasenteiden takana ja täten selittävät niitä.

Selkeä enemmistö vastaajista ilmoitti pitävänsä enemmän brittienglannista. Verrattuna miehiin, suurempi osuus naisista piti brittienglannista. Syiksi preferenssille annettiin brittienglannin miellyttävä korvakuulo, televisio-ohjelmat ja positiiviset mielleyhtymät. Ne osallistujat, jotka pitivät enemmän amerikanenglannista raportoivat sen johtuvan heidän katsomistaan televisio-ohjelmista ja elokuvista sekä heidän kuuntelemastaan musiikista. Semanttisten differentiaaliasteikkojen tulosten perusteella molemmat varieteetit nähdään pääosin positiivisesti. Amerikanenglantiin ja sen puhujiin liitettiin kuitenkin hieman enemmän negatiivisia adjektiiveja kuin brittienglantiin. Naiset arvioivat molemmat varieteetit hieman miehiä suopeammin. Tulosten valossa brittienglanti on suomalaisten nuorten aikuisten silmissä edelleen prestiisivarieteetti. Amerikanenglanti puolestaan koettiin brittienglantia helpompana ymmärtää sekä rennompana. Suurin yksittäinen peruste käyttää tiettyä varieteettia oli suurempi kontakti kyseisen varieteetin kanssa, minkä seurauksena se tuntui vastaajista tutummalta, helpommalta ja luontevammalta käyttää. Vastaajien aksenttipyrkimyksiä ohjasi myös negatiiviset tunteet toista varieteettia kohtaan, erityisesti amerikanenglantia. Brittienglannin käyttöä puolestaan perusteltiin englannin kielen alkuperällä sekä brittienglannin korkeammalla statuksella.

Tulosten perusteella vaikuttaisi siltä, että amerikanenglannin valtavasta mediapresenssistä huolimatta brittienglanti on näiden kahden varieteetin keskuudessa edelleen arvostetumpi prestiisivarieteetti, kun taas amerikanenglanti on suomalaisten nuorten aikuisten mielestä helpommin

lähestyttävää. Vaikka enemmistö vastaajista pitikin enemmän brittienglannista, amerikanenglannille suurissa määrin altistuminen television, elokuvien ja musiikin kautta on aiheuttanut sen, että osa niistäkin vastaajista, jotka pitivät enemmän brittienglannista, ilmoittivat kuitenkin pyrkivänsä itse käyttämään amerikanenglantia. Tästä päätellen amerikanenglanti saattaa hyvinkin tulla tulevaisuudessa dominantiksi englannin standardivarieteetiksi Suomessa.

Avainsanat: kieliasenteet, semanttinen differentiaaliasteikko, kyselytutkimus, amerikanenglanti, brittienglanti

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1. Introduction

Today, Finnish children start learning their first foreign language already in the first grade at school, at seven years of age (Opetushallitus 2020). Most often, this language is English (Suomen kieltenopettajien liitto ry). This means that now the Finns learn English for the entirety of their nine years of comprehensive school, and after that they continue for three years in either vocational school or upper secondary school. After these twelve years, some students may continue to take university programmes which have English as the medium of instruction, and thus still increase the number of years they study English (or in English). During these school years, Finns also engage in different social activities where they actively produce English through computer-mediated communication in platforms such as online games, forums, YouTube, and other social media (Peterson 2020, 4). They also consume English through films, music, reading etc. in their free time (ibid.).

Because Finns are exposed to English from all these different sources, they form an integrated and personal relationship with the language. This means that the Finnish learners of English attend the language classroom with different sets of aptitudes for, and attitudes about the language. In other words, unlike with other foreign languages, the learners of English are not likely to have neutral feelings about the language. (Peterson 2020, 5)

To put it simply, attitudes are predispositions to like or dislike an object (Krosnick et al. 2005, 23). Attitudes are learned, and in this process external influence plays a great role in what kinds of attitudes are formed (Garrett 2010, 22). Personal experiences and the social environment of an individual are two very important factors that act as sources for learning attitudes (ibid.).

It has been compulsory to learn English in the Finnish schools since the 1970s (Ranta 2010, 159). From the 1960s until the 1980s, the main target set in the curricula was British English, and in 1985 an equal status in the curricula was given to American English (ibid.). From the 1990s onwards, the curricula have not specified a target variety (ibid.). According to Peterson (2020, 6), young people

in Finland are increasingly aware of the regional varieties of English, but they are most familiar with two main target varieties, which are the standardised varieties of American and British English.

In a survey study by Ranta (2010), the teacher respondents for the most part did not think that one variety of English should consistently be conveyed as a model in teaching (ibid. 170), but a clear majority of them indicated British English as their own variety of usage (ibid. 168). Correspondingly, Peterson (2020, 6) states that British standardised variety of English has a status of a European variety of English and it is often associated with school and formal learning. By contrast, American English appears to be associated and used in more personal and private domains (Peterson 2020, 6). This gave rise to a question: which variety would Finnish young adults prefer?

The purpose of this study is to investigate what kinds of attitudes Finnish young adults have towards American English and British English and whether there are differences between how these two varieties are perceived. Until now, the studies on language attitudes in Finland have typically involved multiple languages or varieties of English, and the respondents have usually been upper secondary school students. In addition to investigating the attitudes, this study aims at shedding light on the factors which have led to the formation of these attitudes towards the two varieties of English. This is something that has not been a widespread topic of investigation. The main research questions this study aims to answer are the following:

1. Do the respondents prefer Standard American English or British Standard English?
2. What are the respondents' attitudes towards American and British English?
3. What are the reasons behind the attitudes and what kind of factors have influenced the respondents' preferences and attitudes?

In addition, this study strives to shed light on the following questions:

i. Do the respondents prefer the variety they themselves speak and why?

ii. Does language competence have an effect in the attitudes towards English varieties?

iii. Are there clear differences in attitudes between genders?

The evaluations are also rudimentarily compared to the variety of English the participants themselves report of aspiring to use. Ultimately, this study tries to answer question of whether the invasive and very widely spread and visible American culture has boosted the prestige of American English or is British English still the variety with more and most prestige among the Finnish young adults who participated in the study.

This thesis is based on an internet survey, whose respondents represent a sample of Finnish twenty-to-thirty-year-olds. This study is located in the field of applied linguistics, since it investigates language attitudes, and folk linguistics, as it studies the language beliefs of non-linguists. The results of this study will contribute to the research field of language attitudes of non-native English speakers. The potential value of this study relates to the fact that information about people's language attitudes is important for understanding communication in international contexts. Language attitude research can also help explaining linguistic variation (Garrett 2010, 15). In addition, learning about the factors influencing people's attitudes can be helpful if we wish the attitudes to shift in a more positive direction in the future. The information attained from this study is valuable for example to language teachers and to the creators of teaching materials. In addition, as this study gives information about what people think about the two different varieties of English and how their speakers are perceived, the results may be of interest to various professionals such as text producers, language consultants, and advertisers in the Finnish context.

This thesis consists of seven chapters. First this introduction, after which comes chapter 2 with an overview of the earlier work related specifically to this thesis and its topic. Chapter 3 reviews the theoretical framework of this study and the most important concepts related to the study. In chapter 4, the material and methods used in this study are introduced. Chapter 5 provides the results of this study, and it is followed by a discussion of the results in Chapter 6. Subsequently, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. Lastly, the Appendices contain the questionnaire used in the study and tables of the results.

2. Earlier work

The study field of language attitudes is considerable, so instead of trying to give an account of the field in general, this chapter will introduce those pieces of research that closely relate to the topic of this thesis.

Bayard and Green (2005) report the results of a large international study which examined how Australian, New Zealand, American, and British English are perceived cross-culturally, i.e., in 19 different countries. For Europe, samples were collected from Sweden, Germany and Finland. According to the results, it would appear that "the prestige of English English is somewhat diminished, and that the North American accent is in the ascendant most everywhere" (ibid. 21). Higher ratings in solidarity were given to the American accent, while English English still retained "an edge of prestige with high scores in status, prestige, and power" (ibid. 24). Thus Bayard & Green (ibid. 27) conclude that in the future it might be American-accented English which becomes the dominant world language.

Rindal (2010) investigated L2 pronunciation and the evaluation of American and British English among Norwegian adolescents (aged 17 to 18 years). The data for the study were gathered through an auditory analysis of different phonological variables, a matched-guise test, and an analysis of a speaker commentary. In the study, the respondents' self-expressed accent aims correlated significantly with their actual accent use, and out of the two varieties, American English was the dominant pronunciation. The results showed that the Norwegian adolescents consider British English to be the most prestigious, and it was the chosen model of pronunciation because of its perceived higher status and linguistic quality, whereas American English was associated with informality and it was considered more socially attractive. Even though American English was the dominant pronunciation, the data indicate blended use of the two varieties (Rindal 2010, 240).

Rindal (2014) continued the investigation into attitudes towards the two standard varieties of English among Norwegian adolescents with a study that included a verbal guise test, speaker

commentary analysis, and self-reports of language choices. The results suggested that even though American English is the most accessible English variety and also the preferred L2 choice among the Norwegian respondents, Standard Southern British English is still the more prestigious English accent and has still its position as the formal standard of English language teaching. However, the study also revealed that some respondents were aiming towards a "neutral" variety of English because they did not wish to convey the social meanings which the two standard English varieties carry.

Ranta (2010) conducted a study in which she investigated the language attitudes of upper secondary school students and English teachers. The specific attitudes under investigation were the attitudes towards native and non-native speakers of English. In addition, the participants were asked about their English use and if they aim to speak a specific variety of English. The majority of the 108 student respondents (70%) informed that they do not keep to a specific variety of English. American English was the choice of 23%, while British English was mentioned in the study only in 7% of the answers (Ranta 2010, 163). Those who expressed aiming to use American English gave its presence in the media as the reason for their choice. The students who favoured British English thought it sounded nice (ibid.). The answers of those who did not adhere to a certain variety considered speaking a native-variety unnecessary (ibid.). Other motivations given were that the students reported using the varieties mixed or not being competent enough in English to be able to choose any variety (ibid. 164). Ranta concluded that Finnish upper secondary school students seem to be open to the diversity of English and offers "the prevalence of different kinds of native and non-native Englishes in the Finnish media" (Ranta 2010, 175) as a possible explanation for the matter.

A national survey on the English language in Finland was published in 2011 (Leppänen et al. 2011). The survey was completed by 1495 randomly selected Finns aged between 15 and 74, representing the whole nation. The survey provides representative information on the spread and status of English in Finland and the Finn's attitudes towards it. However, the survey mainly focused on Finnish people's use of English and their attitudes towards English language in general. As those

results do not directly relate to the current study, only the relevant parts of the survey will be presented here for later comparison.

The survey inquired which variety of English the respondents liked the best out of seven alternatives (British, American, Australian, Irish, Canadian, Indian, and Finnish English). The most popular varieties were clearly British English and American English, which were the choice of 40% and 36% of the respondents respectively. Preferences for other varieties were exceedingly rare. The researchers concluded that the two most often chosen varieties are the most familiar to the respondents in general, and central in school teaching (Leppänen et al. 2011, 71). The survey also examined differences between men and women. It was found that 48% of women preferred British English and 31% found American English most appealing. For men the same percentages were 31 for American English and 41 for British English (ibid.). The results also showed that in the two oldest age groups (people aged 45-64 and 65-79), British English was preferred by almost half of the respondents, whereas roughly the same number of respondents in the two youngest age groups (people of the age of 15-24 and 25-44) felt American English was the most appealing variety (ibid.). Thus, it will be interesting to see what the results of the current study will indicate.

Some Master's theses on closely related topics have also been written. For example, Rautio (2016) studied 14 Finnish students' perceptions of seven varieties of English (General American, Scottish English, Australian English, RP, Indian English, Canadian English and Southern American English). The study included speech samples and a questionnaire. In addition, the respondents were paired and encouraged to discuss their opinions. The conversations which took place during the listening of the speech samples and answering the questionnaire were recorded and analysed (ibid. 61). The recordings gave some explanations to why the varieties were perceived in a particular manner, but the discussions were focused on the speech samples and the labels the respondents were scoring rather than the origins of the associations.

While the focus of Rautio's study was on the comparison of standard varieties and non-standard varieties of English, some remarks were also made on American and British English. British English was clearly perceived as the more prestigious variety out of the two standard varieties (Rautio 2016, 62). Rautio states that this indicates that the shift from British English to American English as the ascendant variety, as was predicted by Bayard & Green (2005), has not yet taken place in Finland (Rautio 2016, 62). However, Rautio highlights that based on the discussions, several respondents viewed American English variety as "basic English" and "inconspicuous", implying that it is more neutral of the two standard varieties. According to Rautio, this can be a sign of a shift from British English to American English being seen as *the* standard variety of English (ibid. 58).

Lepistö (2004) studied attitudes towards American and British English as well as "International English". The respondents were 93 upper secondary school students, and the study consisted of a questionnaire and a translation task. Lepistö discovered that the students' attitudes were much more positive towards British English than American English. The most popular variety for the students' own language usage was however International English, and out of the two standard Englishes, American English was slightly favoured. Lepistö notes that, interestingly, despite the positive attitudes towards British English, the students did not prefer sounding British. Compared to British English, American English was also preferred by more students for both their own use of English and teaching, while the majority preferred International English rather than the two standard varieties (Lepistö 2004, 60). The translation task revealed that the students used British English vocabulary more than American English vocabulary, and a high level of mixing the two varieties (ibid.). Lepistö reasons this may be the case because the variety of English the students had been taught at school was British English, whereas in their free time the input they receive through the media and internet is mostly American or International English (ibid. 60-61). Lepistö's study is relevant to this thesis because its design matches the design of this study. Neither studies include speech samples, and instead the respondents are asked to evaluate a typical speaker of American and British English (ibid.

36). Lepistö remarks that due to the absence of speech samples, the attitudes may reflect the national stereotypes the students have (ibid. 58).

Another language attitude study utilising stereotyped attitudes to American and British English, i.e. not including speech samples, was done by Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990, cited in Haapea 1999, 104). They discovered that female students evaluated the British English speaker more positively, whereas male students preferred the American English speaker. Their results also indicated that students with a higher English grade prefer British English and those with a lower grade prefer American English (cited in Haapea 1999, 30).

Haapea (1999), studied attitudes towards British, American and non-native varieties of English among 210 students in upper secondary school and vocational college. Haapea's study included a gender comparison, in which she found that females had more positive attitudes to English speakers and accents in the matched guise test (ibid. 104). However, American English and its speaker were rated most favourably by all subject groups (ibid. 96).

Sallinen (2009) investigated the attitudes of English Philology students at the University of Tampere. While university students studying English were not included in the data of this study, the results can still be seen as relevant point of comparison for this study. In her study, mixing of different varieties of English was found common. The results also show that an accent which is given positive evaluations is not necessarily the same as the respondent's preferred accent. Later we will learn if this is the case with the current study.

To conclude, in university master's theses the focus has often been on upper secondary school students (for example Haapea 1999, Lepistö 2004, Rautio 2016). Instead of comparing the attitudes towards simply American and British English, these studies have typically involved multiple different varieties of English, often both native and non-native ones. In addition, these studies do not in effect contribute to explaining or revealing the reasons or sources behind the language attitudes. This is study will try to fill this gap.

3. Background

In this chapter I will introduce the central concepts and terms related to this study. Section 3.1 offers a brief introduction of the varieties and some differences in them (focused on the most visible differences since the study is based on language stereotypes) and a short discussion of the issues related to the concepts of standard language and Standard English. In section 3.2, theory related to attitudes and attitude studies is presented. Section 3.3 delves into variation in language, and in relation to that discusses language and identity, gender differences, and language variation dependent on context.

3.1 Varieties of English: American English and British English

For the means of this thesis, Standard English is defined as it is described by Peterson (2020, xx-xxi): it refers to the version or versions of English that serve as a model e.g. in written formats. This kind of standard does not stand for superior quality. Instead, it means that there is perceived uniformity of use, which is recognised through a social pact. This pact is socially constructed, much like the metric system or money. In addition, "good English", and also Standard English(es) are always relative and can go through changes following the social changes in their speaker communities (ibid.).

As Peterson (2020, xx) points out in her book *Making sense of Bad English*, there are issues with the term Standard English. Among these issues is the fact that the term implies that there would be just one standard, when in fact there are several different standards which are for different contexts and medias (ibid.). For example, there is a standard for academic writing, as there are standards for chatting with friends and television news broadcasts (ibid.). The issues related to the concept of Standard English and standard language in general are acknowledged. However, because the participants of this study were laymen and not linguists, it was deemed best to use so-called layman terms. Thus, the questionnaire, as well as the theory and results sections of this thesis use terms American English and British English to refer to the two standardised varieties of English.

British and American English started their separate paths of development when English speakers settled the American colonies and ceased talking regularly with the people who stayed behind (Algeo 1998, 178-179). Over time, two different varieties, which are different in some aspects but nevertheless mutually understandable, developed.

Darragh (2000) has written a guide to the differences between American and British English. The book is meant for laymen, and as was the questionnaire for this thesis, the book was seen well suited as the basis of the introduction of the differences. The introduction of the differences of American and British English presented here is focused on only some of the most notable differences in written language and some easily noticeable differences in pronunciation. In the questionnaire, a short reminder of the differences was also presented to the participants. Differences for example in the stress and articulation of words exist too (Darragh 2000, 14), but for the sake of clarity they were not incorporated in the introduction of the varieties in the questionnaire, and thus they were also left out from this section.

Darragh writes that between American and British English, "Differences in grammar, syntax and spelling are relatively minor. The main differences, and they are huge, are lexical and cultural." (2000, iv). In his book, Darragh gives an outline of the differences in pronunciation, spelling and grammar, and focuses on differences in the vocabularies of the varieties (ibid.).

Instead of a complete inventory of all the spelling differences, Darragh (2000, 2) identifies a number of broader categories. The first group given by Darragh (ibid. 3) is the "color/colour group". According do Darragh, most British English words which end in *–our,* in American English end in *–or*, for example in words colour and color (ibid.). British English words with *–tre* ending, like in *theatre* and *centre,* in American English end with *–ter,* e.g. *theater* and *center* (ibid.). The third category is not as systematic as the first two; this is the "realize/realise group" (ibid. 4). Some verbs can only have *–ize* (e.g. *capsize, seize*), and some others only *–ise* (e.g. advertise, surprise). Both countries have the suffix *–ize* in their dictionaries for words apologize, legalize, and realize. However,

Darragh (ibid.) claims that many Britons still write these words with *–ise.* Another group is the "edema/oedema group" (ibid. 5), in which words of Greek origin are written with *oe-* or *ae-* in British English, and in American English they are more often written with single *e-*. Examples include *manoeuvre* and *maneuver* and *anaemia* and *anemia* (ibid.).

Lastly, the "fulfill/fulfil group". This group concerns the spelling of derivatives of words. Darragh explains that "a certain number of disyllabic verbs stressed on the second syllable are written in British English with a single but in American English with *–ll"* (2000, 6). An example of this would be the spellings of fulfillment (AmE) and fulfilment (BrE), and enroll (AmE) and enrol (BrE) (ibid.). However, Darragh explains that "In American spelling, when you add a suffix like -ing, -ed, or -er to a word, you double the final consonant only if the stress falls on the second syllable of the root word." (ibid.). This means that for example the spelling for the word *patrolling* would be the same in both varieties. Then again, while 'travelling' and 'traveller' would be the British spellings, in American English these words would be spelled 'traveling' and 'traveler' (ibid.)

When it comes to pronunciation differences, there is an important point to make. As both American and British English have multiple different dialect regions, the distinctions described here are not absolute, but apply mainly to the abstract notions of the standards of the two varieties (Darragh 2000, 9). Darragh (ibid.) writes that one of the most noticeable differences in the pronunciations of the two varieties occurs in the pronunciation of *r*. As British English is a non-rhotic variety of English, the *r* is not pronounced before another consonant or at the end of a word (unless the following word begins with a vowel sound). In Standard American English, the *r* is pronounced in all positions, i.e. it is rhotic (ibid.). Another distinctive difference is the pronunciation of *a* in words such as path, dance, and half (ibid. 10). The typical American pronunciation is "the flat a", i.e. the *a* is pronounced like the *a* in *man*, and in British English the sound has changed to a "broad a", which is similar to the *a* in *father* (ibid.). Noticeably different is also the pronunciation of *o* in words such as *not* and *dog* (ibid.). In British English, the sound is more open and produced with rounded lips, while in American

English the sound has commonly lost its roundness and its quality has become very similar, but shorter, to the *a* in *father* (ibid.). In addition, in British English, *t* is sharper and clearly pronounced, whereas many times in American English speech, when *t* occurs between two vowels sounds, it is pronounced like a *d* (e.g. in words *water*, *latter*) (ibid. 11).

As for grammar, irregular verbs in American and British English favour different past simple forms (Darragh 2000, 16). In American English, the regular form is usually preferred, whereas in British English it is the irregular form (ibid.) that is favoured. The examples include *burned* and *burnt*, *dreamed* and *dreamt*, and *learned* and *learnt* (ibid.).

Algeo (2006, 2) states that vocabulary differences between the two varieties are fairly extensive, and speculates that the great popular awareness centered on the lexical differences is partly due to the fact that they are perhaps the easiest to notice. The differences in the vocabularies are due to either Americans or Britons retaining old uses of words when in the other variety the usage of that word has seized or the meaning has changed (Darragh 2000, vi). Under different environments, also completely new words have been introduced by coining and borrowing (ibid.). Due to limitations in space, vocabulary differences are not discussed further here. For lists of vocabulary differences, see for example Darragh (2000).

