WHY DOES *VESTJYSK* SOUND BOORISH AND *KØBENHAVNSK* COOL?
A language attitudes study among adolescents in the town of Holstebro in western Jutland

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This study is a language attitudes investigation among a group of adolescents from the town of Holstebro in Western Jutland, Denmark. It is based on the assumption that language attitudes have an influence on the ongoing language change in Danish. A language change that has resulted in a very linguistically standardized landscape in Denmark where the only major difference left is the varying intonation patterns (Kristiansen 2001).

In the language attitudes study in Holstebro the aim was to investigate the adolescents' attitudes to their own way of speaking or the local variety (LV), *københavnsk* which will be defined as modern Copenhagen speech (MS), and *rigsdansk*, the conservative Copenhagen speech (CS). The study consists of two parts: two questionnaires and four group interviews, thus, it consists of both a quantitative and a qualitative approach.

The language attitudes study

The study presents a group of subjects with a number of Danish varieties in order to elicit their attitudes to these varieties. The aim is crudely speaking to find out whether the subjects are positive or negative towards the presented varieties and thus whether some varieties are associated with more prestige than others.

Subconsciously and consciously elicited attitudes

The study is designed to bring forth two levels of attitudes: 1) *subconsciously* elicited attitudes, which means that the subjects are not aware of the language differences being the aim of the study when answering the questionnaire designed for this part of the study – the Speaker Evaluation Experiment (SEE), 2) *consciously* elicited attitudes, which means that the subjects are aware that language differences are the aim of the study when answering the questionnaire designed for this part of the study – the Label Ranking Task (LRT).

The speaker evaluation experiment
This part of the study uses a verbal guise technique (Garret 2005) designed to extract subconsciously elicited language attitudes. In short, the subjects think they are evaluating the voice samples on a number of personality traits, but these evaluations are taken to express their attitudes towards varieties represented by voice samples. In the method used it is of crucial importance that the subjects are kept unaware of the differences in language as the aim of the study, and it is a prerequisite that the evaluational pattern is ordered in such a way that the four voices representing a variety are evaluated rather correspondingly.

The questionnaire designed for the subconsciously elicited attitudes is accompanied by 12 voice samples representing three different Danish varieties: the LV, the MS, and the CS. These 12 voices are recordings of 12 different persons (roughly the same age as the subjects) so that each variety is represented by two female and two male voices.

The label ranking task
In the label ranking task the subjects are asked to rank a given number of varieties with 1 being the one they like the most. Here the consciously attitudes towards the (stereotypical) varieties represented in the LRT are brought forth.

The group interviews
As an addition to this quantitative approach I conducted three qualitative interviews each with a group of four informants selected among the subjects. During the interviews the presented varieties (the LV, the CS, and the MS) are discussed as well as other Danish varieties appearing during the interviews. The purpose is to get the informants to discuss their own attitudes to and stereotypes about the represented varieties. The interviews were afterwards coded for utterances about the relevant varieties.

The varieties

In the town of Holstebro a regionally or locally influenced Danish standard is spoken by the adolescents. Almost only prosodic features differs it from the other regionally or locally spoken varieties of the Danish standard (Kristiansen & Monka 2006). As a starting point, I assumed that this local variety was called *vestjysk* in local terms since this was the common term when I myself grew up in Holstebro. However, the results show that even though *vestjysk* is still relevant, the subjects to a further degree considered *midtjysk* as their own variety. This means that both *midtjysk* and *vestjysk* are considered as the local variety and that they are both relevant in this study. In the LRT both *midtjysk* and *vestjysk* are represented, and the voice samples from Holstebro are labelled LV in the SEE.

The two other relevant varieties are the CS or conservative Copenhagen speech and the MS or modern Copenhagen speech which both represent the Danish standard variety. Studies have shown that Copenhagen speech is spreading as the Danish standard (Kristiansen 1992, Pedersen 2003, Kristensen 2003), and other studies have shown, that this Danish standard is split in a conservative (CS) and a modern (MS) standard (Kristiansen 1999, 2001).

