AUDIENCE DESIGN IN INTERACTION:
Studies on urban adolescent spoken languages

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ABSTRACT

Speakers of a language carry with them a set of language ideologies, i.e. beliefs about norms and rules in relation to that language. One such ideology is a standard language ideology, which is generally associated with prescriptive beliefs connected to linguistic standardness and correctness. A speaker's understanding of language ideologies can affect their speech style. The speech style of a given speaker at a given time is further affected by a number of factors surrounding the setting of the speech situation in question, including the topic of conversation, the physical surroundings and the audience (known as *audience design*). Those audience members who are not present in a given speech situation are known as referees.

In this compilation thesis, urban adolescent language in Sweden is studied from a number of angles, with the overarching assumption that speech style is designed with a specific audience in mind, and within the frame of those language ideologies available to the speaker.

The data used in the studies included is mostly interactional, taken from a corpus of 111 adolescents in Stockholm and Gothenburg, interacting in interviews with a researcher, and in map-tasks with a self-selected peer. Further data has been collected through online questionnaires, one targeting 80 teachers of English as a foreign language, and one perception experiment asking 180 listeners to consider the pragmatic functions and the language spoken in utterances of the word OK.

The first study examines how the map-task can be used as a tool for sociolinguistic data collection, analysing the resulting interactions using audience design, and interviewing participants as to their experiences. The second study considers the language ideologies of teachers through questions concerning their own and their pupils' use of varieties of English, and their views on the same. The third study uses self-assessments of language proficiencies in order to get at adolescents' standard language ideologies, and their use of referees as audience when considering their own proficiencies. The fourth and fifth studies use specific utterances of the word OK from the map-task recordings in order to examine connections between pragmatic and phonetic (segmental and prosodic) information in utterance in-and-out-of-context to language spoken and speaker role.

Together, these studies explore ways in which audience design and language ideology interact and are manifested in different aspects of language.

Till pappa, för orden

Till mamma, för modet

List of abbreviations

AmE	American English
AO	Age of Onset
BrE	British English
Brexit	British exit from the European Union (referendum on 23rd June 2016)
CA	Conversation Analysis
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
CPH	Critical Period Hypothesis
EG	English Information-Giver
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ER	English Information-Receiver
F0	Fundamental frequency
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
L1	First language
L2	Second language
PAM	Perceptual Assimilation Model
SAT	Speech Accommodation Theory
SG	Swedish Information-Giver
SLM	Speech Learning Model
SR	Swedish Information-Receiver
SSG	*Språkbruk i Stockholm och Göteborg*, 'Language use in Stockholm and Gothenburg'. The corpus used in the thesis.
SUF	*Språk och språkbruk bland ungdomar i flerspråkiga storstadsmiljöer*, 'Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings. The 2002 corpus which inspired SSG.
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
VOT	Voice Onset Time

List of studies

Study 1

Forsberg Julia & Johan Gross (unpublished) *"You change your speech depending on who you talk to, but I didn't change much": The map-task viewed through the lens of audience design.*

Study 2

Forsberg, Julia, Susanne Mohr & Sandra Jansen (under review) "The goal is to enable students to communicate": Communicative competence and target varieties in TEFL practices in Sweden and Germany. Provisionally accepted subject to revisions.

Study 3

Forsberg, Julia, Maria Therese Ribbås & Johan Gross (under review after revisions) Self-assessment and standard language ideologies: bilingual adolescents in Sweden reflect on their language proficiencies. This article is under consideration for a special issue of the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*; an earlier version was provisionally accepted subject to revisions.

Study 4

Forsberg, Julia & Åsa Abelin (2018) Intonation and levels of agreement in interactions between Swedish adolescents. *Proc. 9th International Conference on Speech Prosody 2018*. 13-16 June 2018, (pp.55-59) Poznań, Poland. [with permission from the copyright holder]

Study 5

Forsberg, Julia (unpublished) *Connecting pragmatic and acoustic information with speaker language in Swedish adolescent interactions.*

Part 1: Thesis frame

Table of contents

Part 2: Studies

STUDY 1:

"You change your speech depending on who you talk to, but I didn't change much": The map-task viewed through the lens of audience design.

STUDY 2:

"The goal is to enable students to communicate": Communicative competence and target varieties in TEFL practices in Sweden and Germany

STUDY 3:

Self-assessment and standard language ideologies: bilingual adolescents in Sweden reflect on their language proficiencies

STUDY 4:

Intonation and levels of agreement in interactions between Swedish adolescents

STUDY 5:

Connecting pragmatic and acoustic information with speaker language in Swedish adolescent interactions.

APPENDIX:

Map 1a
Map 1b
Map 2a
Map 2b
Map 3a
Map 3b

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 General goals of the thesis

One of the great mysteries of language is *why does speaker x do y at time z*? Among the many ways of approaching this question, we can consider a specific speech situation in relation to the language ideologies and attitudes held by users of the language. Speakers of a language carry with them a set of language ideologies, i.e. beliefs about norms and rules in relation to that language. A speaker's language ideology may take on different forms depending on the context in which a speaker has acquired and uses a language, their experience of using that language at different stylistic levels, knowledge about cultural norms connected to the language in a given society. One such language ideology is a standard language ideology, which is generally associated with prescriptive beliefs connected to linguistic standardness and correctness (Milroy 2001). Understanding and experience of cultures and the related language ideologies can affect the language use of the speaker. Similarly, the speech style of a given speaker at a given time is affected by a number of factors surrounding the setting of the speech situation in question. These involve the topic of conversation, the physical surroundings and the audience of the speech. This audience (Bell 1984, 2001) comprises a number of possible members, more or less active in the interaction and thus with more or less influence on the speech style: the addressee is the person(s) to whom the speech is directed; auditors are ratified, known listeners; overhearers are unratified but known listeners; and referees are people who are not present, not listeners, but they are members of a group who the speaker may wish to be associated with and therefore may adapt their speech style to. This theory of *audience design* (Bell 1984, 2001) is used throughout the thesis, in the different studies.

This thesis will consider adolescent language in Sweden from a number of angles: sociophonetic, self-reflections and assessments by the adolescents and the views and experiences of the educators. In particular, the use and pronunciation of English among adolescents is of interest, as Sweden is considered as a country with a high number of highly proficient English speakers (Erickson 2004). The five studies included in the thesis draw on a combination of method and theory related to acoustic-phonetic (segmental and suprasegmental) and pragmatic analysis, applied educational linguistics, quantitative analysis of reflections surrounding language proficiency and the connection between perception and pragmatics. Throughout these studies that are mainly based on interactional data, concepts associated with audience design and language ideologies can be traced: a core belief is that language users design

their speech style in different situations and in the context of different topics in different ways, and that underlying these style choices lies the language users' beliefs and knowledge surrounding language ideology as well as those referees in relation to whom they wish to design their speech. The primary objective of this thesis is thus to explore ways in which audience design and language ideology interact and are manifested in different aspects of language.

1.2 Research objectives

a) To explore ways in which audience design and language ideology interact and are manifested in different aspects of language
b) To explore ways of eliciting good, robust data for sociophonetic or sociolinguistic study, and to gain a fuller understanding of the data once collected
c) To find out what reflections speakers of English in the language learning classroom (teachers and pupils) have in regards to language proficiency, language varieties and pronunciation
d) To describe some aspects of L2 English as spoken by Swedish adolescents
e) To connect some aspects of segmental and prosodic phonetics in L1 Swedish and L2 English spoken by Swedish adolescents to pragmatic meaning

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The first half of the thesis consists of the thesis frame, which will provide a cohesive overview of the background, theory, methodology and conclusions of the separate papers in the second half of the thesis. The frame begins with Chapter 2, where the papers are summarised. In Chapter 3, the background and the theoretical framework are presented, providing a context and a setting to the research objectives. Chapter 4 presents the methodology of the different studies, with methodological discussion surrounding choices and assumptions made. Chapter 5 gives general conclusions from the different papers, separately and in relation to one another, and discusses these conclusions in the context of the overarching research objectives.

In the second half of the thesis, the five papers are presented. Paper 1 relates to research objectives a) and b) by considering how adolescents use audience design in a specific map-task interaction. Paper 2 relates to objectives a), c) and d) through a questionnaire where teachers of second language (L2) English's views on standard language ideology are manifested through their thoughts and opinions regarding use of varieties of English as used in the classroom. Paper 3 relates to objectives a), c) and d), by considering how adolescents' reflections on their own use and proficiency in different languages reflects both audience design and ideologies relating to language. Papers 4 and 5 relate to objectives a), d) and e) by investigating realisations of the phoneme

/k/ and intonational features of the word *OK*, and how these realisations relate to language choice, pragmatic function and speaker role, and further, to audience design.

Chapter 2. Summaries of the articles included in the thesis

1.1 Paper 1: "You change your speech depending on who you talk to, but I didn't change much": The map-task viewed through the lens of audience design, and the informants' perception of it as a field experiment

In order to gather a large corpus of sociophonetic data (111 informants in Stockholm and Gothenburg), a map-task methodology was utilised. A number of questions arose during the period of recording, namely: how formal is this task, in comparison to a sociolinguistic interview?; how do the informants perceive the task?; and, how can we categorise and characterise the language data gained through the recording of map-tasks?

To attempt to answer these questions, we used two different approaches: analysis of the map-task dialogues using audience design theory, and asking the informants for their experiences. The former involved listening to the dialogues, and finding common themes within different sections of the interactions and analysing the roles of those present during the recordings. The latter involved telephone interviews with a small subset of the informants, some time after the recordings had taken place. We asked, among other things, which of the two recording sessions (the map-task or the background interview performed by a researcher) the informant felt was more formal, and whether there was anything in particular that made either session feel more or less formal.

Results show that the interactions in the map-task recordings can be characterised in three ways: direction-giving and -receiving (the game-playing within the map-task); establishing and maintaining common ground as a joint activity; and meta-communication (which can be within or outside of the speech event, i.e. this can also occur outside of the map-task sections of the recording). The most efficient way to get informants to produce a large number of tokens was to 1) make the two maps slightly different by replacing some of the images, thus triggering conversation (and disagreement) around the objects depicted, and 2) allow the participant-informants to set their own rules for the interaction as far as was possible. This involved allowing them to decide on the role of the researcher present in the room; informants could choose to include us in conversation, talk about us in the third person, or completely ignore our presence. Informants were also able to, between them, find a way of solving the task which suited them best.

Results from the telephone interviews show that the main component which made them feel the sessions were formal was the fact that they were being recorded. Unfortunately, this is inevitable in this type of phonetic research, and while we had envisaged the informants 1) being used to being recorded and

recording themselves in different situations, and 2) getting used to the recording situation by the second recording session (the map-task) by first partaking in the interview, these things were not quite enough to relax them. As expected, results point in the direction of a map-task being more relaxed, and less formal, than for example a sociolinguistic interview, when performed together with a friend in a familiar location.

I am first author of this paper and was as such responsible for structuring the text and I also wrote the main part of the background section. Together, Gross and I shared the work of creating the maps and the recordings of the interactions; and split the work of transcription and analysis equally. Most of the writing has been done together at different stages.

2.1 Paper 2: "The goal is to enable students to communicate": Communicative competence and target varieties in TEFL practices in Sweden and Germany

Discussions in social media led myself, Susanne Mohr and Sandra Jansen to investigate whether and how the (at the time) current Brexit[1] referendum in the UK would affect the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL) in the rest of Europe.

Sweden and Germany are partly of interest to us, of course, due to them being the countries where we work (respectively), but also due to the similarities and differences between the countries in terms of culture, education systems and media consumption; as well as differences in reported English proficiencies. We wanted to find out whether, and if so, how, teaching practices and target varieties differ between the two countries, and whether Brexit affects these in different ways depending on country.

In order to attempt to answer these questions at the point in time at which Brexit had been decided but not yet carried out, we decided to survey English teachers in Sweden and Germany. A pilot web-questionnaire consisting of 38 questions (plus sub-questions) was sent to 16 teachers or students training to be teachers, 8 in each country. These were selected using the friend-of-a-friend approach. After evaluating the responses, we concluded that the main questionnaire would only target teachers who had completed their training and who had teaching experience; and some questions were also removed. The final version of the questionnaire consisted of 35 questions, and 80 participants (34 from Germany, 46 from Sweden) completed it.

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[1] Brexit is the popular term for the British exit from the European Union. A referendum took place on 23rd June 2016.

The questionnaire was divided in two main parts: the first focusing on eliciting information on teachers' reported language use and formal/informal English learning, as well as their teacher training and experience; and the second focusing on assessing reported teaching practices in terms of target varieties as well as the influence of the British referendum concerning EU membership. In this second part, questions were asked regarding language varieties used in the classroom but also regarding the participants' use of English in private.

Results show that while teachers in both countries are given guidelines which do not specify the use of specific target varieties, but rather focus on communicative competence, teachers appear to balance two different ideals: the learned ideals regarding language and that the English language 'belongs' to the native speakers on the one hand; and the didactic ideals regarding language usage, and the goal of enabling effective communication and allowing pupils to experience and learn about many different Englishes on the other. We suggest that this is addressed further in teacher training. While responses differ somewhat in terms of which varieties the teachers use in private, in their teaching, and what they expect from pupils, it becomes clear that British English (BrE) and American English (AmE) are the two varieties which are considered to be the most (or only) 'correct' ones.

Three main factors may contribute to long term effects on the use of native target pronunciation models in European countries such as Sweden or Germany: 1) increased internet usage and availability of media produced in different varieties of English, 2) an increased focus on communication rather than variety-focused education, and 3) whether the effects of Brexit on (as Modiano [2017a] puts it) the guardianship of Britain on the Englishes in Europe will be stronger than plain geographical proximity, on the issues studied here.

Mohr, Jansen and myself worked together to design the questionnaire, and write the introduction. Mohr and Jansen were responsible for the section on English in Germany, whereas I was responsible for the section on English in Sweden. Mohr put the questionnaire together, and extracted the information from it, removed unusable data and put together demographic information on the participants. Jansen did the initial analysis of the German data, and I the Swedish data. We then worked together to draw initial conclusions, before I took over to finalise the paper. As first author, I have been responsible for the writing of most of the final text and worked through the analyses, comparing the data from the different countries.

2.2 Paper 3: Self-assessment and standard language ideologies: bilingual adolescents in Sweden reflect on their language proficiencies

While recording the background interviews for the project 'Language use in Stockholm and Gothenburg' (*Språkbruk i Stockholm och Göteborg*, SSG), we asked informants to self-assess their proficiencies in Swedish, English and any other languages they have. This was done on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good), and questions were asked for writing, reading, understanding, and speaking. While the interview script did not contain any follow up questions asking the informants to reflect on their ratings, some of them did this without prompting, and in some cases the interviewers (Johan Gross or myself) would out of curiosity ask them to develop their answers. In this paper, we investigated how the informants reflect on their different languages, whether they compare their proficiencies to those of others or what strategies they use to reflect upon their own language. Results show that most reflections occur when informants rate their Swedish (n=23), and they also use different sets of value terms when discussing Swedish: they talk about their language as 'good' or 'bad', discuss slang and express ideas connecting to standard language ideologies. 17 reflections occur for English, and 12 for additional mother tongues. From this, we conclude that the informants share standard language ideologies for Swedish which they have not had opportunity to develop in their other languages. We further believe that informants, for all languages, use referee design in order to convey their beliefs regarding their own language use, and their ideas on language to the interviewer. This is manifested in their reference to for example specific referees for additional mother tongues, abstract speaker groups ('native speakers') for English, or groups which are believed to hold the highest proficiencies for Swedish ('the adult academic').

Maria Therese Ribbås, a student of linguistics at the department in 2015, became interested in the SSG corpus as she was about to write her undergraduate thesis. She was given access to the corpus and decided to investigate how the adolescent informants responded to the questions regarding their language proficiencies and preferences. Gross and I supervised her thesis, where she found that the adolescent informants seem to use different categories of reflecting on their language proficiencies depending on language. This thesis was later evolved to a workshop presentation (Ribbås, Forsberg & Gross 2017).

Following the workshop, I as first author put our results and the work leading up to that point together and started developing it into a full-length paper. I also completed additional analyses, including the SSG materials from Stockholm. Ribbås and Gross have read and commented on each part of the paper, but I have been responsible for the writing.

2.3 Paper 4: Intonation and levels of agreement in interactions between Swedish adolescents

This paper uses data from the map-task recordings in order to look at the relationship between intonational features and interpretation of meaning. In order to do so, the Swedish and English utterances of the discourse particle *OK*, which exists in both languages, produced by 6 female speakers from the inner-city Gothenburg school were analysed acoustically and through a perception experiment.

The utterances were taken from three different contexts: 1) where speakers receive information in English interaction; 2) where speakers receive information in Swedish interaction; and 3) where speakers give information in Swedish interaction. Results show that the role of the speaker has a smaller effect on the number of ok-tokens produced than expected, but that speakers produce the word more often when speaking English. This may be due to having a larger range of alternative words in their pool of linguistic resources when interacting in Swedish.

The fundamental frequency (F0) contour of the second vowel, and the F0 range for the full utterance were measured using Praat, and analysed. Speakers are found to use a smaller F0 range when receiving information in Swedish than in the other two contexts; and within this context, the largest F0 range is (expectedly?) found in the tokens with a final rising intonation contour than in those with a flat or falling contour.

Further, tokens were analysed in their conversational context by myself and Abelin in order to determine which interactional function they had. We used a 4-point scale from full agreement to full disagreement, and labelled these as "I agree with you", "I am listening, keep talking", "hold on, let me think" and "I am surprised by what you are saying". These categories were later used in the online perception experiment, where 180 listeners were asked to identify the meaning of the uttered 'ok' without any conversational context. Listeners were, in fact, able to fairly accurately identify (or infer) the meaning of the word; i.e. their assessment corresponded quite well to ours.

The interpreted categories were correlated with the acoustic information, and four main points can be seen: where the interpreted speaker intention of the utterance was "I agree with you", the largest F0 range was displayed; independent of F0 range of the utterance, final F0 direction seems to be the best predictor for speaker intention when the token is heard in isolation; there is a strong tendency that a falling pitch is most closely associated with interpretation of speaker intention as "I agree with you", with a stronger tendency for English than Swedish; the interpreted speaker intention "I am listening, keep talking", a request for more information seems to have a final rising F0 direction.

This paper was an attempt to connect pragmatic functions of the discourse particle 'ok' to acoustic correlates, in particular prosodic information while using a combination of phonetic approaches (production and acoustic research as well as perception) in order to do so.

Paper 4 was co-authored with my primary supervisor, Åsa Abelin, who did the initial data mining and measurement of the F0 ranges. We worked through the acoustic materials individually and checked for agreement between us, prior to me constructing the online listener test. I was the main author for this paper.

2.4 Paper 5: Connecting pragmatic and acoustic information with speaker language in Swedish adolescent interactions.

Paper 5 uses the same material as paper 4, extended to 13 speakers, and is in many respects a continuation of the same research. Here, segmental information of the *OK*-utterances is analysed, in particular with respect to the realisations of intervocalic /k/. The differences in production dependent on language, speaker role and speaker intention are investigated.