3.2 Attitudes

This section and its subsections deal with the concept of attitudes and various topics related to attitudes. Subsection 3.2.1 tries to define the concept of attitude and gives a description of how attitudes may be formed. In subsections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 the focus is on language attitudes and how they can be measured.

3.2.1 Defining attitudes

The concept of attitude is not easily defined (Garrett 2010, 19). Fishbein & Ajzen formulate the definition of an attitude as follows: “a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner with respect to a given object” (1975, 6). They also state that even though

there is no consensus on the definition, most investigators would probably agree with the above description. Further, instead of dealing with all objects and situations with which it is related, an attitude is focused on a particular entity or object (Krosnick et al. 2005, 23). In brief, attitudes are predispositions to like or dislike an entity (ibid.). Bohner and Wänke (2002, 5) likewise describe an attitude as an evaluative response to an object. According to them, attitudes may encompass affective, behavioural or cognitive responses, i.e. they may make us feel something, do something or think or believe something (ibid.). That is, a person knows or believes something, has an emotional reaction to it, and then can be assumed to act on this basis.

According to Garrett (2010, 23), attitudes are made of three components: cognition, affect, and behaviour. The cognitive component is based on the fact that attitudes contain or comprise beliefs about the world, as well as the relationships between different objects that have social significance. Attitudes are affective, as they involve feelings about the attitude object. The affective aspect of attitudes is a matter of favourability and unfavourability, or the extent of approval or disapproval we give to the attitude object. This directionality of positive-to-negative is usually augmented by a level of intensity: whether we only mildly dislike or disapprove of something, or really detest it. The behavioural component of attitudes then relates to the predisposition to act in a certain manner, which might be consistent with the cognitive and affective judgements we have. In terms of language, Garrett (ibid.) gives an example how these components would manifest: a student's attitude towards English as a foreign language contains a cognitive component, for example that she believes that learning English will give her deeper understanding of English-speaking cultures. Affective component would be the fact that the student is enthusiastic about the fact that she is able to read literature in English, and the behavioural component would be that she is saving money to go on a language learning trip. On occasion, attitudes appear to be largely or even entirely affective (ibid. 25). This is the case for example in a situation where a person hears a language which they cannot identify,

but they still judge it to be pleasant or unpleasant and ugly (ibid.). In spite of this, research still suggests that generally there is a close link between cognition and affect (ibid.).

The relation between attitudes and behaviour has previously been taken for granted, as well as the assumption that changes in attitudes would also influence and change behaviour. However, this view is also challenged by some researchers. These researchers and multiple studies that have been conducted prove that there is in fact significant inconsistency between attitudes and behaviour. Indeed, according to many studies, attitudes are usually very poor predictors of actual behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein 2005, 175). Ajzen & Fishbein (ibid. 178-179) write that human behaviour is complex and therefore very difficult to explain and predict, and that the degree of consistency in attitudes and behaviour is dependent on the person performing the behaviour, the situation, and the characteristics of the attitude.

Additionally, it seems that it matters whether the person forming the attitude has had direct experience with the attitude object, or if the attitude is based on second hand information. Attitudes that are based on direct experience are more predictive of subsequent behaviour. In other words, person's vested interest, personal involvement, and direct experience with the attitude object tend to improve the prediction of specific behaviour from general attitudes toward something. (Ajzen & Fishbein 2005, 180)

Although there is new evidence that suggests that humans may have some inherited genetic dispositions which may influence which attitudes they tend to form in life (Bohner & Wänke 2002, 76), in the light of what we know today, most attitudes are learned rather than being something innate (Garrett 2010, 22). External influence plays a great role in how attitudes are shaped, and two very important sources for learning attitudes are personal experiences and our social environment, i.e. the people in our lives and, for example the media (ibid.).

How are attitudes formed then? There are different mechanisms for forming an association between an attitude object and an evaluation. One such mechanism is called *mere exposure*, which is

based on the fact that to a certain degree, exposure increases liking. Another mechanism is evaluative conditioning i.e. pairing the exposure to something new with an affective state elicited by other source(s). Attitudes can also be formed through learning by reinforcement (also known as instrumental learning), in which we ourselves attend to the consequences of attitudes, and learn which attitudes bring us rewards and which detriments (ibid.). In addition, learning can be accomplished also through observation by noticing the behaviour of other people and the consequences the behaviour has (Bohner & Wänke 2002, 76-85). We may also acquire attitudes by opposing specific attitudes held and projected by other individuals or the media (Garrett 2002, 22-23).

This first section concerned attitudes in general. Next, we will focus on attitudes related to language.

3.2.2 Attitudes to language

Peterson (2020, 8) defines language attitudes as beliefs or judgements about certain social styles of language, language features, or language varieties. Attitudes to language can be held at all levels of language: grammar, words, spelling and punctuation, dialects, languages, accent and pronunciation. It has been noted that even speech rate can evoke reactions (Garrett 2010, 1). These language attitudes are a part of our daily lives, and although they can sometimes be unconscious, many times they are overt, and easily noticeable especially when they are negative and articulated explicitly in public arenas like the media or normal conversations (ibid. 2). Both positive and negative attitudes to language are often influenced by the standardisation of languages, i.e. their codification and the creation of grammar books (ibid. 7).

It is a commonly held view that some languages are aesthetically more pleasing than others, and that it is a matter of taste in the same way one distinguishes a good piece of music from a bad one. There are languages which conjure up positive emotions in hearers, and languages that are considered unpleasant-sounding, and evoke negative emotions (Giles & Niedzielski 1998, 85-86).

When it comes to English, the language lies probably somewhere in the middle evoking both negative and positive thoughts (ibid.).

There are two competing hypotheses on why people have such well-defined views and opinions of language beauty and ugliness. The first one is called the 'inherent value hypothesis'. This position argues that other languages (and accents) are inherently more attractive and others unattractive. This would mean that these preferences are biologically wired into us instead of being the result of history or social conditioning. Linguists and historians especially in the past have been strong advocates of this position (Giles & Niedzielski 1998, 87). However, most linguists today do not support the inherent value hypothesis, and Giles & Niedzielski (ibid. 88) regard it as an understandable but a flagrant social myth. Instead, they are advocates of the other position called the 'social connotations hypothesis'. This view proposes that social convention determines the pleasantness (or unpleasantness) of a language. In other words, according to this hypothesis, the social attributes of the speakers of a language variety affect the perceived pleasantness of that variety, as well as the emotive qualities that are associated with it. Generally speaking, varieties with speakers associated with poverty, crime and being uneducated are the ones deemed unpleasant, whereas varieties whose speakers are associated with culture, wealth and having political power are favoured and become the hallowed standard varieties (ibid. 89). Thus, the social connotations of the speakers of a language variety dictate the judgements about that language variety (ibid.).

Research has also revealed a strong link between how pleasant a language variety is perceived to be and the intelligibility of what is said (Giles & Niedzielski 1998, 87). Dragojevic & Giles (2016, 413) have discovered that the listener's difficulty in processing speech can trigger negative attitudes towards the heard accent or language variety. This process is called the *fluency principle* (ibid.). According to Dragojevic & Giles (ibid. 414), attitudes based on stereotypes and fluency complement each other. Sometimes they reinforce one another, so that an accent which is difficult to understand is associated with negative stereotypes. Other times they may also contradict one another: an accent

might be difficult to process but is still associated with positive stereotypes (ibid.). Thus, a person's comprehensibility is not directly linked to the variety they speak, and often the views about a dialect, as well as its speakers, can also colour the beliefs about whether or not we can understand it, and in particular the willingness to put in the effort in order to interpret it. Having the mental notion of a particular dialect as being for example 'vulgar' and feeling discomfort or disapproval when hearing it can unintentionally bias the perception of its intelligibility and ultimately its worth as a form of communication (Giles & Niedzielski 1998, 87-88). In addition, past research suggests that exposure to an accent can facilitate the processing of that accent in later intercommunication, meaning that if you hear an accent frequently, you are more likely to find it easier to understand, and according to the fluency principle, also more likeable (Dragojevic & Giles 2016, 416).

Furthermore, it has been found that context has a large part in the determination of judgements of linguistic beauty (Giles & Niedzielski 1998, 90). Critical factors to different judgements can be for example who is speaking the language variety (e.g. an ingroup member or a person one is attracted to), and who is doing the judgements (ibid.). Likewise, Holmes (1992, 344) writes that sounds are not intrinsically beautiful, and gives the word *swallow* as an example. When associated with the bird, the word has positive connotations, but if it is defined as the function which follows chewing, the associations alter, and the word is likely to have less positive connotations. This example again shows the importance of context. Giles & Niedzielski (1998, 91) also give more personal examples of cases in which context and lived life has influenced the attitudes of people. They recount knowing people who have had strict negative views about the ugliness of Irish and Australian English accents, which were based on stereotypes of brash and uncultured people associated with these varieties. When these people then travelled and actually met real people rather than the stereotypes, they found them to be hospitable, generous and fun. After, their views shifted dramatically in favour of the accents, and they even accommodated some of the features in their own speech.

Another thing that supports the social connotations hypothesis is the fact that the inherent value hypothesis would propose that the speakers of English who are totally unfamiliar with the French or Greek language would share the same preferences in terms of elegance and pleasantness as the native speakers of these languages. The French Canadians traditionally favour the Parisian dialect and the Greeks favour the standard Athenian accent over the other local forms. However, a series of studies show that instead of having a natural preference for these varieties, the people who have no social connotations associated with the sounds of these varieties rate the corresponding standard and non-standard varieties equally favourably. Another study was conducted, where American and Canadian listeners were asked to rate different British regionally accented speakers. The speakers' ratings had varied considerably in terms of pleasantness when local British judges were asked, but once again the judges unfamiliar with the varieties and their speakers did not discriminate them in terms of pleasantness (Giles & Niedzielski 1998, 91-92). Indeed, people do not hold opinions about languages is a vacuum, meaning that attitudes towards languages are reflections of the views people have about those who speak the language, and the assessments are random and without a pattern if the listener has never heard the language before (Holmes 1992, 346).

It can be concluded that the views about languages and dialects are built on social connotations and cultural norms rather than objectively measured facts. That is not to say that these judgements and aesthetic responses are false; they can be legitimate, but still purely individual preferences. Giles & Niedzielski (1998, 92) remind that it is important to recognise these judgements for what they are: highly subjective and variable, and the result of social, cultural, regional, political and personal associations and prejudices. Nonetheless, the nature of these judgements makes the exploration of their origins extremely interesting.

Following the social connotations hypothesis, attitudes towards languages (and language varieties) are often tied to attitudes towards the groups of people who speak them (Preston 2002, 40). Some groups of people, as well as their manner of speaking, is deemed to be decent, intelligent, laid-

back, and romantic while some are believed to be lazy, dishonest, and insolent (ibid.). For the folk mind, correlations like these are obvious and might reach even into the linguistic details of the language in question. They might say for example that Germans are harsh like their harsh gutteral consonants, or that US Southeners are laid-back and lazy based on their lazy and drawled vowel sounds (ibid.). Similarly, lower-status speakers can be judged as unintelligent as they "don't even understand that two negatives make a positive" (ibid. 41). Dragojevic et al. (2017, 29) write that language attitudes reflect the stereotypes held towards different linguistic groups. The basis of stereotyping is social categorisation (Garrett 2010, 32). This means the division of the world into social groups and classifying people as members of those groups based on certain features, which the members share with each other (ibid.). Social categorisation often exaggerates the similarities of the members of a given social group, as well as the differences between groups (ibid.). In conclusion, the reactions people have to language varieties reveal a lot about their perception of the people who speak those varieties. Indeed, it is worth noting here that generally it is difficult to distinguish attitudes to language from attitudes to the (perceived) groups and people who use them (ibid. 16).

3.2.3 Measuring attitudes and approaches to the study of language attitudes

When the measurement of attitudes was first formalised, the pioneering scholars presumed that the best method to accurately measure and assess an attitude was to use a large set of questions which were selected through a careful procedure. In contrast, today attitudes are most often assessed by using relatively simply worded questions with simple structures. Moreover, the variability of the different approaches taken in the research of attitudes is striking, suggesting that there is not necessarily one optimal way to conduct a research which would lead to an accurate measurement of an attitude (Krosnick et al. 2005, 21). However, more recently the accumulating literature points to clear advantages and disadvantages regarding various assessment approaches, so in the light of this new information, there may in fact be means to optimise the successfulness of attitude measurement by making good choices in choosing the tools available (ibid.).

There are three broad approaches to studying language attitudes. These approaches are the analysis of the societal treatment of language varieties, an approach using direct measures, and an approach using indirect measures (Garrett 2010, 37). Typically, social treatment studies involve analysing the content of various sources in the public domain, which include prescriptive or proscriptive texts, language policy documents, media texts, and advertisements (ibid. 50). The approach is sometimes viewed as somewhat informal, and studies using it more as preliminaries to more rigorously designed surveys, because the approach is not appropriate for statistical analysis or allow generalisations to broad or specific populations (ibid.). Nevertheless, the societal treatment approach is appropriate when there are time or space limitations and the respondents cannot be accessed directly (ibid.).

Direct measurement procedures are the ones where literal verbal self-reports of attitudes are taken as indicative of latent attitudes (Krosnick et al. 2005, 24). The direct approach has probably been the most dominant paradigm in the broader spectrum of language attitudes research (Garrett 2010, 159). This is also the procedure employed in the current study. In direct approach typically, people are simply asked questions directly. In language attitude research the questions deal with language evaluation, preference, etc. This approach relies upon overt elicitation of attitudes, as people are invited to express explicitly what their attitudes are to specific language phenomenon (Garrett 2010, 39). The direct method often employs questionnaires, interviews and surveys which contain scaling techniques. Since these data-gathering methods require the respondents to directly report their attitudes, they can be seen as somewhat suspect. This is the result of the fact that these methods allow the respondents to possibly disguise their true feelings, which they might consciously or unconsciously do especially if the true feelings are racist, sexist, classist, regionalist or otherwise prejudicial (Preston 2002, 41). However, the likelihood of disguising true feelings at least consciously can be reduced by keeping the questionnaires anonymous. This was taken into consideration in the designing of the data gathering method of this study.

The indirect approach means using more subtle techniques than asking directly and attitudes are inferred without asking people directly to report them (Krosnick et al. 2005, 24). It was invented to circumvent the possible manipulation of responses discussed in the previous paragraph (Preston 2002, 41). In the language attitude research, the indirect approach is generally applied through the use of the matched guise technique. In this technique, respondents typically hear an audio-tape recording of the same speaker reading out the same text multiple times so that the reading differs from each other on one respect. For example, when the focus of the study is on regional or social accent variation, the text will be read in the relevant accents, while nothing else (e.g. speech rate, pauses, hesitations, volume of speech) changes. The respondents are being informed that they listen to a number of different speakers, and it is assumed that this deception will get the respondents to rate the accents without being aware of that (Garrett 2010, 41). The matched guise test aims at eliciting feelings or attitudes about certain speech or a language style. This is done by asking the listener to evaluate the personal traits of the speaker based on the way they are talking (Peterson 2020, 46). A variation of the matched guise technique is called the verbal guise technique, in which instead of having the same speaker reading out all the varieties, the varieties are recorded by different speakers (Garrett 2010, 42).

Even though the matched guise and the verbal guise techniques are widely used and well established, they have some potential issues. The matched-guise technique has a salience problem which is the result of asking participants to listen to and judge recordings of speech with a repeated content. Compared to normal communication situations or settings where one might hear speech in different accents naturally, the experimental-like situation where the content (the audio-tapes) is repeated and artificially simulated is ‘unnatural’, and this might affect the validity of the results (Rindal 2014, 323). In addition, the verbal-guise also increases the possibility that the judgements and evaluations are being made due to other features (voice quality, speed, content) instead of accents or whatever is being investigated (Rindal 2014, 318).

Although the direct approach would seem reasonably straightforward, there are several potential problems related to it. First of all, one should make note of the fact that asking hypothetical questions, i.e. how they *would* react to a particular object, event or action are often poor predictors of people's actual future behaviour in a real-life situation (Garrett 2010, 43). In other words, the use of hypothetical questions may be a less likely method to gain insights into likely behaviour arising from attitudes.

Another problem occurs with asking strongly slanted questions, which contain relatively 'loaded' words. These kinds of words tend to push people into answering one way, distorting the data. In addition to individual words, questions may also be slanted by their overall leading content. When formulating the questions, the researchers must also take care not to ask multiple questions where the respondent can only give one answer. (Garrett 2010, 43-44)

Social desirability bias can also distort the data. This bias means the people's tendency to give such answers to questions they believe to be socially appropriate, i.e. the respondents answer what they think they ought to answer or think, rather than how they actually feel. For example, questions about racial, ethnic and religious minorities are often hampered by a social desirability bias. Guaranteeing anonymity and/or confidentiality might reduce the risk of receiving just socially desirable responses, although the researcher can of course never be sure that even that will be effective. The social desirability bias is the strongest in group interviews and less significant 'threat' in questionnaires. (Garrett 2010, 44-45)

According to Garrett (2010, 45), some respondents prefer to agree with a statement, regardless of its content. This is called the acquiescence bias. The reasoning behind this bias may be that the respondents see this as a means of gaining the researcher's approval and giving them the answer that the respondents think the researcher wants. This means again that the responses might not be the actual personal evaluations of the respondents, which raises the issue of validity (ibid.). Both social

desirability bias and acquiescence bias are more likely to affect the answers in cases where the issues are of some personal sensitivity, or where the respondents have not thought through well the issue.

Finally, there is the interviewer's paradox, in which the qualities of the researcher(s) may also affect the answers given by the respondents (Garrett 2010, 46). These qualities include for example ethnicity and sex, as well as the language employed in the data collection by the researchers (ibid.).

Which one of these two approaches then should be used, and on the other hand, will the selected approach have an effect on the results? In order to give an answer to the latter question, there have been studies that utilise both approaches and thus provide an opportunity to compare the attained results (Garrett 40-43). It was concluded that when accents are presented in a list, they are seen slightly more favourably than when using the matched guise technique, but otherwise the results attained using the two different methods correlated very highly (ibid. 42). It has also been noted that the matched guise technique probably evokes more private and emotional reactions and attitudes (ibid.). Consequently, the direct method is more suitable for contexts where the environment is not highly charged ethnically or linguistically (ibid. 42-43). Since English does not have an official stand nor is it a minority language in Finland, the situation is not highly charged linguistically or ethnically (in relation to the varieties under investigation at least). This being the case, the respondents are expected to be relatively distant from the standard varieties and are not likely to feel that they are offending anybody by voicing their opinions and attitudes towards them in the questionnaire. Therefore, and because the execution of a study using the indirect approach is much more complicated, the direct approach was chosen as the primary method and the starting point for the study at hand.

3.3 Variation in language

Linguistic variation correlates with sociological characteristics of the speaker (Cheshire 1997, 185). In other words, differences in language is linked to differences in people. This section gives a brief introduction to some of the social variables that result in people's different linguistic choices. For the lack of space, this section focuses only on topics which are relevant for the current study.

Edwards (2009, 258) defines the concept of identity as self-definition done by groups or individuals, which can draw upon many attributes such as class, region, ethnicity, nation, religion, gender, and so on. He also states that personal identity is the sum of all individual traits, characteristics and dispositions (ibid. 19-20). The personal characteristics are derived from the socialisation within the groups of people which a person belongs to. Thus, one's particular social context is the aspect that defines what kind of personal identity can or will be constructed. In this manner, individual identities are both components and reflections of social or cultural identities (ibid. 20).

Indeed, groups are an important aspect in relation to identity. Studies have shown that people who are divided into groups even on trivial criteria such as random toss of a coin, start demonstrating in-group solidarity (Edwards 2009, 25). This means that people favour those who they are associated with, and often have higher hopes and expectations for them (ibid. 26). This favouritism is created by a sense of belonging, and it can also lead to the formation of stereotypes of the out-group (ibid.).

Language can also be a powerful symbol and a central pillar of both individual and social identity (Edwards 2009, 258). Language is used indirectly to assign identities when we judge people and determine who they are based on the way they speak (Llamas & Watt 2010, 1). Joseph (2010, 10) points out how the indirect construction of identity through the analysis of one's language comes apparent when it also happens in conversations which are deficient in visual clues, e.g. over the telephone. We make inferences about information regarding the other person based only on their voice and what they are saying (ibid.). The members of a community develop instinctively (linguistic) ways of showing and maintaining the bond they have with each other (ibid.). Coates (1993, 84) writes that linguistic differences can contribute to identity and its maintenance in two different ways: on the one hand linguistic differences strengthen in-group unity, and on the other hand they increase the distance between groups, which contributes to the maintenance of a distinctive group identity.

3.3.1 Gender differences

Firstly, it is important to note that sex is a classification based on the biology of males and females, and while the concept of gender is built upon the biological categorisation, it is a social construction

(Edwards 2009, 127). At the beginning of sociolinguistic work, the studies were primarily concerned with social class differences. Soon after, other non-linguistic variables such as ethnic group, age and gender were included in the studies (Coates 1993, 67).