In the results from the four group interviews, a fourth variety is incorporated to account for the stereotypes and attitudes discussed during the interviews. This fourth variety is a rather broad term that covers more localized or dialectal *jysk*, than what the informants in the interviews consider themselves to be speaking. During the interviews the LV, is referred to as the informants own language use, the CS as *rigsdansk*, the MS as *københavnsk*, and the more localized or dialectal *jysk* is either referred to simply as *jysk* or a given variety such as *vestjysk*,[1] but I choose to gather them all under the term *jysk*.

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[1] That *vestjysk* is both used as a term for the more dialectal variety than what the subjects consider themselves to be speaking (the interviews) and as a term for the variety that they indeed consider themselves to be speaking (the LRT), is a bit confusing, but it is in both cases a stereotype which is defined in use. Thus, it covers both terms in the two different approaches.

Analysing the results
The results of the two questionnaires are either statistically analysed with the computer program SPSS or through percentage calculations or even through simple counting. The latter two are also two of the main tools in the analysis of the interviews. The statistic significance used in the quantitative analyses is divided into four levels: $p<.10$ (#), $p<.05$ (*), $p<.01$ (**), and $p<.001$ (***). Where $p.<.10$ (#) is to be understood as the least significant level and $p<.001$ (***) as the most significant level.

Thesis statement

Through the studies and analyses of the results I wish to answer the following questions:

i. Are the language attitudes expressed by the adolescents in Holstebro similar to the attitudes expressed by other Danish adolescents (LANCHART studies – Kristiansen 2007)?

ii. Can the results of the qualitative interviews add to the quantitative results from the questionnaires?

iii. Do the language attitudes play a role in the ongoing language change in Danish?

THEORY

Language, attitudes and change

The starting point for studying language attitudes is the assumption that language attitudes are a vital part of communicating and how communication is processed and an important factor in language change as well.

Language is not just a tool for the exchange of information but also an important part of creating and sustaining relationships between people, and as such it not only conveys facts but also reflects the identity of the users through tone of voice, accent, word choice, etc. (Trudgill 1995: 2). All these factors trigger an evaluation in the receiver, which goes beyond the informative content of the words (Bradac 1990: 403). Language is both about what is being said and how it is being said and in totals this presents an image of the speaker (Kristiansen 2003: 279).

Thus, language is part of the speakers' ongoing identity construction, which is a dynamic but also very situated process. In a given situation, the choice of (linguistical) behaviour is based on the prevailing norms and values in the social space which makes up the situational context (Tajfel 1972: 100). What a speaker says and how it is said, is contextually conditioned by the situation and the other participants, and the same goes for the speakers' interpretation of both the situation and the other participants (Kristiansen 2003: 281-282). To sum up, language plays a prominent role in social evaluations and at the same time it is the tool for expressing these evaluations (Bradac 1990: 402). It may even be claimed that language is the single most important factor in social evaluations (Bradac et. al. 2001: 146), and simultaneously these evaluations are part of the structure of the social practices that language is embedded in.

All this demonstrates that language is a social thing, it is socially embedded and conditioned, and therefore social factors, like attitudes, also play a vital role in language change. Aitchison calls the two factors involved in language change

"causes" and "triggers" (2001: 153), the first being internal, linguistic factors, and the former being external, social factors. Kristiansen and Jørgensen speak of objective and subjective factors, and of the subjective factors being the driving force behind language change (2005: 287). Thus, language attitudes are an important factor in language change, but it appears that only the subconsciously elicited attitudes matter (Kristiansen forthcoming-a: 1).

Group identity
Members of a group do not necessarily need to have anything else in common than that they identify as members of the group (Tajfel 1978: 402), which means that they may not share any characteristics other than that they relate themselves to a common denominator such as nationality or the support of a certain football team. This relationship is called an in-group. The group is so to speak defined from within, i.e. the members feel they have something in common. A group membership can also be assigned form without. That is, the members of a group are defined as such by others outside the group in question. A label like "foreigner" could be such a group membership assigned to the members by people who define themselves in opposition to the group. This is a so called out-group and it is often defined in relation to or from within an in-group. In my qualitative interviews the informants often define people from the island of Zealand as Copenhageners even though they may not come from Copenhagen. The informants thus define Copenhageners as an out-group in relation to their own in-group defined by their common identity of coming from Holstebro and Jutland. In both in- as well as out-groups the membership is emotionally rooted (Tajfel 1978).