Results indicate that lenition at the same place of articulation is the most common across all tokens of /k/; manner appears to alter prior to voicing. The most common realisations are [k x ɣ]. Variation in the realisations of /k/ is larger for Swedish tokens than for English, pointing to differences in the pools of linguistic resources available to these informants. The first language (L1) allows for more variation in informal peer interaction, pointing to differences not only in linguistic ability but also language ideology and audience design. Further, the speaker role has an impact, with more variation occurring for Swedish information givers than the other categories. There is also more variation in terms of allophonic variants of /k/ when the *OK* uttered is intended to signal agreement rather than disagreement or doubt.

The online perception experiment described in paper 4 asked one further question of informants: "Which languages is the person you just heard speaking?" (*Vilket språk talar personen du just lyssnat på?*), with the two options Swedish and English. Informants were more able to identify the Swedish utterances as being in Swedish, but they were also more likely to select Swedish for the English utterances. Thus, it is unclear whether 1) it is easier to identify one's own language due to something indicative of language in the acoustic signal, or 2) listeners expect tokens to be in Swedish (because they themselves are Swedish?), or 3) there is no difference in the acoustic signals of the Swedish and the English productions which listeners are able to pick up on, and thus they assume they are produced in their own language, or 4) there are individual

differences in the tokens or between the speakers which makes listeners interpret the language as either Swedish or English.

Chapter 3. Background and theoretical framework

In the first section of this chapter, background literature will be described in order to set the context of the present thesis. Here, gaps in the literature matching the objectives of the thesis will be discussed, and in the following sections I will outline the theoretical framework of the thesis.

3.1   Background literature

The background section will begin with a brief overview of English as a superposed – or world – language. Here, Kachru's model (1985; 1992) of the three circles of English is outlined and discussed in connection to English as a native vs. second vs. foreign language. Next, the linguistic scenery of Sweden is described in relation to Sweden's language law, in terms of a short history of the Swedish language, and various minority languages, those with official status and those without. Section 3.1.3 overviews the role and status of English in Sweden, with focus on the spoken language. Here, I include attitudes towards English. 3.1.4 discusses proficiencies in the English language among speakers of Swedish as reported in various studies, and the next section continues with different varieties of English reported in the Swedish classrooms, including an overview of target varieties in the classroom. The chapter proceeds with a discussion on some target pronunciation models for L2 English in 3.1.6, and an examination of what is considered nativelike pronunciation for different domains in 3.1.7. Information on the different types of pronunciation investigated in this thesis is given in sections 3.1.8 and 3.1.9 (stop consonant productions), and 3.1.10 (intonation in relation to pragmatic information). 3.1.11 summarises the background section of chapter 3.

3.1.1 English as a superposed language

Within this thesis, English is generally referred to as a second language for speakers in Sweden. This will be further discussed in section 3.1.3 below, but in order to put this discussion in context, some background on multilingualism and models surrounding multilingualism is necessary.

In order to get away from the division of native/non-native English, Kachru's Concentric Circles of English model (1985; 1992) divides the English spoken across the world into three circles: the Inner Circle, where English is the traditional 'mother tongue' (the UK, USA, New Zeeland, Australia and Canada) and where the Englishes spoken are norm-providing in terms of world Englishes (Kachru 1992:5); the Outer Circle, where English has become an additional language thanks to institutional use and colonialization (such as Ghana, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Sri Lanka etc.), whose speech communities Kachru describes as norm-developing fellowships, where speakers do not have the same sense of linguistic norms vs. linguistic performance for English; and the Expanding Circle, where English is the primary foreign language (such as China, Egypt, Sweden etc.), speech communities that are norm-dependent, i.e. that depend on outside, native speaker (usually British or American) norms on which to model their English. This division is somewhat problematic in that it does not include countries such as South Africa or Jamaica, where "their sociolinguistic situation is rather complex, particularly with reference to the English-using populations and the functions of English" (Kachru 1992:3).

Kachru does describe this model as dynamic in terms of which countries' Englishes are, for example, used as norms; and it has more recently been developed in such a way that the Expanding Circle can also include countries like Sweden where English can be considered either a foreign or a second language (Ushioda 2013; Sundqvist & Sylvén 2014). A country would, here, fall into this expanded Expanding Circle category if "the presence of English is simply pervasive and a great number of people in the expanding circle are more fluent speakers of English than people in outer-circle countries, where English is an official L2" (Sundqvist & Sylvén 2014:5).

In an evolutionary dynamic model of postcolonial English across the world, Schneider (2007; 2014) considers the development of regional varieties as taking place over five phases. In phase 1, the foundation phase, English is established in the country in question. In Schneider's original model, through colonialization, military outposts or emigration settlements. Phase 2 is the exonormative stabilisation phase, where settlements of English speakers become stabile groups politically, English is spoken regularly in education and code-switching starts occurring. Phase 3 is nativisation, where the language becomes native to at least some speech communities, and cultural influences

transform the society. Stage 3 is also where most impact is made on the English language within the community, a local variety is established. Phase 4 is the endonormative stabilisation phase, where the colonialised region has typically become independent, and where the people have the ability to make decisions on matters such as language laws. Here, the local language variety is established and recognised as a regional standard. Phase 5 is the internal differentiation stage, where sociolinguistic variation emerges from the language standard determined in phase 4. This model presupposes that English is accepted and taken up by the speakers, and that it becomes an identity carrier (2007:64). It is also an implicational model: phase 3 presupposes phases 1 and 2 have already taken place, and so further, but progression through the phases is not inevitable. While the model is originally devised in reference to regions where English has had colonial influence, it can and has been applied to English in other contexts as well (see Schneider 2014 for an overview), for example in what Schneider refers to as emergent contexts, and is as such applicable to expanding circles and beyond. If the dynamic model was to be applied to a Swedish context, the country would likely be placed in phase 1 or 2.

The assumptions and results of the above studies will mostly be used in paper 2, where teachers consider their own and their pupils' use of English. However, the ideas concerning language norms also relate to papers 1 and 3, where informants use and/or talk about their use of English in different contexts.

3.1.2 Languages in Sweden

The Language Act of Sweden (*Språklagen*, Swedish Government 2009) establishes Swedish as the official majority language in the country. This law was (at least in part) constructed after years of discussion in parliament and among linguists, in order to follow EU regulations on the protection of national minority languages (European Charter 1992; Council of Europe 2018; Boyd 2011), as well as in order to shield the Swedish language in all domains, and avoid domain losses to English within Sweden. The law outlines that Swedish is the main language in the country, and that all inhabitants should have access to the language. Swedish is to be used in courts and for other official administrative purposes, and the language used in the public sector should be careful, simple, and understandable. It is the responsibility of the public welfare to ensure that all people have access to language and relevant information and services.

There are five official national minority languages recognised in Sweden: Finnish, Jiddisch, Meänkieli, Romani Chib and Sami. Swedish sign language, which shares many of the characteristics and rights of the national minority languages, is also sometimes counted as such, although not officially recognised as a minority language. Beyond the national minority languages, there are at

least 150-200 languages spoken in Sweden (Language council of Sweden 2016), and in total, some 1.8 million people in the country use or have learnt a language other than Swedish in their home.

The national minority language status gives pupils for whom one of the five languages is a mother tongue the right to language lessons a few hours per week. For pupils with mother tongues not given this national minority language status, certain criteria have to be fulfilled in order for a pupil to have access to mother tongue education. The pupil should speak the language at home and have at least basic knowledge of the language; and there needs to be a suitable teacher and large enough student group available for the teaching to take place. It is the responsibility of the head teachers to assess whether these criteria are fulfilled and whether the education can take place. 24% of pupils in compulsory school qualify for lessons in a mother tongue other than Swedish; just over half participate (Swedish Government 2015; Swedish Government 2011; Ganuza & Hedman 2017:3). Generally, mother tongues are acquired and used mostly in the home and with family members. Otterup (2005) identifies that home language education offered during school hours is an important domain contributing to multilingualism, however, as Ganuza & Hedman (2017) point out, this is often restricted to as little as one hour per week, and it is often not well integrated with the rest of the curriculum. Family is another important domain, although Otterup (2005:219) finds that informants mainly use the home language with parents and older relatives; while most use Swedish with siblings.

All papers in the thesis connect to the linguistic situation in Sweden, but in slightly different ways. Papers 4 and 5 give examples of productions in Swedish (and in the case of paper 5, in English) by Swedish speakers, in paper 3 Swedish informants in Sweden reflect upon their different languages, in paper 2 teachers consider the teaching of English in a Swedish (and German) context, and in paper 1 informants' use of two of their languages in a research setting is described.

3.1.3 Spoken English in Sweden

This section will outline the descriptions of English in Sweden, its status and role, and different studies where varieties of English in Sweden have been described or discussed. While Sweden has never been a British colony, the worldwide colonial heritage means that the world language English nevertheless has a role in the Swedish society, as it "respond[s] to different social, linguistic and cultural influences in different […] contexts" (Peters 2016:356). The section most closely relates to studies 2, 3, 4 and 5.

The status of English in Sweden as an L2 or a foreign language has been discussed at length and is continuously discussed as political contexts change

throughout Europe, and as technology such as gaming, social media and online streaming services is becoming more and more accessible and used in different ways. Hyltenstam (1999:212) and Melander (2001:13) argue that English in Sweden should be seen as a second language for the reasons later outlined in Sundqvist & Sylvén's (2014) study: English is used and known so extensively in Sweden, and, speakers are generally fluent in English. It is important to note the distinction between a second language on a macro (or societal) level, and a micro (individual) level – between the language status of English in Sweden as opposed to how learners acquire and use English: the former takes place and is studied at a macro level, whereas the latter occurs at meso and micro levels. English is used and acquired by (most) speakers of Swedish in Sweden as a second language (L2), and the speakers can thus be defined as secondary bilinguals (cf. Wei 2007:6), but as English is not an official or primary language in Sweden, it cannot according to some definitions be a second language in the country (cf. Hammarberg 2004:26; Wei 2007:515[2]). The language has an important and prevalent role in Sweden, with much popular culture (multi- and social media) consumed in English. English is (mostly) acquired in school, resulting in speakers of Swedish in Sweden becoming secondary bilinguals (cf. Wei 2007:515).

English is the only compulsory language subject in Sweden (in addition to Swedish), and since 2011 children start learning the language from the first year of compulsory school (Swedish Government 2010a). In order to continue into upper secondary school, it is required that pupils have passed English in compulsory school (Sundqvist & Sylvén 2014:5). Pupils in Swedish schools for the most part have a positive attitude to the subject of English (Oscarson & Apelgren 2005:82), and similarly, 97% of English teachers enjoy teaching English, and state that pupils make connections between the school subject and their everyday life (Oscarson & Apelgren 2005:83). Furthermore, 85% of parents feel that English is an important subject, which has been argued to be an important influence on the attitudes of pupils (Oscarson & Apelgren 2005; Kormos & Csizér 2008). In addition to the connection to their everyday lives, one of the key factors for the success of teaching English in Sweden is, according to Giota (2002 in Oscarson & Apelgren 2005:84) that pupils are able to influence the teaching and make their own choices in connection to pedagogy and the topics brought into their education.

English is thus perceived as an important language in Swedish society, and it is present at different levels of schooling and throughout the lives of many

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[2] Second language is defined by Wei as "The language learnt by an individual after acquiring his or her first or native language. A non-native language which is widely used in the speech community." (2007:515).

people living in Sweden. Generally, Swedes seem to have a positive attitude towards the language. However, in the late 1990s, the increased use of English in Sweden was discussed widely in the media, and by linguists. Fears were expressed that a continued increased use of English would have a negative effect on the Swedish language, and that English would replace Swedish in some language domains (see summaries in Boyd & Huss 2001; Boyd 2011; Bolton & Meierkord 2013). As a response to these alarms, and in an attempt to regulate the spread of English whilst protecting Swedish and the national minority languages, the Swedish government issued a report in 2002 highlighting the importance of English as an unofficial additional language in Sweden, while also giving suggestions for ensuring that Swedish maintains its position as the official language and continuing to function as "a complete language, serving and uniting our society" by being used in all domains accessed by the citizens: no other language should be required as a complement. For higher education, the use of Swedish is suggested to be maintained alongside of English in order to ensure that speakers continue to use Swedish as well as English, and that the Swedish language continues to develop in the domains of teaching and research (Swedish Government 2002). The Language Act of 2009 (Swedish Government 2009) was a result of these reports and the surrounding debate, and states that Swedish is the main and official language of Sweden (see Boyd 2011 for a more detailed discussion).

English in Sweden is one of the topics of papers 1, 2, 3 and 5 in the thesis. In papers 2 and 3 in particular, attitudes towards the English language and varieties thereof are investigated and discussed. The summary provided in the present section gives a backdrop to some of the attitudes and views presented in the studies, and highlights why it is important to study the English of Sweden at all.

3.1.4 Proficiency in English among speakers in Sweden

Connections between attitudes to and proficiencies in a given language are a further indirect issue of interest in this thesis. In the previous section, it was established that especially adolescents in Sweden generally have a positive attitude to the English language, but what of their proficiencies? The Swedish report from the international project The Assessment of Pupils' Skills in English in Eight European Countries reports pupils aged 15, in the final year of compulsory school, complete can-do ratings of their receptive and writing skills for English (spoken English is not included as the exam which the study relates their results to does not include such a component) (Erickson 2004:42). Here, proficiencies for reception were rated somewhat higher than for writing, but pupils rated their own proficiencies high in both modalities. Swedish pupils thus show a high level of confidence in regards to their English skills.

The report argues that self-assessment is a useful tool when judging the total knowledge base of a pupil, "not least because of the positive effects it can have on the pupil's awareness of their own learning and their knowledge" (Erickson 2004:43, my translation), and that pupils in general are indeed capable of making realistic judgements. A further discussion on self-assessment as a tool for collecting proficiency data is provided in paper 3.

In previous studies (Ribbås 2016; Ribbås, Forsberg & Gross 2017), 54 upper secondary school pupils self-report their proficiency for English reading, writing, speaking and understanding, using a five-point Likert scale (cf. Forsberg & Gross 2016). There is a tendency among these adolescents to rate themselves as 4 or 5 on a scale of 1-5, where 1 is very bad and 5 is very good, and 12 out of the 54 indicate that they would rate their English proficiency just as high, or almost as high as their Swedish (depending on how the scales are compared, more on this in paper 3)

Overall then, Swedish adolescents appear to rate their proficiency in English as quite high, another indicator that English could be considered a second rather than a foreign language in Sweden.

3.1.5 Varieties of English pronunciation in the Swedish classroom

The focus in the syllabi for English in both compulsory and upper secondary school in Sweden is on the ability to communicate in different contexts and with different interactants, as well as on gaining an understanding of the variation in the language across the globe (geographically and socially) (Swedish Government 2010a; 2010b). Prior to 1994, the curricula stated that British English should be the taught variety in Swedish schools (Modiano 2009:66), however since then there are no such regulations. Tholin (2012:258) reports that while other aspects of English education use Swedish norms as the starting point, steering documents for the teaching of English in Swedish schools "lacked formulations about pronunciation and prosody in which the Swedish language is the starting point". He further argues that (for all but pronunciation), as "in many cases, the starting point for schools is still Swedish culture and 'Swedishness'" (2012:266), pupils with a Swedish (language) background are given "better preconditions for attaining the learning goals and receiving better grades in English than those of students with other cultural backgrounds" (2012:266).

Mobärg (2002:129) reports that English teachers in Sweden use a variant close to BrE pronunciation when teaching (perhaps largely due to their training), but that pupils encounter AmE more often than other varieties in their spare time. While Mobärg did not take other varieties or variation into account, Westergren Axelsson (2002) asked first year university students of English in Sweden to report on which variety they use, and which they prefer, and also

records them reading a text. She concludes that while self-reporting is not necessarily reliable (Westergren Axelsson 2002:144), more students nevertheless both speak, claim to speak, and prefer British English. This stands in stark contrast to the study by Söderlund and Modiano (2002:152) where 61.3% of secondary school students report a preference for AmE. However, here 47.8% report that they use a Mid-Atlantic variety of English (MAE), 27.3% report AmE and 10.6% report BrE. Eriksson (2017) finds similar results: 48% of upper secondary school pupils report aiming for an AmE accent, 35% BrE, and connects these with reports that they "want to speak BrE because they think it sounds more pleasant, intelligent and formal, while AmE is chosen because of the amount of exposure to the variety, and the students' perception that AmE is easier." (2017:34). Only three pupils report wanting to sound Swedish (one of them "because he or she is a 'proud Swede'"), and 10 wanted to "sound neutral or have a mix of native English accents" (2017:17). Mobärg (2002) investigates whether Swedish pupils (years 7-9) prefer AmE or BrE in their English pronunciation, and concludes that BrE is dominant, but that a large minority of tokens are produced using the AmE standard. This study indicates codeswitching between varieties of English: that pupils tend towards using BrE in more formal contexts, while AmE is associated with more informal speaking styles.

A majority of informants in the Westergren Axelsson (2002) study further report that their English teachers at school had both used and preferred British English. Westergren Axelsson (2002:142) compares these responses to an earlier study and concludes that English teachers in 2000 seem more open to pupils learning other varieties of English than in 1992. Again, this is likely an effect of teacher training and regulations for teaching having changed. Further, Eriksson finds that teachers consider AmE and BrE the 'correct' varieties of English, the ones that are to be taught in schools, with regional and social variation only 'infrequently' taught by most teachers, "in part because the teachers do not know enough about different varieties to teach them" (Eriksson 2017:35).

There is evidence of a change having taken place in the teaching of varieties of (spoken) English in Sweden, which is likely related to changes in the curriculum in 1994. Reports on pupil preferences seem to reveal that AmE and BrE remain the most popular and commonly used varieties of English in Swedish schools, and that both teachers and pupils by and large seem to consider these the two choices available in the L2 English classroom. Further discussion takes place in study 2, where teachers of English report on the varieties they use and their understandings of the regulations and suggestions available to them.

3.1.6 Target pronunciation models for L2 speakers of English

While Young & Walsh (2010) find that teachers consider using English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) as a basis for L2 instruction 'conceptually attractive', it appears that native-speaker norms and pronunciations are still the target for many (if not most) teachers of English across Europe (see paper 2 for further discussion). Lindemann, Litzenberg & Subtirelu (2014) argue that "orientation to an L1 standard is frequently reinforced by test-driven curricula based on L1 norms" (2014:179), and further report that "Researchers have also reported that teachers' preferences for Inner Circle norms may be a result of their time invested in acquiring English (Murray 2003) and that teachers therefore view themselves as certified stewards of English (Sifakis & Sougari 2005)" (Lindemann, Litzenberg & Subtirelu 2014:179) – this appears to be the case in Expanding Circle to a larger extent than in Outer Circle countries. This is of course related to the Outer Circle Englishes being much more established and more widely used, with 'local' standard language ideologies connected to their use, whereas the Expanding Circle Englishes to a greater extent tend to be modelled on an anglocentric English: "Research into L2 speakers' reactions to L2 English pronunciation largely suggests that L2 users have internalized the privileged status associated with L1, specifically Inner Circle, varieties of English and the stigma associated with L2 varieties, including their own" Lindemann, Litzenberg & Subtirelu (2014:176).