The differences between the language of men and women can be great: there are communities where particular linguistic features occur only in women's or men's speech (Holmes 1996, 165). In all English-speaking communities, women and men speak differently, i.e. the linguistic forms they use, and their linguistic behaviour are different to varying degrees (ibid. 164). Holmes (ibid. 166) claims that sex differences in language are often a sign of a hierarchical community with social status and power differences. In Western communities where the social roles of women and men overlap, also the speech forms overlap. The aspect that differs is the frequencies of the same forms (ibid. 167). In other words, the linguistic patterns are sex-preferential rather than sex-exclusive, meaning that both men and women use particular forms, but one sex shows greater preference for them than the other (ibid.). Most often women tend to use more of the standard overtly prestigious forms, while men use more of the vernacular or non-standard forms (ibid. 170).

Many reasons have been suggested to explain the language differences between sexes, but they still have not been satisfactorily accounted for (Romaine 2003, 103). Related to language and identity, sociolinguistic differences between sexes can be seen as functioning to maintain their separate gender identities (Coates 1993, 84). Coates (ibid. 78) proposes women's sensitivity to linguistic norms as one possible reason behind the linguistic variation between the sexes. What is meant by this, is that women tend to exhibit hypercorrect linguistic behaviour due to their insecure social position. Self-evaluation tests have shown that women over-report their use of the prestige form (they believe they are producing forms close to standard pronunciation when they are not), which implies that women are indeed sensitive to prestige norms and that they are trying to avoid stigmatised forms (ibid. 79). It has also been noted that there is significant under-reporting done by men, i.e. they claim to use the non-standard form when in fact they do not. This behaviour can be explained by presuming that non-

standard speech has covert prestige (Coates 1993, 79-80). In other words, men are actually aiming at non-standard speech. The term covert prestige refers to local or in-group prestige, and it is demonstrated when a group of speakers show a preference for nonstandard language (Peterson 2020, 71). The covert prestige variant signals group identity and solidarity, and thus has social prestige (ibid.).

Holmes gives some possible explanations for this different linguistic behaviour between men and women. The first one is the social status explanation. It suggests that women use more standard speech forms because they are more status-conscious than men, i.e. that they are more aware of the fact that language signals your social class background or social status in the community (Holmes 1996, 171). A second explanation given by Holmes (ibid. 172-173) relates to the way society tends to have different standards for behaviour for men and women, namely that women are expected to behave 'better' and not to break rules. Following the argument of this explanation, society expects women to also speak more correctly and standardly than men. These expectations would then influence the way women speak.

Romaine (2003, 103) points out that it is rather paradoxical that women tend to use the more prestigious variants when in most societies higher status and power are accorded to men. There has also been critique towards the tendency to problematise women's behaviour and to see it as the deviant form in need of explanation. Rather than wondering why women use more standard speech forms, one could ask why men prefer vernacular forms. The answer to this might be that vernacular forms carry macho connotations of masculinity and toughness, which could also explain why women would avoid the use of such forms (Holmes 1996, 175). The fact that men over-report their use of vernacular forms supports this explanation. The other side of this explanation suggests that conversely, standard forms are associated with femininity (ibid.). Holmes writes that "some linguists have pointed to the association of standard forms with female teachers and the norms they impose in the classroom, with the suggestion that boys may reject this female domination, and the speech forms

associated with it, more vigorously than girls." (ibid.). Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003, 294) likewise argue that men are more likely to value nonstandard language because it is associated with working-class masculinity. In addition, they state that boys' and men's linguistic behaviour corresponds to the general expectations and tolerance of them flouting authority and "breaking the rules" (ibid. 295).

All in all, in the light of what has been said in this section, the language of men and women differs so that men and women often seem to prefer different variants where variation exists. Furthermore, if one of the variants can be labelled as the prestigious form, then it is typically female speakers who use the variant (Coates 1993, 77). Consequently, it will be interesting to investigate whether gender plays a role in the English language use or preferences among Finnish young adults, and following the general tendency described here, whether or not particularly women prefer to use the variety with more prestige, i.e. British English. It is important to note, however, that the relationship between sex and speech is complex, and many factors influence the speech of an individual. Different values, social roles, social networks and sensitivity to contextual factors have to be considered too (Holmes 1996, 180).

3.3.2 Variation dependent on context

The speech of interlocutors often becomes more similar. This phenomenon is called speech accommodation. Both interlocutors' speech can converge towards the speech of each other, i.e. minimise dissimilarities in communication features (Clark 2013, 133). Using the same pronunciation and similar vocabulary implies that the speech of the addressee is acceptable, and signals that the speakers are on the same wavelength (Holmes 1996, 255). Thus, accommodation is a means of indicating identity with specific groups through linguistic choices (Clark 2013, 133).

The opposite of speech convergence is divergence. Divergence means the linguistic moves away from those interlocutors whose approval is not desired or who we do not want to identify with (Edwards 2009, 31). In other words, this happens when a person disagrees or dislikes the interlocutor and has no desire to accommodate their speech. A speaker may divert their speech drastically by

choosing to speak a language not used by the addressee, or more mildly by broadening their accent or using higher frequencies of vernacular or standard forms of speech, depending on the addressee's way of talking (Holmes 1996, 25).

Rather than observing linguistic variation through variables such as age and class, we can consider social networks as the crucial factor in the way we speak. The social network theory views an individual as the sum of their relationships. These relationships include both formal and informal ones with different social groups of people such as family, friends, colleagues and neighbours. All these people, i.e. the social networks affect the way we speak (Clark 2013, 84). This study takes social networks into consideration with an inquiry of the participants' longer stays abroad in an English-speaking country and of the social contacts with whom the participants communicate in English.

Allan Bell has introduced a model called audience design, which refers to the way an individual alters their speech to suit their audience, i.e. the people they are communicating with, resulting in style shifts (Bell 1997, 242-244). Clark (2013, 130) writes that audience design often results in the production of normative or unmarked style of communication. For example, in a formal interview situation, the person being interviewed might speak more standard language, and with friends they may modify their speech towards more non-standard usage. Audience design also applies to bilinguals and multilinguals (Bell 1997, 245), which establishes it as an important model also for this study, as the style (or variety of English) spoken may be related to the people the person is speaking with. In addition, according to Bell (ibid. 248), style shifts can also derive from their association with different persons or groups, and a speaker may be focusing on the speakers, i.e. an absent reference group of this specific style rather than the present addressee.

4. Methods and material

This chapter introduces the methods used in the analysis of the data, as well as the design of my research and how the data were collected. In addition, participants' prerequisites and the demographic features which were important for this study are viewed. In subchapter 4.3 the questionnaire used for the data gathering will be presented. The full questionnaire can be found in the appendices.

4.1 Methods

The aim of quantitative research is usually to measure some features, like attitudes, or to classify different groups through findings that can be converted into numbers or analysed statistically (Ronkainen et al. 2008, 20). The ultimate goal of this approach is to obtain factual information about real life, i.e. knowledge which can be generalised even if individual respondents were interpreting the issue at hand in different ways. The large amount of data is seen as the way to achieve this: when there are multiple respondents, individual differences disappear and recurrence and conformity can be better detected (ibid.).

Qualitative research aims at opening up and explaining individuals' and group's ideas, views and impressions and the different interpretations i.e. the meanings they assign to the issue(s) at hand (Ronkainen et al. 2008, 20). In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research does not aim to generalise in the expense of an individual respondent, but to interpret the phenomenon in a way that the different meanings of each response are preserved. In this way, qualitative research attempts at discovering information about the social world and the ways of thinking which make people act the way they do (ibid.).

This study utilises questions commonly used in questionnaires: open-ended questions, exclusionary questions with multiple-choice answers where the respondent answers by selecting the most appropriate or the "right" answer among given alternatives, i.e. just one alternative, and multiple-choice questions which allow the respondent to choose more than one alternative (Ronkainen et al. 2008, 33). In addition, there are questions which combine these question types so that the respondent can state their own alternative in addition to the given alternatives.

In standard questionnaires, different attitudes and impressions are often measured by using semantic differential scales, i.e. semantically opposing labels and equidistant numbers on a scale (Garrett 2010, 55). Semantic differential scales make rapid answering easier, and the snap judgements minimise the opportunity for mental processing. The rapid completion of the questionnaire lessens the risk of the undesired social desirability and acquiescence biases taking place (ibid. 56). Osgood's semantic differential scale, which is also used in this study, presumes that one can measure a person's attitude toward an object by having them rate the object on a set of different scales known to have high evaluative loadings (Fishbein & Ajzen 1975, 76). In other words, unlike in the Likert scale where statements of beliefs or intentions are agreed or disagreed with, the Osgood's semantic differential scale asks the respondent to rate the attitude object using an evaluative scale of adjectives. The responses to each evaluative scale are scored from e.g. 1 to 6. The numbers represent the opposite adjectives (ibid. 76-77). The scale between the bipolar adjective pairs has multiple points, so that the respondent can indicate both the direction and intensity of the judgement (ibid. 74).

Striving to achieve more comprehensive answers, this study employs both qualitative and quantitative methods in the analysis of the data, as it contains both open-ended questions and questions employing scales. While some researchers prefer to use an odd number of points on the scale, for this study an even number of points was preferred. This is justified by the standpoint that it is not possible to have a 'neutral' attitude, so the respondent is forced into choosing in one way or the other (Garrett 2010, 55). Including the mid-point could also lead to ambiguity, as the researcher cannot be sure whether the respondent holds an attitude located at that point on the scale, or whether the respondent simply did not make up their mind (ibid.). To further avoid ambiguity, all points of the continuum were labelled instead of only the opposing ends. A point to bear in mind is that although the changing of attitudes into numbers allows comparison and gives results which can be presented in statistical form, presenting attitudes numerically can also simplify or even distort them.

The semantic differential scales will be interpreted after the example of Rindal (2010, 2014). The three dimensions used by Rindal will be also used in the analysis of this study. The dimensions are linguistic quality, related to qualities such as intelligibility, aesthetic quality and the model of pronunciation, social attractiveness with characteristics such as likeability and reliability, and status and competence, which has to do with intelligence, formality and education (Rindal 2010, 246). It has been noted that the varieties which have high status and connotate prestige, often do not fare as well on the social attractiveness dimension as lower status varieties (Edwards 2009, 91). This observation will be compared to the results of this study.

Qualitative methods are used in the analysis of open-ended questions and their answers are examined by close reading. Quantitative method is utilised to find reoccurring themes in these answers, and with the use of different variables, the data is put in a table format and compared numerically using percentages. Thus, the main emphasis will be on quantitative analysis. However, the data is somewhat scarce and due to the channels through which it was gathered, it represents only a small subset of the bigger target group, i.e. Finnish people aged between 20 and 30. Thus the results should be regarded only as suggestive and further, more comprehensive studies should be conducted to discover the whole truth. In this study, no statistical analysis will be conducted: instead the data is analysed by using the simple methods of counting percentages and averages.

This questionnaire faces a problem called the perception question (Garrett 2010, 57-58), as we cannot be certain that the respondents perceive the variables, i.e. the two varieties of English, as they are supposed to. This problem is particularly salient, since in this study the sources for the attitude objects are the mental stereotypes of the respondents. In addition, there may lie another issue introduced by Edwards (2009, 85). In the questionnaire, there might be items that touch upon a topic that is very near to the respondent's heart, and others that are brought to the respondent's attention for the first time. Both of these would then in the analysis be weighted exactly the same, even though

another means a lot more than the other. This issue will be attempted to be avoided with the use of complementary open-ended questions rather than simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ questions.

4.2 Research design

Distributing an electronic questionnaire requires an application programme. For this study, the chosen platform for the questionnaire is Google forms. The questionnaire was circulated through social media and Tampere University intranet. Because the questionnaire could be filled by virtually anyone, the sampling was based on consent, as everyone could decide for themselves if they wanted to take part in this study or not. To ensure that all the respondents were speakers of Finnish and to avoid interviewer’s paradox, the questionnaire was in Finnish. To minimise social desirability bias (Garrett 2010, 44) and attend to the ethicality of the study and allow more objective examining of the results (Mäkinen 2006, 114), the respondents answered the questionnaire anonymously.

The questionnaire was open from 16th of April until the 26th of April 2020. During this period, the questionnaire received 306 responses in total. The sought-after age group was defined to be people between 20 and 30 years of age. Main reason for this was the presumption that people in that age group have a sufficient knowledge of and exposure to English and the varieties under the investigation to make judgements about their preferences. This presumption was based on the fact that this generation of people have grown with technical developments like the internet and social media as well as phenomena such as internationalization and globalization. The results of the national survey on the English language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2011, 114) indicated that compared to the older respondents, the younger respondents are more active users of English, and English is a part of their daily lives (ibid. 124). This too supported the decision to focus on young people.

As the target group was limited to Finnish people aged 20-30 years, 31 answers of respondents whose ages were over 30 or under 20 were removed from the data. In addition, people who had studied or study English language in university were also removed from the data. This was due to the assumption that university level studies influence the opinion of the respondent, and the aim of this

study was to make observations regarding the general population, or the “laymen” instead. The number of people who reported to have studied English as a major or minor subject in university was 33. This left us with 242 responses to analyse.

This study explores if there are differences in language attitudes between genders. In questionnaires, gender is often a variable whose correlation with the other variables of the study are examined (Mäkinen 2006, 104). The socialisation to one’s gender, which starts immediately after birth, affects the way an individual reacts to things, interacts with other people, and also how an individual answers a questionnaire (ibid.). The respondents always answer the questions as the representatives of their gender, although they aim to express their own individual views (ibid.). Out of the 242 respondents, 31.0% (75 respondents) were male and 66.1% (160) were female. 1.2% (3) chose the alternative ‘other’ while 1.7% (4) of the respondents preferred not to disclose their gender. Females were overrepresented in the data even after taking measures to attain more male respondents. These measures included sending the survey link to several contacts over WhatsApp and requesting spreading and promoting the filling of the questionnaire specifically to males. The reasons behind the greater percentage of female respondents can be speculated. One possible reason could be the fact that the primary channels of circulation of the questionnaire were the Tampere University intranet and the social media of the researcher, both of which are female dominant. As the number of participants was rather low, no weighting method was used to balance the gender distribution. It is possible that having more men participants would have affected the results of the study.

4.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire consists of four sections: first part of the questionnaire includes questions about the respondent’s demographics and other background information. The respondents are asked to state their age and whether they have studied English in university in order to delimit the variables and making it possible to focus on restricted age group and so called “laymen” instead of linguists

studying English. In addition, a question about the respondent's gender is included, so that analysis about possible gender differences can also be conducted.

The second section enquires into the respondent's usage of English with questions such as how often they hear or use English and with whom, as well as a self-evaluation of their language skills in both producing and understanding English. This section also includes questions about the respondent's language contacts in the form of a question inquiring how often the respondent hears English and if they have had longer stays abroad, as the hypothesis is that this might also affect the attitudes towards English and its varieties, especially if the stay involves the United States or the United Kingdom. The third section includes a short introduction to the main differences of standard American and British English as well as questions about variety preferences and usage, along with a question where the respondent is to choose from a given list (including the alternative "other" and an opportunity to elaborate) the factors they themselves think have influenced their attitude.

In the fourth and final section the respondent is asked to rate American English and British English varieties based on their mental image or language stereotypes they hold. Using the matched guise technique or the verbal guise technique for this study was considered, but later the idea was abandoned. Not including any sound clips eliminated the trouble of producing or finding suitable sound clips for this study. It was also deemed that including sound clips would have made the filling in of the questionnaire somewhat arduous which would have decreased the amount of submitted responses. Instead, short descriptions of the varieties were included in the questionnaire for those who were unsure of the differences between the two varieties.

The ratings in the final section are done by answering a series of statements containing adjectival opposites regarding the characteristics of that variety. The respondent is asked to rate the varieties using a six-point Osgood's semantic differential scale. This way the respondent is forced to form and express an opinion, as staying in the neutral middle is impossible. After completing the rating regarding American English, the respondent continues by replying to the same questions

regarding British English. The six points of the scale were given verbal values to avoid ambiguity. Values 1-3 represent the negative side of the scale, and values 4-6 the positive side. The points 1 and 6 represented strong attitude 'really', 2 and 5 indicated not as strong opinion and were labelled as 'quite', and 3 and 4 were even a little more neutral, i.e. 'somewhat'.

The language related adjectival pairs used in the questionnaire have to do with different adjectives that one could describe a language with. The last two of the adjectival opposites in turn deal with qualities a speaker might possess. The semantic scales chosen were partly based on the ones used in the study by Haapea (1999). The adjectival pairs used in the current study are the following: ugly-beautiful, stiff-fluent, unpleasant-pleasant, boring-fascinating, pretentious-natural, difficult to understand-easy to understand, dull-exciting, uncivilised-civilised, unfriendly-friendly, formal-casual, introvert-extrovert, stupid-intelligent. Finally, there was a blank field left to give the participant the possibility to leave feedback or add any information relating to the topic of the study or to any of their answers.

Measures were taken to minimise the possible issues that this kind of survey might face. Firstly, the interviewer's paradox was resolved by formulating the questionnaire in Finnish. Secondly, the acquiescence bias and the social desirability bias were minimised by utilising multiple choice and open-ended questions rather than exclusionary yes or no questions. However, the perception question still remains, as we cannot be certain that the respondents perceived the varieties as they were supposed to. Throughout the questionnaire, the option 'I do not know' was left out intentionally to avoid indecisive responses.

To conclude, this study utilises both open-ended questions and exclusionary questions with a given set of alternatives to choose from in the background and preferences sections (sections 1-3). The final part of the questionnaire, section 4, contains exclusionary questions with Osgood's semantic differential scale**.** In this section, the aim was to be able to make at least some level of generalisations based on the results.

5. Results

In this section, I will go through the results of each question asked in the survey. The subsections are organised as follows: subsection 5.1 looks at information relating to the influence of English in the respondents' lives in the form of language contact and language use. This subsection examines questions 1 and 4-11. In subsection 5.2, questions 15, 12, and 14 will be assessed. These questions focus on the overt expressions of attitudes towards the varieties of English, and the respondents' preferences in relation to them. Subsection 5.3 examines reasons behind the language attitudes by reviewing the answers to questions 13 and 16. Finally, subsection 5.4 focuses on the semantic differential scales.

5.1 The Influence of English

This subsection concerns the respondents' relationship with English. First, we will go through questions concerning language contact and language use. After, we will assess the respondents' self-evaluations of their language competence and briefly examine if the data suggest that language skills have an effect on attitudes.

5.1.1 Language contact and language use

Question number four was posed to discover how often the participants hear or read English language. The alternatives amongst which to choose from were "multiple times a day/constantly", "once or twice a day", "a few times a week", "less frequently", "very seldom", and "never". As one can imagine, the three last alternatives were not chosen once, but all the responses represented the first three categories. As many as 202 participants, meaning 83.5%, stated hearing or reading English multiple times a day or constantly. A smaller number of participants, 36 i.e. 14.8%, responded hearing or reading English once or twice a day. Only four participants (1.7%) informed that they hear or read English only a few times a week. There were no big differences in the percentages of how women and men answered this question, which was to be expected as English is all around us regardless of gender. The results are gathered in Figure 1.

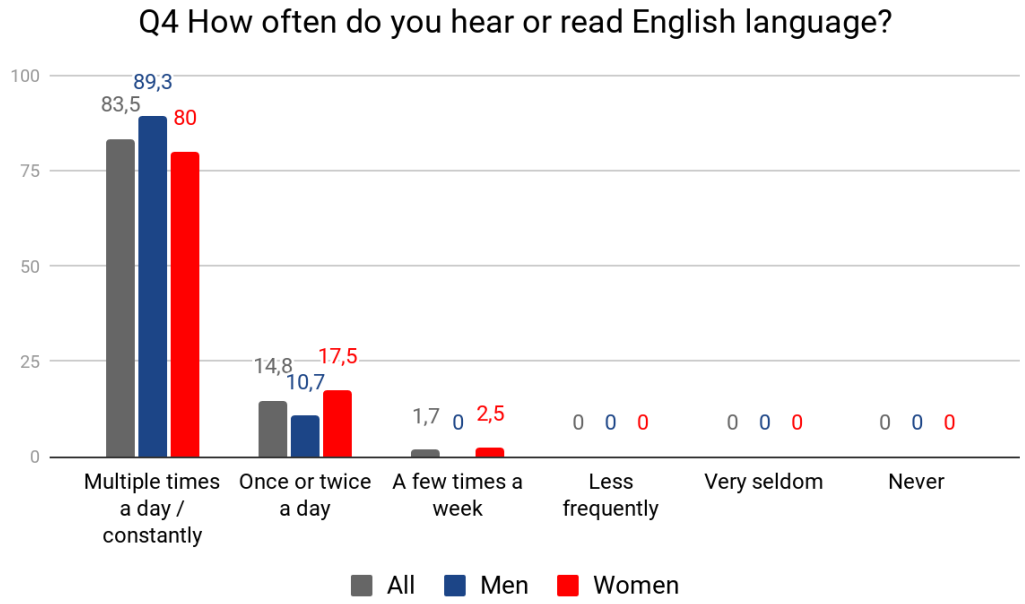

Figure 1 How often all the participants, men, and women hear or read English language

As for question 5, its goal was to uncover how often the participants themselves speak or write English. This was deemed as relevant, because while hearing and also reading to an extent are passive functions, speaking and writing are not. This means that if a person speaks or writes English, they do it by choice, and if they do it often, the chances are that their attitudes towards English in general are relatively positive. Overall, this question generated slightly more variation in its answers compared to question 4, which was also expected because of the already mentioned differences between the nature of hearing and speaking. The alternatives were the same, but this time all but the last category, "never", were chosen by some. "Multiple times a day/constantly" was chosen the most often with 66 participants (27.3%). Not too far behind were "once or twice a day" and "a few times a week" both of which were chosen by 60 respondents each (24.8%). Next was "less frequently" which was chosen by 49 participants (20.2%), and lastly "very seldom" with 7 instances (2.9%).