Group constitution is – like the creation of identity – a dynamic process and the membership of a given group does not necessarily exclude the membership of other groups. The fact that a person can be a member of a number of different groups means that group identity is similar to wearing and changing clothes according to situation and relevance (Tajfel 1978: 426). A certain group membership or group identity is only applicable

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in contexts where it may be relevant. The group memberships are part of the identity construction of the individual members – it is their group identity – and in return the members contribute to the construction of the groups. This ongoing production and reproduction is an internal and hermeneutic relationship:

> The social setting of intergroup relations contributes to making the individuals what they are and they in turn produce this social setting; they and it develop and change symbiotically (Tajfel 1972: 95).

As mentioned, group identity is situated and context dependent and this symbiotic relationship between a group and its members is conditioned by whether the given group membership is pertinent in the given situation. For instance, it is probably very pertinent to position yourself as a German or a Dane when nationalities or differences between nation states are discussed, whereas it is less relevant to position yourself as a chess player or a chef. In this study, the point of interest is Danish and the regionally (geographically) conditioned differences, and, since the subjects are from Jutland and they often position themselves in relation to Copenhagen, the groups of *jyder* (persons coming from Jutland) and *københavnere* (persons coming from Copenhagen) are highly relevant as social categories.

Groups exist in relation to each other and the membership of one can be either a positive or a negative label depending on group membership and intergroup relations. The evaluation of a given group is thus also a comparison between groups, but the evaluation is only fitting in the particular context and only meaningful when it is of relevance to a group of which you are a member (Tajfel 1978: 444).

Evaluations of or comparisons between groups switch the focus from the individual to the group as a whole thus associating the individual with the group to a degree that the group practices and specifying features are ascribed regardless if they adhere to the person or not (Tajfel 1978: 428). In the case with the two social categories *jyder* and *københavnere*, differences between linguistical features trigger dissimilarities in

the evaluations of the speakers' personality traits. The differences in the evaluations reflect the differences in the value attribution of the two groups, the different stereotypes ascribed.

Stereotypes

Social categorising means that certain characteristics, features or personality traits are emphasized to enhance the differences between the groups and the categories in which they are conceptualized (Maegaard 2007: 41). Certain characteristic features are stereotyped in order to define and organize the groups in relation to each other. Hogg & Abrams (1996) defines a stereotype:

> Stereotypes are generalisations about people based on category of membership. They are beliefs that all members of a particular group have the same qualities, which circumscribe the group and differentiate it from other groups (Hogg & Abrams 1996: 65).

A stereotype is based on group membership and it helps defining and delineating the group in relation to other groups. In the process of defining and delineating the group, it is very common to use positive stereotypes about the in-group and negative stereotypes about the out-group(s) (Hogg & Abrams 1996: 65).

Tajfel (1978) lists six universal principles concerning stereotypes:

1. People show an easy readiness to characterise vast human groups in terms of a few fairly crude 'traits' or common attributes.
2. These categorisations tend to remain fairly stable for fairly long periods of time.
3. They tend to change to some extent, slowly, as a function of social, political or economic changes.

4. They become much more pronounced and hostile when social tensions between the groups rise.
5. They are learned early and used by children before the emergence of clear ideas defining the groups to which they apply.
6. They do not present much of a problem when little hostility is involved, but are extremely difficult to modify in a social climate of tension and conflict. (Tajfel 1978: 427)

Stereotypes are a vital part of social categorization, i.e. ascribing a given person to a certain social category means that the stereotypes adhering to the category are attributed to the person as well (Tajfel 1978: 428). Labelling a person as for instance *københavner* means that the stereotypes adhering to the social category of *københavnere* are attributed to the person whether she actually possesses these or not.