Jenkins (2005:541-542) interviews L2 teachers of English and concludes that they seem to share a preference for 'sounding native', not rarely due to previous negative experiences, and that they struggle to completely remove the effects of their non-nativeness in their English. There is a duality here whereby the mother tongue is an important component of their personal identity, but where these teachers also want to (be able to) express a 'native-sounding' English identity. Jenkins argues that these attitudes will have to change gradually; that teachers will only teach English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) if they "ultimately see an ELF identity as providing their students with accents which will enhance rather than damage their future social and economic prospects internationally" (Jenkins 2005:542). Pilkinton-Pihko, however, finds that lecturers in Finland who teach using English display multiple and sometimes conflicting language ideologies: "While natural fluency is appreciated, *perceived clarity or intelligibility* is key to some sort of 'neutral' accent (as opposed to native- likeness)" (Pilkinton-Pihko 2013:177). She finds that there is "a focus on a comprehensibility goal as opposed to a correctness goal." (Pilkinton-Pihko 2013:177, cf. the curricula for English in Swedish schools) and that this is closely related to language ideologies regarding English as a native or a global language (2013:94). Intelligibility refers to the acoustic signal, and

comprehensiveness to whether the message is conveyed within the communicative context (Lagerberg 2013:5), although the terms are not defined in Pilkington-Pihko's study.

For Sweden, Hult (2007:39) argues that while there are ideas and discussions surrounding pronunciation targets for English, and that the debate over whether BrE or AmE should dominate is decreasing in favour of a diverse English being taught, it is a slow process and that these two standard pronunciation target norms certainly still dominate production teaching. He argues that the openness towards acceptance of 'new' norms is first and foremost manifesting itself in the teaching of receptive skills. Similar to Modiano, Hult (2007:39) seems to argue for a 'Swedified' pronunciation norm where what has previously been seen as mispronunciations are now codified and, more and more, viewed as useful to English Language Teaching (ELT).

A Swedified, or Swedish English is, however, something which is largely quite well accepted according to attitudinal studies. Jenkins (2009:204) reports that Swedish accents were judged as more native-like than for example Japanese or Russian Englishes, and that the judgements made by native listeners were much less friendly towards the latter two than towards Swedish. In general, there is a hierarchical nature of acceptability of non-native accents reported in studies across different languages (see for example Boyd 2003; Gluszek & Dovidio 2010), as well as in L2 English from the point of view of the L2 speaker (see for example Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006; Rindal 2010). This hierarchy is closely connected to both nativelikeness, but also to colonialism and racism: Sweden is outside of Kachru's circles, for example, but the Swedish accent in English is still deemed more acceptable to many native speakers than varieties of English within the circles.

The concept of target pronunciation models is most closely associated with the study and discussion in papers 2 and 3, but also to some extent to paper 5, where informants model their pronunciation in English on some, to us unknown, variant. Target pronunciation models are also connected to audience design: a speaker will model their speech (including their pronunciation) on the audience or referees, depending on the referee group they wish to belong to. This of course also includes pronunciation in a second language, such as English in Sweden.

3.1.7 Pronunciation in a second or foreign language

While the aim of this thesis is not to investigate language acquisition or language learning as such, nor theories surrounding age of onset or the critical period, a brief overview of these areas will be useful for both the author and the reader for the purposes of orientation. The different papers in the thesis deal with the language use of informants who have different combinations of languages in

their repertoire: within the project SSG, we have defined the adolescent informants as having Swedish as their strongest language as they have been socialised and schooled in Swedish since at least the first years of school, some have an additional language in the home, and are as such bilinguals[3]; and all have learned English in school for at least 8 years. No judgements have been made as to their 'nativelikeness' when speaking English, however studies 2, 3 and 5 touch upon this in different ways.

As emphasized by Munro & Mann (2005:337) "[no] model of an age-accent connection should ever hope to claim 'before age X, a person is guaranteed to develop a native accent and, after age Y, a foreign accent is unavoidable." Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam (2009:288) see decreases in perceived nativelikeness among speakers with an age of onset of the second language around the age of 12 and decreasing until the age of approximately 17, where the decrease seems to even out. There were exceptions among those who had learned Swedish at an early age: while most were deemed as native-sounding, some were not. The authors conclude that "an early AO [Age of Onset, my clarification] is a *necessary* although not *sufficient* requirement for nativelike ultimate attainment in an L2." (2009:288) There is thus strong evidence for a critical period hypothesis (CPH) which does not support a strict cut-off in childhood or early adolescence where nativelikeness can be learned, but rather a decrease in the possibility of achieving such nativelikeness (or near-nativeness) which ranges from approximately the age of 12 until the age of 17. Wei (2007:5) argues that there is overwhelming evidence that learners can achieve high levels of proficiency even when AO is higher, and thus that "contrary to popular assumptions, age and manner of acquisition have little bearing on the proficiency level of the individual in specific languages." Wei's approach is focused on the individual on a micro-level, and in large he echoes the words of Munro & Mann above, albeit more sternly.

Flege (2016), however, argues that the ability to acquire L2 pronunciation is not something which is lost after a certain age, but rather in his Speech Learning Model (SLM) shows that we maintain the same capabilities throughout life, and that the L1 system will have an influence on the L2 as the phonetic systems co-exist in the same space (Flege 2016). Here, new phonetic information from the L2 will be mapped onto the existing L1 system and the resulting output will be accepted as 'nativelike' or not in the L2 depending on in what way the information has been mapped. Flege thus argues that while adult learners have access to the same abilities and possibilities for learning languages

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[3] Informants report different levels of proficiencies in their mother tongues, some are balanced bilinguals, others natural bilinguals, yet others simultaneous bilinguals, etc. This will not be further analysed in this thesis.

as younger learners do, they lack one important thing, namely feedback and input from other speakers: adult speakers of an L2 are not corrected in the same manner, he claims, and are thus unable to use feedback to revise their categorisations.

Four different types of problems may be encountered by L2 learners in terms of pronunciation (Husby et al. 2011): "1) Neither phoneme of a foreign language minimal pair exists in the native language"; "2) One of the phonemes of a minimal pair exists in the learner's native language"; "3) Both speech sounds exist in the native language, but only as allophones"; and 4) "Only one allophone of an allophonic pair exists in the native language". Further, according to the Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM) (Best et al. 2001) perceptually similar L1 and L2 sounds block acquisition of the L2 target. This may play a part in selection of target pronunciation models for the L2 speaker, perhaps similarity between the L1 and the L2 will affect their choice to a similar degree as social and psychological reasons concerning attractiveness and associations between characteristics and language variety.

Within the SSG project, Gross and myself have made the decision that, regardless of any additional languages spoken by the informant, Swedish is to be considered the strongest language of the informants as they have received schooling as well as socialisation in the language since their first years of school (ages 7-9). This means that they are able to follow the linguistic demands on their Swedish set by the increasing abstractness and levels specialisation in schools as pupils progress (Schleppegrell 2004), and that they are learning and using Swedish in different contexts and with different interactants and audiences. We therefore, for the purposes of the data collection, subscribe to an AO idea of acquisition which also appears to be underlying the curricula decision to include English as a compulsory subject in Swedish schools from age 7.

All adolescent Swedish informants in the thesis have, similarly, been learning English since their first years of school, but the difference is that they are not socialising in English to the same extent, and they are not expected to use the language in school outside of the domain of the English classroom. They therefore do not have the same opportunities to develop their knowledge of English to the same extent as their Swedish.

The informants who have additional languages as mother tongues generally have even more limited opportunities to develop their proficiencies in these languages than informants do for English: generally, the socialisation they receive in the given language is restricted to the home (or possibly some other domains). In the background interviews completed as part of SSG, many informants report not using the language at all, or at a minimum using it with

one parent only. Furthermore, the formal instruction given in the language is restricted to at most a few hours per week (that is, if the pupil chooses to participate or is given access to this instruction), and the education is non-mandatory, marginalised and not given priority in the Swedish school system (Ganuza & Hedman 2017). In official statistics, approximately half of those pupils entitled to mother tongue education took part: the Gothenburg interviews in the SSG material shows that over 75% from the inner-city school and all of the pupils from the suburb school had taken part in mother tongue education (Marklinder 2016).

3.1.8 Stop phonology of Swedish

One of the two aspects of pronunciation investigated within the frame of this thesis is production of the phoneme /k/ in Swedish and in English (paper 5). The phoneme is of particular interest partly due to the fact that it has been so widely studied in English, and due to its salience in different types of English. But what about the Swedish /k/?

Phonologically, Swedish has six plosives, three voiceless and three voiced: /p t k/ and /b d g/, with an additional phonetic distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated voiceless plosives. In addition, all plosives have a moraic (durational) distinction expressed as a durational difference ("long"/"short" phonemes) (Riad 2014:46). Helgason & Ringen (2002:624) argue that Swedish "is an example of a language with a stop system that has been claimed to be typologically unusual or non-existent […] in utterance-initial position the 'opposite ends' of the VOT continuum are utilized, postaspiration vs. prevoicing."

Productions of /k/ in Swedish can be pre-/post- or non-aspirated, and has duration variation, with a varied place of articulation between velar and palatal depending on the surrounding vowels (Riad 2014:46). Riad further comments that aspirated plosives in Swedish are distinctively [spread glottis] (2014:70) which means that vocal folds are abducted enough so that the aspiration will be fricated. Swedish, as well as English, display relatively long-lag VOTs for voiceless plosives (Stölten, Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam 2015:75). Modifications of VOT further appears to be an effect of 'natural articulatory dynamics' rather than the speaker adjusting to the listener (2015:78). In paper 5, the topic and context of the recording results in fluent, connected semi-spontaneous speech, where an increased speech rate may affect the articulatory dynamics and as a result, the VOT. Helgason & Ringen (2008) find, in their phonetic study of six speakers of Central Standard Swedish, that VOT increases with backness of production, similar to other languages (cf. Cho & Ladefoged 1999).

Riad (2014:47) further asserts that voiceless plosives are postaspirated utterance-initially, have a tendency towards preaspiration intervocalically, and with varied aspiration finally. Preaspiration is found by Tronnier (2002) to be greater for Southern Swedish dialects prior to alveolar than velar plosives, and Stölten (2002) reports on a dialect in the north (Arjeplog) where older dialectal speakers display longer preaspirations than younger speakers. Helgason (2002:145) describes lenis stops in voiced contexts as being realised as fricatives or approximants, and generally voiced. This lenition is attributed to articulatory reduction, by Helgason. He does not, however, believe that the preaspirated medial stops were originally postaspirated stops that have undergone the same articulatory reduction process: due to the differences in articulatory timing between pre- and postaspirated stops. This is not to say that the (pre-)aspirated stops cannot undergo lenition due to hypospeech or articulatory reduction: the fricated or otherwise lenited variants where there is no stop closure are, Helgason states, due to articulatory reduction.

There are few studies that investigate production of /k/ in Sweden-Swedish other than what has been outlined above, and paper 5 is a small-scale study considering this phoneme within a very particular context, and whether it has a role in conveying information on language as well as on the pragmatic function of the carrier word.

3.1.9 Stop consonant productions in English (and beyond)

Paper 5 considers productions of /k/ in both Swedish and English, by Swedish L1 speakers. In this section I will give a whistle stop tour (i.e., not by any means exhaustive) of production of /k/ in different Englishes. It is intended to illustrate the breadth of productions available to speakers of English. What follows is a short description of relevant literature concerning other stop productions, together with a phonetic overview of possible productions. Finally, some literature concerning L2 productions of plosives is discussed.

In London English both /t/ and /k/ are often heavily aspirated prior to a stressed vowel, and in Tyneside both /t/ and /k/ are often glottalised intervocalically, especially following a stressed vowel, but aspirated prior to a stressed vowel (Carr 1999). There is plenty of phonetic study on lenition in Liverpool English, phonological weakening of /k/ (and other stop consonant productions) to a fricative of affricate, with a place conditioned by the position of the preceding vowel (Watson 2007a:353): "That is, palatal fricatives can be found following the close front monophthong [iː] and closing diphthongs [ei, ai] (e.g. week [wiːç], like [laiç]), and more dorsal fricatives are attested following low and back vowels (e.g. back [bax], dock [dɒχ]). These dorsal fricatives can be velar or uvular."

Carr (1999:163) further discusses weakening of consonants in intervocalic contexts, taking on voicing or decreasing the degree or duration of stricture. Lenition or affrication is associated with strong aspiration. These, Carr argues, are phonetic processes and not limited to a certain variety or language. There are several ways in which a phonemic stop consonant can be realised phonetically, based on for example phonetic context, speech style, rhythm, and speaker characteristics. Most studies have focused on one (group or) type of realisation, and most of the time this seems to be plosive productions: degree of voicing and voice onset time (VOT) have been measured. However, looking at the work of Watson (2007b) on (primarily) the pronunciation of stops in Liverpool English, we can observe different types and degrees of lenition. This is not only true for Liverpool English. In Foulkes, Docherty & Watt (1999), /t/ produced by young children in Newcastle is investigated in terms of three inter-related variables: VOT of /t/ in word-initial position; /t/ in non-initial, intersonorant position; and in word-final, pre-pausal position (1999:1625). In the intersonorant position they found glottalisation and productions of [ɹ], and they conclude that patterns of pronunciation are different between the three phonological contexts (and that this pattern is strikingly similar between children and adults).

There are different phonetic processes which are said to affect the production of /k/, for example strengthening through syntagmatic and paradigmatic enhancement (Vicenik 2010), where in the former the contrast between the consonant and the following vowel is enhanced, and in the latter contrasts between different consonants are enhanced. The latter could, presumably, be the case for occurrences of lenition.

Drager (2009) studies productions of the word 'like' among teenage girls in New Zeeland. The word has different pragmatic functions in that it is used in different syntactic and pragmatic contexts (such as quotative, discourse particle, lexical verb, adverb), and Drager finds that speakers from one social group "were more likely to realise the /k/ in the discourse particle than in the quotative, whereas [another social group] were less likely to realise the /k/ in the discourse particle than in the quotative" (Drager 2009:172). Here, a connection is made between the production of /k/ and the pragmatic function of the word, similar to what I do in paper 5.

What, then, of English as a second language? The phonetic context of the plosive is of importance when considering its possible realisations, the duration of pre-aspiration following short vowels is for example longer than following long vowels (Helgason & Ringen 2008), and VOT is shorter in intervocalic contexts than initially (Vicenik 2010:61). For faster speech, VOT is significantly longer than for slower speaking rates, but is largely dependent on word duration

Schmidt & Flege (1996); and Beckman et al. (2011 in Stölten, Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam 2015:77) find that early learners of English adapt their VOT according to speech rate to a greater extent than late learners do. "This means that not only do L2 speakers have to acquire the VOT patterns of the L2, but, as Zampini (2008) points out, they must also learn how to make language-specific adjustments of VOT to speaking rate to achieve native- speaker characteristics in the target language." (Stölten, Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam 2015: 78): L2 speakers of a language are thus tasked with a double chore if they want to be perceived as native or near-native speakers.

VOT of plosive productions of stop consonants has been contrasted between L1 and L2 speech in a large number of studies (e.g. Schmidt & Flege 1996; Kim 2011; Stölten, Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam 2015), but few studies seem to have dealt with allophonic distribution of stop consonants by L2 speakers. One such study, however, is Rindal & Piercy (2013:227) who study conversational speech in English by Norwegian adolescents, and find that they produce intervocalic /t/ as a tap 68% of the time, as [t] 24%, [d] 7% and as other variants 2% of the time. Considering the productions of /k/ by Swedish adolescents speaking Swedish and English is one step towards a description of stop consonant productions in English as an L2. There is a vast amount of study on plosives in English as an L1, but to my knowledge less has been done within the L2 paradigm, especially with a view to include pragmatic aspects of speech production and perception in the phonetic study.

To summarise, observed productions of intervocalic /k/ include (but are not limited to):

- Plosive productions
  - Preaspirated voiceless velar plosive: defined as the time between the offset of the 'normal' voicing in the preceding vowel and the stop closure. This is an effect of the timing coordination of the glottal abduction and the supraglottal closure.
  - Aspirated voiceless velar plosive: VOT in the range 40-80ms
  - Unaspirated voiceless velar plosive: VOT near 0
  - Partially voiced velar plosives: some studies have reported that a portion of the production contains voicing, but at a low amplitude and not enough to label them as 'voiced'
  - Non-velar productions: where a palatal [c] is produced, for example in the Swedish context of preceding a front vowel.
  - Multiple bursts: occurrences where the production of a velar plosive consists of multiple explosions. This is more common in posterior plosives than in anterior, as the gesture is slower and the articulators take longer to separate (see Nance & Stuart-Smith 2013).

- Lenited productions: these have generally been said to include all productions of /k/ that are fricativised or in other ways weakened or softened.

Study 5 will investigate the realisations of the phoneme /k/ within the word OK, in Swedish and in English, and investigate whether the productions can be connected to the pragmatic function of the utterance as intended by the speaker and interpreted by the listener.

3.1.10 Pragmatic intonation

Variation in intonation is a useful tool to convey meaning in speech, to transfer the intention from the speaker in order to allow the listener to interpret the utterance in the context of the interaction using social, biological, cultural and historical cues in order to do so. In order to describe the role of prosody in the construction or transference of meaning, I have chosen to use the term *pragmatic intonation* where others may elect to use *intonational meaning*, *emotional prosody* or other terms, as my focus is the pragmatic functions of the intonation in interaction.

As an example, Vaissière (2009) argues that the placement of prominence can adjust the meaning of the utterance, citing the example of French *intéressant* where prominence on penultimate syllable could express doubt (Fonagy and Bérard, 1973 in Vaissière 2009). In Couper-Kuhlen's (2009) study on productions of *oh,* emotions and affect are seen as performances of "*displays* in interaction", "realized as *embodied practices*", and "interpreted in a *context-sensitive* fashion" (2009:96). The term *display* is used to emphasise that it is a behavioural display of something interpretable in the specific context as emotion X (2009:96): I have elected to talk about *inferred meanings of the utterances*, as my focus is listener-oriented.

There is a difficulty in talking about pragmatic functions of intonation, as Niebuhr & Ward (2018:4) put it: "[…] we lack points of reference as good as those we have for lexical items; and one reason for this, in turn, is that intonational meanings are typically of a pragmatic nature and as such less tangible and definable than word meanings." Lay listeners (or even linguists) often lack the ability to tangibly and consistently specify or even identify intonational features to the extent that they can be associated with pragmatic meanings – "[i]n short words, confusion in the interpretation may ensue." (Vaissière 2009). Considering the pragmatic intonation of isolated speech acts, there appears to be no clear universals as for how different emotions or meanings are conveyed as different cultures and language communities have different

norms[4] (Couper-Kuhlen 2009:108). The situational context of the interaction in which the speech act occurs is not to be forgotten either: "[…] it appears to be the case that in given sequential locations actual displays are judged with respect to a restricted set of affects which are considered to be relevant for that location. Within a given relevance set, we can expect that the affect displays in question will be distinguishable from one another on either lexical or prosodic grounds, or both." (Couper-Kuhlen 2009:118).

Couper-Kuhlen (2009) considers displays of disappointment in the discourse particle *oh* in interaction in English and connects the sequential placement of the utterance in connection to the affect displayed and the prosodic features of the utterance. She also finds that these prosodic features are similar for the disappointed *oh* in German and English: "the volume is softer than normal, the pitch range is narrow and relatively low in the speaker's range, the pitch movement is slightly falling and the articulatory force is weaker than usual" (2009:117)[5]. Local (1996:206) finds that freestanding utterances of *oh* in English generally have a falling pitch, ending in the low end of the speaker's range, there is often creak and they always have a long duration and tend to be diphthongal. *Oh*:s in conjunction with formulations are less generalisable: the contour is rising or falling, are typically diphthongal and may or may not be stressed. *Oh*:s as reactions or feedback to responses to questions asked by the same speaker typically have final falling pitch, or rising-falling, they may be of longer duration, are often nasalised and usually monophthongs. Finally, those *oh*:s expressing surprise have a rising-falling pitch, and are either monophthongal or diphthongal.