As for genders, there is a difference between how often men and women speak or write English at least among those individuals who responded to this questionnaire. It looks like men produce English more often, since a higher percentage of men chose the alternative "once or twice a day" (33.3% of men versus 21.3% of women), whereas logically the same is true for women with the next

alternative “less frequently” (25.6% for women and 10.7% for men). However, the difference is not great in the first group or the last two groups, i.e. the users of English that use English multiple times a day or those that seldom or never use English. The results are presented in Figure 2 below showcasing the percentages of all participants, men and women.

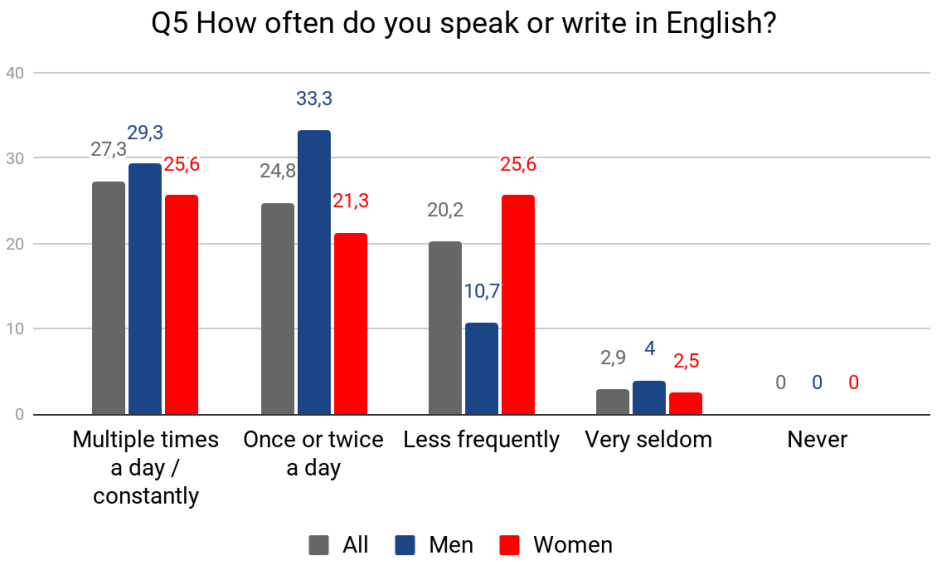

Figure 2 How often all the participants, men, and women speak or write English language

5.1.2 Media of communication

Question 6 established which were the medias of communication that the respondents use when they speak or write in English. The alternatives to choose from as many as applied to them were face to face, instant messaging applications (e.g. WhatsApp, Snapchat or text messages), computer and other games, social media (e.g. Facebook, Instagram and Twitter), e-mail, and video calls (e.g. Skype, Teams and Facetime). In addition, the respondents could choose alternatives “none of the above” and/or “other” and specify their answer.

The majority of respondents informed communicating via social media (71.9%), face to face (67.4%), by using instant messaging applications (68.6%), and via e-mail (53.3%). About one third used English both while playing computer games and other games (37.6%), and in video calls (32.6%). The alternative ‘other’ offered additions such as on the internet and on chat forums, in written form at work using different communication systems, and in one’s studies when writing

assignments or attending lectures. The only real difference in the used medias of communication between the genders was in the category of computer games and other games. This was chosen by 50 males, i.e. 66.7% of all males, and only by 39 females, i.e. by 24.4%. The results can be observed in Figure 3.

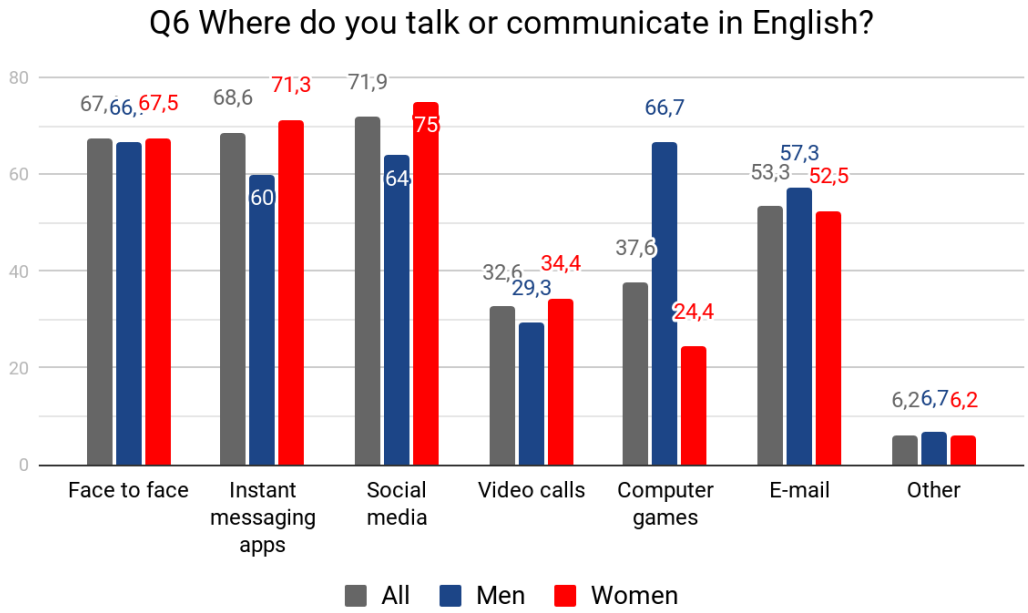

Figure 3 The media of communication. The percentages of all participants, male participants, and female participants who informed using a particular media of communication when using English

5.1.3 Communication partners

Question 7 inquired who the respondents communicated with using English. The ready-given alternatives, from which the respondents could pick as many as they saw fit were: friends, friends from free time activities/hobbies, family members, colleagues, customers, customer servicers and officials, and partner. Again, the participants had the possibility to choose the alternatives "none of the above" and "other" and specify their answer and add items to the list. These additions included unknown people on the internet (mentioned 10 times), friends from university (9 mentions), and university teachers and personnel (9 mentions). In addition to these, online friends were added to the list by two respondents. A roommate, tourists, foreign people asking for directions on the street and when visiting foreign countries, members of a (former) au pair family, students, the guardians of students, 'myself', and voluntary workers at Amnesty International were all mentioned once.

The group with whom the respondents most often used English to communicate was friends, which was chosen 148 times, meaning 61.2% of all the respondents. Second biggest group was customers, which was chosen by 33.5% of the participants (81 people). Third biggest group was colleagues: 29.3% (71 people) selected this alternative. Next was officials and customer servicers (25.6% i.e. 57 people), then friends from free time activities or hobbies (23.6% i.e. 57 people). Altogether 14.5% (35 people) informed they speak English with their partner, and 10.7% (26) with their family.

Overall, there were no major differences between the genders. However, a much bigger portion of men informed using English with their friends from free time activities or hobbies compared to women (38.7% versus 16.3%). This is perhaps not so surprising if you consider that naturally computer games are included in this category of hobbies, and the stereotypical gamer is male. This goes hand in hand with the results received from question 6. In addition, the male respondents also used English with their colleagues more than the female respondents (42.7% and 11.25% respectively). The results as well as gender comparison are provided in Figure 4 below.

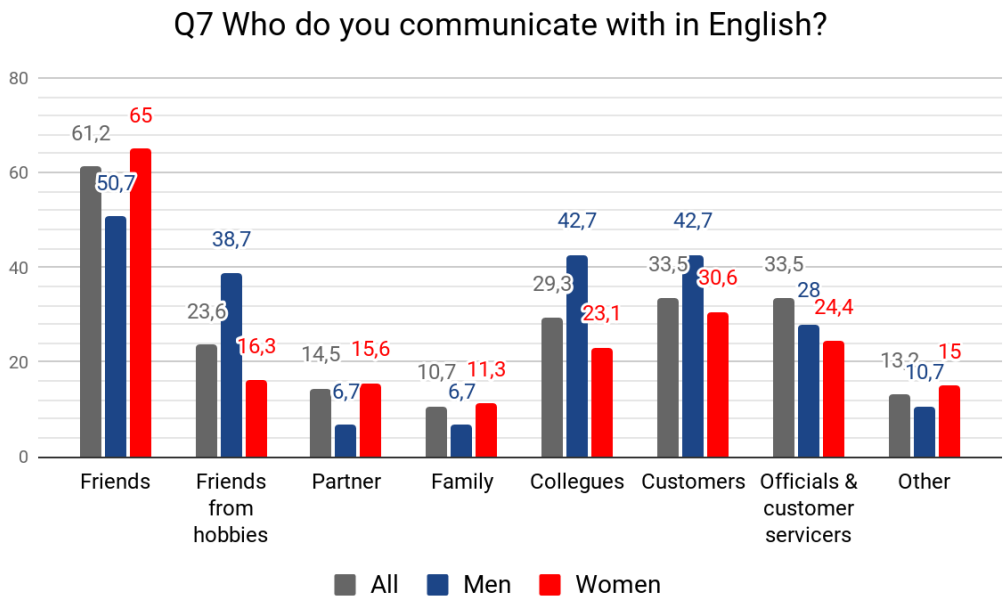

Figure 4 Communication partners. The percentages of all participants, male participants, and female participants who informed communicating in English with a particular group of people

5.1.4 Longer stays abroad

For question number 8 “Have you stayed abroad for a longer period of time?” the answers were split somewhat evenly: out of all the participants, 43.0% (104) answered yes, and 57.0% (138) had not lived abroad for one month or longer. Compared to men, a slightly greater proportion of women had lived abroad, as 45.6% of them (73 participants) answered “yes”, while for men the same number was 37.3% (28 participants). The percentages can be viewed under from Figure 5.

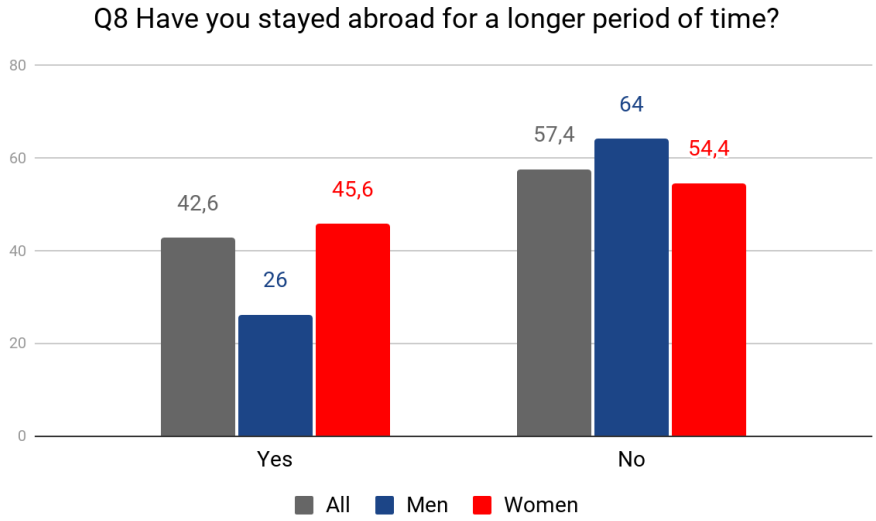

Figure 5 Longer stays abroad

Out of the 104 participants who had lived abroad, 42 had lived in an English-speaking country, some in multiple countries. These included the United States (14 people), the United Kingdom (21 people), Canada (6 people), Ireland (5 people), Australia (5 people), and New Zealand (3 people). 65 people had lived in another European country, 10 people in Asia, 3 in Middle East, 2 in Africa and 1 in Southern America. The periods of time ranged from one month to seven years. These longer stays abroad, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom and maybe also in Ireland, have undoubtedly resulted in relationships and friendships with speakers of American and British varieties of English. This, according to the social network theory discussed in the theory section, can influence the respondents’ attitudes and the way they themselves speak or write English. This topic will be later discussed in section 5.2.2.

5.1.5 English skills

In question 11, the participants were asked to rate their English skills, including both production and comprehension of the language. This was done on a scale from 0 to 5. The value 0 represented skills that are non-existent, 1 poor skills, 2 satisfactory skills, 3 fairly good skills, 4 good skills, and 5 excellent skills in English.

Here, we need to note that these self-evaluations of skills are not necessarily the true state of things, but presumably they at least reflect the actual skill level of the participants. The ratings ranged from 1 to 5, and the counted average grade for all the participants was 4.2. As the high average implies, most of the participants gave their English skills grades 4 or 5 (99 respondents i.e. 40.9% and 104 i.e. 43.0% respectively). 31 participants, i.e. 12.8% rated their skills to be fairly good (grade 3). Only 7 participants (2.9%) considered their skills to be on the level of grade 2, and grade 1 was chosen by a sole person. Men and women rated their skills very much alike, i.e. equally favourably: men's average grade was 4.3 and women's 4.2. The results are observable in Figure 6 below.

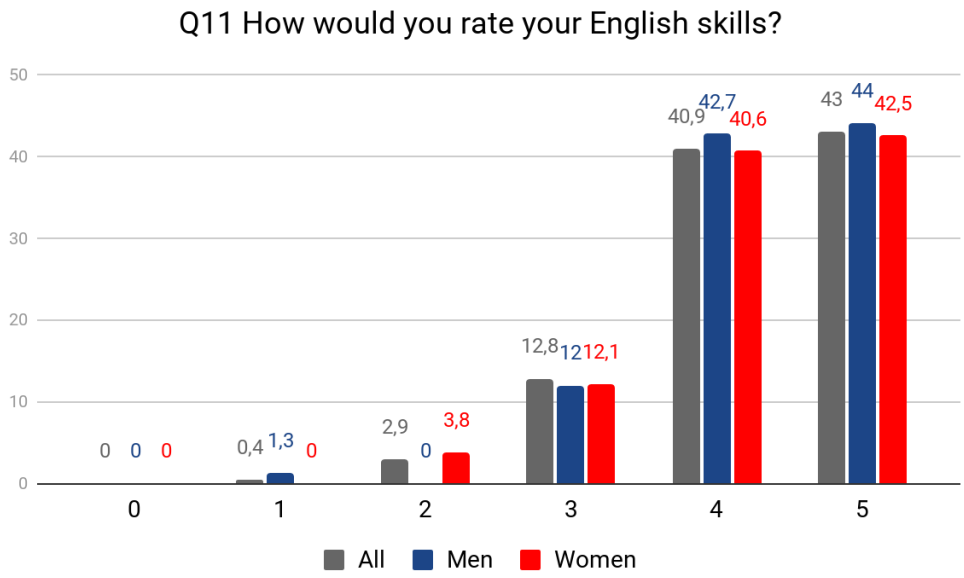

Figure 6 The distribution of self-evaluation ratings of English skills

One of the research questions was concerned about the possible relation between skills and language attitudes. There are two different hypotheses: 1. the respondents with poor skills do not hold strong attitudes in one way or another and do not differentiate between the varieties due to not knowing the

varieties or English in general that well, and 2. the respondents with good skills are the ones who rate the varieties highly. I hypothesise the latter be the case on the basis of the assumption that learning a language requires motivation and that motivation comes from appreciation of the language or a variety of English. Albeit, having a good command of English and being familiar with the varieties could also lead to strong opinions and preferences regarding the varieties.

To gain results, the scale ratings were grouped according to the self-evaluated language skills level given by the respondents. Since there were so few respondents who chose levels 1 and 2 to represent their English skills, these respondents were grouped together, thus forming a group of 8 people. Hence, the groups are extremely uneven, which is likely to affect the comparison. Subsequently, an average score of each semantic differential scale was counted for all the language skill groups, and these were then compared. The variation between the average scores was minimal and there was no clear difference in the rating habits of each skill group. However, if we observe which language group gave the semantic scales the lowest scores most often, it is clearly the two groups with lower skills in English. This would point to the realization of the second hypothesis. Additionally, Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990, cited in Haapea 1999, 30) found that the students who had a higher English grade preferred British English and the students with lower grade preferred American English. Thus, the same analysis was performed for the data of this study. The results are gathered in table 1 below.

Table 1 Preferred variety and English language skills

	Grades 1 & 2	**Grade 3**	**Grade 4**	**Grade 5**
Prefers AmE	37.5% (3)	29.0% (9)	31.3% (31)	31.7% (33)
Prefers BrE	62.5% (5)	71.0% (22)	68.7% (68)	68.3% (71)

As can be observed from table 1, in each group of respondents the majority of roughly 70% prefers British English. Regrettably, the group of respondents who rated their English skills as low (grades 1 and 2) was extremely small, and so it is difficult to say if a larger number of respondents in this group would have affected the result. Nevertheless, the current data suggest that English language skills are not a factor affecting the attitudes related to the varieties.

5.2 Attitudes to American and British English

This section focuses on questions regarding the respondents' preferred variety, the variety they aim at when using English, and if they are pleased with their accent.

5.2.1 Preferred variety

The hypothesis was that British English would be the preferred variety, especially among female respondents. British English was indeed preferred by 166 (68.6%) of all the respondents, while American English was the preferred variety of a minority of 76 (31.4%) respondents. These numbers are displayed in *Figure 7* below.

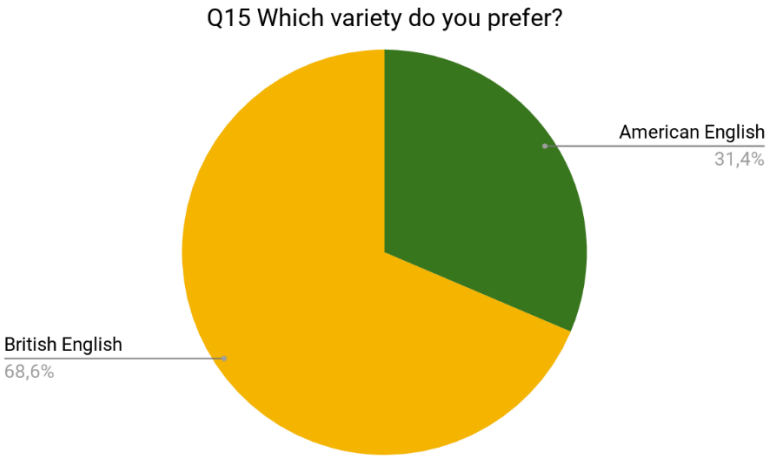

Figure 7 Preferred variety among all the participants

Although both men and women report preferring British English to American English, there is a difference in numbers. As was hypothesised, a higher portion of women did prefer British English, as 75.0% (120) of female respondents chose that over American English. As for males, a little over half of the respondents, i.e. 54.7% (41) preferred British English. Conversely, 25.0% (40) of females and 45.3% (34) of males reported preferring American English.

5.2.2 The variety aimed at

One would expect that a person speaking English as a foreign language would want to speak the variety of English which they prefer. However, it was speculated in the introduction if due to the greater exposure and hence "easy availability" of American English, the participants might report

aiming towards that variety more often than the results for question 15 would suggest. What do the results then look like?

As was discussed in the theory part, attitudes are often poor predictors of actual behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein 2005, 175). Indeed, the results for question 12 are not a clear reflection of the results attained from question 15. American English was chosen by 93 respondents (38.4%) and British English by 89 (36.8%) respondents. Third alternative "I do not know" was selected by 59 respondents (24.4%). The results are presented in Figure 8 below. It is important to note here that this question assessed the aspiration and intention of the respondents rather than actual language use. This is also why it was made possible to choose the third alternative "I do not know", as not everybody is necessarily aware of the matter, and with the limits of this study deeper inspection (e.g. a test) was not possible to conduct. In addition, we cannot be sure that the variety which the respondents report aiming to use is in reality the one they use when speaking or writing English. However, for the purpose of this study, and for discovering the possible reasons for the language attitudes, this is not a major issue.

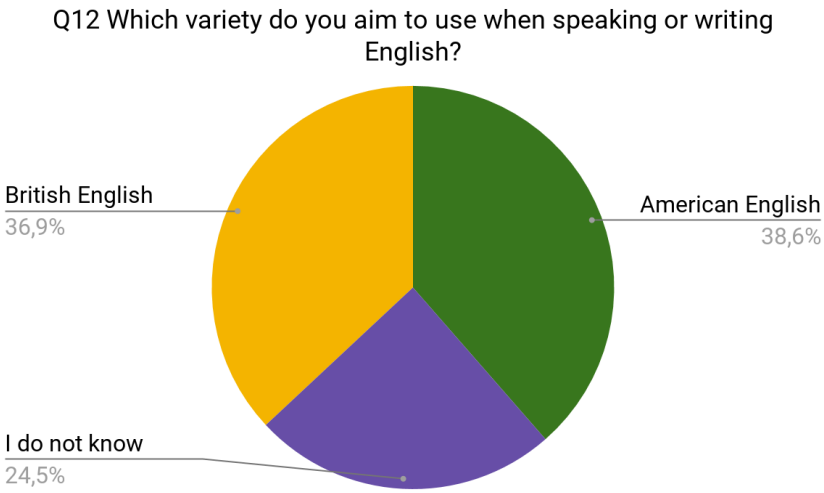

Figure 8 Variety aimed at when speaking or writing English

As we can observe, there is hardly a difference in the number of respondents who state that they aim to use either variety of English. The same pattern repeats when we examine males and females separately. Sector graphs (Figures 9 and 10) presenting the results of both male and female respondents are found below.