Stereotypes and language attitudes
The study of language attitudes is to a large extent the investigation of the subjects' "stereotypes, prejudice, and personal beliefs" (Garret et. al. 2005: 40). These are all socially conditioned and learned through the production and the reproduction of social categorizations, or as Garret et. al. puts it:

> Attitudes are not just values seen in the somewhat abstract dimensions based on correlated groupings of scales (e.g. 'social attractiveness'), but are to be found in cultural images and resonances (Garret, Williams & Evans 2005: 38-39).

These categorizations or stereotypes are often quite established and difficult to change but the attitudes themselves are situational and context dependent. Billig (1991) is concerned with how people use different "interpretative repertoires" in different interactions:

> (...) people use complex, and frequently contradictory, patterns of talk; they will use different 'interpretative repertoires' to accomplish different functions. (...) In different interactions, and at different junctures within the same interaction, speakers will be using different forms of talk to accomplish different sorts of tasks (Billig 1991: 15-16).

The stereotypes are a part of the "interpretative repertoire" and as such they are a resource available to the speaker in any given situation – but only the relevant part of the entire repertoire will be drawn upon. It is very similar to the function of group memberships where only the relevant memberships in the given situation are applicable. Different selections of stereotypes are at the speakers' disposal in different contexts as the foundation for forming and expressing language attitudes.

In the comparison of two social categories or groups – like for instance *jyder* and *københavnere* – language is the most salient factor in distinguishing between the two (Bradac et. al. 2001). In the evaluation of them, the linguistic features are stereotyped and, along with other stereotypes adhering to the given category, are attributed to the speaker who thus reflects the group through her membership. These stereotypes therefore have social implications, and in Denmark a widely recognized stereotype is that of a dialect speaker of *vestjysk* (spoken in the western part of Jutland) as being poorly educated and probably employed in agriculture.

The proposition of this study is that the attribution of stereotypes and social identity is a crucial component of language change and thus it is very important to expose that categorization and stereotyping are connected to language variation (Maegaard 2005: 56). A certain variety can be categorized as prestigious or non-prestigious, and this categorization is of consequence to when and where the variety is appropriate and how it may develop. For instance it may not be appropriate to speak in dialect in advanced educational

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institutions and thus dialect speaking has no future in this part of the society.

Often the evaluation based on these linguistical features and stereotypes are made within the first few seconds of a speech and this first impression of the speaker may be hard to overcome or change. Stereotypes and category memberships are established in great parts of a society (Hogg & Abrams 1996: 65-66) where they may appear as common sense assumptions (Fairclough 2001: 64). Stereotyping is part of the categorization of both out- and in-groups (Maegaard 2007: 41) and as such it plays an important role in the identity construction – both in defining oneself and delineating in relation to others. Since language is a major factor in the situational positioning in a given context, language variation and change is closely connected to stereotyping and categorization.

The study of language attitudes – combining approaches

Language attitudes are composed by several factors: knowledge of the relevant varieties, biases and preferences regarding different ways of speaking, emotional connection to some varieties and none to other, prior experiences with some varieties and the lack of experiences with others, which types of linguistical behaviour are familiar to the person and which are not, and so forth. In addition to that, the entire test situation is a major factor which may influence the answers given. The design of the study is crucial in the effort to minimize these possibly interfering effects.

In my study of language attitudes a method that benefits from the combination of different approaches is used. First, an overt (direct inquiry) and a covert (indirect inquiry) approach are combined in the Kristiansen model (Gregersen & Quist 2009), and as a supplement to these quantitative approaches a qualitative approach, group conversations, is employed as well. This means that the results are going to reveal different levels of attitudes – which is why the plural term attitudes are prominent in this study.

The overt and covert approach

An overt approach – for instance a Label Ranking Task (LRT) – where several varieties are ranked according to preference as in this study, may not necessarily reflect the subjects' actual language use or the full image of their attitudes (Kristiansen 2004: 187). Instead it may reflect the subjects' biases or what they relate themselves to and what they consider to be the appropriate attitudes to exhibit. The overtly elicited attitudes are thus influenced by a certain amount of self censorship (Kristiansen 1999: 145) induced by societal norms or values for what is considered to be correct or proper speech. However, this does not mean that overtly elicited attitudes are not an essential part of the subjects' language attitudes and they are definitely relevant for this study.