Research on 'surprise responses' have been common in conversational analysis, as well as in sociology and psychology (Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006), and emotional prosody is continuously investigated (Fiehler 2002; Abelin 2011; Abelin & Allwood 2000), but what of discourse markers?

In Horne et al. (2001) the Swedish *men* ('but') was analysed in terms of intonation and pragmatic function in order to investigate whether there are differences in the realisation of the word depending on whether it is used topic-internally or in a topic-shifting function. Results suggest that topic-internal *men* is significantly shorter than topic-shift *men* in terms of absolute duration. Topic-shift *men* also constitutes a separate prosodic phrase. For those occurrences of *men* classified as strong by the authors, a combination of "preceding pause

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[4] This relates to findings from research in the fields of anthropology and psychology of emotion, see Couper-Kuhlen (2009) for a brief overview.

[5] Note, however, that Couper-Kuhlen goes on to state that "[…] in English the related affect 'sympathy' can also be done using oh with vocal features very similar to those of disappointment" (2009:117).

duration, word duration and F0-reset can predict the status of the cue word *men* as [topic-shift] or [topic-internal] correctly in 90%" of cases (Horne et al. 2001:1078). This means, then, that prosodic features can go some way to help classify tokens according to pragmatic function.

The word *OK* has also been investigated for English, with regard to phonetic cues to pragmatic function, for example in Hockey (1993) and Gravano et al. (2007), where a final F0 rise is found to be associated with a backchanneling function, and final F0 fall with a cue to topic-shifting. Further, Gravano et al. (2007) find that the duration of /k/ correlates with listener interpretation of *OK* as acknowledgement or agreement. The results point to important indicators of both how speakers use phonetic cues to signal meaning, but also how these cues are used by listeners for interpretation of the meaning. Both studies aim to find cues to be used by dialogue systems to be able correctly segment and interpret spoken data. The pragmatic function of the discourse markers is the focus of these studies, while, in papers 4 and 5, I am more interested in finding perhaps more fine-grained pragmatic intentions of *OK* with more similar pragmatic functions. Further, the studies deal with productions in English by speakers of AmE, but there appears to be little work connecting pragmatics and intonation of discourse particles in English as a second language – especially for speakers of Swedish.

Studies 4 and 5 will thus, seemingly, be the first to consider pragmatic intonation of discourse particles in English as a second language in Sweden. The two papers both consider the use of pragmatic intonation in the word OK in interactions between adolescent peers, and whether the inferred meanings of the utterances can be interpreted by listeners, who do not hear the interactional context.

3.1.11 Summary

Many different areas of linguistics have been included in the background literature in 3.1 above. This thesis makes connections between the apparently different angles presented together with an interactional sociolinguistic perspective trough phonetic and applied linguistic study of urban adolescent language in Sweden. There are a number of gaps in the literature which have been discussed above, and which the paper in this study consider individually and separately. In order to do so in a logical manner, some theoretical frameworks first need to be identified and explained, in section 3.2.

3.2   Theoretical framework

In this section, I will outline different theoretical assumptions made for the purposes of data collection and analysis. First, my sociolinguistic point of view is explained in relation to data collection decisions in 3.2.1-3.2.4. In 3.2.5 I outline the audience design perspective, before moving on to discussing pragmatic phonetics in section 3.2.6.

3.2.1   Capturing sociophonetic variation through data elicitation

This section will delve into the elicitation and compilation of speech data, collected primarily for a sociophonetic study. Although there is little traditional sociophonetic study within this thesis, the map-task materials were collected with the objective to be used for such research; and my points of view and research assumptions are very much based on sociolinguistic ideals and assumptions. Some discussion of methods and theoretical assumptions will be undertaken and following this, different aspects which are crucial to consider when collecting these types of data will be discussed.

3.2.2   The joint activity as data elicitation

This section will turn the focus onto the main method used for collecting speech data used within this thesis: the map-task. The discussion will outline joint activities and tasks as data collection methods, but a fuller discussion can be found in paper 1.

When considering other ways in which to gather sociophonetic data, there are several methods which can be useful. Among them is a joint activity (Clark & Krych 2004), a group task which is shared between 2 or more participants and through which speech data is elicited; this can for example be in the form of playing a game, of asking participants to solve a problem or build something. Clark & Krych (2004) formalised these as a joint activity, where the rules of the interaction are to some extent negotiated by the participants as part of the activity.

Using picture-tasks is fairly common within sociophonetics or other elicitation of speech data, as is using map-tasks, a task where two interactants are given slightly different maps, and the instruction that one should guide the other along a certain route. However, there are few examples of map-tasks without written prompts, and with the complexity required to allow participants to negotiate rules, establish the patterns and tone of their communication, and at the same time eliciting the sheer number of tokens required (see section on sociophonetic data). Many of the maps I have come into contact with seemed like tasks which would be too 'simple' for adolescent informants to solve while

producing a meaningful number of turns, seeing as they are used to playing complex games and they are used to working together in a school environment.

A map-task can be designed in such a way that it becomes a more or less joint activity; with many different images as stimulus and differences between the maps, the task becomes more interactive. Comparing this with another method common within sociolinguistic study, namely word lists or sentence elicitations, there are many benefits to using a joint activity such as the map-task in a sociolinguistic study. The first, and perhaps most important, is that the data collected becomes more like free than read (or reported) speech (cf. Labov 1984). Secondly, the interactive nature of the speech elicited is arguably more like vernacular or natural speech.

3.2.3   Attention paid to speech

The tradition of variationism, or sociolinguistics, goes back to Labov (1984) who developed the sociolinguistic interview as a method for gathering speech data where as little attention as possible is paid to speech. Labov's belief was that a person's 'true' speech could be elicited by, for example, finding ways to get an informant as comfortable and relaxed as possible, and talking about for example childhood events, or traumatic experiences: talking about things where the speaker would pay as little attention to their speech as possible. Furthermore, the idea is/was that the speech would not be rehearsed in any way. This mode, or style of speaking was termed the vernacular, and since the 60's it has been discussed in various contexts and there are various ways of viewing it. I will not go into the vernacular in any detail herein but will say that the definition that I subscribe to is similar to that of Eckert (2001:119) where she talks about it as being a relaxed speech style, one that is perhaps shared with a close group of friends or family, and where you are 'having fun being yourself'. This is not to say that a speaker has only one true vernacular: in so far as we are able to define the style it is one of many, but I believe it is almost impossible to with a high level of certainty say of a specific speaker 'this is your vernacular. This is your true speech.' My reason for hesitating here is that in order to say this, we would need to record and analyse the speech of that one speaker in every possible situation and context, and somehow evaluate when she is at her most comfortable. This type of analysis would simply not be possible (and perhaps, not even of interest in the context of linguistic research), especially not when considering the effects recording her speech in all situations would have (more on this below). Instead, I want to focus on finding ways of recording a speaker's 'vernacular' in as comfortable or familiar a context as possible, with little attention paid to speech (more on this below) but where there is still some structure ensuring that the speech data collected is the most appropriate for the study.

3.2.4 Working with peers/observer effect

One problem with linguistic data collection is the observer's paradox (Labov 1984), where researchers need to balance finding ways of gathering vernacular or relaxed speech, with the fact that in order to collect this data there needs to be some sort of presence of the researcher. This presence can, of course, be different in different research studies, but from interviews to recording devices, from questionnaires to silent observations there is always a possible effect on the informants. One way which Levon (2013) or Drummond (2017) has used in order to minimise this is to attempt to position the researcher as part of the in-group, as a participant-observer. This requires a lot of time in order for the researcher to establish themselves as part of the group, and there appears to always be an element of the researcher being an outsider (Drummond 2017). Another approach is to use someone who is a member of the in-group as an interviewer, however the drawback to this can be the unnaturalness of having a peer ask you atypical questions. Group tasks or focus groups appear to be useful methods (Friðriksson 2015) but this usually means lower quality audio files. In fact, the recording equipment in itself is a reminder to the informant that someone is, or will be, listening. This is also the case, to some extent, with written questionnaires: the voice of the researcher is reflected in the questions asked, and informants may adapt their answers in order to look good or to please the researcher (social desirability bias, cf. Fisher 1993).

The group task method can, of course, be combined with other tasks in order to allow informants to feel more comfortable with being recorded. If there is time available, there can be multiple sessions where the recording equipment is used. This would also allow familiarisation with the researcher, however not to the extent of a true participant-observer or in-group setting. There may also be issues in using group task methods to maintain control of the research situation and in getting comparable data for phonetic study. A compromise is using a task for peers (or perhaps, groups of up to 3 or 4) wearing individual microphones in order that speech can be recorded onto different channels and thus easily analysed for individual speakers.

3.2.5 Models for stylistic variation: designing speech for an audience

In this section, I will look at different models attempting to explain or investigate variation in interaction, including different accommodation theories, speech events and the audience design model.

Looking at the speech of interaction, an analyst needs to consider how the speakers may affect one another. In 1958, Fischer discusses different factors which may affect speech, and includes the interlocutor as one (1958). While he does not formalise a theory in this paper, Fischer discusses uses of different

linguistic variants in different (formal or informal) contexts, and theorises that "In brief, then, the choice between the *-ing* and the *-in* variants appear to be related to sex, class, personality (aggressive/cooperative), and mood (tense/relaxed) of the speaker, to the formality of the conversation and to the specific verb spoken." and in a footnote adds: "And doubtless of the person spoken to, although this was not investigated." (1958:51). One of the first theories dealing with this is the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) (Giles, Taylor & Bourhis 1973; Street and Giles 1982; Thakerar et al. 1982; Gallois, Ogay & Giles 2005) where it is outlined that a speaker will accommodate towards (or away from) their interlocutor to different extents depending on their perceived status, how likeable they are, how much the speaker wishes to impress them, and similar. Accommodating towards (convergence) an interlocutor is a strategy used to adapt your linguistic behaviours to become more similar to the interlocutor. This is, for example, utilised when the speaker wants to impress their interlocutor. Accommodating away from an interlocutor highlights ways in which the speaker is different from their interlocutor (divergence), for example in order to emphasise cultural differences. A speaker can also maintain their own personal speaking style, in order to highlight the differences between them and the interlocutor.

Later, the accommodation theory is updated to encompass aspects of communication other than merely speech, such as nonverbal behaviour, identity, and linguistic stereotyping, and is now referred to as the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Gallois, Ogay & Giles 2005). CAT views communication as being motivated by relationships within groups or between interactants, and how they orient towards one another. For example, self-image and self-representation is included in the model, emphasising the dimension of individualism-collectivism "which helps to characterize the strength and exclusiveness of identification with ingroups" (Gallois, Ogay & Giles 2005:132). The model also highlights the role social norms play in communication and its interdisciplinary approach makes it suitable for work in many contexts, even outside of linguistics (Gallois, Ogay & Giles 2005:137).

The CAT model was further developed by Bell (1984, 2001 – and in fact, Babel (2010:439) identifies that "Many of Bell's suggestions are both echoed in and echoes of CAT") building in part on variation analysis into the *audience design* theory, where not only the interlocutor plays a part but also other people and contextual factors, including those that are not present. This has made it an attractive model to use within sociolinguistics. Essentially, audience design divides variation into two branches: initiative and responsive. The responsive branch, in which response is considered an active action, includes style shifts, lexical choices and politeness strategies (to name a few: see Bell 2001:144 for more). These are manifested towards or away from members of the audience,

that is 2nd person addressees (interlocutors), 3rd persons such as auditors (known, ratified, but not addressed) or overhearers (known, but not ratified or addressed).[6] Bell also includes eavesdroppers (neither known, ratified nor addressed) in the model, in order to illustrate that audience members who are unknown to the speaker cannot affect their speaking style. Also present within the responsive branch are non-audience factors, such as setting and topic, where Bell uses Hymes' (1974) model of the speech event in order to describe factors which can affect speaker style. Within the initiative branch, Bell includes in- and outgroup *referees*: persons who are not present but whom the speaker can design their speech in relation to. Examples may include cases where a speaker shifts their style or register in order to identify with a group, for example in order to show belonging to their own speech community which the interlocutor is not a member of, or to a speech community the speaker wishes to belong to: speakers redefine their identity in relation to the audience (Bell 2001:147). Bell has outlined the integration of audience and referee into one model as one of the largest challenges faced by the theory but argues that "individual speakers use style – and other aspects of their language repertoire – to represent their identity or to lay claim to other identities (Bell 2001:163). Essentially, many factors affect style choices made by speakers, and each conversation or speech event does not take place in a vacuum where we are not affected by other people, linguistic contexts, other non-audience factors, other speech communities of which we happen to be (or want to be) part. One such style choice a speaker makes may involve choice of linguistic variety, such as discussed in papers 2 and 5.

Referee design is thus a type of audience design which has been used to investigate, for example, language use and style in the media (e.g. Bell 1992; Stuart-Smith 2007), in work on identity construction (e.g. Bucholtz 2003; Alim 2002) and in looking at codeswitching and bilingual speakers (Hancock 1997; Yau 1997).

Bell states that "Speakers have a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members" (2001:146). At the core, speakers act and react to – or position themselves (cf. Day & Kjaerbeck 2013) in relation to – other speakers, to those intended as or known to be the audience. This audience can manifest in different ways, either as a (ratified/non-ratified, known/unknown) listener, or as a member of a referee group who is not present but who is someone whom the speaker is adjusting their style towards. The audience or, perhaps more specifically, the referee

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[6] Comparisons can be drawn between Bell's audience design and Goffman's 'face engagements', where the focus of attention can shift from different target interlocutors (Goffman 1963).

design model was chosen as an underlying assumption or theory for how speakers behave linguistically (throughout the whole thesis), but also as a method for analysing the content and structure of the map-task recordings (paper 1, specifically). The choices were made based on the fact that the audience design model encompasses a greater explanatory model than simply reaction to or taking a stance in relation to the interlocutor, which means that we can analyse the interaction in the map-task from a number of angles within the same model.

3.2.6 Pragmatic intonation/phonetics

As linguists, we are taught that we can analyse someone's language use, but we can never know what they are thinking. In a Conversation Analysis (CA) tradition for example, no reading between the lines of the interaction is allowed; and cultural and contextual information is never taken for granted. CA does not attempt to infer anything about speakers' intentions, but rather interpret the listeners' reactions. This is, to my mind, a fine line to tread on. Whether we interpret the speakers' intention by the utterance of the speaker herself or of her interactant (the listener), we are still using contextual information and some degree of mindreading in order to do so. This is the same processes we use in our own interactions, outside of the realm of research: we interpret any utterance with the help of the contextual information we have available to us.

   While Couper-Kuhlen (2009) uses the term 'displays' of affects, I have in papers 4 and 5 opted for the seemingly more straightforward (and more convoluted) 'interpreted speaker intention'. It is my belief that these terms could be used almost interchangeably, but where 'displays' indicates something in regards to speaker behaviour or performance, interpreted intention puts the onus on the interpreting party. Both terms nevertheless assume that there is a shared set of norms or values on which displays or intentions can be interpreted, and that the context (both within the interaction and in the wider sense of the social) is important.

   In papers 4 and 5, I have together with Abelin interpreted the speakers' intentions of using the word OK (or, its pragmatic function in the interaction) with the help of the surrounding conversational context and our knowledge of the speech event of the map-task. Listeners in the perception experiment have been asked to interpret the speakers' intentions of the word OK without the same help we had, instead using phonetic and intonational cues in order to make their interpretations. These studies have theoretical implications for the study of 'linguistic mindreading', i.e. how adept are listeners at understanding pragmatic functions through the use of segmental and intonational cues.

3.3   Language ideology, attitudes and identities

The notion of standard language ideologies will be explored in this section (as well as in paper 3), in relation to different linguistic contexts and in regard to attitudes towards language, varieties and identity. While identity, and to some extent attitudes towards language varieties, can be said to be outside of the scope of this thesis, these notions are so intertwined with (standard) language ideology that it is almost impossible to talk about one without also discussing the others (Lagos, Espinoza & Rojas 2013:407). One of my key beliefs is that speakers use (and are very adept at using) language to perform (or display) identity, to lesser or greater extents depending on context, personality and other factors, and therefore it is necessary to look at least briefly at how identity is constructed through the use of language.

One of the ways people construct and express identity is through manipulation of their language use, and perhaps of their speaking style in different contexts or with different interlocutors in particular. Where a speaker (consciously or subconsciously) wants to show belonging to a certain community of practice, she may choose to associate herself with the other members of this community through the shared pool of linguistic resources (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992; Saraceni 2015:117) (thus manifesting belonging to the specific speech community). This is something which has been studied and explained in a vast amount of sociolinguistic literature, ranging from Labov's study of speakers in Martha's Vineyard (1963) to Drummond's (2017) work on representations of youth language. In the latter, the adolescents reflect upon their own language use and on their own and others' attitudes towards the way they speak. They show a great understanding for style shifting and how this affects how they are perceived by others (2017:649). Drummond's study uses an ethnographic approach, where the researcher spent time with the informants in their everyday school life over the course of a year, engaging them in discussions on a variety of topics, including language. Previously, Eckert (1989) used a similar approach to investigate how girls in a high school use language features to perform the identities of 'jocks' or 'burnouts'. In both, the authors gain access to the community of practice made up of adolescents using different styles with different audiences, and while the authors perhaps cannot claim to become a part of this community, they are able to get at some of the adolescents' attitudes towards language.

One way to learn about speaker attitudes towards their own language use and beliefs is by asking informants about their own identity and language use, and perhaps even pitching it against the 'others'. This would entail speakers making comparisons between their own speech and that of other social groups, for examples, or of referees from other groups. Madsen & Svendsen (2015) find

that adolescents in diverse urban neighbourhoods in Norway and Denmark sometimes distance their own speech from that of 'integrated', 'sophisticated', or 'privileged' speakers. Marzo (2016) investigates the covert prestige of an urban vernacular of Flemish and finds that listeners consider Citétaal as a variety used by foreign speakers of Dutch, and that even within the speech community, not all listeners equate social values expressed through speech with speaker attractiveness. Positive social values can thus be attached to varieties of speech which from the outside (or even within the group of speakers) are stigmatised. It is a question of two different kinds of prestige, in different contexts; much like what Trudgill (1972:184) found in relation to Norwich working class speakers. The prestige issue further connects to the idea of in- and outgroup referees, where different referee designs trigger different types of prestige and speech styles.