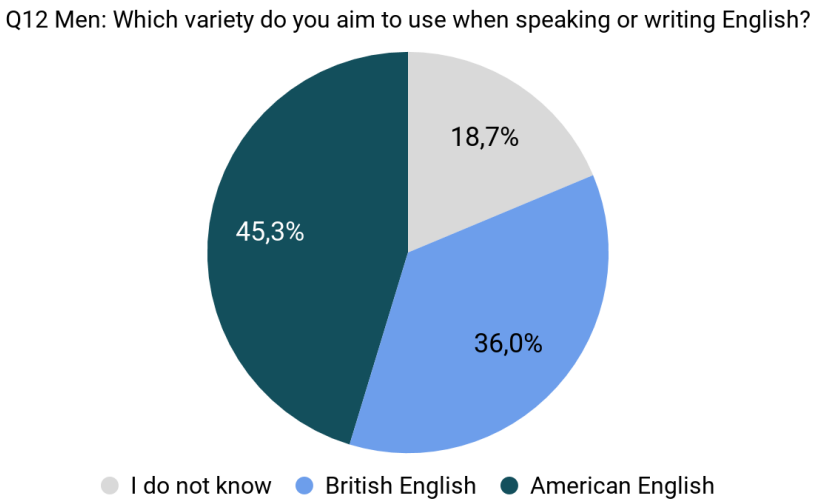

Figure 9 The variety of English male respondents report aiming at when speaking or writing English

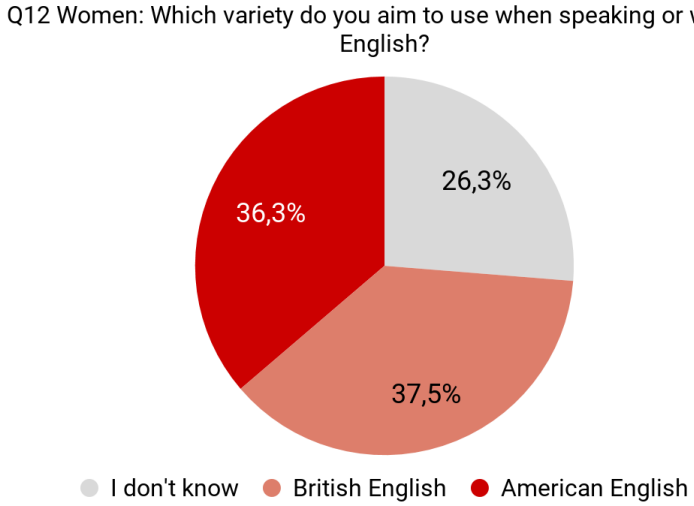

Figure 10 The variety of English female respondents report aiming at when speaking or writing English

The gender differences regarding this question were not notable. A somewhat higher portion of men (34 respondents i.e. 45.3%) chose American English as the variety they aim to use when speaking or writing English, while for women the number was 58 (36.3%). British English was the aimed variety for 27 men (36.0%), and for 60 women (37.5%). Men appeared to have a slightly clearer picture of which variety they used or were aiming to use with only 14 respondents (18.7%) reporting of not knowing, while for women the number was 42 (26.3%).

Among the 242 participants, there were 43 (17.8%) respondents who according to their responses do not aim to use the variety which they prefer. 36 of them reported preferring British English but still aiming to speak American English, while for only 7 respondents the situation was the opposite. The reasons for the first group to still use American English was predominantly the amount of American English they hear and read. This was given as the reason by 26 of the 36 individuals. Interestingly, six of the participants reported fearing that if they spoke British English, they would sound fake or stupid, and some feared they might offend someone trying to mimic this variety. These concerns appeared to be surfacing from the feeling that compared to American English, British English is harder to master, and the effort to use it would result in unnatural impression. Accordingly, two respondents stated not knowing how to speak British English as the reason for speaking American English. Three respondents named their audience as the reason why they use American English instead of the variety they prefer, cohering with the audience design (Bell 1997). One respondent stated that American English feels like a more neutral variety to use, and another that using British English might jeopardize the interlocutor's understanding of what is said.

The reasons given by the seven respondents who preferred American English but still aimed to use British English were British English's prestige and status (three respondents), habit (three mentions; a habit learnt from school, from surroundings and one unspecified source), being in Europe, and the historical origins of English (one mention each). While one of the seven respondents did choose different varieties for the questions regarding preference and usage, the written response for question 13 was such that raises doubts about the accuracy of the responses. The written response clearly indicates disliking of American English and preference towards the "purer and justifiably original and correct form of English", i.e. British English. Evidently, the respondent in question has accidentally clicked the wrong variety in question 15 and chosen unintendedly the wrong variety (American English) as their preference. Further discussion about the reliability of the results can be found in the discussion chapter.

Going back to questions 8 and 9 concerning living abroad, a sample of 34 people had lived in either the United States, the United Kingdom or Ireland. Ireland was included in this comparison on the same grounds as were all parts of the United Kingdom instead of just for example Southern England. Six people had lived in both the US and either in the UK or Ireland. For these people, it would have been impossible to determine based on the information acquired which variety should have had greater influence on their attitudes and linguistic behaviour, so they were not considered in this particular analysis. In total eight participants had lived only in the US, and out of those eight, five respondents both preferred American English and also reported aiming to speak this variety, as one might expect. Three respondents of this group stated preference to British English instead, and did not know which variety they aim to use.

The group of people who had lived only in the UK or Ireland consisted of 20 participants. Out of this group, 13 preferred British English to American English, and 7 vice versa. For 11 participants British English was also the variety they aimed at when using English, for seven participants it was American English, and two participants did not know which variety they aimed at. The social network theory brings logic to the majority of these results, namely the ones where the country in which the respondents had lived corresponds with the preferred and aimed variety. Even so, there were also those who did not prefer the standard variety of their past or current surroundings. Regrettably, this study did not gather sufficient information to provide explicit answers to these particular inconsistences, nor was the sample size of this group adequately large to draw conclusions. However, questions 13 and 16 aim to shed some light on the matter on a more general level.

5.2.3 Accent acceptance

Question 14 “Would you like to have another accent than the one you have? If so, which one and why?” was an open-ended question designed to enable the assessment of how pleased the respondents were with their own accent or variety of English, and ultimately their attitudes. Out of the 242 respondents in total, 161 (66.5%) answered no, while 81 (33.5%) reported not being fully pleased

with their own accent and wishing for some kind of change. The dissatisfied respondents represented three different categories: those who wished to have a different accent altogether (31 respondents i.e. 12.8%), those who would like to be more consistent in their speech or writing or simply improve their skills regarding their current accent (34 respondents i.e. 16.1%), and those who would like to have the ability to master more than one accent or variety and switch between them (17 respondents i.e. 7.0%). Some of the participants wished for more than one change to their accent, and thus these categories are not exclusive.

Those respondents who stated that they wished to speak another variety of English predominantly wanted to change to British English, which was named 17 times. Australian English was mentioned 8 times, and Scottish English received third most mentions with 5 instances. Other varieties named included Irish English (4 mentions), New Zealand English and South African English (2 mentions each), and Welsh English and Chinese pidgin, both of which were mentioned once. It is striking here, that American English was not named at all in these answers.

For the respondents who expressed not being pleased with their current accent, the gender distribution was as follows: 20 men (26.7% of all men), 58 women (36.25% of all women), one respondent who identified as ‘other’ and two who preferred not to state their gender. Altogether 9 men (12.0% of all men) and 22 women (13.8% of all women) reported hoping they spoke a different variety of English than they currently did, so men and women were almost equally represented in this category. Out of the 34 respondents who wished to only improve their language skills or consistently use only one variety of English, 6 (8.0%) were male and 25 (15.6%) female, 1 other, and 2 preferred not to state their gender. Again, majority wished that the variety they more ‘purely’ spoke was British English (5 men, 16 women, 1 other and 1 unidentified). Strikingly, only three respondents (1 male and 2 females) wished to sound more American. Seven women respondents and one unidentified were indifferent to which variety they spoke but were mainly concerned about speaking one specific variety rather than mixing two. There were also two interesting instances where the respondent did

not wish to change the variety they speak but expressed their interest in simply getting to know the varieties better so that they would be able to better tell which one was being used.

The question was interpreted rather exceptionally and unexpectedly by 17 respondents, which then created the third category of answers. Out of these 17 respondents, 5 were male (6.7% of all men) and 12 were female (7.5% of all women). These respondents did not report that they wished to change the way they spoke, i.e. choose another variety instead of the one they currently are using, which was what the question was initially designed to inquire. Instead, they answered that they would like to have the ability to speak either another variety or multiple different varieties alongside their current accent and be able to change between varieties. This is evident in the wordings of these answers. Some examples include:

(1) Sure, in all of them, but for example Australian English sounds fun (105)

(2) Out of interest it would be nice to learn more British and Australian English (25)

This can be seen as an implication of advanced skills in the English language, since they were not only considering having a command over the language, but of knowing different varieties at the same time and being able to alternate between them.

What can be concluded from these results, is that more women than men seem to be dissatisfied with their English accent or the variety of English they speak, as the percentages were higher in each three categories of dissatisfaction that arose from the data. The biggest difference was between those who wished their English was better or more consistently representing only one variety. This perhaps reflects women's tendency to be more linguistically aware (Holmes 1996, 171), which was discussed earlier in section 3.3.1. The percentages are gathered in *Table 2.*

Table 2 The answers sorted by gender. The results are given in percentages describing the share of men and women

Answer categories to Q14	Men	Women
Satisfied	73.3% (55)	63.8% (102)
Wish to have a different accent	12.0% (9)	13.8% (22)
Wish to be more consistent/better in current one	8.0% (6)	15.6% (25)
Wish to master multiple accents	6.7% (5)	7.5% (12)

The open-ended questions also provided interesting statements answering the 'why' part of the question 14. British English was described as sounding better, more sophisticated, flowing, elegant, having more personality and contrast, and being more cultured, formal, and rich in nuances. One respondent wrote that British English inspires more confidence, and another that American English feels more common in comparison to other varieties and hence a little dull. There were also a couple of mentions of British English being more 'authentic' English. Linguistic inferiority and standard language ideology were also present in the answers, as many respondents disliked their own Finnish accent. Others were satisfied with any kind of English as long as they are understood. In addition to these features linked to American and British English, Australian English was often associated with sounding fun and other varieties were named as subjects of interest "just for the fun of it" and "out of pure interest". The reasons behind the attitudes will be further analysed in the next section.

One particularly interesting comment expressed concern over cultural appropriation: according to one respondent, speaking in a dialect of a place where one has not lived for a long period of time would not be suitable but "maybe even cultural appropriation". In this respondent's opinion different varieties are interesting and nice to listen to, but she also thinks that there can be issues of political correctness when speaking a variety of English. As an example, she writes that "for example speaking Irish English would in my opinion be OK only then if the person had lived there (for a long time)."

5.3 Reasons behind the attitudes

Question 13 invited the respondents to disclose why they do not aim to use the other variety. So for example if a person chose American English in question 12, in this question they were asked to describe why they do not aim to use British English instead. The open-ended answers were analysed by identifying the main themes that emerged. Many answers contained multiple reasons, and thus the division of the answers into these different themes is not exclusive. In other words, other answers fit only one category and others more than one. Not included in this part of the analysis will be the 59 participants (24.4%) who did not know which variety they aim to use. In addition, among the

remaining respondents, four left the question unanswered. This leaves us with 175 separate answers to analyse. Regarding this question, differences between genders were practically non-existent, and thus comparison between the genders was omitted from this section.

The results will be discussed in two parts. First, we will go through the answers given by those who claim aiming at using American English. After, the statements which were given by those respondents who profess aiming at using British English will be analysed.

5.3.1 Reasons for not using British English

The total number of respondents who stated that they aim to speak and write American English was 93, which is 38.4% of all the participants. However, two participants did not provide an answer for the question at hand, leaving us with 91 answers to analyse for this part. The reasons these 91 respondents gave for not wanting to use the other variety were mainly focused on the variety they did use. The most common reason given was related to closer contact with the variety through for example social contacts or media. This had then led to the feeling of greater familiarity, naturalness, and ease related to the production of the variety, or following the model of audience design (Bell 1997), the person may have chosen to speak (or aim to speak) the variety based on their audience or the people they usually interact with in English. This reason was given 74 times in total. Some typical examples are provided below translated into English.

> (3) American English feels more natural after my au pair year (1)
> (4) Most people I interact with are American. In addition, I'm more familiar with American English probably because the majority of the English I read is American English. (80)
> (5) I am not so familiar with British English, I hear more American English daily, so it feels more familiar and easier to use. (164)

The second largest theme was negative feelings and associations related to the other variety of English. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003, 283) write that linguistic influence is not accepted from those who the speaker does not value. This thought helps in making sense why negative judgements on the speakers of the other variety are given as reason for not wanting to use it. Out of the American

English speakers, 15 respondents expressed negative attributes they associate with British English as the reason why they do not want to use it, some of which were strikingly harsh and negative. The harsher judgements represented clear cases of prejudice, and it was surprising that Finnish people have such strong and negative attitudes towards a variety of English. Such findings would not perhaps been as surprising if the study was for example about the attitudes towards the languages of Finland's neighbouring countries. Here are a few translated examples from this category:

> (6) I think British English sounds really ugly when spoken. In addition, I don't understand the insertion of extra letters into words when in reality that wouldn't be necessary (colour → color). In media and all around me spoken English is American English, which is significantly clearer both vocabulary-wise and content-wise and I find British English to be really revolting. (57)
>
> (7) It sounds more stupid (64)
>
> (8) A Brit sounds arrogant and autistic (127)

Third, but a smaller theme was "external" reasons. Examples of these include having received remarks, instructions, and comments regarding the variety the respondent should be using from outsiders or some authority, often school teachers. In addition, answers which reflected consideration towards outside expectations or society's expectations rather than personal preference were included in this category. Six answers contained this kind of element. The following responses are translated examples representing this theme.

> (9) I do not like British English words, because I was forced in the first years of basic education to learn specifically British English. I hated it as a child and I hate it still. In English classes I almost always answered using American English in vocabulary tests and I constantly received remarks on the matter. When I was a child, I used to play video games a lot and I learned new words, but they were never fit, because all of the video games contained explicitly American English. I also hate British English because it has become mixed with American English in my head . . . (132)
>
> (10) I feel American English is the more common way of using English,
> so-called standard (242)

One more theme could be detected in the written answers of the participants. This theme only had two mentions, so it does not necessarily constitute its own category, but is still worth mentioning. This final category represents answers where the respondent states that the variety they aim to use relates to and is a part of their personality, or alternatively that the other variety does not suit their personality. As was discussed in the theory, language is a central part of identity (Edwards 2009, 258). Here is one of the answers as an example:

> (11) After compulsory English studies, I had been left with an image of a British accent which is too sophisticated, to which I was unable to identify with. American English felt/feels like a better match with my own persona compared to the so-called Queen's English. (9)

The themes that arose from the answers and the number of mentions from all of the participants who chose American English as the variety they aim to use when speaking or writing English are presented in Table 3. The percentages show the proportion of respondents whose answers belonged to the found themes indicated on the left-hand side of the table.

Table 3 *The themes and the number of mentions from the answers of those participants who chose American English as the variety they aim to use when speaking or writing English*

Q13 Why do you NOT aspire to use British English?	**Number of answers where present**	**Percentage**
More contact with American English/familiarity	74	81.3%
Negative feelings towards British English	15	16.5%
Outside expectations	6	6.6%
American English is a part of personality	2	2.2%

5.3.2 Reasons for not using American English

Out of all the participants, 90 (37.2%) stated that they aim to use British English when speaking or writing English. Two participants left question 13 unanswered, and thus there were 88 answers to analyse. While the arguments for not using American English formed four different groups of answers, the reasons given for not using British English fall into six different categories. The first are the same (contact/familiarity, negative associations, outside expectations and part of personality), but two additional themes were found in this set of answers: authenticity and higher status.

Again, the most common answer given to the question was related to British English feeling more natural choice because of familiarity and social contacts. This reason was given in 49 answers. The examples include:

> (12) British English was taught more at school (222)
>
> (13) In comprehensive school and upper secondary school British English was taught more so one gets used to it and in addition I hear British English more so for example pronunciation and spelling is more familiar from there (11)

The second most common reason was again negative features associated with either the speakers of American English or the variety itself (although as was previously discussed, this most often is not the case). Altogether 27 answers included a negative judgement, and as was the case with the comparison group, these characterisations were sometimes harsh and very much prejudiced. It is noteworthy that the question elicited more negative judgements about American English than British English, percentages of the number of answers in this category being 30.7% and 16.5% respectively.

> (14) American English sounds stupid. (232)
>
> (15) The pronunciation and spelling feel 'wrong' and not as natural in my own speech. The pronunciation of American English (and in some cases also the spelling, e.g. when you use only one letter *l*) feels also slightly 'vulgar' and lazy, so it does not please me as much. (23)

The next three groups of reasons were almost as common with each other. Outside expectations contained 8 answers, and 7 respondents felt like British English matched their personality better, i.e. the variety of English they used constructed a part of their persona. Interestingly, 9 responses contained the notion of "authentic" English or the argumentation that British English is the original English and that's why the respondent chooses to use it. Unsurprisingly, the use of American English did not receive such arguments. Examples of answers that include mentions of the variety of English being a part of the respondent's identity or personality:

> (16) I like more British English and it was taught back in the day in comprehensive school. It feels somehow more appropriate speak and write British English because I am European. (92)
>
> (17) American English sounds broader and its users often speak exaggeratedly and with big words. This is of course also a cultural thing, but to me, it makes the language contrived. The duller nature of British English fits my own self-expression better. (170)

Here are examples of answers where some external reason has led to the choice of language variety:

> (18) I aim to use British English especially in written language for it is the company policy of my workplace. Although I do notice that the words I use in the list of vocabulary examples went about 50-50. (212)
>
> (19) British English was taught at school so that's why I am trying to avoid American English (48)

Examples of answers in which the role of British English as the original or authentic English is mentioned:

> (20) American English reminds me of the States and its numerous flaws. I think of British English as purer and rightfully original, authentic version of the English language. (198)
>
> (21) The English language historically originates from Britain, so I try to write British English. (205)

Lastly, the higher status and prestige of British English was named three times as a reason for speaking that variety. Couple examples can be found below.

> (22) I do not consciously aim to use either and in my language use it doesn't matter if the varieties get mixed. I notice constantly mixing words and their spelling between different Englishes. I don't think about it that much. If sometimes I ponder which spelling of some word I should be using, I choose British English because it feels more 'official' (33)
>
> (23) You hear American English everywhere, and that is why I have the gut feeling that the majority of Finns who speak English as a foreign language are more likely to speak in American rather than British style. I feel like if a Finn speaks clear British English, he/she in a sense 'knows what he/she is doing". (138)

These results are gathered and summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4 The themes and the number of mentions from the answers of those participants who chose British English as the variety they aim to use when speaking or writing English

Q13 Why do you NOT aspire to use American English?	**Number of answers**	**Percentage**
More contact with British English/ familiarity	49	55.7%
Negative feelings towards American English	27	30.7%
Outside expectations	8	9.1%
British English is a part of personality	7	8.0%
Origin/authenticity of British English	9	10.2%
The Status of British English	3	3.4%

To summarise, familiarity and greater contact with the variety was mentioned more times in relation to American English. American English also evoked more negative feelings than British English. It was found that in addition to one's own preference, also outside expectations may affect the choice

of variety at least to some extent. Some respondents related better to one or the other variety as they stated that they do not aim to use the other variety for this reason. Finally, the use of British English was justified by referring to its authenticity and higher status, reasons which were not present in the responses of the other group.

5.3.3 Factors affecting attitudes

The participants were asked to choose from a list of 14 factors the ones they thought have affected their preference to either American or British English. In addition, it was made possible to add anything they felt was missing from the list with the choice of 'other'. The factors given were the following: "the learning materials used at school", "the English spoken by the English teacher", "the television programmes I watch", "the music I listen to", "the films I have seen", "the public figures I follow (e.g. actors, musicians, influencers, athletes, politicians etc.)", "I am interested in American/British culture", "the people I have met/my acquaintances speak the variety that I prefer", "the people I have met/my acquaintances speak the variety that I DO NOT prefer", "I am bilingual/my family speaks the variety (that I prefer)", "the variety sounds nicer", "the variety is more useful to me", "the positive associations connected to the variety (e.g. status, casualness etc.)", and lastly "the variety is easier to understand".

This question will be analysed first generally through the examination of all the answers together. Then, a comparison between the two varieties will be done. The analysis will focus on finding out which factors the participants deem as the most important ones in their attitude formation. There will also be a comparison which aims to establish whether or not there are differences between the factors which affect preference to each variety, i.e. are the reasons the same for those who prefer American English and for those who prefer British English. In addition, comparison between genders will be conducted to find out if there is a difference in how men and women have come to hold such attitudes as they do.