In this study the covert approach is a Speaker Evaluation Experiment (SEE) where the target is the subjects' more private attitudes (Lambert 1967: 94). The proposition is that it is possible to distinguish between overtly and covertly elicited attitudes, and, whereas the overtly elicited are correlated with societal norms and values, the covertly elicited attitudes are more private and therefore more unofficial (Kristiansen et. al. 2002: 19) and as such not so directly influenced by societal norms and values – or at least influenced in a different way. The covertly elicited attitudes are covert because of the use of an element of guise. Lambert called his approach the Matched-guise technique (Lambert et. al. 1960, Lambert 1967) because it made use of a guise element in order to bring to light the subjects' private attitudes (more about this later). The use of a guise element makes the subjects think they evaluate something other than the actual object of the study. The idea is that the subjects' diverted awareness results in attitudes less influenced by societal norms and values and thus more private or on a different level.

It is no secret that directly and indirectly posed questions may offer very diverging results in this case concerning elicited attitudes (Kristiansen et. al. 2002: 19), and the two approaches can even produce (on the surface) contradicting results. This could be an indication that one or the other of the two is wrong,

but it should rather be taken as different levels of attitudes on different levels of awareness or consciousness (Giles 1988: 1076, Kristiansen et. al. 2002). This is why it is important to operate with both approaches in the study of language attitudes (Giles 1988: 1076).

The consciously and subconsciously elicited attitudes
The differences in the results of the overtly and covertly elicited attitudes occur because of the different levels of awareness or consciousness, i.e. whether the subject are conscious about and directed towards the object of study or not. In his work with the Kristiansen model, Kristiansen himself gives the following account of why both the level of conscious and *sub*conscious awareness are relevant to the study of language attitudes and why it makes no sense to talk about *un*consciously elicited attitudes:

> Distinctions which we are unconscious of do not play a part in our negotiation of social identity; we can only relate, affectively and behaviourally, to distinctions we perceive cognitively, to categories we know. This 'knowing something', and thereby the possibility of necessity of relating to it, can be conscious – or subconscious. In this sense, I think we may accept the view that our creation and recreation of sociolinguistic differences, as part of our engagement in social identity processes, is something that goes on largely beneath consciousness, i.e. *sub*consciously (Kristiansen 2004: 188).

Subconsciously elicited attitudes are cognitive reactions that are not directly salient in the consciousness, they are indirectly perceived since the awareness is directed at something else. The matter of salience is essential to the distinction between consciously and subconsciously elicited attitudes. Whether language differences as the aim of the study are salient to the subjects is a rudimentary condition for the differentiation

between consciously and subconsciously offered attitudes (Kristiansen 2003: 292, Kristiansen & Monka 2006: 2). When language differences are salient, it will undeniably influence the elicitation of attitudes (Bradac et. al. 2001: 148) since the subjects are prone to adjust their attitudes according to social desirability if provided with the opportunity:

> There are some well-documented biases that may prevent us accessing the stereotypes we seek to reveal. One of these is acquiescence bias, which may occur when respondents accommodate to what they sense are the researcher's preferred responses. (...) More central to our concerns here are social desirability biases. These can occur when respondents express the attitudes that they feel others would find less objectionable or more socially acceptable, rather than those they actually hold (Garret et. al. 2005: 39).

As mentioned earlier, these societally influenced attitude are still highly relevant for the study of attitudes, in particular in order to make a comparison between consciously and subconsciously elicited attitudes. Recent attitudinal research of Danish supports this since the subjects express both levels of attitudes, and these seem to correlate with two different aspects of the subjects' (folk) linguistical reality. Studies of the consciously offered attitudes produce results reflecting the predominant norms and values in the public sphere in Denmark concerning what is and what is not properly spoken Danish, which varieties are applicable in which contexts, and the art of the subjects' personal or emotional bonds to a certain geographical area and the variety spoken there – the so-called local patriotism (Kristiansen forthcoming: 4). This results in a more positive evaluation of the local variety in comparison with *københavnsk* (Copenhagen excepted) (Kristiansen & Monk 2006: 6), which opposes the general linguistical development of Danish as *københavnsk* is advancing as a Danish standard (Kristiansen 1992, forthcoming-a, Kristensen 2003, Pedersen 2003). The

results of the subconsciously elicited attitudes do correlate with the ongoing language change in Denmark (Maegaard 2001, 2005, 2007) since *københavnsk* here is more positively evaluated than the local variety.