These views and attitudes do not, of course, exist in a vacuum, but are informed by learned standard language ideologies: shared and uniform ideas within a larger speech community (such as, all the speakers of Swedish in Sweden) of what 'correct' ways of using the language are (Milroy 2001:539). These shared and uniform ideas are an effect of Sweden-Swedish being the norm-developing variety. It is an abstraction, an invariant version of the language, which is not and cannot be used due to the variational nature of language: a language without variation is no more than a set of rules, no speakers can use it as some speaker specificity is inherent to language use. There being a standard also implies that some varieties are to be considered non-standard, of less prestige and 'illegitimate', and these are often labels given to for example adolescent or urban speech. (Milroy 2001; Lippi-Green 1994). A standard language ideology can thus be used as a tool to oppress or discriminate against non-standard speakers, for example second language speakers or those with a distinct lect (cf. Multi-ethnic London English, Rinkebysvenska). This is strongly tied to (post-)colonialism: in societies where the language of the oppressors has become the norm speakers of the non-standard varieties are stigmatised (Clyne 1992; Pennycook 2017), and even across the world, any education in a (former) colonial language (such as English) will carry traces of that norm even long after the end of the colonisation, he argues.

Speakers of Swedish in Sweden generally display strong ideological views on the standard language, and the society is characterised by strong standard language ideologies from above. Historically, this stems back to the standardisation of the language in conjunction with the first printing presses and the first printing of the New Testament in 1526, but also to the role of the Swedish Academy (formed in 1786) and the Language Council of Sweden (formed in the 1860s) as the bodies seen as providing the normative correct use

of grammar and the language. Sweden's Language Act (Swedish Government 2009) defines Swedish as the official language, giving "public authorities the responsibility for individuals' 'access to language'" (Boyd 2011:26): meaning that all inhabitants of Sweden should have the opportunity to learn, develop and use Swedish, and those with a mother tongue included in the national minority languages have the same opportunities for that language. However, speakers of languages not protected by the law do not have a law-protected opportunity to learn their language in Sweden (only to develop and use their mother tongue). This contributes to the (somewhat modified) monolingual standard language ideology outlined by the law (cf. Boyd 2011). More detail can be found in paper 3, as well as in Pettersson (2005, on the historical context). Oakes (2001) reports a strong sense of linguistic and national consciousness and identity among Swedish adolescents (in comparison to adolescents in some other countries), and attributes the findings to either of two possibilities: either this consciousness is on the rise, or it has always been strong but is difficult to get at overtly. This data was collected before the introduction of the Language Act of 2009, and it would be interesting to contrast the results with the Swedish society of today.

This section has outlined some of the ways in which linguists have studied identity and attitude in relation to speakers and speech styles, and how this connects to standard language ideologies and to audience design. It can be argued that standard language ideologies underpin many of the assertions or linguistic choices made by informants throughout the thesis, but it is in papers 2 and 3 that these are investigated in some detail. In paper 2, teachers' views on the English used by themselves and by their pupils in a school setting reflects some of the ideological notions they carry as (very competent and highly trained) second language speakers of English, working within an educational context. In paper 3, adolescent informants reflect on their own language proficiencies in their Swedish, English and other languages – here, they reproduce different standard language ideologies through the way in which they respond to questions surrounding their self-assessments.

3.4 Summary of chapter

This chapter has summarised some of the theory and literature relevant to the thesis as a whole, ranging from phonetic theory to audience design to standard language ideology to second language acquisition. There are several different angles and ways to approach research into the broadly defined goal of 'investigating the English speech production of Swedish adolescents', and with every possible angle there are a number of research fields which will feed into the studies.

The examples below illustrate how the theoretical concepts connect in the different studies.

Example 1. Illustration of theory used in paper 1

Interaction in the excerpts from the *joint activity*, i.e. the map-task recordings, are analysed using an *audience design* approach.

Example 2. Illustration of theory used in paper 2

The views of the teachers reflect *standard language ideologies* when questions relating to correctness and nativelike pronunciations are asked. They display use of *audience design* in their responses to which varieties of English they use in different contexts. They discuss *target pronunciation models* and issues surrounding language learning and acquisition.

Example 3. Illustration of theory used in paper 3

The pupils' self-reflections bring up issues surrounding *standard language ideologies* when they discuss what construes 'good' or 'bad' language, and make judgements on their language use in comparison to other speakers. They make reference to (more or less abstract) *referee groups* in the context of their reflections, and thus use *audience design* to reflect upon their language use.

Example 4. Illustration of theory used in papers 4 and 5

Interactional data from the *joint activity*, i.e. the map-task recordings, are used to identify occurrences of the discourse particle OK and connect phonetic features to *pragmatic meanings* (intonation in paper 4, segmental information in paper 5). Language is a further factor in these papers, the underlying assumption is that the informants' young *age of onset* for both Swedish and English will entail they are fluent speakers able to communicate effectively. Informants' choices on phonetic production in Swedish and English are informed by both *audience design* and *language ideology,* but limited according to theories on *language acquisition* and *language ideology* given their lack of socialisation in English.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Data collection and participants

Data collection for this thesis was undertaken in several different stages. While most articles (except paper 2) in the thesis make use of the SSG corpus, they do so in different ways. One of the strengths of this thesis is that it utilises a range of methodologies and studies in order to tackle taking the first steps towards a description of spoken English among adolescents in Sweden, with the main focus on Gothenburg. The different articles approach this from diverse angles: in paper 1 I look at the use of data collection methodologies from the point of view of the informants and the researchers, by using telephone interviews and by analysing the recordings using an audience design perspective; in paper 2 the focus is the views and practices of the teachers through the use of an anonymous online questionnaire; in paper 3 informants' reflections are highlighted by analysing their responses to face to face interview questions regarding their language proficiencies; in papers 4 and 5 prosodic and segmental acoustic analyses of utterances are paired with an online perception test, where anonymous listeners are asked to connect the utterances to their perceived pragmatic meaning and the language spoken. While this mix of methods and approaches may seem eclectic at first glance, there is a common denominator present throughout: audience design. The thesis provides a rather broad map of different aspects relating to the English of adolescents in Sweden and a robust starting ground for future description of the variety: we here hear the voices of adolescents, of their teachers and of the researchers, and we are provided with acoustic and perceptual data from a snapshot of the speech of the adolescents.

In total, the recorded speech materials in the SSG corpus comprise 74.5 hours of audio; 111 informants and 5 months of data collection and preparation. 180 listeners responded to the online perception experiment used in papers 4 and 5; and 80 teachers contributed to the results used in paper 2. The thesis is built on a small part of a vast amount of data from map-task and interview recordings as well as questionnaire responses.

4.1.1 Designing the map-tasks

In order to start collecting sociophonetic data in interaction, three maps used for the map-task section of the recordings were designed in four main steps. Firstly, Johan Gross and I constructed lists of words containing the vowel- and consonant tokens which should and could be included, based on the 9 long Swedish vowels (for Gross's project), and production of /t/ and /k/ in English. The interactional nature of the map-task ensures that prosodic realisations are part of a natural, relaxed conversation. Care was taken to ensure that the word

tokens listed would be frequent enough in the language, of a nature that could be depicted (such as nouns or verbs) and known to adolescent informants. Secondly, we collaborated with a local artist, Emeli Höcks (at the time a design student at HDK[7]), who designed the images used for the maps. This work resulted in three maps to be used: 2 for Swedish (where informants would eventually take on different roles for each; giving or receiving instructions), and one to be used in English (where one informant from each dyad would take on the information giving role, and the other the information receiver role). Less data would be required for the study on English, as originally only two different variables (/t/ and /k/) would be examined. Once put together, we tested the designs of the maps on a group of colleagues, and on two dyads of undergraduate linguistics students. After evaluation, we added some more images and made the route to be described within the maps more complicated. We also removed some images that had appeared too unclear in our pilot tests. The final versions of the maps are shown in the Appendix.

4.1.2 Using the map-task in the field

As recordings were made in school environments, constraints of room layout and furniture available meant we had to adapt the physical conditions of the rooms. Our original plan of having a large screen with one desk on each side was impossible to carry out, and due to time and equipment constraints the set ups ranged from using a book shelf as a divider, to moving boxes, to a table turned on its side, to simply placing the informants back to back. There are of course potential issues here in terms of both replicability and internal validity; however, given the other independent variables (such as school) the effects of the exact set up would be relatively easy to test. It is not, however, very likely that the schools will differ significantly from one another – impressionistically we found that informants enjoyed the "strange" informality of the setup and it made them relax with us.

While we encouraged informants to work on the map-task with a friend, this was not always possible to accommodate due to time constraints. In a few cases informants worked with someone they did not know, or someone they did not know well. This is, however, not something we have kept a close record of. In hindsight, performing a social network analysis (Milroy & Milroy 1993) would have been advantageous, however tricky to do given the time frame.

Although the map task in and of itself is a rather odd task, we have not experienced that informants have guessed the purpose. Neither have they questioned the task at all following instructions or being presented with the maps. While we have constantly referred to them as 'maps', they are rather

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[7] *Högskolan för Design och Konst*, Academy of Arts and Crafts at Gothenburg University

atypical maps: some informants laughed or smiled as they first saw the images but none have let this confuse them or disturb the task they were given. Our feeling is that they are used to being given tasks which they may not themselves see the point of (at least initially!), through their years of schooling.

How do we control for the informant attitude towards the task? Mostly, the reports from informants have been positive ("this was actually fun!"), but inevitably some have not enjoyed it. It is impossible to control for this – we have attempted to keep a positive attitude, encouraging informants and assuring them this is not a test situation. One thing which we noticed has helped is the jungle drum – previous informants mentioning the ease of the task, as well as the enjoyment they got out of it, to their peers helped us recruit new informants. Many actually gave these positive comments as they were leaving the recording situation, as their peers waiting to be recorded were listening. This may have served as a prime. It is unclear whether informant attitude is an important aspect of the data collection, however it has certainly allowed us to get more informants. Moreover, it is presumably logical to assume that more speech material can be elicited from people who are not bored or stressed by something which they interpret as a test situation.

As informants were – essentially – given the same task with the same instructions and the same problems to handle three times, it could be expected that there would be learning effects carried over across the tasks. Between pairs, the order of the maps was randomised, meaning that some would get them in the order ABC, some in BDC, some in ACB, and so on. Together with the randomised ordering of the map-tasks, the informants were given different roles depending on maps: giving and receiving instructions in Swedish for two of the maps, and the third (map C) either giving or receiving instructions in English. This means that although there is a chance that they were more adept at solving the task by the time they got to the third task, they were for each task given a new set of circumstances: either speaking role; language; or both.

Within each recording situation, the audience remained largely constant. For each speaker, there was one additional peer present, who usually had the role of 2nd person addressee in the interaction that took place. There was also one researcher present, who was usually given the role of auditor, but was sometimes upgraded to addressee as and when the interactants found it appropriate to involve them. The informants were also, of course, aware of the fact that they were being recorded and that the recordings would be used in a research situation. This means that they were potentially also (more or less consciously) aware of additional audience members, who would have an overhearer role. This possibility will not be investigated in this thesis.

4.1.3 Adolescent speakers as informants

The SSG corpus consists of recordings of 111 adolescents, aged 16-19, in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Given the inspirations from the SUF (*Språk och språkbruk bland ungdomar i flerspråkiga storstadsmiljöer*, 'Language and language use among young people in multilingual urban settings') project (Källström & Lindberg 2011), we chose to work with one inner city and one suburban school in each city in order to make the SSG corpus comparable to SUF. The selection of schools was designed to match the SUF schools to as large extent as possible; as only one of the four original schools were available to us in the end. In

Table 1, the number of informants for each school is shown, grouped by sex and parents' place of birth in order to display the division of speaker backgrounds within and across the schools. The division of informants into sex and birthplace categories is consistent with the pupil cohort statistics in SIRIS (Skolverket 2018), a resource which allows anyone to look at factors such as the division between boys and girls, parents' academic background and parents' origin (Sweden/abroad), for pupils in each programme of study.

Table 1 Informants in the SSG project

School	Male		Female		
Mother's birthplace[8]	Sweden	Abroad	Sweden	Abroad	Total
Kripke inner city Stockholm	10	5	11	7	33
Frye suburb Stockholm	2	10	10	4	26
Descartes inner city Gothenburg	8	7	6	7	28
Hume suburb Gothenburg	0	9	1	14	24
Total	20	31	28	32	111

In both cities, but in Gothenburg in particular, the segregation of the population is visible in the distribution of pupils in the different schools (Gross, submitted).

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[8] Mother's place of birth was used for this division as it was the background factor used to signify 'foreign background' in Gross et al. (2016), based on the SUF materials where less information on father's birthplace was available, in comparison with SSG.

It was therefore difficult to balance acquiring a representative sample, while keeping cell sizes even. At each school we were given a teacher as a contact person, through whom we were given access to classrooms to present our project to the pupils, who were offered a cinema voucher as a thank you for participating. We attempted to keep the groups at even sizes, sometimes having to target classrooms where we for example knew there was a larger portion of boys, or asking other school staff for help when making contact with students.

Two recordings were made with each pupil: a background interview performed by Gross or me; and the map-task which was recorded with a self-selected peer. The background interview followed much the same format as the interviews in the SUF project (Källström & Lindberg 2011), a shortened version of the sociolinguistic interview, where topics regarding the informant's life, social situation and language background were grouped into different conversational modules. The interviews lasted approximately 15-30 minutes (as opposed to the 2-hour sociolinguistic interview utilised by Labov 1984) and were mainly intended to collect background information. This was partly due to the time available to us in the school environment, partly due to more overarching time restrictions on the project and researchers available to perform the recordings, and partly due to the fact that our main focus was on the map-task recordings. In total, 74.5 hours of materials consisting of interview (36.5 hours) and map-task recordings (38 hours) were collected.

The recording procedure is further described in paper 1, and data from the adolescent informants are used in papers 1, 3, 4 and 5.

4.1.4 The role of the researcher

In the background interviews, the researcher (Gross or myself) asked questions of the informants. While we attempted to make these occasions relaxed, and encouraged conversation surrounding topics related to the interview questions, the main focus of the background interviews was to gather background information about our speakers. Together with the limited length of the interviews, this meant that the researcher remained in the role of an 'adult academic', even though some of the interviews were indeed more relaxed than others, and some relationships between a researcher and some of the pupils seemed friendly and relaxed. Nevertheless, the background interview had a secondary purpose: to allow the pupils to familiarise themselves with the researcher, and to tone down any feelings of nervousness or worry that the pupils may have towards the researcher in the second recording. Simply put: we wanted pupils to feel relaxed with us. In the map-task we could be regarded as a silent partner or participant – formally leading the experiment, giving instructions and observing (while taking some notes) – but also sometimes engaging in the

conversations (where informants needed help, or laughing along with them, etc.).

The two interviewers are some ten years older than the informants, with similar socioeconomic backgrounds as the students in the inner-city schools. Forsberg is from Stockholm and Gross is from Gothenburg, so in terms of geography there were some similarities to the informants. We have, however, not yet made any comparisons between potential effects on the informants' speech production between the two interviewers.

Paper 1 addresses some of the issues surrounding the role of the researcher, but conclusions point to the recording equipment as being more of a 'stressor' for pupils than the presence of the researcher was. It is also evident when listening to the map-task recordings (and to some extent, the background interviews) that informants include the researcher in the conversation at their own initiative, and thus do not seem to put too much overt emphasis on a potential power relationship between the informants and the researchers.

4.1.5 Teachers as informants: designing an online questionnaire

In paper 2, the data consists of the views and reported experiences of 80 teachers in Sweden and Germany (46 + 34), collected through an online questionnaire. The questionnaire was tested to evaluate the questions, as well as the length, comprehensibility and coherence, prior to being put online. This pre-test targeted both teachers working in schools as well as those training to be teachers.

Table 2 Demographics of the participants of the pre-test (N = 16)

	Gender	Age	Teaching experience (in yrs.)	Age of English onset
All participants	Male = 7 (43.75%) Female = 9 (56.25%)	Mean = 31.2 SD = 5.5	Mean = 5.4 SD = 4.4	Mean = 9.7 SD = 1.3
German	Male = 2 (25.0%) Female = 6 (75.0%)	Mean = 32.7 SD = 4.2	Mean = 5.0 SD = 3.7	Mean = 10.9 SD = 1.1
Swedish	Male = 5 (62.5%) Female = 3 (37.5%)	Mean = 29.6 SD = 5.4	Mean = 5.9 SD = 5.6	Mean = 8.4 SD = 1.3

16 participants from Germany and Sweden who were contacted individually through the friend-of-a-friend approach, completed the pre-test. Table 2

provides an overview of their demographics. Informants were very much balanced with regard to gender and nationality. However, the participants in the pilot study were relatively young and had little teaching experience; after analysis of the pilot, it was deemed that a more homogenous sample should be used, and therefore only those working as teachers were included in the final questionnaire. This was commented on by some of the participants themselves:

Example 5. Pre-Ger4f[9]: "Some questions didn't apply to me as I'm not really teaching yet. All answers provided are based on my school placement experience and mostly my teaching experience as a private tutor for school kids in Germany"

The questionnaire contained 38 questions with several sub-questions and on average it took participants 29 minutes to complete the questionnaire, 15 minutes longer than anticipated. As some of the participants commented that it took them too much time to fill in the questionnaire (Pre-Ger8f: "I think the questionnaire will rather take 20 minutes if you really try to remember all your study courses, stays abroad and define teaching methods") and they fed back that some of the open questions could have been formulated in a closed question format, the questionnaire was changed accordingly. A few questions with sub-questions proved to be too complicated and were instead simplified by deletion of sub-questions in the final questionnaire. The wording of one question was changed in order to clarify the question, and three questions were deleted altogether as they proved to be too difficult or put too much emphasis on one teaching method. These measures reduced the total number of questions to 35 with fewer sub-questions and less time required to write text answers. Ultimately, this resulted in shorter response times in the main study.

Moving on to the final version of the questionnaire, we decided to label more clearly and divide the two parts: the first aimed to investigate the formal and informal training, language learning and background information of the informants; whereas the second investigated current teaching practices in terms of target varieties and potential effects of the British referendum on leaving the EU, as well as the private language use of the informants.

All of the 80 participants in the final questionnaire (46 from Sweden and 34 from Germany), were at the time of the survey working as teachers in either Germany or Sweden. However, their training differed somewhat. Of the German informants, 14 had completed a *Staatsexamen*, a degree awarded after

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[9] Pre-Ger4f is the informant code for one of the participants in the Pre-test, female German participant number 4.

graduating from university and completing practical teacher training. Two had completed a Master of Education degree (equivalent to *Staatsexamen*) which was introduced subsequent to the Bologna reforms of higher education. Three had completed a foreign teaching degree. Three reported having completed a teaching degree but did not specify this further, two only indicated the subjects they had studied, seven did not provide any information and three reported having no teaching degree. Of the Swedish informants, 35 stated that they had completed a teaching degree or MA/MEd degree (4-5 years of university studies and practical training), two had a BA degree. Four only indicated the subjects they studied, one simply stated that they had studied for two years, one confirmed having a teaching degree but did not specify this further and one stated to have been a "teacher for ages" (Swe45f) but did not comment on training. Two did not provide any information on what teacher training they had previously gone through.

4.1.6 Listeners as informants: an online listening experiment and the analysis of listener data

Papers 4 and 5 both use an online listening experiment in order to collect perception data, namely on whether listeners can identify the interactional meaning of the word *OK* uttered in isolation, and whether they can identify whether it is uttered in Swedish or in English. In the planning stages of this experiment, Abelin and I listened to the utterances of *OK* available from the 6 speakers we had selected and chose 24 tokens to use. These 24 were balanced in terms of language (12 tokens for each), and speaker (3-5 tokens per speaker), but not by interpreted pragmatic meaning of the utterance.