The number of factors chosen by all the participants ranged from one to 13. The counted average for the number of factors chosen by each respondent was 5.1. Overall, the factor chosen most often was "the television programmes I watch". It was chosen 176 times, i.e. by 72.7% of the participants. The second most common was the rather trivial option "the variety sounds nicer", which was selected by 169 (69.8%) respondents. However, later when the varieties are compared, this factor becomes more interesting. Third most common choice was "the films I have seen" (155 i.e. 64.0%), on fourth place was "the positive associations connected to the variety (e.g. status, casualness etc.)" (120 i.e. 49.6%), and "the music I listen to" received fifth most mentions (107 i.e. 44.2%). Thus, it would appear that both popular culture and mental stereotypes play an important role in the formation of these language attitudes. According to Dragojevic & Giles (2016, 416), exposure to an accent can facilitate the understanding of the accent, which then makes it more likeable in accordance with the fluency principle. These results appear to support this claim.

Teaching materials and public figures were stated as one of the reasons almost as many times as music, as they were chosen by 43.8 and 43.4 percent of the participants. Interest in the culture of the preferred variety was chosen by 38.0%. About a third of all the participants thought that their language attitudes are affected by the people they have met (31.8%), by how easy the variety is to understand (30.6%), and by the variety of English that their English teachers have spoken (30.2%). Factors which were less frequently chosen were "the variety is more useful to me" (19.0%), "the people I have met/my acquaintances speak the variety that I DO NOT prefer" (5.4%), and "I am bilingual/my family speaks the variety (that I prefer)" (3.3%). These results are gathered in *Table 5* which can be found below. The number in front of the factor indicates the prevalence of each factor so that number one means it was the most often named reason. The factors are also organised in order starting from the most 'popular' reason to ease the interpretation of the results. In addition to the general overview, the order and percentages of the mentions given by the two comparison groups (i.e.

those that prefer American English and those who prefer British English) are incorporated in the table. They will be the topic of later discussion.

Table 5 Reasons for preferring a variety of English sorted according to prevalence

Total	%	American English	%	British English	%
1. Television	72.7%	1. Television	94.7%	1. Sounds nicer	84.3%
2. Sounds nicer	69.8%	2. Films	88.2%	2. Television	62.7%
3. Films	64.0%	3. Music	80.3%	3. Positive associations	57.2%
4. Positive associations	49.6%	4. Easier to understand	63.2%	4. Teaching materials	54.8%
5. Music	44.2%	5. Public figures	55.3%	5. Films	53.0%
6. Teaching materials	43.8%	6. Sounds nicer	38.2%	6. Interest in the culture	43.4%
7. Public figures	43.4%	7. People I like	35.5%	7. Teachers' English	38.6%
8. Interest in the culture	38.0%	7. More useful	35.5%	8. Public figures	38.0%
9. People I like	31.8%	8. Positive associations	32.9%	9. People I like	30.1%
10. Easier to understand	30.6%	9. Interest in the culture	26.3%	10. Music	27.7%
11. Teachers' English	30.2%	10. Teaching materials	19.7%	11. Easier to understand	15.7%
12. More useful	19.0%	11. Teachers' English	11.8%	12. More useful	11.4%
13. People I don't like	5.4%	12. People I don't like	2.6%	13. People I don't like	6.6%
14. Bilingualism	3.3%	13. Bilingualism	1.3%	14. Bilingualism	4.2%

There were 15 additional comments left by the respondents who selected the alternative "other". These comments contained the following additions to the list of reasons why the respondent prefers American English: video/computer games, informality, greater exposure, family members living in America, and easier comprehensibility especially among those speakers of English who are not that proficient language users. To reasons why they prefer British English the respondents wanted to add genuineness (two mentions), negative associations towards American English (rather than positive to British English, mentioned three times), greater exposure, family members, treasuring one's own cultural background, and "the literature I have read".

To summarise, the television and film industry are the main reasons in the participants' opinion that have affected their attitude towards American and British English. As was discussed earlier, sounding nice, and positive associations connected with a language variety go hand in hand (Giles & Niedzielski 1998). Also related to the positive associations, and in fact negative ones too, are the factors concerning public figures, culture, and people who speak the variety of English in question. Indeed, public figures and specific phenomena do not only affect attitudes in a positive way, but they

can also evoke negative feelings that then get attached to the variety of English these people speak. This can be observed in these additional responses:

> (24) American English brings about fake/unreliable feeling (for example the Kardashians) (61)
>
> (25) The negative associations connected to the variety I don't like, e.g. the way for example Trump speaks (87)
>
> (26) A slightly negative attitude towards the USA, because of for example politics and overall culture (e.g. the news coverage of Trump, stupid reality TV shows) (202)

What is interesting here, is that although these respondents were asked to specify what they thought to be the reasons why they like British English, when they were given the opportunity to add to the list, they instead gave reasons why their attitude towards American English is negative. The same phenomenon did not present itself in the answers of those who prefer American English.

Now we will focus on the factors chosen by those who prefer American English to British English. This group consists of 76 respondents altogether, which is 31.4% of the participants. These respondents mention television most often as one of the reasons for their preference. As many as 94.7% chose it out of the given set of alternatives. The next four factors most often chosen are "the films I have seen" (88.2%), "the music I listen to" (80.3%), "the variety is easier to understand" (63.2%), and "the public figures I follow (e.g. actors, musicians, influencers, athletes, politicians etc.)" (55.3%). About a third of the participants of this group also chose factors "the variety sounds nicer" (38.2%), "the people I have met/my acquaintances speak the variety that I prefer" (35.5%), "the variety is more useful to me" (35.5%), "the positive associations connected to the variety (e.g. status, casualness etc.)" (32.9%), and "I am interested in American culture" (26.3%). The remaining four factors were each chosen by less than 20% of the respondents in this group.

Altogether 166 respondents, i.e. 68.6% of the participants stated that they prefer British English to American English. For British English, the five factors which the respondents thought to influence their attitude most often were "the variety sounds nicer" (84.3%), "the television programmes I watch" (62.7%), "the positive associations connected to the variety (e.g. status, casualness etc.)" (57.2%), "the learning materials used at school" (54.8%), and "the films I have seen" (53.0%) in this

order. Interest in the British culture was chosen by 43.4% of the respondents, while the English spoken by English teacher(s) and public figures were chosen by 38.6% and 38.0% respectively. Music came only in tenth place with 27.7% of respondents choosing that as a reason, whereas with American English this was the reason chosen third most often, i.e. by 80.3% of the participants. The reason "the variety is easier to understand" was selected by 15.7%, which was clearly less than in the case of American English where it was in the top five of the list, as it was selected by 63.2% of the respondents. In addition, while American English was preferred because it was thought to be more useful (chosen by 35.5%), the respondents who prefer British English did not feel the same way about their preferred variety, since this factor was chosen only by 11.4% of the respondents. The two least relevant reasons behind their attitude formation in the respondents' opinion were the same for both varieties, i.e. "the people I have met/my acquaintances speak the variety that I DO NOT prefer" and "I am bilingual/my family speaks the variety (that I prefer)".

What we can draw from these results, is that the participants who expressed preferring British English often do so because in their opinion it sounds nicer. One possible reason for this, which can be derived from the data, could be that the respondents hear British English in television series, and subsequently associate positive connotations with the variety. Also teaching materials used at school appear to play a notable role in the respondents' minds. Compared to British English, American English was likeable because it is easy to understand, which complies with the fluency principle (Dragojevic & Giles 2016, 413-414). However, the results suggest that even though American English is heard so frequently in television series, films and music (the top three factors chosen), which possibly accounts for its greater comprehensibility, it is not preferred because it sounds nice.

Notably, while British English evoked positive connotations, American English did not to the same extent. Correspondingly, interest in the American culture was not as big of a factor as interest in British culture was in the case of British English. In fact, American culture was named as a reason to prefer British English and dislike American English. However, individual public figures appear to

be an element which affects the attitudes in a positive way. Teaching materials and the English spoken by English teachers also play a lesser role with attitudes towards American English compared to British English. This was somewhat expected as according to the study of Ranta (2010), the variety more often associated with school and more often spoken by the English teachers is British English.

Gender differences were not considerable. The orders of the factors most often chosen vary a little, but the percentages are still fairly close to each other, and thus it would be rather fruitless to draw conclusions regarding gender differences. However, if we look at the British English results, there is one thing which draws more attention: women state that interest in the British culture affect their attitude far more often than men, as 50.8% of women chose that while the number for men was only 17.1%. Interestingly, among the other group, men were the ones who were more interested in American culture (32.4% compared to 20.0%). Among the respondents who prefer American English, women appear to be slightly more people-oriented as the difference in percentage points between men and women is rather high (18.5 percentage points) for the factor "The people I have met/my acquaintances speak the variety that I prefer". However, this question does not provide answers to why these differences might exist. Furthermore, due to the relatively small data, we cannot confirm if the differences are in fact related to gender or simply differences among individuals.

In any case, the results of this gender comparison are presented in Table 6. The table is organised as follows: on the left, overall results divided by gender are compared, i.e. the results of both those who were giving reasons for preferring American English and British English are combined. In the middle on green and light green background, the results of the respondents who prefer American English are displayed, and on the right side of the table the results for those who favour British English are presented. To ease the interpretation, the factors are arranged from top to bottom according to their prevalence so that the factors with most mentions are at the top of the table.

Table 6 The prevalence of reasons for preferring a variety of English, sorted by order and gender

All Men	All Women	AmE Men	AmE Women	BrE Men	BrE Women
Television (78.7%)	Sounds nicer (72.5%)	Television (88.2%)	Television (100%)	Sounds nicer (85.4%)	Sounds nicer (84.2%)
Films (72.0%)	Television (70.0%)	Films (85.3%)	Films (90.0%)	Television (70.7%)	Positive associations (61.7%)
Sounds nicer (65.3%)	Films (59.4%)	Music (76.5%)	Music (82.5%)	Films (61.0%)	Television (60.0%)
Music (50.7%)	Positive associations (55.0%)	Public figures (58.8%)	Easier to understand (67.5%)	Positive associations (51.2%)	Teaching materials (58.3%)
Public figures (45.3%)	Teaching materials (49.4%)	Easier to understand (55.9%)	Public figures (52.5%)	Teaching materials (46.3%)	Interest in the culture (50.8%)
Positive associations (41.3%)	Interest in the culture (43.1%)	Sounds nicer (41.2%)	People I like (45.0%)	Teachers' English (36.6%)	Films (49.2%)
Teaching materials (33.3%)	Public figures (41.9%)	More useful (32.4%)	More useful (40.0%)	Public figures (34.1%)	Teachers' English (40.8%)
Easier to understand (32.0%)	Music (40.0%)	Interest in the culture (32.4%)	Sounds nicer (37.5%)	Music (29.3%)	Public figures (38.3%)
People I like (28.0%)	People I like (33.8%)	Positive associations (29.4%)	Positive associations (35.0%)	People I like (29.3%)	People I like (30.0%)
Teachers' English (25.3%)	Teachers' English (33.8%)	People I like (26.5%)	Teaching materials (22.5%)	Interest in the culture (17.1%)	Music (25.8%)
Interest in the culture (24.0%)	Easier to understand (28.8%)	Teaching materials (17.6%)	Interest in the culture (20.0%)	Easier to understand (12.2%)	Easier to understand (15.8%)
More useful (20.0%)	More useful (19.4%)	Teachers' English (11.8%)	Teachers' English (12.5%)	More useful (9.8%)	More useful (12.5%)
People I don't like (1.3%)	People I don't like (7.5%)	Bilingualism (2.9%)	People I don't like (5.0%)	People I don't like (2.4%)	People I don't like (8.3%)
Bilingualism (1.3%)	Bilingualism (3.8%)	People I don't like (0%)	Bilingualism (0%)	Bilingualism (0%)	Bilingualism (5.0%)

5.4 Attitude scales

As opposed to giving fewer options, the numbering of the scales was from 1-6 in order to be able to observe also the strength of the attitude. The verbal values given to the numbers were the following (the first pair of adjectives is given as an example): 1=really (ugly), 2=quite (ugly), 3=somewhat (ugly), 4=somewhat (beautiful), 5=quite (beautiful) and 6=really (beautiful). The adjectival scales were analysed by counting an average grade for each pair. The higher the score, the more positive the attitude is, and averages below 4.0 refer to the negative extreme.

Following Rindal (2014), the adjectival opposites were divided into three dimensions: linguistic quality dimension, social attractiveness dimension, and status and competence dimension. The first dimension included adjective pairs ugly-beautiful, stiff-fluent, unpleasant-pleasant, boring-fascinating, and difficult to understand-easy to understand. Social attractiveness dimension consisted of four adjective pairs which were dull-exciting, pretentious-natural, unfriendly-friendly, and introvert-extrovert. The last dimension of status and competence included pairs uncivilised-civilised, formal-casual, and stupid-intelligent.

Average scores of the respondents' ratings of all the adjectival opposite pairs were counted for both American and British English. Differences in the attitudes towards the varieties were examined by comparing these average scores. Here it is important to note there was not necessarily a unanimous view shared by the respondents, but instead there was sometimes great variation in the attitudes of the respondents. First, let us look at the linguistic quality dimension. The averages of the scores given by all the participants are presented in Table 7.

Table 7 Score averages for the adjectival pairs of the linguistic quality dimension

Linguistic quality	**American English**	**British English**
Ugly - Beautiful,	3.6	4.8
Stiff - Fluent	4.8	3.6
Unpleasant - Pleasant	4.0	4.8
Difficult to understand - Easy to understand	5.1	3.6
Boring - Fascinating	3.3	4.8
Total/Average	20.8/4.2	21.6/4.3

The mean values below 4.0 refer to the negative extreme of the continuum, while values above that indicate a positive evaluation. If we look at the total score of the adjective pairs from the linguistic quality dimension, the difference is not that great, and both varieties are evaluated positively. However, this superficial observation disregards an interesting notion: it seems that what American English wins in comprehensibility and feeling of fluency, it loses in its aesthetic quality, and in pleasantness to some extent. In other words, American English is seen as somewhat ugly (mean score 3.6) and boring (3.3), but other mean scores are on the positive side of the adjective scales. British English on the other hand received a mean score of 4.8 for beauty, pleasantness, and fascination – higher than American English – but the mean scores indicate it is also viewed as somewhat stiff and difficult to understand (mean scores were 3.6 for both), qualities that are arguably especially important in communication. These results also reflect the results obtained from question 16, as American English is deemed easier to understand with the average grade of 5.1, while British English received an average score of 3.6, i.e. somewhat difficult to understand.

As for the social attractiveness dimension, both American and British English are evaluated fairly positively if we look at the general average score (4.3 for American English and 4.1 for British English). However, there are also mean scores below 4.0 indicating negative evaluations on some qualities. British English is seen as somewhat pretentious and introvert (mean scores were 3.7 for both), and American English is seen more positively as somewhat natural (4.1) and its speaker stereotype is somewhat extroverted (4.9). Then again American English is rated as being somewhat dull (3.9) whereas the mean score of British English for the same scale is 4.3, meaning somewhat exciting. The average scores for the adjectival pairs of this dimension are presented in *Table 8.*

Table 8 Score averages for the adjectival pairs of the social attractiveness dimension

Social attractiveness	**American English**	**British English**
Pretentious - Natural	4.1	3.7
Dull - Exciting	3.9	4.3
Unfriendly - Friendly	4.1	4.6
Introvert - Extrovert	4.9	3.7
Total/Average	17.0/4.3	16.3/4.1

To summarize, British English overpowers American English in qualities friendly and exciting, while American English triumphs with being more extrovert and natural. However, these differences are rather small with the exception of the pair introvert-extrovert. This suggests that Americans are seen as somewhat more outgoing than the Brits.

It was noted in during the analysing process, that to obtain accurate results for the analysis of the last dimension, the adjective pair formal–casual should have been reversed so that on the other end of the continuum are adjectives associated with low status and competence, and on the other end their opposites associated with high status and competence. This was then done, i.e. the adjectives and the scores were reversed so that the score would have been instead given on a continuum of casual-formal, giving us an average score of 2.1 for American English and 4.4 for British English. Here it has to be mentioned, that even though the pair casual-formal fits adequately the status and competence dimension, casualness is not necessarily a negative quality, nor is being formal. Instead, the way in which one values these qualities depends on the context.

Either way, we can observe that on the status and competence dimension, British English is rated much higher than American English, as British English received a higher average score for every adjectival pair. In addition, all mean scores for British English were above 4.0, i.e. they represent the positive end of the adjectival pairs, whereas for American English the situation is the opposite. The average scores of the pairs belonging to this dimension can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9 Score averages for the adjectival pairs of the status and competence dimension

Status & Competence	**American English**	**British English**
Uncivilised - Civilised	3.1	5.0
Casual - Formal	2.1	4.4
Stupid - Intelligent	3.6	4.6
Total/Average	8.8/2.9	14.0/4.7

What we can conclude is that in general, both varieties are positively evaluated on the linguistic quality and social attractiveness dimensions, although some adjectival pairs did receive a mean score representing the negative end of the continuum. The results of the status and competence dimension suggest that British English holds the status of the prestige variety in the respondents' eyes. This

dimension also showed greater variation in the mean scores between the two varieties than the other dimensions. As for the mean scores on the social attractiveness dimension, the differences between the two varieties were rather small. American English received a slightly higher average score on this dimension. Although the difference is not great, only 0.2 percentage points, the results can be seen as complying with the tendency that high status varieties which connotate prestige do not fare as well on the social attractiveness dimension (Edwards 2009, 91).

The biggest differences in the ratings were found relating to adjectival pairs casual-formal, boring-fascinating, uncivilized-civilized, and difficult to understand-easy to understand. Accordingly, British English appears to be the variety that is associated with higher status and competence, while American English is deemed to be more casual and more accessible as it is judged to be easier to understand. In addition, the sense of sounding boring could be due to the fact that American English is heard more through media.

Differences in the attitudes of men and women were studied by comparing the mean values of each adjectival pair given by male and female participants. Women tended to rate both of the varieties slightly more favourably than men, although this is not consistent through all the adjectival pairs (for American English this was the case in 8 adjective pairs and for British English in 10 pairs out of 12). Men and women also appear to be a lot more unanimous about American English than British English. Otherwise no notable differences can be detected. The full tables displaying the numbers of given scores and the percentages of participants scoring them can be found in appendices 2 and 3.

6. Discussion

The objective of this study was to discover what kind of attitudes Finnish young adults aged between 20 and 30 hold towards American and British English, which one they prefer, and for what reasons. In addition to the comparison of the two varieties of English, possible gender differences were observed. To answer these questions, a questionnaire was circulated on the internet using social media and the Tampere University intranet. The current study was conducted in Finland and the results represent only a small sample of all potential participants (Finnish linguistic laymen aged between 20 and 30). Thus, any broader conclusions should not be made as they would require further research. In this chapter, the results will be discussed, and the research questions of this study will be answered. In addition, some comparisons to the earlier studies presented in chapter 2 will be done.

The first research question was "Do Finnish speakers of English prefer Standard American English or British standard English (Received Pronunciation)?". The answer to this question was sought by asking the respondents directly. The majority of respondents, 68.6% (166), preferred British English, and 31.4% (76) reported preferring American English. This overt elicitation of a more positive attitude towards British English should logically have been followed by more favourable ratings in the adjectival scales compared to the ratings received by American English, but interestingly for the most part this was not the case. This brings us to the second research question, which related to respondents' attitudes towards American and British English. The answer was canvassed with the use of semantic differential scales using 12 adjectival pairs. The adjectival pairs were divided into three dimensions following the example of Rindal (2014). The dimensions were linguistic quality, social attractiveness, and status and competence. British English was rated considerably higher on the status and competence dimension, and in fact on all the scales on that dimension. On the other hand, the differences were smaller on the social attractiveness and linguistic quality dimensions, and American English's mean score was a little higher on the social attractiveness dimension. Altogether, on these two dimensions American English's mean score was higher on four

adjectival pairs, while British English's score was the higher one on five occasions. The most noticeable differences were on scales ugly-beautiful, stiff-fluent, difficult to understand-easy to understand, boring-fascinating, introvert-extrovert, uncivilised-civilised, casual-formal and stupid-intelligent. American English was seen as somewhat ugly but much more fluent and easier to understand than British English. British English on the other hand was rated somewhat beautiful, but also somewhat stiff and difficult to understand. American English was considered boring and British English fascinating.

American English speakers were also seen as extroverts and British English speakers as introverts. Then again, the stereotype of a British English speaker was intelligent and American English on the stupid side of the scale. Hand in hand with that judgement was the rating for education: American English was scored somewhat uncivilised and British English quite civilised. The greatest difference was found in the scale regarding formality with a difference of 2.3 points: American English was seen as quite casual (scoring a mean of 2.1), while British English somewhat formal (4.4). In short, while the overall mean score for the social attractiveness dimension was slightly in favour of American English, and the mean score on linguistic quality dimension was a little higher for British English, there was some alternation between the individual scales regarding which variety was rated more favourably.