Table 3 Tokens of OK for the online listening experiment

Speaker	Utterance	Interpretation by researchers	Language
D02	2	Go on	English
D04	3	Go on	English
D03	4	Go on	English
D02	5	Go on	Swedish
D04	7	Go on	Swedish
D11	11	Go on	English
D04	12	Go on	English
D01	14	Go on	Swedish
D12	15	Go on	Swedish
D04	21	Go on	English
D12	23	Go on	Swedish
D01	1	Agree	English
D02	8	Agree	Swedish
D12	9	Agree	Swedish
D01	17	Agree	Swedish
D03	18	Agree	Swedish
D11	20	Agree	Swedish
D03	22	Agree	English
D11	24	Agree	English
D12	13	Doubt	Swedish
D11	16	Doubt	Swedish
D02	19	Doubt	English
D11	6	Hold on	English
D01	10	Hold on	English

The selected utterances of OK were made into separate .wav files and converted to .mp4 (together with free flower imagery from http://pixabay.com/) and uploaded to YouTube. This was done in order to be able to upload the files onto Google forms (which allows embedding of video files but not audio). The Google form questionnaire contained 24 videos, with two forced-choice questions connected to each: "Which language does the person you just listened to speak? Swedish / English" (*Vilket språk talar personen du just lyssnat på? Svenska / Engelska*), and "What do you think the person you just listened to is expressing? I agree with what you are saying / Keep talking, I'm listening / Hold on, let me think / What you're saying surprises me" (*Vad tror du personen du just lyssnat på uttrycker? Jag håller med om det du säger / Fortsätt prata, jag*

lyssnar / Vänta lite, låt mig tänka / Det du säger förvånar mig). Participants were able to comment on the questionnaire after completing it.

The questionnaire was tested on one listener before being distributed via social media and e-mail lists, and in total 180 listeners completed the survey. Participants were given the following information prior to answering the questions, but no background information was collected from them.

Om "OK" i samtal

Tack för att du vill delta i denna undersökning om ordet "OK" i samtal. Vi som genomför studien är Julia Forsberg, doktorand i lingvistik, och Åsa Abelin, professor i lingvistik, vid institutionen för filosofi, lingvistik och vetenskapsteori, Göteborgs universitet. Har du frågor kan du kontakta julia.forsberg@gu.se

För att delta i studien ska du ha svenska som starkaste språk.

Du kommer att få lyssna på 24 ljudfiler med ordet "OK" en i taget, och besvara två frågor per ljudfil. Du får lyssna så många gånger du vill. För att lyssna igen trycker du på den runda pilen i hörnet av videon. När du är färdig med en sida går du vidare till nästa, och du kan inte gå tillbaka och ändra dina svar.

På slutet får du möjlighet att lämna ytterligare kommentarer kring experimentet, eller tankar som uppkommit medan du lyssnat och svarat. Det finns även möjlighet att lämna din mailadress om du vill få förfrågan att delta i framtida studier. Dina svar kommer förbli anonyma även om du väljer att lämna kontaktuppgifter.

Stort tack för hjälpen!

NEXT   Page 1 of 26

Never submit passwords through Google Forms.

Figure 1 Screenshot from the listener test on the word OK

Example 6 is a translation of the text in Figure 1, the instruction given to participants:

Example 6. "Thank you for your interest in participating in this survey regarding the word 'OK' in conversations. This study is undertaken by Julia Forsberg, PhD student in linguistics, and Åsa Abelin, professor of linguistics, at the department of philosophy, linguistics and theory of science at the University of Gothenburg. If you have any questions you can contact julia.forsberg@gu.se

In order to participate in the study, Swedish should be your strongest language.

You will be asked to listen to 24 sound files containing the word 'OK', one by one, and answer two questions per sound file. You can listen as many times as you like. In order to listen again, press the round arrow in the corner of the video. When you have finished one page you can move on to the next, but you cannot go back and edit your responses.

At the end, you will have the opportunity to leave further comments surrounding the experiment, or thoughts that have arisen while you have been listening and responding. You will also be able to leave your e-mail address if you want to be contacted with queries to participate in further studies. Your responses will remain anonymous even if you choose to leave your contact details.

Many thanks for your help!"

4.2   Methods used for analyses

4.2.1 Audience design

When considering different ways of approaching the issue of how to characterise the data collected in the SSG corpus, Gross and I started by looking at the formality spectrum. Labov and others make a strong case for the sociolinguistic interview being informal, and while we were not able to directly compare our recordings to a sociolinguistic interview (as we had not performed one), we felt there must be ways of looking at the recorded data and say something about the level of formality, from our point of view as researchers. Two ways of approaching conversational data stood out to us: speech event (Hymes 1972), and audience design (Bell 1984; 2001), both previously discussed in chapter 3. Theory. These have certain aspects in common and differ in others, but also allow expansion into different aspects depending on which parts of the interaction is of interest. In the end, we opted for a focus on audience design as the main focus lies on the interactants, but with influence from the speech event approach (namely the factors setting and topic, which are also highlighted by Bell). The focus of the analysis lies on the actions and interactions of the informants within excerpts from the map-task interaction, such as consideration of who the speech is directed to and which types of address terms are used, ways other people (present or non-present) are talked about, which norms and ideas are brought into the interaction by the speakers, and speaker roles. Some transcripts and excerpts were brought to the Conversation lab (*samtalslabb*) group at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Gothenburg for initial analysis, and with the help of the group, we developed the method used.

Below is an example excerpt from paper 1, with a subsequent analysis. Here, audience design is used to analyse the interaction and an example of such an analysis will be given below.

Example 7. Excerpt from a map-task recording, to illustrate how audience design is used to analyse the interaction.

1.	*H28:	sen du ska runt musen under datorn
		then you go around the mouse under the computer
2.	*H27:	a
		yeah
3.	*H28:	sen du ska fortsätta mellan dom två villorna
		then you'll continue between the two houses
4.	*H27:	villorna
		the houses
5.	*H28:	m
		m
6.	*H27:	okej
		ok
7.	*H28:	sen du ska ner under flytvästen
		then you go down under the life jacket
8.	*H27:	a
		yeah
9.	*H28:	upp till foten
		up to the foot
10.	*H27:	a (paus) höger eller vänster
		yeah (pause) right or left
11.	*H28:	vänster
		left
12.	*H27:	vänster a
		left yeah

The topic of the exchange in Example 7 revolves around the map-task given to the informants. There is direction-giving and -receiving, including feedback signals given by informant H27 which appear to encourage H28 to continue giving directions. On row 10, H27 asks a clarification question, temporarily taking the initiative in the interaction, and on row 12 he again uses *a* 'yeah' as a feedback, signalling that the insert expansion has come to an end. There are two participants speaking in the excerpt and as such they are the 2nd person addressee to one another, but there is also an auditor present in the room: the researcher. In this excerpt, there is no mention of this auditor. There is also no mention of possible other auditors or overhearers, i.e. those who may hear the recording after the fact, and as such we have no tangible evidence that the informants are designing their speech for these other auditors. Similarly, the

speech of the informants may be influenced by possible referee groups, but there is nothing in this excerpt telling us this is the case. The division of turns or speaker time is, in the case of Example (2), fairly straightforward: the direction-giver (H28) produces longer turns. This is typically the case for excerpts surrounding sections of the maps where the two maps given to the informants are identical; where images are missing or replaced with others, the turns are of more equal length. The setting of the recording session cannot be analysed using the excerpt, instead field notes are required in order to provide a description of the physical context. In the case of Example (2), the recording took place in a meeting room at school, informants were placed on either side of a rather large table, with a large cardboard box placed in the middle so they would not be able to see one another. Both could see the researcher in their peripheral vision.

In paper 3, audience design is used to analyse the reflections given by informants when asked about their proficiencies in their different languages. More specifically, referee design is used: the audience (the researcher as 2nd person addressee) is constant throughout the interview recording, but the referee appears to shift depending on the questions asked (as thoughts of other speakers are triggered), such as when questions about different languages are asked. The different influences of referee design will be further examined in chapter 6. Discussion.

Papers 4 and 5 use the same recordings as paper 1, and the same 2nd person addressees and auditors are present. Similar to paper 3, the informants seem to make use of different referees depending on the language spoken. In paper 2, an audience design perspective is used when analysing the responses from teachers, an example being the possibility that different referees are considered in the use of different varieties of English. This will be further discussed in chapter 5. Conclusions and discussion.

4.2.2 Analysing informant reflections in relation to standard language ideologies

Listening through the sections of the 111 interviews where informants were asked to rate their language proficiencies in preparation for writing paper 3, those occasions where further reflections (of any kind) were present were marked and later returned to for transcription and analysis. During the analysis, those examples where the informant did not express any clear or coherent reasoning behind their proficiency ratings were removed, as well as those comments that were not relevant in relation to the questions asked.

Categorising the reflections left us with five different ways in which informants appear to think about and reflect upon their language proficiencies:

- Comparing themselves to other speakers
- Comparing their own proficiency between languages
- Assessment based on feedback or grades from school
- Placing the language use and perceived difficulty into contexts
- Comparing their own proficiency to other skills within the same language.

We also found that informants express ideas about good and bad language and of (standard) language ideologies (Milroy 2001:539). Following this result, we were able to further trace these ideas of standard language ideologies throughout the five categories of reflection and draw some conclusions on which languages or contexts seem to trigger or invoke these ideologies.

4.2.3 Acoustic analysis

Two types of acoustic analyses were used in this thesis: prosodic (paper 4) and segmental (paper 5). Praat (Boersma & Weenick 2018) was used for the analyses. Both the intonational and the segmental analyses in productions of the word OK were completed using a combined auditory-acoustic approach and transcribed using the textgrid function in Praat. The first step was to identify any utterance of OK, segmenting this by hand, and transcribing it using the international phonetic alphabet (IPA) in a textgrid. The prosodic analysis includes measurements of the F0 range (between maximum and minimum fundamental frequencies) within an utterance, as well as inspection (using mostly auditory analysis) of the final F0 curve of the utterance and the relationship between these and the pragmatic meanings of the utterances.

The whole utterance was transcribed, but for the purposes of paper 5, only the transcriptions of /k/ were used. A narrow transcription was made, in order to ensure that as much detail as possible would be captured. Some of the narrow categories were later combined into slightly larger, more manageable categories: partly due to manageability and partly due to tentativeness of how much detail that can be heard and that is meaningful. Further detail of the categories used is given in paper 5.

Where a voiceless velar plosive is produced, the voice onset time (VOT), the time between the burst release of the plosive and the onset of the striations of the following vowel (Klatt 1975:687) is measured, using cues from both the waveform (the point of zero crossing) and the spectrogram. This is one of many approaches, as outlined in Foulkes, Docherty & Jones (2011:63-64) the final measurement can be taken either at the first sign of periodicity, at the first completion of vocal fold vibration, or at the onset of striations of the second formant of the following vowel. In this study, I have chosen the last of these

options, in order to ensure that there is in fact stable vocal fold vibration, and that the vowel production is indeed underway. Where there are multiple release bursts, the first will be taken as the starting point of the measure of VOT. While others have used different approaches such as measuring from the final release burst (Cho & Ladefoged 1999) or from the one with the highest amplitude (Khattab & Al-Tamimi 2008, in Foulkes, Docherty & Jones 2011:65), I have elected to start measurements at the initial burst release in order to reflect the onset of the release of the silent hold phase.

4.2.4 Ethical considerations

The SSG materials contain personal information related to informants, both in the form of interview responses detailing their language backgrounds and their parents' regional backgrounds (and by extension, information on their ethnicities), as well as in the form of spoken materials. They were also recorded using informants aged 16-19 in a school environment, and the age limit for consent to partake in scientific studies in Sweden is 15. Ethical clearance for the data collection project was therefore sought from and granted by the Regional Ethical Review Board of Gothenburg (registration number 465-14) in June 2014. All informants were informed of the general purpose of the recordings prior to partaking and signing an informed consent-form. It was further emphasised to informants that their participation was entirely voluntary, that they could withdraw at any time, and if there was a question they were uncomfortable answering they could abstain from doing so.

In terms of the online questionnaires, no personal data was collected from listeners in the experiment for studies 4 and 5, and they were able to withdraw at any time. The same was the case for the teachers in study 2, who were anonymous and further told that any data they provided would be kept confidential. This meant that no ethical review was necessary for the collection of this data.

4.2.5 A brief note on transcription

Two main types of transcription are used in this thesis: a simplified version of the standard described by Lindström (2008), and phonetic transcriptions of segments or words. The latter is used mainly in paper 5, and the former in papers 1 and 3 where the simplified version was used in order to convey the main turn taking, meanings and contexts, but without too much detail used as it would not be appropriate for this level of analysis (cf. Cibulka 2016). Excerpts were also translated into English in such a way that original meanings and contexts are kept to as high a degree as possible, and the transcripts used simple orthography and punctuation as used retaining their orthographic functions, but with some

simplifications of spellings in order to reflect the speech. Pauses were included to reflect their conversational functions.

Some of the responses to the teacher questionnaire in study 2 were given in German and were thus translated into English. In the cases where spelling was incorrect or where non-standard sentence structure was used, the choice was made to report the quotes in the way they had been submitted to us.

4.3   Summary of the methodology chapter

This chapter has outlined the methodology used in the thesis, and further discussed some of the methodological choices made throughout the data collection and analysis process. The thesis considers aspects of adolescent spoken languages in Sweden, English in particular, and by using a range of methodologies approaches these aspects in a variety of ways. Three different groups of informants are used: 111 adolescent speakers in Stockholm and Gothenburg, who through interviews and map-task interaction provide both materials used to investigate the map-task as a speech event (paper 1) as well as self-reflections on their own proficiencies (paper 3) and phonetic materials (papers 4 and 5); 80 teachers of English in Sweden and Germany, who through an online questionnaire share their experiences of and views on the teaching of different varieties of English (paper 2); and, finally, 180 anonymous listeners who reacted to utterances of OK and provided interpretations of speaker intentions as well as speaker language (papers 4 and 5). The methods used for analysis are, consequently, also varied: a qualitative audience-design approach to analysing adolescents interacting in a data elicitation situation; combined quantitative-qualitative analyses of the online teacher questionnaire responses; quantitative analysis of adolescents' self-reflections on language proficiency; and finally, acoustic-auditory analyses of recordings of spontaneous speech in combination with perception experiments.

Chapter 5. Conclusions and discussion

This chapter will discuss the results from the five different studies in relation to one another, and to the related theory, discussed in Chapter 3. In 5.1 I will outline and discuss the main conclusions from each article, in relation to the research questions and research objectives. In sections 5.2 to 5.5 I turn the perspective around and depart from four important topics: English in Sweden, Standard language ideologies, attitudes and identity, Referee design, and Development of research methodologies. These topic areas are discussed in relation to the papers included in the study. Finally, 5.6 contains concluding remarks.

5.1   General conclusions from the articles included in the thesis

The research questions from each article are listed in 5.1.1, together with relevant conclusions in regards to that specific question. In 5.1.2, the overall research objectives of the thesis will be discussed in relation to the conclusions drawn.

5.1.1   Research questions and conclusions

Study 1:

1. How can the map-task be described and understood as a method for eliciting speech?
   a. What aspects and components of the map-task are most useful and can most easily be manipulated in order to obtain various types of sociolinguistic data?

Results show that the most useful tools at our disposal when designing a joint activity with shared goals as a data elicitation task (cf. Clark & Krych 2004) is two-fold. First, the researcher should aim to give informants as much control over the execution of the task as is possible given the restraints of the research. This gives informants the possibility to assign roles to those present, and set the boundaries and rules of the interaction between them. Informants use their knowledge and judgements of the speech situation in order to design their speech based on the different audience members, the setting in which the interaction takes place, and the nature of the task which they are given. Secondly, the task should be designed to (in the case of map-tasks, specifically) replace images in the information-giver's map with other images in the information-receiver's map in order to stimulate production of the tokens under investigation. This will manipulate the topic of conversation (cf. Bell 2001), and as such encourage interaction in which informants continuously update and establish their common ground.

      b. How can analysing the map-task help us to gain an understanding of how to design controlled elicitation methods?

The conclusions in 1a. were reached with help of analysing the map-task conversations through an audience design perspective, and by asking informants for their experiences. The latter is a perspective which has largely been missing in linguistic research, and which can help inform both the design of data collection procedure and an understanding of the output. The former, using the theory of audience design in order to analyse excerpts of the map-task, allows us to study the output interaction in detail, and learn about speaker roles and interaction within the speech events themselves; but also to learn about the roles, interactions and relationships of our speakers.

   2. From an informant perspective:
      a. How do informants describe their experiences of participating in the project?

In general, informants describe the experience as 'fun' or 'fine', in fairly non-specific yet positive terms. From field notes, we also find examples of (mostly) positive reactions to the task: "this was actually fun!", "this was harder than I thought!". The map-task thus appears to be an informal task when given to pairs of friends in a familiar setting.

      b. What do informants believe played a prominent role in making the map-task formal/ informal?

The main component which informants report making their participation in the map-task recording session feel like a formal experience was that they were being recorded using headset microphones. The setting thus seems to have affected their perception of the experience in the direction of formality. On the other hand, they generally felt that it was an informal experience due to completing it with a friend, and the competitive/fun nature of the task. Here, interlocutor/addressee as well as topic are the two aspects which make the experience feel informal.

      c. What do informants believe contributed to their speaking style in the different situations?

One informant remarked specifically about the researcher presence affecting his pronunciation, and generally those interviewed over the telephone showed awareness of adjustment to interlocutor as well as context. This is in line with previous research invoking the Observer effect (Labov 1984), and it is evidence

of informants' awareness of using audience as a factor when designing their speech style.

Study 2:

1. What are German and Swedish teachers' opinions concerning target varieties and communicative competence in TEFL in general and in their own language teaching?

Standard AmE and BrE pronunciation appears to be the most widely accepted target varieties among teachers of English, and there is some indication that many teachers consider these as the only two viable options for pupils to learn. Teachers are, however, also strongly devoted to the idea that what should be learned is a communicative competence enabling successful communication across cultures and communities. It appears that many teachers are in conflict between these learned and didactic ideals and lacking the resources (both in terms of time and training) to resolve this.

2. Which target varieties are reportedly used in TEFL classrooms in German and Swedish secondary schools (by pupils and teachers)?

The main varieties reportedly used as targets are AmE, BrE, a mix of the two, and a neutral variety. German teachers display a slight preference for BrE variants, while Swedish teachers report use of and preference for a mixture of AmE and BrE, along with a neutral variety. In Germany, pupils are reported to use a mixture, while in Sweden they use a mixture or simply AmE.

Study 3:

1. How do informants assess and reflect on their proficiencies in their different languages (Swedish, English and additional home languages)?

Overall, most reflections occur in the context of assessing Swedish: informants discuss issues related to language use in a way which they do not do for their other languages. They appear to have a larger frame of reference for their Swedish, and they compare themselves to other speakers to a greater extent for Swedish than for English. Informants do not display or express standard language ideologies in the same way or to the same extent in languages other than Swedish, leading to the conclusion that in order for a standard language ideology to develop more input and socialisation than is received for English is required. Further, informants use the notion of referees in many of the reflections, both in the sense of specific speakers and of abstract speakers or groups but also different contexts or input, such as grades. Informants thus not only design their speech with referees in mind, but they are also to some extent aware of referees when reflecting on their own language use.