Altogether, both varieties were valued both negatively and positively. The fairly neutral mean scores close to values 3 and 4 would indicate that the respondents do not have very strong attitudes towards the varieties at least for the most part. However, there were also more opinionated responses, in fact both ways. In the end, these opposing opinions as well as the more neutral ones softened the results. All in all, American English drew a tie with six positive evaluations and six negative evaluations (including also the casual-formal-continuum). British English was associated with eight positive adjectives and only four negative adjectives. As the judgements were done without an audio stimulus and out of any context, they relied on mental stereotypes. This means that the results can be

open to some criticism and they do not necessarily depict entirely what they were supposed to reflect, i.e. the two standard varieties of English under investigation. In addition, there is always the possibility that the participants grew tired of clicking and choosing at the end of the questionnaire, and thus filled in the rest of it carelessly. With an internet questionnaire, there is also a greater threat of clicking a wrong alternative by mistake when compared to questionnaires which are filled in by hand. One clear case of such was detected and discussed in section 5.2.2.

Even though Lepistö conducted a somewhat similar study by tapping into linguistic or national stereotypes, a direct comparison of the results is not possible to carry out because for the most part, the adjectives used in the semantic scales were different. Nevertheless, we can still note that in Lepistö's study British English was seen much more positively than American English, whereas in the present study the differences were noticeable but not as great, and American English was more positively evaluated on some scales. Conversely, in the national survey by Leppänen et al. (2011), among the two youngest respondent groups (aged 15-24 and 25-44), American English was the most popular variety.

Haapea found that the female respondents in her study had more positive attitudes to both varieties (1999, 104). The same discovery was made in this study, although the differences were not completely consistent. In the study by Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990, cited in Haapea 1999) female students seemed to prefer British English and male students American English. In both the national survey by Leppänen et al. (2011) and the present study, a greater percentage of women than men preferred British English to American English and vice versa. In this study, even though a higher percentage of male respondents did report preferring American English compared to female respondents, the majority of both groups still informed preferring British English.

Dragojevic & Giles claim that processing difficulties may affect the status ratings of a variety (2016, 414), and that the processing difficulties are more likely to affect the language attitude if the difficulty to understand is so severe it impairs the ability to carry out a conversation. British English

is most likely not so hard to understand it would seriously impede a conversation, and thus it is not wonder that this study does not fully support the fluency principle, as British English was better liked, assigned more status, and rated friendlier and more pleasant than American English even though according to the adjectival scale ratings it is harder to understand.

In addition to asking directly which variety the participants prefer, they were also asked which variety they aim to use when speaking or writing English, i.e. which variety they prefer to use. The situation was fairly even: 38.4% (93 respondents) chose American English and 36.8% (89 respondents) chose British English. Sallinen (2009) found that the accent which is more positively evaluated is not necessarily the same as the preferred accent. This finding matches with the results of the current study, as even though British English was clearly the preferred variety taste-wise, when the participants were asked which variety they aim to use, both varieties were chosen by an almost equal number of respondents. Sallinen discovered that for university students of English, the ideal accent for their own use is "first and foremost, understandable and clear" (2009, 72). Understandability could be one of the reasons behind this mismatch of the best liked and the variety preferred in one's own use of English. A little higher portion of men (45.3% versus 36.3% of women) reported aiming to use American English, and for British English the gender percentages were almost the same (36.0% of men and 37.5% of women). Men seemed to have a better idea of which variety they aimed for, as only 18.7% of them reported not knowing, while for women the same number was 26.3%.

Lepistö's (2004, 46) results showed that out of the two varieties, American English was slightly more favoured for own usage (12.9% chose American English and 7.5% British English), while International English was the choice of 55.9% of the respondents. In the current study, such third option as International English in the study of Lepistö was not included because at least concerning vocabulary, a speaker of English is often forced to choose between the vocabularies of the two varieties when there is no neutral word available. In addition, the limited choice of alternatives did

not allow for the participants to remain indecisive, and served the objective of determining the attitudes of the respondents towards the attitude objects, which unlike in Lepistö's study, did not include International English. In the end, even if the answers do not represent the real language usage of the participants, they still tell us something about the attitudes.

Related to this, the studies by Rindal (2010), Ranta (2010), Lepistö (2004) and Sallinen (2009) all found blended use of different varieties common, and even high levels of mixing in some cases. This raises the issue of whether the question regarding the variety aimed at should have been possibly an open-ended one, or included alternative options of for example mixed or a neutral variety. However, while it is possible to have "a third" model for pronunciation, a speaker still must choose for example between the two sets of vocabularies. Thus, it was decided that the respondents are required to choose between the two varieties. Since the study was on language attitudes rather than language use, the limited choice of alternatives and consequently the forced choosing was seen as appropriate as this procedure allowed compiling explicit results on the attitudes towards the two varieties under investigation.

The participants were also asked if they would like to speak with another accent than the one they currently had. The majority of respondents (66.5%) were satisfied, but about a third wished for some kind of change. A greater percentage of women than men were not completely satisfied with their accent (36.25% and 26.7% respectively). Interestingly, roughly the same proportion of men and women wanted to have a different accent, while women represented the greater number in wanting to improve the way they speak. This appears to support the theories of women's higher linguistic awareness and sensitivity to linguistic norms given by Holmes (1996, 171) and Coates (1993, 78) to explain the differences in the language of men and women.

Those respondents who wanted to have a different accent altogether (12.8%) predominantly wanted to change it to British English. Australian English was also mentioned several times, whereas American English was not named even once. Again, the respondents who reported that they would

like to be more consistent in their language use or improve their current accent (16.1%) mainly wished that their accent was more ‘purely’ British English. Likewise, in this category American English was not a popular answer, although this time three respondents reported wishing to sound more American. Thus, it would seem that either American English is so attainable that one does not have to wish to speak it (rather, one simply speaks it), or then this can be seen as a sign of the prestige that British English still holds in the eyes of Finnish young adults.

The reasons behind the attitudes, the concern of research question three, are probably much more manifold than the results of this study suggest. To get an idea of what kinds of things affect the language attitudes of the participants, the questionnaire contained questions about contact with the English language, longer stays abroad, English language skills, and finally a multiple-choice question about possible factors that the participants thought affect their opinion. Also the open-ended question asking why the respondent does not aim to use the other variety when they speak or write English contributed to the answering of this question.

The results showed that English is heard and read at least daily by almost all of the participants regardless of gender. The production of English, i.e. speaking and writing, was slightly less frequent, though still engaged in daily by a little over half of the respondents. Here men were slightly more active in using English compared to women. The three most commonly used media for communicating in English were social media, instant messaging applications and face to face communication. The media of communication were largely the same for both genders except for computer games, which was clearly more common media among men. The participants informed communicating with their friends most often. A little higher percent of the male participants appeared to be working in international settings, as they represented a higher percentage of answers in categories “colleagues” and “customers”. One shortage of this study is the fact that in relation to the language contact questions, the respondents could have been asked which variety they have more contact with. This would have been a valuable piece of information for understanding the reasons

behind the respondents' attitudes because, for example, according to the idea mere exposure, exposure increases liking (Bohner & Wänke 2002, 76). With the current data, it was not possible to examine if this was the case also for the participants of this study, as information regarding which variety they are more in contact with was not attained.

Out of the 242 participants, 43% (104) had lived abroad, and 57% (138) had not. The percentage of women who had stayed abroad was 45.6% (73) and for men the figure was 37.3% (28). Altogether 42 respondents had lived in an English-speaking country. Most importantly, 21 respondents had lived in the United Kingdom, 14 in the United States, and 5 in Ireland. The number of participants who had lived in an English-speaking country was not big enough to gain any comprehensive findings on if staying abroad significantly affects the language attitudes. Nonetheless, in the small number of responses, a little over half of the respondents seemed to both prefer and aim to speak the variety of English which matched their past living location. Yet, not all did, so one could argue that while language contact may increase the likeliness of liking a specific variety, it does not guarantee it as attitudes are complex constructs.

One subquestion inquired about the possible relationship between language competence and the attitudes towards the varieties of English. Holopainen & Hyötyläinen (1990, cited in Haapea 1999, 30) discovered that students with a higher English grade prefer British English, and students with a lower grade prefer American English. The same occurrence was not found in the current study, as all skill groups preferred British English. Moreover, the differences found in the rating habits of respondents of different English skill levels were minimal. Thus, the data of this study suggest that English language skills are not a factor affecting the attitudes towards the two varieties studied. However, the results might have been different if there had been more participants with lower skills in English, as in the current study their number was extremely low.

The participants were also asked directly about the factors that they think affect their preference. The factors which stood out from the rest were television programmes, sounding nice, films, and

positive associations. Differences were also observed in the factors named by the respondents who stated they prefer American English, and those who selected British English as their preference.

Factors affecting the opinion of those who stated they prefer British English had to do with sounding nice, television, positive associations, teaching materials, and films. Giles & Niedzielski (1998, 89) argue that the social connotations of the speakers of a variety dictate how pleasing the variety sounds. Indeed, all but teaching materials contribute to the positive associations, and almost half of the respondents of this group also indicated having interest in the British culture, which supports the social connotations hypothesis (ibid. 88). The most frequent factors named as the reasons for preferring American English were television, films, music, and greater comprehensibility. Missing from the top of this list were sounding nice, teaching materials, positive associations, and interest in the American culture. Instead, the factors relate to media and being the easier one to understand out of the two varieties. Here again the top four reasons can be seen as resulting from one another, as exposure to an accent can make it easier to understand (Dragojevic & Giles 2016, 416). The fact that different types of media were so commonly named as reasons by the respondents supports the idea of mere exposure, i.e. that exposure increases liking (Bohner & Wänke 2002, 76).

As for gender differences, women seemed to be more interested in the British culture and men in the American culture. In addition, among the respondents who preferred American English, women named the people they have met or their acquaintances more often than men as a factor affecting their attitude. Otherwise, the factors named by men and women were roughly the same.

The factors named in the present study match the results of Rindal (2014, 326). In her study, accessibility was named the most common reason to aim towards speaking with an American English accent, and for British English is was aesthetics. In her study equally, reasons to aim towards using British English included its association with status and its “originality”, while some aimed towards American English because it is more neutral choice (ibid. 327).

The open-ended question inquiring why the respondents do not aim to use the other variety of English than which they had earlier reported provided interesting answers related to the respondents' attitudes towards the varieties and reasons behind them. The answers were categorised according to themes which were the following for both groups (i.e. those who were giving reasons for not using American and British English): more contact with the variety aimed at, negative feelings towards the other variety, outside expectations, and the aimed variety as a part of the respondent's personality. Aiming to use British English was additionally justified by the origin of the English language and its higher status. Clearly the most common reason given related to greater familiarity with the variety the respondents aspired to use. This reason was more common in the answers justifying not using British English. Attitudes towards languages are reflections of the views about the people who speak the language (Holmes 1992, 346), so it is not surprising that the second most common reason given was negative feelings towards the other variety. In the data, American English gave rise to negative feelings more often than British English. The fact that some of the respondents stated disliking one variety as a reason for using another can be seen as a process similar to divergence (Edwards 2009, 31): these respondents aim to move away from the people who they do not want to be identified with through language use. The two categories "the origin of British English" and "the status of British English" constituted together the third largest category of reasons. The remaining categories were comprised of smaller number of answers.

Strikingly, the negative feelings towards both varieties were on occasion considerably harsh and prejudiced. The strength of the judgements was initially surprising, as I was not expecting Finnish people to hold such strong negative attitudes towards the varieties. English is after all a foreign language in Finland. Perhaps having strong emotions and attitudes towards the varieties tells more about the person passing the judgement than the varieties themselves. It is likely that, like in the example case given by Giles & Niedzielski (1998, 91), the strictest negative views about the varieties are based on stereotypes or negative media images rather than actual acquaintances or people that the

respondent personally has met or knows. In addition, as context plays a large role in people's judgements (ibid. 90), the fact that the respondents did not rate audio recording voices but instead were voicing the stereotypes they hold might have made the judgements harsher.

Rindal's study (2010, 240) suggested that the Norwegian adolescent respondents chose British English as their model of pronunciation because of its perceived higher status and linguistic quality. The motivators for choosing American English in Rindal's study were its associations with informality and greater social attractiveness (ibid.). In the current study, the higher status of British English was not the greatest directly named reason for choosing it as the model of English in one's own usage, though it was mentioned couple of times in the open-ended answers. However, the data received from the adjectival scales complies with Rindal's conclusions in that American English was perceived as more socially attractive (though only slightly), while British English was the variety with greater linguistic quality, and especially the variety with higher status.

In addition, out of curiosity, this study also strove to discover if the respondents preferred the variety they themselves speak and why. Out of all the participants, 57.9% (140) aimed to use the variety they reported as the one they prefer, 24.4% (59) did not know which variety they aim to use, and 17.8% (43) reported that they aim to use other variety than which they reported preferring. More often the case was that the respondent liked British English more, but still spoke American English. Main reason given for doing so was the amount of American English they hear and read. Other reasons named more than once were the fear of sounding stupid or fake, speaking the variety of English which fits the audience the best, and not knowing how to speak British English. The much smaller group of respondents who informed that they prefer American English but aim to use British English named as their reasons for doing so the status and prestige of British English, a learnt habit, European surroundings, and the historical origins of English.

At least in the context of this study, it is possible to consider British English as the prestige variety, whereas American English could be regarded as the unprestigious variety. In this scenario,

American English as the unprestigious variant would connotate masculinity and have covert prestige, i.e. attraction based on "non school-oriented norms" (Preston 2002, 46-47), whereas British English has overt prestige and would be associated with femininity (Holmes 1996, 175). Coates argues that if a variant can be labelled as the prestigious form, it is typically female speakers who use the variant (Coates 1993, 77). This holds true if we look at the results of this study. Women did indeed show a greater preference for British English compared to men. The theory related to gender differences presented in section 3.3.1 could then help explaining why this is. For one, women's greater status-consciousness suggested by Holmes (1996, 171) could explain this difference, particularly since British English was rated as having more status in the semantic differential scales. In the light of the data of this study, American English appears to be somewhat stigmatised, and it is connected to negative associations more often than British English. Correspondingly, the gender differences regarding the preference could be due to this, as according to Coates (1993, 78), women are more sensitive to linguistic norms, and as a result they try to avoid stigmatised forms (ibid. 79).

In addition, it was mentioned in the theory section how some linguists have suggested that the standard language forms, in this case British English, are associated with female teachers, which could result in that boys may be more prone to reject the standard form learnt at school (Holmes 1996, 175). One male respondent did in fact report of purposefully rejecting school English, i.e. British English. However, for several others school was an important factor in why they had chosen to aspire to speak British English.

Despite what has been said, American English does not in reality count as a non-standard variety of English, and speaking with an American accent or using American English vocabulary is not likely to be seen as flouting authority or breaking the rules. However, these reasons offered as possible explanations for gender differences which relate to status can be seen as plausible. Nevertheless, I would argue that we are more likely to find better and more concrete reasons for the language attitudes in the earlier analysis of the results.

Finally, some observations could be made on the feedback obtained about the survey at the end of the questionnaire. Regarding the adjectival scales, the pair stupid-intelligent received a fair amount of commenting. Some participants were upset about such stereotypical generalisations, although some nevertheless had graded the varieties differently. A number of participants also regretted not being able to choose a neutral point on the scales. The middle point was left out so that the participants had to think about their opinion and choose something instead of staying neutral or indecisive. Even though this did provide answers that could be analysed and compared, it can also make the answers somewhat unreliable: did the participants actually express their opinion or did they still utilise the two points in the middle randomly in the same way they would have used the actual neutral midpoint? For this reason, the scores of the attitude scales should not be given too much value.

In addition, there were couple of participants who expressed that one should not categorise people as stupid, intelligent, or make inferences about other qualities of people based on the way they speak or the variety of English they use. I agree with the comments, but regrettably this is still exactly what people seem to do in real life. The work of Rakić et al. (2011) points to the fact that the way a person speaks is even more relevant for categorizing the person than the way the person looks (ibid. 24). Language attitudes research has shown that people stereotype the personal and social attributes of a speaker and draw conclusions about others based on the speaker's language, dialect and accent (Edwards 1999, 103-104). I also acknowledge that if someone judges another person as being something based on the way they speak, it tells more about the person doing the judging than the person being judged. What is more, it is debatable whether the participants who claim that they do not judge a person based on their accent would in reality subconsciously still do so at least to a certain degree.

7. Conclusion

This thesis investigated the language attitudes of Finnish young adults between 20 and 30 years of age. The study focused on the attitudes towards two standard varieties of English: American and British English. In addition, this study shed light on the factors behind the attitudes. The study was carried out with an electronic questionnaire. The data were analysed using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The number of participants was adequate for the scope of this study, but in order to make more conclusive generalisations about the overall situation in Finland, a wider survey should have been conducted.

The Finnish young adults participating in this study showed greater preference for British English than American English (68.6% versus 31.4%). However, when the participants were asked which variety they themselves aimed to use, American English was chosen much more often than the results on the simple preference suggested. In fact, almost an equal number of respondents chose American English and British English for their preferred variety of usage. When the participants were asked if they wanted to change their accent, in effect no one wanted to switch into sounding (more) American. Instead, 17 participants wished they had a British accent, and 23 respondents wished to use more 'purely' British English. This attests to the fact that British English still holds the status of the prestige variety of English in Finland. A comparison between genders revealed that a higher percentage of men both preferred and reported aiming to use American English. In addition, women tended to rate the varieties a little more favourably than men, although this was not consistent. The gender comparison is open to a level of questioning, as the number of male respondents was considerably lower than female respondents, and no weighting method was used.

Reasons for the prevailing attitudes were sourced from evaluations of the two varieties. Judging by the mean scores obtained from the adjectival scaling task, both varieties are fairly neutrally evaluated. However, British English was associated with more positive adjectives than American English. British English was rated much higher on competence and status, while American English

was seen as slightly more socially attractive, which tends to be the case with non-prestige varieties. American English was also found much easier to understand but unattractive compared to British English. There was a great difference in the perceived level of formalness: American English was seen as casual and British English formal.

The data suggest that English language skills do not affect the attitudes towards the two varieties of English to a great extent. The effect of language contact was looked at in relation to the participants who had lived in the US or the UK. The small number of such participants made the results merely suggestive, but it was noted that based on the data, language contact may increase the likeliness of liking a specific variety, but does not guarantee it. Instead, the most prevalent factors the respondents thought affected their more favourable attitude towards British English were television programmes, pleasantness to the ear, positive associations, and teaching materials. Television programmes, films, music, and greater comprehensibility were the equivalent affecting factors for American English. In other words, greater exposure appeared to be the most important single factor. According to the responses, exposure leads to greater familiarity with the variety of English. This had also led some of the participants to use American English even though they reported preferring British English. Those respondents who were in the opposite situation, i.e. preferred American English but aimed to use British English, primarily named British English's status as the reason for the mismatch in their language use and preference. Gender differences relating to the factors affecting the attitudes were not considerable. However, it was observed that a much greater percent of women expressed that interest in British culture affect their attitude. Correspondingly, a greater percentage of men reported interest in American culture as an affecting factor. This being said, due to the relatively low number of respondents and male respondents in particular, it is unclear whether the differences are in fact related to gender or if they are merely differences among individuals.

The conclusion is that despite the hegemony of American English in the media, British English is still the preferred variety of the two, and the variety with more prestige. However, American

English is seen as more casual and easier to understand, which arguably is the result of its vast media presence. This makes American English much more accessible to Finnish young adults, and American English can well be on its way to becoming *the* standard variety of English.

The results give insight about the language attitudes of Finnish young adults, and the factors affecting those attitudes. These results are valuable as they may help with understanding communication in international context. This study serves language teachers and text book writers, as they can take into account the negative stereotypes Finnish people might have, and try to correct them and give a more diverse picture of the speakers of these varieties to the learners of English. The results are likely to be of interest also to various professionals such as text producers, language consultants, and advertisers who use English in marketing. Based on the feedback received in conjunction with the survey responses, the results are of interest also for the inquisitive laymen.

Further research could be done by investigating different age groups or different nationalities. Further studies could also be conducted using other standard English(es) in the comparison, such as International English, together with discourse analytic approaches.

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Appendix 1 The questionnaire

Kyselytutkimus amerikanenglantia ja brittienglantia koskevista asenteista

Hei!

Tämän kyselyn tarkoituksena on tutkia 20-30-vuotiaiden suomalaisten kieliasenteita ja syitä näiden asenteiden takana. Vastaamalla kyselyyn suostut siihen, että vastauksiasi käytetään aineistona englannin kielen maisterintutkielmassa Tampereen yliopistossa. Vastauksia käsitellään anonyymisti ja luottamuksellisesti.

Kyselyyn vastaaminen vie noin 10-15 minuuttia. Huomaathan, että kaikki kyselyn kysymykset ovat pakollisia. Tarvittaessa voit vastata pakolliseen avoimeen kohtaan pelkällä viivalla (-).

Tutkimukseen liittyvät kysymykset voi lähettää osoitteeseen hannele.kivela@tuni.fi

Kiitos kovasti vaivannäöstäsi ja vastauksistasi jo etukäteen!

- Hannele Kivelä

*Pakollinen

Taustatiedot

1. Sukupuoli *

Nainen

Mies

Muu

En halua vastata

2. Ikäsi *

Alle 20

20-25

26-30

yli 30

3. Opiskeletko englantia pääaineena tai sivuaineena yliopistossa? *

Kyllä

Ei

Englannin kielen käyttö

4. Kuinka usein kuulet tai luet englannin kieltä? *

Monta kertaa päivässä/jatkuvasti

Kerran tai pari päivässä

Muutaman kerran viikossa

Harvemmin

Hyvin harvoin

En koskaan

5. Kuinka usein itse puhut tai kirjoitat englantia? *

Joka päivä monta kertaa/jatkuvasti

Kerran tai pari päivässä

Muutaman kerran viikossa

Harvemmin

Hyvin harvoin

En koskaan

6. Missä käytät englannin kieltä puhumiseen tai viestimiseen? Valitse kaikki sinua koskevat vaihtoehdot. *

Kasvotusten

Pikaviestimissä (esim. WhatsApp, Snapchat, tekstiviestit)

Tietokone- ym. peleissä

Sosiaalisessa mediassa (esim. Facebook, Instagram, Twitter)

Sähköpostitse

Videopuheluilla (esim. Skype, Teams, Facetime)

En missään mainituissa

Muu…

7. Kenen kanssa puhut tai viestit englannin kielellä? Valitse kaikki sinua koskevat vaihtoehdot. *

Kavereiden

Harrastuskavereiden (esim. pelikavereiden)

Kumppanin

Perheenjäsen(t)en

Työkavereiden

Asiakkaiden

Asiakaspalvelijoiden tai virkailijoiden

En kenenkään mainituista

Muu…

8. Oletko asunut tai oleskellut pidemmän ajanjakson (kuukauden tai pidempään) ajan ulkomailla, missä olisit käyttänyt päivittäin englantia? *

Kyllä

Ei

9. Missä ulkomailla asuit/olet asunut? *

10. Kuinka pitkään asuit/olet asunut ulkomailla? *

11. Miten arvioisit oman englannin kielen taitosi (sekä tuottaminen että ymmärtäminen)? *

0 = Olemattomat taidot
1 = Heikot taidot
2 = Tyydyttävät taidot
3 = Melko hyvät taidot
4 = Hyvät taidot
5 = Erittäin hyvät taidot

	1	2	3	4	5	
Olemattomat taidot	O	O	O	O	O	Erittäin hyvät taidot

Varieteettien erot

Kysymykset jatkuvat erojen kuvausten jälkeen.

Amerikanenglannilla tässä tutkimuksessa tarkoitetaan sitä englannin varieteettia (=tietylle alueelle tai ryhmälle, erikoisalalle, aikakaudelle tai yksilölle ominainen kielenkäyttö) jota yleisesti puhutaan Yhdysvalloissa ("General American"). Brittienglannilla puolestaan tarkoitetaan Englannista lähtöisin olevaa niin sanottua BBC-englantia, "received pronunciationia", joka tunnetaan myös "kuningattaren englantina". Kyse on siis kahdesta englannin kielen standardista, joita kuulee tavallisesti esimerkiksi uutislähetyksissä tai asiaohjelmissa.

Amerikanenglannin ja brittienglannin väliset huomattavimmat erot ovat varieteettien ääntämyksessä, sanastossa ja sanojen kirjoitusasussa. Lisäksi joitain eroja löytyy myös kieliopista. Alla ovat lyhyet kuvaukset eroavaisuuksista. Lisäksi halutessasi voit tutustua varieteetteihin perusteellisemmin verkossa.

Ääntämys

Yksi selvimmistä eroista amerikan- ja brittienglannin ääntämisessä on vokaaliäänteissä. Brittienglannissa sanoissa path, behalf ja passed kuuluu pitkä vokaali a (/paːθ/ eli "paath", /bɪhɑːf/ eli "bihaaf" ja /pɑːst/ eli "paast"). Amerikanenglannissa näissä sanoissa vokaali muistuttaa ä-äännettä (/pæθ/ eli "pääth", /bɪˈhæf/ eli "bihääf" ja /pæst/ eli "pääst").

Brittienglannin lyhyt o äännetään pyöreämmin kuin amerikanenglannissa. Esimerkiksi sanoissa job ja not vokaali muistuttaa suomen oːta, kun taas amerikanenglannissa nämä sanat äännetään aːta muistuttavalla vokaalilla ("jaab" ja "nat")

Amerikanenglannissa r-kirjain tavataan ääntää pehmeänä esimerkiksi sanojen car ja floor lopussa (/kɑɹ/ ja /flɔɹ/). Brittienglannissa puolestaan rːää ei äännetä, joten nämä sanat loppuisivat vokaaliäänteeseen (/kɑː/ eli "kaa" ja /flɔː/ eli "floo").

Amerikanenglannissa t ääntyy d:tä muistuttavana äänteenä, esimerkiksi sanassa water, kun taas brittienglannissa äänne on kirjoitusasua vastaava t. Samoin amerikanenglannissa sana fighting lausuttaisiin "faiding", ja brittienglannissa "faiting".

Sanasto

Amerikanenglannilla ja brittienglannilla on monille asioille omat, toisistaan poikkeavat nimet. Alle taulukkoon on listattu muutama esimerkki tällaisista tapauksista. Voit sanoja lukiessasi miettiä kumpaa sanaa itse käyttäisit.

Amerikanenglanti	Brittienglanti	Suomennos
apartment	flat	asunto
baggage	luggage	matkatavarat
crazy	mad	hullu
drapes	curtains	verhot
elevator	lift	hissi
fall	autumn	syksy
line	queue	jono
movie	film	elokuva
one-way ticket	single ticket	menolippu
parking lot	car park	parkkipaikka
railroad	railway	rautatie
sidewalk	pavement	jalkakäytävä
store	shop	kauppa
traffic circle	roundabout	liikenneympyrä
vacation	holiday	loma

Oikeinkirjoitus

Amerikanenglannissa ja brittienglannissa jotkin sanat tai päätteet on tapana kirjoittaa eri tavoin. Alle taulukkoon on listattu joitakin esimerkkejä. Voit sanoja lukiessasi miettiä kummalla tavalla ne itse kirjoittaisit.

Amerikanenglanti	Brittienglanti	Suomennos
cent**er**	cent**re**	keskus
theat**er**	theat**re**	teatteri
col**or**	col**our**	väri
fav**or**	fav**our**	palvelus
hon**or**	hon**our**	kunnia
licen**s**e	licen**c**e	lupa
analy**z**e	analy**s**e	analysoida
organi**z**e	organi**s**e	organisoida
trave**l**ed	trave**ll**ed	matkustanut
cance**l**ed	cance**ll**ed	peruttu

Kielioppi

Amerikanenglannissa saada-verbi taipuu get/got/gotten, kun taas brittienglannissa suositaan taivutusta get/got/got.

Lisäksi jotkin epäsäännölliset verbit ovat amerikanenglannissa saaneet -ed-loppuisen taivutusmuodon. Tällaisia ovat esimerkiksi brittienglanniksi taipuvat learn/learnt/learnt, dream/dreamt/dreamt ja burn/burnt/burnt, jotka amerikanenglannissa taipuvat learn/learned/learned, dream/dreamed/dreamed ja burn/burned/burned.

12. Kumpaa varieteettia pyrit käyttämään puhuessasi tai kirjoittaessasi englantia? *

Amerikanenglantia
Brittienglantia
En osaa sanoa

13. Miksi ET pyri käyttämään ei-valitsemaasi varieteettia? Esimerkiksi jos vastasit pyrkiväsi puhumaan amerikanenglantia, kerro miksi et pyri käyttämään brittienglantia. *

14. Haluaisitko puhua englantia jollakin toisella varieteetilla kuin tämänhetkisellä? Jos, niin millä ja miksi? *

Varieteettimieltymykset

15. Kummasta varieteetista pidät enemmän (riippumatta siitä kumpaa itse käytät)? *

Amerikanenglannista

Brittienglannista

16. Valitse asiat, joiden uskot vaikuttavan mieltymykseesi edellisessä kysymyksessä valitsemaasi varieteettia kohtaan. Valitse kaikki sinua koskevat vaihtoehdot. *

Koulussa käytetyt englannin kielen oppimateriaalit

Englanninopettajan puhuma englanti

Katsomani televisio-ohjelmat

Kuuntelemani musiikki

Näkemäni elokuvat

Seuraamani julkisuuden henkilöt (esim. näyttelijät, muusikot, vaikuttajat, urheilijat, poliitikot jne.)

Olen kiinnostunut amerikkalaisesta/englantilaisesta kulttuurista

Tapaamani ihmiset/tuttuni puhuvat varieteettia, josta pidän

Tapaani ihmiset/tuttuni puhuvat varieteettia, josta EN pidä

Olen kaksikielinen/perheeni käyttää kyseistä varieteettia

Varieteetti kuulostaa kivemmalta

Varieteetti on minulle hyödyllisempi

Varieteettiin liitetyt positiiviset mielleyhtymät (esim. status, rentous jne.)

Varieteettia on helpompi ymmärtää

Muu…

Amerikanenglanti

Amerikaneglannilla tässä tarkoitetaan standardia amerikanenglantia, joka esiteltiin osiossa 4.

17. Merkitse omaa mielipidettäsi parhaiten kuvaava kohta alla oleviin asteikkoihin (12 kpl). *

1 = todella (rumaa)
2 = melko (rumaa)
3 = hieman (rumaa)
4 = hieman (kaunista)
5 = melko (kaunista)
6 = todella (kaunista)

Amerikanenglanti on

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Rumaa	O	O	O	O	O	O	Kaunista
Jäykkää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Sujuvaa
Epämiellyttävää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Miellyttävää
Tylsää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Kiehtovaa
Teennäistä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Luontevaa
Vaikeaselkoista	O	O	O	O	O	O	Helppotajuista
Pitkästyttävää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Mukaansatempaavaa
Sivistymätöntä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Sivistynyttä
Epäystävällistä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Ystävällistä
Virallista	O	O	O	O	O	O	Rentoa

Amerikanenglantia puhuva ihminen on

Sisäänpäin suuntautuva	O	O	O	O	O	O	Ulospäin suuntautuva
Tyhmä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Älykäs

Brittienglanti

Brittienglannilla tässä tarkoitetaan niin sanottua BBC-englantia eli brittiläistä standardienglantia, joka esiteltiin osiossa 4.

18. Merkitse omaa mielipidettäsi parhaiten kuvaava kohta alla oleviin asteikkoihin (12 kpl). *

1 = todella (rumaa)
2 = melko (rumaa)
3 = hieman (rumaa)
4 = hieman (kaunista)
5 = melko (kaunista)
6 = todella (kaunista)

Brittienglanti on

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Rumaa	O	O	O	O	O	O	Kaunista
Jäykkää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Sujuvaa
Epämiellyttävää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Miellyttävää
Tylsää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Kiehtovaa
Teennäistä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Luontevaa
Vaikeaselkoista	O	O	O	O	O	O	Helppotajuista
Pitkästyttävää	O	O	O	O	O	O	Mukaansatempaavaa
Sivistymätöntä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Sivistynyttä
Epäystävällistä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Ystävällistä
Virallista	O	O	O	O	O	O	Rentoa

Brittienglantia puhuva ihminen on

Sisäänpäin suuntautuva	O	O	O	O	O	O	Ulospäin suuntautuva
Tyhmä	O	O	O	O	O	O	Älykäs

Palaute kyselystä

Voit vielä jättää alle palautetta kyselyyn liittyen tai halutessasi täydentää vastauksiasi, sana on vapaa. Lopuksi muistathan lähettää vastauksesi Lähetä-nappia klikkaamalla.

Appendix 2 Tables of results

QUESTION 17 Mark the point that best matches with your opinion to the scales below (12 pcs)

1 = really (ugly)
2 = quite (ugly)
3 = somewhat (ugly)
4 = somewhat (beautiful)
5 = quite (beautiful)
6 = really (beautiful)

■ Everybody ■ Men ■ Women

American English	1	2	3	4	5	6	Average score
Ugly/ beautiful	3.3% (8) 5.3% (4) 2.5% (4)	8.3% (20) 5.3% (4) 9.4% (15)	32.2% (78) 38.7% (29) 28.8% (46)	39.3% (95) 37.3% (28) 40.0% (64)	14.5% (35) 10.7% (8) 16.9% (27)	2.5% (6) 2.7% (2) 2.5% (4)	3.6 3.5 3.7
Stiff/fluent	0% (0) 0% (0) 0% (0)	1.2% (3) 1.3% (1) 1.3% (2)	5.0% (12) 1.3% (1) 6.3% (10)	22.3% (54) 24.0% (18) 21.9% (35)	52.1% (126) 57.3% (43) 48.8% (78)	19.4% (47) 16.0% (12) 21.9% (35)	4.8 4.9 4.8
Unpleasant/pleasant	2.9% (7) 2.7% (2) 3.1% (5)	8.3% (20) 5.3% (4) 8.8% (14)	16.5% (40) 12.0% (9) 18.1% (29)	37.6% (91) 44.0% (33) 34.4% (55)	26.9% (65) 29.3% (22) 26.9% (43)	7.9% (19) 6.7% (5) 8.8% (14)	4.0 4.1 4.2
Boring/ fascinating	4.5% (11) 5.3% (4) 4.4% (7)	23.1% (56) 21.3% (16) 23.1% (37)	28.1% (68) 33.3% (25) 26.3% (42)	29.8% (72) 30.7% (23) 28.8% (46)	9.9% (24) 4.0% (3) 13.1% (21)	4.5% (11) 5.3% (4) 4.4% (7)	3.3 3.2 3.4
Pretentious/natural	6.2% (15) 6.7% (5) 6.3% (10)	9.1% (22) 10.7% (8) 7.5% (12)	16.5% (40) 9.3% (7) 19.4% (31)	26.0% (63) 30.7% (23) 23.8% (38)	25.6% (62) 28.0% (21) 25.0% (40)	16.5% (40) 14.7% (11) 18.1% (29)	4.1 4.1 4.1
Difficult to understand /easy to understand	0% (0) 0% (0) 0% (0)	2.1% (5) 0% (0) 2.5% (4)	3.3% (8) 1.3% (1) 3.8% (6)	12.4% (30) 13.3% (10) 11.9% (19)	46.3% (112) 56.0% (42) 41.9% (67)	36.0% (87) 29.3% (22) 40.0% (64)	5.1 5.1 5.1
Dull/exciting	3.3% (8) 5.3% (4) 2.5% (4)	7.0% (17) 1.3% (1) 9.4% (15)	21.9% (53) 24.0% (18) 20.0% (32)	40.1% (97) 48.0% (36) 36.9% (59)	19.4% (47) 16.0% (12) 21.3% (34)	8.3% (20) 5.3% (4) 10.0% (16)	3.9 3.8 4.0
Uncivilized/civilized	5.4% (13) 6.7% (5)	21.1% (51) 29.3% (22)	38.4% (93) 36.0% (27)	26.4% (64) 24.0% (18)	6.2% (15) 1.3% (1)	2.5% (6) 2.7% (2)	3.1 2.9

	5.0% (8)	17.5% (28)	39.4% (63)	26.9% (43)	8.8% (14)	2.5% (4)	3.2
Unfriendly /friendly	0.8% (2) 1.3% (1) 0.6% (1)	7.4% (18) 5.3% (4) 8.1% (13)	16.9% (41) 13.3% (10) 17.5% (28)	40.9% (99) 57.3% (43) 33.1% (53)	26.4% (64) 18.7% (14) 31.3% (50)	7.4% (18) 4.0% (3) 9.4% (15)	4.1 4.0 4.1
Formal/ casual	0% (0) 0% (0) 0% (0)	2.5% (6) 2.7% (2) 2.5% (4)	2.9% (7) 4.0% (3) 1.9% (3)	23.1% (56) 22.7% (17) 23.8% (38)	47.1% (114) 46.7% (35) 46.3% (74)	24.4% (59) 24.0% (18) 25.6% (41)	4.9 4.9 4.9
Introvert/ extrovert	0% (0) 0% (0) 0% (0)	0% (0) 0% (0) 0% (0)	2.9% (7) 5.3% (4) 1.3% (2)	26.0% (63) 30.7% (23) 23.1% (37)	48.3% (117) 44.0% (33) 51.3% (82)	22.7% (55) 20.0% (15) 24.4% (39)	4.9 4.8 5.0
Stupid/ intelligent	2.1% (5) 4.0% (3) 1.3% (2)	5.8% (14) 5.3% (4) 6.3% (10)	38.4% (93) 53.3% (40) 31.9% (51)	39.3% (95) 28.0% (21) 43.1% (69)	11.6% (28) 6.7% (5) 14.4% (23)	2.9% (7) 2.7% (2) 3.1% (5)	3.6 3.4 3.7

QUESTION 18 Mark the point that best matches with your opinion to the scales below (12 pcs)

1 = really (ugly)
2 = quite (ugly)
3 = somewhat (ugly)
4 = somewhat (beautiful)
5 = quite (beautiful)
6 = really (beautiful)

■ Everybody ■ Men ■ Women

British English	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Average score**
Ugly/ beautiful	0.8% (2) 2.7% (2) 0% (0)	3.3% (8) 4.0% (3) 2.5% (4)	6.6% (16) 9.3% (7) 5.0% (8)	16.9% (41) 14.7% (11) 18.8% (30)	49.2% (119) 54.7% (41) 46.9% (75)	23.1% (56) 14.7% (11) 26.9% (43)	4.8 4.6 4.9
Stiff/fluent	3.7% (9) 4.0% (3) 3.8% (6)	16.5% (40) 25.3% (19) 13.1% (21)	30.2% (73) 21.3% (16) 34.4% (55)	20.7% (50) 30.7% (23) 16.3% (26)	22.3% (54) 13.3% (10) 25.0% (40)	6.6% (16) 5.3% (4) 7.5% (12)	3.6 3.4 3.7
Unpleasant/pleasant	1.2% (3) 2.7% (2) 0.6% (1)	3.3% (8) 4.0% (3) 3.1% (5)	8.3% (20) 13.3% (10) 6.3% (10)	17.8% (43) 17.3% (13) 17.5% (28)	44.6% (108) 53.3% (40) 41.3% (66)	24.8% (60) 9.3% (7) 31.3% (50)	4.8 4.4 4.0
Boring/ fascinating	1.2% (3) 2.7% (2)	2.5% (6) 2.7% (2)	7.0% (17) 9.3% (7)	22.3% (54) 24.0% (18)	40.1% (97) 40.0% (30)	26.9% (65) 21.3% (16)	4.8 4.6

	0.6% (1)	2.5% (4)	5.6% (9)	21.3% (34)	40.0% (64)	30.0% (48)	4.9
Pretentious/natural	5.0% (12) 5.3% (4) 5.0% (8)	11.2% (27) 18.7% (14) 8.1% (13)	27.3% (66) 26.7% (20) 27.5% (44)	31.8% (77) 29.3% (22) 33.8% (54)	18.6% (45) 12.0% (9) 20.0% (32)	6.2% (15) 8.0% (6) 5.6% (9)	3.7 3.5 3.7
Difficult to understand /easy to understand	2.9% (7) 4.0% (3) 1.9% (3)	16.1% (39) 24.0% (18) 13.1% (21)	31.4% (76) 30.7% (23) 31.3% (50)	26.4% (64) 22.7% (17) 28.1% (45)	16.1% (39) 12.0% (9) 18.1% (29)	7.0% (17) 6.7% (5) 7.5% (12)	3.6 3.3 3.7
Dull/exciting	1.7% (4) 2.7% (2) 1.3% (2)	3.7% (9) 2.7% (2) 4.4% (7)	15.3% (37) 21.3% (16) 13.1% (21)	36.4% (88) 21.3% (30) 33.8% (54)	29.8% (72) 25.3% (19) 31.9% (51)	13.2% (32) 8.0% (6) 15.6% (25)	4.3 4.1 4.4
Uncivilized/civilized	0% (0) 0% (0) 0% (0)	0.4% (1) 1.3% (1) 0% (0)	2.1% (5) 4.0% (3) 1.3% (2)	25.6% (62) 28.0% (21) 23.8% (38)	40.9% (99) 37.3% (28) 41.9% (67)	31.0% (75) 29.3% (22) 33.1% (53)	5.0 4.9 5.1
Unfriendly /friendly	0.8% (2) 1.3% (1) 0.6% (1)	0.4% (1) 0% (0) 0.6% (1)	11.6% (28) 14.7% (11) 10.0% (16)	31.0% (75) 30.7% (23) 31.9% (51)	36.0% (87) 34.7% (26) 35.6% (57)	20.2% (49) 18.7% (14) 21.3% (34)	4.6 4.5 4.1
Formal/ casual	10.3% (25) 14.7% (11) 8.8% (14)	42.6% (103) 44.0% (33) 41.9% (67)	28.5% (69) 26.7% (20) 28.8% (46)	11.2% (27) 12.0% (9) 10.6% (17)	5.4% (13) 2.7% (2) 6.9% (11)	2.1% (5) 0% (0) 3.1% (5)	2.6 2.4 2.7
Introvert/ extrovert	0.4% (1) 1.3% (1) 0% (0)	6.2% (15) 6.7% (5) 6.3% (10)	33.1% (80) 34.7% (26) 32.5% (52)	41.3% (100) 44.0% (33) 39.4% (63)	16.5% (40) 12.0% (9) 18.8% (30)	2.5% (6) 1.3% (1) 3.1% (5)	3.7 3.6 3.8
Stupid/ intelligent	0.4% (1) 1.3% (1) 0% (0)	0% (0) 0% (0) 0% (0)	5.0% (12) 10.7% (8) 2.5% (4)	43.0% (104) 38.7% (29) 43.8% (70)	39.3% (95) 42.7% (32) 38.1% (61)	12.4% (30) 6.7% (5) 15.6% (25)	4.6 4.4 4.7