2. What do informants base their assessments on?

Four categories for assessments are identified: Comparisons between their own proficiencies in their different languages; assessment based on feedback in school; placement of the language use and perceived difficulty into different contexts; comparisons between their own proficiencies within the same language. In addition, there is a tendency to express standard language ideologies, and discussing ideas of good and bad language. All of these relate to both audience design and standard language ideologies.

Study 4:
1. Research questions on production:

a. How is the number of *OK* utterances associated with the speakers' roles as information givers or information receivers, or with which language they speak, or with individual variation?

Speakers use the word *OK* more when speaking English than when speaking Swedish. This may be related to the Swedish adolescents having access to more relevant synonyms in Swedish than in English. Individual differences between speakers seems to account for the variation in numbers of *OK*:s used better than speaker role does.

b. In what ways are the intonational features of *OK* associated with speakers' roles as information givers or information receivers?

For Swedish, receiver productions of *OK* has a smaller F0 range than giver productions.

2. Research question on interpretations:
a. Are listeners able to infer speaker intentions, i.e. degrees of agreement, in isolated utterances of *OK*?

Listeners are fairly accurate at identifying the speaker intentions when hearing isolated utterances of *OK*, especially towards the *full agreement* end of the scale. In this experiment, listeners are choosing from a limited list of possible speaker intentions, whereas in a real-life situation they may more likely be choosing from a pool of possible emotional responses dependant on the situation.

3. Research question connecting intonation and interpretations:
a. How do listener assessments of speaker intentions correspond with intonational features of F0 range and F0 contour direction?

Listeners interpret the tokens with the largest F0 range as the interpreted category *go on*. Falling intonation was mostly interpreted as *full agreement*,

slightly more for the English context than the Swedish. A rising F0 intonation was mostly interpreted as a request for more information (*go on*).

Study 5:
This paper has three general aims:

1. To provide a phonetic description of realisations of /k/ in Swedish and English utterances of *OK* by Swedish adolescents.

The adolescents use different ranges of allophones for Swedish and English in this specific context. For Swedish, they tend to use a larger repertoire, including more instances of voicing for all manners of articulation: [k c q g G x χ ç h ɣ ʝ j ɰ]. For English, the range is more limited (and a larger number of tokens are not lenited): [k c g x ç ɣ ʝ ɰ]. For the tokens produced as voiceless plosives, normalised VOTs are slightly longer for English than for Swedish.

2. To connect the realisations of /k/ in *OK* to different pragmatic meanings, speaker roles and language.

The allophonic variation is larger for the information-giver than the information-receiver, for Swedish. For English, speaker role appears to have a smaller effect. For those tokens produced as plosives, it can be noted that the distribution across number of VOT release bursts is more similar across the two information-giver roles (Swedish and English).

In terms of pragmatic meaning of the *OK* uttered by the information-receivers, four intentions were identified: *agree*, *go on*, *hold on*, and *doubt*. The latter can be disregarded, due to the small number of tokens in the material. Allophonic distribution is similar across all intentions for Swedish receivers (SR) and for English receivers (ER), respectively. As above, the range of allophones used for English is smaller, but here the percentage of tokens realised as plosives are more similar for the two languages. With *doubt* disregarded, there is no voicing among ER speakers. Speaker intention does not appear to be a meaningful background variable for realisation of /k/ in this context. Speaker role and all that this may imply in a conversational context appears to have a larger effect.

3. To investigate whether listeners hearing the word *OK* out of context are able to determine its pragmatic meaning, and which language it is uttered in.

For SR tokens, *agree* and *doubt* appear to be most easily identifiable. For ER, the general tendency is the same for those two intentions, however they are more

often confused with the adjacent intention categories *go on* and *hold on*. Listeners appear more able to correctly identify Swedish tokens as Swedish; English tokens are mostly identified as Swedish. Whether the results of the perception experiment have an explanation connected more closely to the speakers, the listeners, or a combination remains to be investigated in a larger experiment.

5.1.2 *Overall research objectives as related to conclusions*

a) To explore ways in which audience design and language ideology interact and are manifested in different aspects of language.

In paper 1, audience design is used to evince how interaction is formed by the adolescent informants, how they are able to create the rules and thereby shape the topic of conversation, while also being able to nominate the different audience roles to those people present. In paper 2, the standard language ideologies of the teachers are manifested in their responses to the questionnaire regarding use of different pronunciation models or language varieties in and outside of the classroom. Here, they also report how they use audience in order to select the variety of English to use. The two concepts intertwine as teachers use both to base their decisions on which variety to use in for example the teaching of different topics. In paper 3, adolescents appear to use these resources in similar ways when reflecting on their reported language proficiencies. We can see that they choose different referees for the different languages, based on which are available to them, and this mirrors the languages which they have access to, or for which have developed standard language ideologies. In papers 4 and 5, speakers and listeners are (understandably) more familiar with Swedish productions of the word *OK*, but there appears to be more to the distribution of allophonic and intonational variation as well as to the range of listener responses to the perception experiment. Speakers use audience design as they *step into* an English-speaking persona, one they are perhaps less comfortable with, or less accustomed to using in such a setting. What is clear is that speakers lenite productions of /k/ in *OK* more for Swedish than for English, and as lenition is a phonetic process triggered to a different degree depending on the speech situation, it is affected by for example speech rate, and in informal settings. Lenition is likely to be occurring to a high degree in a game-playing joint activity such as the map-task, yet the speakers display different patterns for English and Swedish.

b) To explore ways of eliciting good, robust data for sociophonetic or sociolinguistic study, and to gain a fuller understanding of the data once collected

All papers in the thesis make use of different methodologies and data, and the collection of sociophonetic data is specifically dealt with in paper 1. Papers 4 and 5 make use of the materials collected, and by performing analyses and using the data in phonetic study the data elicitation method is explored.

In papers 2 and 3, methodologies for data collection and elicitation are also discussed at length. Paper 2 describes the design of an online questionnaire, and lessons learned from that procedure are invaluable to anyone setting out to collect data. Paper 3 discusses methods for eliciting language attitude data in relation to self-assessments on proficiencies, and shows the value of – without preconditions – using inductive methods to explore data collected as it is highly possible to find useful information that was not initially expected.

c) To find out what reflections speakers of English in the language learning classroom (teachers and pupils) have in regards to proficiency and pronunciation varieties

Papers 2 and 3 in particular consider views and reflections by teachers and adolescent pupils in the English classrooms of Sweden. Many of the teachers appear to consider different varieties of English as something they can slip in and out of with relative ease, depending on the context (private use or teaching, or even teaching different topics). They display a strong adherence to audience design both in terms of *audience* and *topic*. Teachers also voice somewhat conflicting language ideologies in relation to target pronunciation models for teaching: one the one hand, a belief that native speaker norms are or should be the targets for EFL pupils; and on the other hand, a belief in the communicative competence as target.

In the context of self-assessing their language proficiencies, pupils share a number of reflections that can be interpreted as or connected to standard language ideology as well as referee design. The fact that they make different types of reflections, and use different referee groups as models for their different languages is an indication that they do not share the same insight into standard language ideologies for the languages they speak.

d) To describe some aspects of L2 English as spoken by Swedish adolescents

In papers 4 and 5, phonetic aspects of utterances of *OK* have been investigated. While these are small-scale studies, they contribute to the phonetic knowledge of English as spoken by Swedish adolescents, an area which is much under researched to date. The adolescent speakers under investigation use a slightly larger mean F0 range in the word *OK* when speaking English than Swedish (for the receiver context). The allophonic range is more limited for English than Swedish, and a larger number of tokens are not lenited: [k c g x ç ɣ ʝ ɰ]. For the

tokens produced as voiceless plosives, normalised VOTs are slightly longer for English than for Swedish.

The fact that we see some tendencies among speakers to differentiate their Swedish and English utterances of *OK* may be related to the fact that using a different language, they consequently alter their pronunciations. These are subtle differences, however, and further study would be required to make certain what the effects may be of speaker role, initiative, speaker's L1, and which language is spoken.

e) To connect some aspects of phonetics in L1 Swedish and L2 English spoken by Swedish adolescents to pragmatic meaning

A relationship is found between final F0 contour and speaker intention in that it tends to be falling for the agreement tokens and rising for the tokens signalling disagreement. There is no strong relationship between speaker intention and F0 range, but some indication that range increases with level of agreement. Results thus indicate that inferred level of agreement is dimensional rather than categorical, and that listeners appear to use prosodic information when making their interpretations. Further, there does not appear to be any relationship between level of agreement and realisation of the phoneme /k/.

5.2   The study of English among Swedish adolescents

This thesis considers the English used in Sweden by adolescents from several different angles, namely: phonetic study of specific intonational and segmental phonetic features; how adolescents reflect on their proficiencies in their different languages; and teacher views and experiences of target varieties used in- and outside of the classroom. This by no means results in an exhaustive description of the language variety or use, but it does go some way to identify directions and considerations for the study of English among Swedish adolescents.

Firstly, paper 1 shows that adolescents, while competent and generally confident in speaking English, do consider speaking English in a recording setting as something different than speaking Swedish in the same setting. This becomes evident through questions from informants about whether their teacher will hear the recordings, and whether their English will be graded in some way; and through discussions between informants within the dyads on who should be the information-giver for the English map-task (they were told that they would give information once each for Swedish, but that they could decide between them who took this role for the English map).

Secondly, attitudes towards English in Sweden of those who partake in the English learning classroom can be detected, sometimes in clear view, and sometimes covertly throughout the thesis. Papers 2 and 3 in particular show

different ways of studying attitudes in connection to both teaching, language proficiency and identity, and findings indicate that speakers think about their English in different ways than they do their other languages. English in Sweden is described by adolescent informants in study 3 as norm-dependent (Kachru 1992), in that language norms come from native varieties, as they compare their proficiency with that of native speakers. They do, however, generally adjust their self-assessments so that it appears they are using a different scale for English: while they overtly compare their proficiency to native English speakers, they still rate their abilities high, as if this mark is given in a different, L2 context. The teachers appear to reflect in similar ways: they hold on to the norm-providers for English as being the native speakers, and thus reflect a standard language ideology for English, yet they overtly state that the main goal for learning English in Swedish schools is communicative. This is comparable to Pilkinton-Pihko's (2013) argument that 'perceived clarity or intelligibility' is the main focus of learning English.

Third, the phonetic studies (papers 4 and 5) show similarities and differences between the acoustics and perception of utterances of *OK* in Swedish and English, as spoken by Swedish L1 speakers. Informants design their English dependant on the audience and the speech situation, but also based on their ideology in relation to the English language. We are largely unaware of the influences of the informants and on whether they have a specific referee group or variety in mind, but the fact remains that if we assume that they use these resources in order to design their Swedish, we must also assume the same goes for their English. What makes the two situations different (beyond the language in itself) is that 1) the referees available to them may differ significantly from those available for Swedish, and 2) their knowledge of standard language ideology is presumably smaller for English.

5.3 How can/should we go about collating a description of English in Sweden?

There are many ways of approaching the study of a language x spoken by speakers with a different first/strongest language, in a country which does not have language x as an official language. One approach could be starting with large-scale phonetic/phonological studies on a macro level, with many different speakers and putting together a dictionary filled with the most common pronunciations of different words, and phones. Once this is done, comparisons with the L1 of the speakers should be made, in order to see to what extent L1 transfer is taking place. One would also need to normalise for age of onset, L1, age, proficiency and many other things; but of course, with a large enough population we would hope the description would be representative. But how,

then, do we go about collating this amount of data, even if we ignore the difficulties in accessing the number of speakers required? A joint activity such as the map-task will take us some of the way in the collection of interactional data. Other speech styles would undoubtedly be required in addition, in order to gain a broader picture of the speech across a continuum. But, even this will be limited to a certain number of lexical items and topics of conversation.

To my mind, the study of English in Sweden needs to be done on several levels, simultaneously, and researchers need to coordinate their efforts through networks and joint projects to a higher degree than is done today.

5.4 (Brexit and) Euro-English in Sweden and Germany

Modiano (2017a) argues for the use of Euro-English in the European English-learning classrooms, however this notion is largely rejected by the teachers surveyed in study 2. At least, rejected as a replacement for the variety they themselves use at present. If it was to be used as a complement, they would (largely) be interested in learning more about it. However, the Euro-English Modiano discusses involves "a European standard for lexical use, grammar, spelling and punctuation. Codifying the pronunciation of Euro-English, and at the same time recognizing regional variation" (Modiano 2017a:321). This would entail teachers having to learn a whole new standard to replace what they have been trained and schooled in, exactly what they do not want to do. What is interesting is that Modiano elsewhere (2017b:364) argues that Jenkins' (2017 in Modiano 2017b) definition of the use of L2 as "a 'complex adaptive system within a complexity theory' framework" is "far too intangible" for teachers in training; however, learning a new standard would not be an issue? Further, the idea of one Euro-English (even with recognition of regional varieties) seems somewhat far-fetched, seeing as there are many varieties of English currently in use across Europe. Crystal (2017:330) expresses that he is "perfectly happy to talk about Swedish English, French English, Chinese English, and so on, alongside more well-recognized notions of Australian English, Ghanaian English, and the like. By this I mean 'the kind of English I am going to encounter when I speak the language with fluent English speakers in Sweden, France, etc.'.", a view which is very close to my own: we are at a state where global (or, at least Western European) education, society, culture and the privileges we enjoy and have access to have given us an opportunity to develop a (in the case of Sweden) Swedish English which is different from French English, Chinese English, or even Danish English. Many of these privileges are to some extent partly enjoyed due to the EU, such as the free movement of labour, and others are to do with easy access to media and the internet – which Modiano seems to ignore when he argues that L2 speakers of English in the EU will lose access to

L1 English speaker intuitions (2017a:319). The teachers in study 2 also show us that while BrE and AmE are still very much present in their teaching as norms to which they and their pupils orient themselves (i.e. displaying norm-dependency, cf. Kachru 1992; Schneider 2014), a majority report using a mixture of the two – or in the case of Sweden, a 'neutral' or 'non-specific' variety. This may or may not, of course, be described as a Swedish English, a Euro-English, or something other entirely – future research will have to tell. Crystal continues by stating that "I don't care whether these speakers are L1 or L2. The critical question is: what English do I need in order to understand them, and they me? In the distant days when a single variety of English was the pedagogical norm, there was no issue. But the whole point of new Englishes (as well as old ones) is that they express local identities, and the forces that promote identity are by their nature in conflict with the forces that promote intelligibility, both within nations (in the form of accents and dialects) and between them." (2017:330), and here picks up on an important point: a single variety of English is no longer the overt pedagogical norm (in Sweden or Germany), and from the teacher responses in study 2 there is a move away from there being such a norm present covertly as well. It is, in some sense, an organic process in progress which may be taking more time than some would wish, but it is underway.

Modiano's (2017a; 2017b) argument that the English of Europe is a Euro-English presupposes *one shared* English across Europe, which simply does not exist. However, Modiano makes certain prediction on the language of Europe 'no longer being under the control of the British' – and looking at the changing context that for example English teachers in Germany and Sweden are adjusting to (changes in curricula, etc.) and their (and pupils') reported choices of varieties there is certainly a shift in the focal targets of the English taught in schools. When further considering the changing media availability and through this, the amounts and varieties of English pupils/speakers are coming into contact with and are being exposed to, we see something happening: perhaps a new(-ish) kind of globalisation is taking place. Of course, American and British-produced media content may still be dominating, but there is a more widespread *availability* of other contents, of other varieties on offer.

5.5   Standard language ideology, attitude and identity

In this section I will discuss the results of studies 2 and 3 (for the most part) in relation to the notions of standard language ideology, attitudes towards language and varieties, and speech as part of forming an identity as a speaker.

Teachers refer to groups of pupils (not surprising as they were not asked about individual pupils) and use exceptions from the rules as examples, such as "It would be different if a student was a Nigerian L1 speaker". By picking out

specific native varieties of English and saying it would be acceptable for a pupil to sidestep the norm of speaking BrE or AmE in the classroom context, the teacher associates these backgrounds with certain identities. It is never suggested that a pupil of Swedish origin should speak Sweden-English, or any other non-native/expanding circle variety of English. One teacher comments that "it would be odd for a pupil to speak Jamaican patois, unless of course they planned to live there or something" – here, the teacher accepts a future identity, someone who is planning to move somewhere, as a reason for using a variety other than BrE or AmE. This can be related to the notion of ethnic orientation (Hoffman & Walker 2010).

Informants (paper 3) position themselves in relation to *what they are not* by statements such as "You can't compare yourself to an adult academic", "Considering I'm not a native speaker" or "Considering I don't live there". Here, the informants appear to be creating their identity through counter-identity, in a similar approach to accommodating *away from* the speech of another. The adolescents do not, however, refer to their English as 'Swedish English' or Swenglish, meaning that while they show awareness and recognition of the fact that they do not sound 'native', they may want to avoid saying that they sound Swenglish. Similar to the findings from Norway in Rindal & Piercy (2013), this likely carries a stigma and associations to an identity with which they do not wish to identify. Again, there is a sense of the 'otherness', but a very nonspecific otherness in relation to which they form their identities as Swedish speakers of English.

Teachers of English in Sweden (and Germany) express standard language ideologies in regards to target varieties used in teaching and by pupils when they discuss the use of BrE and AmE pronunciation models as the more 'correct' or acceptable targets. While the materials in studies 2 and 3 are different in that the same questions are not used to elicit data from the pupils as from the teachers, this is nevertheless an important conclusion to be drawn when looking at the two articles side by side: teachers of English in Sweden have more strongly anchored standard language ideologies in regard to English than the pupils do. While teachers have more experience of using English, and more training in English and in reflecting about the language through their teacher training, their backgrounds are not radically different from that of the pupils: very few are native speakers of English or have spent considerable time in an English-speaking country. Standard language ideologies are thus manifested in the studies in different ways: on the one hand ideologies regarding Swedish (the pupils' strongest language) are strong, and there are few instances of ideologies expressed by pupils in regards to English; on the other hand, teachers with similar backgrounds as the pupils have developed strong standard language

ideologies for English, perhaps due to their training and a specific and developed interest in the language.

5.6   Referees as reference points

The audience design theory outlines that we design our speech in relation to our audience. This further includes non-present referees who we also consider when designing our speech. This concept of referee design is recurring in the studies included in this thesis, in different ways. The adolescents in paper 1 use referees to design their speech when they are recorded, they ask whether or not their teachers will listen to the recordings and whether they will be graded. This is an explicit display of planning ahead and considering the future and potential audience of their recordings. The adolescents further display some positioning towards referee groups both in interviews and map-tasks; perhaps more explicitly in the former when they are discussing their language proficiencies. It becomes evident in study 3 that they not only use referees when designing their talk; but also when they think or talk about their talk. If we are able to design our speech in relation to an absent referee, we will also have the ability to relate our ideas about our own linguistic behaviour and proficiencies to these referees.

Jumping back to paper 2, we find that some teachers report switching between different varieties of English depending on the topic taught. This can, of course, be considered or interpreted as the teacher stepping into and performing a specific (or unspecific) role, but it can also be thought of as a type of referee design; or a combination of the two. In studies 4 and 5, similarly, the adolescent informants make use of referees and the language ideologies available to them when they switch from Swedish to English, and display their English-speaking persona/identity.

5.7   The development of research methodology

One area where this thesis can contribute is in the development of data collection methodologies. Not least, perhaps, in the area of joint activities where informants are able to develop a set of rules (as appropriate) in order to create a situation where the vernacular can be elicited in a situation which informants find comfortable and informal.

5.7.1   The map-task as elicitation

Within the frame of this thesis, map-tasks were used with self-selected peer pairs in interaction as informants. These pairs were given the freedom to develop the set of rules which would govern their interaction; really, the only directives given by the researchers was that they would not be allowed to look at each other's maps. This attempt to keep researcher involvement to a minimum was

intended to allow for as natural and relaxed interaction as possible, given the recording equipment and researcher presence. Further research is required to test whether the same results would be achieved with interactants of, for example, different age groups or from different speech communities to one another.

It might be interesting to attempt to manipulate the maps in different ways. It has already been established (elsewhere in this thesis, and in paper 1) that some images need to be swapped out in the different maps in order to stimulate discussion, and further ensure there is repetition of the token words. What would happen if we make the image pairs similar across the different maps, or ensure they contain similar segmental tokens? What would happen if they belong to the same semantic fields/domains? In the material, there is at least one example of an information-receiver confusing a leopard with a tiger and continuing along the wrong route as a result. This makes the informants' task (to negotiate the map and reach the goal point) more difficult, but it helps us by ensuring that the informants have to backtrack through the maps in order to get back to the route and in doing so they repeat a number of tokens.

5.7.2 Reflections on language proficiencies and attitudes

While the background interviews in the SSG materials were not originally intended to investigate self-reflections concerning language proficiency, and even less, to investigate language attitudes and the construction of identity, purely asking informants to self-assess their proficiencies triggered reflections. These reflections illustrated how the informants build their responses on standard language ideologies (at different levels of consciousness), and on audience design by referring to absent ideal speakers (or referees). With these results in mind, how then could a study delving into language attitudes and identity construction in relation to language proficiency, audience design and language ideology be designed? The original questions asked informants to rate their proficiencies along a Likert scale, and any follow-up questions asked by researchers were sporadic and improvised, simply asked out of interest or to stimulate conversation. A more structured approach is of course the first step, asking for specific examples of proficiency in different situations, and asking informants to compare and contrast between their different languages and the different modes. This would require some thought, so as to ensure it does not become a repetitive, boring task for the informant.

A study focusing on the relationship between attitudes, identity and language ideology in relation to language proficiencies would be a valuable contribution to the realm of linguistic science in Sweden, not least considering it is such a multilingual setting.

5.8   Future work

What has become evident through my work with this thesis is that the connections between a person's beliefs about their knowledge of language together with the related cultural norms and how they design their speech need to be more thoroughly investigated and mapped. Based on the lessons and results from this thesis, it would be appropriate to attempt a taxonomy tracing how these and related concepts fit together. Using speakers who have L1 Swedish and L2 English provides an opportunity to contrast how the same speaker, highly proficient in their L2, considers aspects of language ideology in their different languages.

The SSG materials are vast, with 111 adolescent speakers recorded in both Swedish and English in the same interactional context. There is ample opportunity here to begin a description of spoken English in Sweden at a number of different linguistic angles, such as phonetic, lexical, syntactic and pragmatic. Of course, there are a number of other factors which are known to be important for speech and which cannot be excluded from such a description or even taxonomy, for example socioeconomic or gender factors or access to more than one language.

5.9   Concluding remarks

Results from the five studies in the thesis show that audience design and language ideology interact at different levels and in a multitude of ways, and that they are manifested both through stylistic variation and pronunciation of specific words, through reflections concerning language proficiencies, through teachers' questionnaire responses to questions surrounding target pronunciation models and varieties in and outside of the language classroom, and through investigation of a certain speech style in a very specific speech situation, namely a recording setting where a map-task is used to elicit certain speech sounds. The very fact that both audience design and language ideology can be traced through these diverse situations and using the different research methodologies indicates the importance of these concepts as underlying both design of and thoughts surrounding language.

Kapitel 6. Sammanfattning på svenska

6.1 Inramning

I den här avhandlingen undersöks olika aspekter av svenska storstadsungdomars tal utifrån ett sociolingvistiskt perspektiv. Bland annat används egenreflektioner och bedömningar av ungdomarnas språkfärdigheter samt lärares åsikter kring och erfarenheter av att undervisa i engelska som andraspråk. Uttal och användning av engelskan hos ungdomar är av särskilt intresse, eftersom Sverige anses ha ett stort antal människor med mycket goda kunskaper i engelska. En rad olika metoder används i avhandlingen, såsom en kombination av akustisk (segmentell och suprasegmentell) och pragmatisk analys, språkdidaktiska och pedagogiska metoder, kvantitativ analys av reflektioner kring språkfärdigheter, och analys av kopplingen mellan perception och pragmatik.

Genom avhandlingens fem studier, som mestadels baseras på interaktionell data, kan vi spåra begreppen audience design och språkideologi. Ett grundantagande som görs är att språkanvändare designar sin stil på olika sätt i olika situationer och kontexter. Det som ligger till grund för dessa stilval är språkanvändarnas åsikter, kunskap och förståelse för språkideologier. Språkanvändare bär alltså med sig en uppsättning språkideologier, det vill säga övertygelser kring normer och regler som relaterar till språk. Språkideologier kan ta sig uttryck på olika sätt beroende på den kontext där språkanvändarna har tillägnat sig och använder språket, deras erfarenheter av att använda språket på olika nivåer och med hjälp av olika stilar, samt deras kunskap kring kulturella normer kopplade till språk. En typ av språkideologi är standardspråkideologin, vilken generellt sett är associerad med preskriptiva övertygelser i fråga om lingvistisk standard och korrekthet (Milroy 2001).

Förståelse för och erfarenhet av (standard)språkideologier kan påverka hur en språkanvändare använder språket. På ett liknande sätt påverkas stilvalen en språkanvändare gör vid en viss tidpunkt av en rad andra faktorer som relaterar till miljön och kontexten kring den aktuella talsituationen. Dessa involverar samtalsämne, den fysiska miljön, och vilka som talet riktas till, dvs. publiken. Detta sammanfattas av Bell (1984; 2001) som *audience design*, det vill säga att en talare designar sitt tal beroende på omgivningen. Publiken kan bestå av olika potentiella mottagare som är mer eller mindre aktiva i interaktionen, och som därmed har mer eller mindre påverkan på talstilen. Talaren själv refereras till som *1st person speaker*, och mottagaren av talet som alltså har störst påverkan kallas *2nd person addressee*. *Auditors* är lyssnare som är godkända av talaren, *overhearers* är kända men inte godkända parter i samtalet. Andra som inte är kända av talaren men som kan höra samtalet kallas *eavesdroppers*. *Referees* kallas de andra parter som inte är närvarande och inte heller har möjlighet att

höra samtalet, men som talaren på något sätt relaterar till, till exempel kan de tillhöra en talargrupp som talaren gärna vill associeras med och som de därför använder när de designar sin talstil.

Avhandlingens fem artiklar relaterar på olika sätt till fem forskningsmål eller riktpunkter, som utvecklas i 6.1.1-6.1.5 nedan.

6.1.1 Interaktion mellan audience design och språkideologi

Det första forskningsmålet formuleras som "att utforska sätt på vilka audience design och språkideologier interagerar och manifesteras i olika aspekter av språk" (*To explore ways in which audience design and language ideology interact and are manifested in different aspects of language*). Detta mål återkommer i alla avhandlingens artiklar.

I artikel 1 undersöks med hjälp av audience design hur ungdomar formar sin talstil i en specifik map-taskinteraktion. I artikel 2 ser vi engelsklärares standardsspråksideologier genom enkätsvar kring deras tankar, åsikter och erfarenhet av användning av olika språkvarieteter inom och utanför klassrummet. I artikel 3 undersöks ungdomars spontana egenreflektioner kring sina språkfärdigheter, och hur dessa reflekterar både audience design och språkideologier. Artiklar 4 och 5 undersöker produktion av fonemet /k/ i ordet OK, och hur detta relaterar till språk, pragmatisk funktion, roll i interaktionen, och audience design.

6.1.2 Metod för datainsamling

Det andra forskningsmålet är "att undersöka sätt att elicitera robust data för sociofonetiska och sociolingvistiska studier, och att få en större förståelse för insamlade data" (*to explore ways of eliciting good, robust data for sociophonetic or sociolinguistic study, and to gain a fuller understanding of the data once collected*). Detta mål relaterar till artikel 1, där insamlingsmetoden map-task använts för att samla in långa vokaler i svenska och klusiler i engelska. Här har informanterna i par fått instruktionen att den ena, som har en karta med en rutt uppritad, ska beskriva rutten för sin vän som har fått en karta som är lite annorlunda utformad. Kartorna återfinns i Appendix. Genom att använda oss av grundantagandena i audience design har vi analyserat interaktionen mellan ungdomarna för att få en idé om hur metoden kan förbättras för att effektivisera insamlingsmetoden samtidigt som vi tillgodoser sociolingvistikens grundantagande kring ett *vernacular* eller avslappnad, informell talstil. Vi använder oss även av intervjuer med några av informanterna som i efterhand får reflektera kring formaliteten i inspelningssituationen.

Resultaten visar på att vi uppnår en relativt informell eliciteringssituation, men att inspelningsutrustningen och till viss del forskarens närvaro påverkar. Att informanterna (mestadels) arbetar i par med en vän, samt att vi befinner oss

i en miljö de känner till bidrar till en avslappnad talstil. Vi låter informanterna sätta reglerna för interaktionen i så stor utsträckning som möjligt. Efter att vi gett dem inledande instruktioner försöker vi dra oss tillbaka, och svarar relativt svävande på frågor kring frågor som uppstår längs vägen. Informanterna får på så sätt möjlighet att forma interaktionen, bland annat genom att tilldela olika audience-roller. Vi finner även att ämnet kan manipuleras på olika sätt för att skapa olika sorters interaktion under inspelningen, ett exempel på detta är att byta ut bilder istället för att lämna ett tomt utrymme på den ena kartan: detta stimulerar konversation och även upprepning av de specifika målorden.

6.1.3 Språkanvändare i klassrummet: reflektioner

Det tredje forskningsmålet formuleras som "att undersöka vilka reflektioner talare av engelska i språkklassrummet (lärare och elever) uttrycker i relation till språkfärdighet, språkvarieteter och uttal" (*to find out what reflections speakers of English in the language learning classroom (teachers and pupils) have in regards to language proficiency, language varieties and pronunciation*). Detta mål relateras till artiklarna 2 och 3. I artikel 2 reflekterar lärare kring sina egna och elevernas färdigheter och val av stil och varietet i engelska, och här återspeglas vissa av deras språkideologier. Lärarna ger intryck av att se brittisk och amerikansk standardengelska som de mest korrekta formerna att lära ut, men verkar samtidigt vara i konflikt mellan dessa inlärda, standardsspråksideologiska mål å ena sidan och didaktiska ideal kring kommunikation som språkundervisningens mål å andra sidan. Vissa av lärarna rapporterar även användning av olika varieteter av engelska beroende på huruvida det gäller talat eller skrivet språk, samt beroende på om det gäller deras professionella eller privata språkanvändning – det vill säga, styrt av audience design.

I artikel 3 reflekterar ungdomar spontant kring sin egenrapportering av språkfärdigheter, efter att de ombetts skatta dessa på en skala från 1 (mycket dåliga) till 5 (mycket bra), för de olika modaliteterna att skriva, att tala, att förstå, och att läsa. Dessa spontana reflektioner speglar både (standard)språkideologier och referee design, genom att de jämför sina språkfärdigheter med andra talare eller grupper av talare. Reflektionerna ser olika ut beroende på vilket av sina språk de talar om. När det gäller svenska använder de sig till exempel av andra talare (till exempel "en vuxen akademiker") som referees, medan de i sina reflektioner kring engelska snarare relaterar till den större gruppen "modersmålstalare". Vår slutsats är att informanterna använder sig av referee design även när de *talar om* sitt språkanvändande och sina språkfärdigheter, inte bara när de designar sin talstil i specifika situationer. Vidare hävdar vi att de här ungdomarna inte ger uttryck för standardspråksideologier på samma sätt i sina olika språk, och att detta beror på

att dessa inte är lika välutvecklade för de olika språken. För att utveckla och ta till sig alla aspekter av en standardspråksideologi behöver en språkanvändare bland annat ha tillgång till en stark talargemenskap där språket används och de kan tillgodose sig normerna som språket kopplas till. De behöver även ha tillgång till en större språkgemenskap, till exempel genom erfarenhet att leva i ett samhälle där språket talas, samt formell utbildning och tillgång till skriftspråk i språket i fråga. Därtill krävs en tydlig prestige- eller refereegrupp att förhålla sig till, som idén om den vuxna akademikern som den mest avancerade språkanvändaren.

6.1.4 Ungdomars engelska i Sverige

Det fjärde forskningsmålet är "att beskriva några aspekter av andraspråksengelskan som talas av svenska ungdomar" (*to describe some aspects of L2 English as spoken by Swedish adolescents*). Detta mål relateras tydligast till artiklarna 4 och 5, där ungdomars produktion av ordet OK undersöks, samt artiklarna 2 och 3 där reflektioner och enkätsvar speglar ungdomarnas användning av och förhållande till engelska. Resultaten av artikel 5 visar på skillnader i uttal av /k/ i ordet OK, beroende på språk men även beroende på talarroll. När ungdomarna pratar svenska, och specifikt i rollen som informationsgivare, så använder de ett större antal allofoner till /k/ än i engelska. En ytterligare skillnad är deras försvagningsmönster av klusilen /k/ i de olika språken: för svenska försvagas den tonlösa klusilen både genom frikativisering och påslagen fonation, det vill säga förändring av artikulationssätt och även toningsgrad. För engelskan är fonation mindre vanligt. Dessa skillnader kan tolkas som att talstilen i den svenska kontexten är mer avslappnad, taltempot kanske är högre, och att ungdomarna är mer bekväma och därför använder en större repertoar av allofoner – eller att de helt enkelt har tillgång till en större repertoar i svenskan än i engelskan.

6.1.5 Samband mellan fonetik och pragmatik samt språk

Det femte forskningsmålet formuleras som "att koppla några aspekter av segmentell och prosodisk fonetik i förstaspråkssvenskan och andraspråksengelskan hos svenska ungdomar till pragmatisk kunskap" (*to connect some aspects of segmental and prosodic phonetics in L1 Swedish and L2 English spoken by Swedish adolescents to pragmatic meaning*). Detta mål är närmast relaterat till artiklarna 4 och 5. Här ser vi att grundtonsfrekvensens kurva kan bidra med ledtrådar till betydelsen av diskurspartikeln OK på svenska, på så sätt att en sjunkande frekvens verkar indikera *medhåll*, medan en stigande verkar indikera *tvivel*. Lyssnare verkar använda sig av grundtonsfrekvensens kurva för identifikation av ordets pragmatiska funktion när de hör ordet utan kontext. De använder den fallande kurvan som indikation på just medhåll i

svenska, men den stigande kurvan används som indikation på att talarens intention är *fortsätt prata*. Lyssnare är bättre på att identifiera de svenska produktionerna av ordet OK än de engelska, vilket kan bero på att de förväntar sig att höra svenska snarare än engelska, eller att det inte finns något särskilt i uttalet som signalerar vilket språk ordet uttalas på. När det gäller segmentella drag verkar detta bero på bland annat talarroll, och eventuellt även taltempo. Vi ser att när talarna har rollen som informationsgivare så använder de en större variation av allofoner än i rollen som informationsmottagare. Detta kan relatera till grad av livlighet eller performans i talarrollen.

6.2 Generella slutsatser

Överlag kan vi genom studierna i den här avhandlingen se att audience design och språkideologi interagerar på olika nivåer och på olika sätt, och manifesteras genom både talstil och uttal i specifika ord, genom reflektioner kring språkfärdigheter, genom lärares enkätsvar kring uttalsvarieteter i och utanför klassrummet, och även genom en viss talstil i en väldigt specifik talsituation, nämligen en inspelningssituation där map-task används för att elicitera produktion av vissa språkljud. Ett lämpligt nästa steg är att ta fram en preliminär taxonomi över relationen audience design-språkideologi och vidare forskning i ämnet.

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APPENDIX

Appendix

The maps on the next three pages which Gross and I developed and used to collect the map-task recordings in the SSG corpus. Each map pair consists of one map given to the information-giver (at the top of each page), containing a route which the information-giver was instructed to describe to their peer, the information-receiver. The information-receiver's version of the map (at the bottom of each page) is slightly different to the other, and contains no drawn route. The first two map pairs were designed to elicit the long Swedish vowels, and the last map pair was designed to elicit alveolar and velar plosives in English. The maps were drawn by Emeli Höcks.

START

START
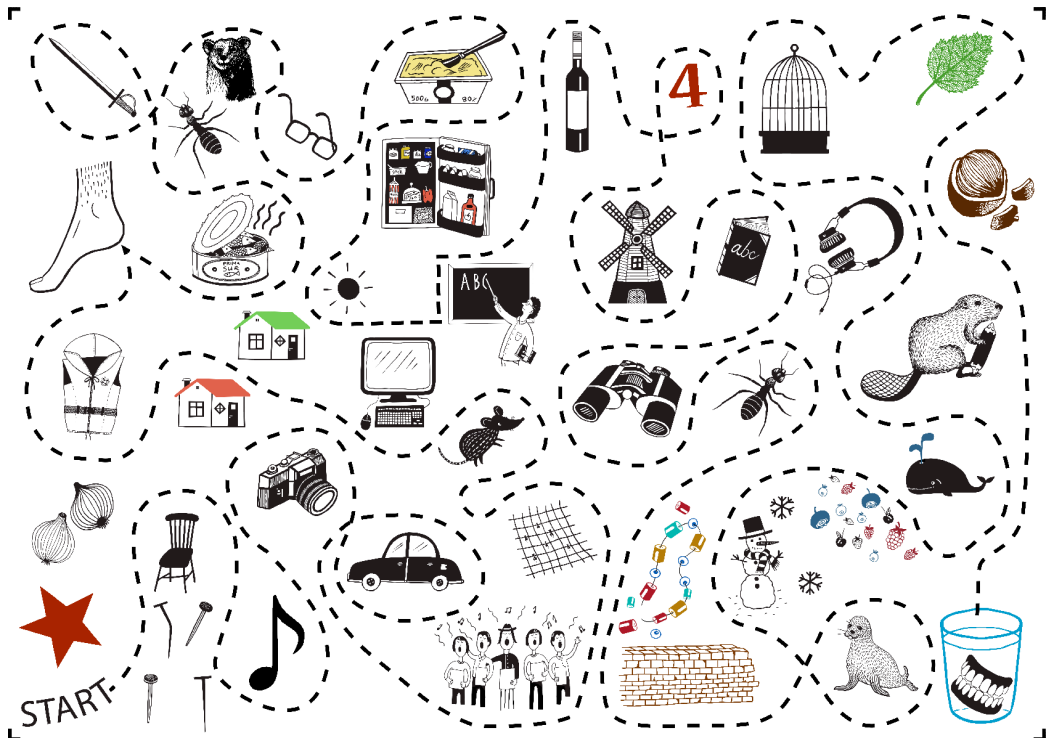
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