Lambert's Matched-guise technique: evaluating the speaker
The matched guise element in Lambert's Matched-guise technique (1967, et. al. 1960) consists in two or more of the voice samples meant for evaluation being recordings of the same speaker reading a given text in different varieties or languages. The subjects are fully aware of the language differences as the aim of the study but they are unaware that two or more of the voice samples are in fact the same speaker. They are led to believe that each voice sample is read by a different person and thus think they are evaluating different speakers. The point is that the differences in the evaluations of the voice samples read by the same speaker are taken to reflect the attitudes towards the represented varieties or languages rather than speaker induced differences like tone of voice or gender. In both studies (Lambert 1967, Lambert et. al. 1960) recordings of a given text read out loud in both Canadian-French and Canadian-English were played to a group of Canadian-English speaking students at McGill University in Montreal. The results of both studies reveal a significantly more favourable evaluation of Canadian-English than of Canadian-French.[2]

The aim of the Matched-guise technique is to elicit the subjects' more private reactions to language differences in comparison to when they are asked directly about it. There is no

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[2] A number of Danish language attitudes studies have used the design of the Matched Guise-technique to a greater or lesser extent (for instance Ladegaard 1998, Maegaard 2001, Pedersen 1986). In these studies the approach is in principle the same: two or more of the voice samples are read or spoken by the same speaker while the subjects think they are all different speakers, and the differences in the evaluations are then taken to reflect the language differences. It should be mentioned that in the Ladegaard (1998) and the Maegaard (2001) studies, the subjects were not aware of language differences being the aim of the study.

reason to lead them to believe that they are evaluating anything else than language differences, since they are comparing the same speaker's different linguistical repertoires. This means that the subjects are informed that the study is about language differences from the beginning.

In the design of the Matched-guise technique, the endeavour to control and minimize the influence of all other factors than the language differences is embedded. Using the same speaker for two or more of the voice samples is an attempt to emphasize the language differences in the represented varieties or languages as the most influential factor in the subjects' evaluations, but this also means that the speaker is the one being evaluated and the differences in *her* representation of different varieties or languages. Thus, the speaker representing two or more of the voice samples has a great impact on the evaluation of the voice samples.

The Kristiansen model: evaluating the speech
In the Kristiansen model the guise element consists in the subjects evaluating voice samples without knowing that language differences are the aim of the study. It is therefore essential that the subjects are unaware of language differences as the intended purpose of the study since it is designed to elicit their covert or subconscious attitudes without the use of the same speaker for two or more of the voice samples.

In the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen 2007) a design is used where the subjects evaluate 12 different voice samples, from 12 different speakers, representing three different Danish varieties: the LV, the MS, and the CS. The subjects are unaware of the fact that the voice samples are representing these varieties, and they are just asked to evaluate them on eight semantic differential scales of personality traits. To insure the unawareness of the subjects a brief introduction is made without the possibility of asking questions, then the questionnaires are passed around and the answering starts. As another means of making sure that they are unaware of the purpose of the study, the subjects are asked, after finishing the questionnaire, what they think the questionnaire is about. If the questionnaire is

successfully carried out, the majority of the subjects will think that the aim is the personality of the speakers or first impressions of them. The results, however, will reveal if there is a pattern in the evaluations correlating with the represented varieties. If this is the case, the reasoning behind is that these patterns express attitudes towards the three varieties. The LANCHART studies of language attitudes (Kristiansen 2007) show a remarkable stability in the evaluational patterns of Danish adolescents, the four voice samples representing each variety are evaluated very similarly in all studies, and this is taken to reflect subjects' subconsciously elicited attitudes.

The design of the Kristiansen model is also meant to isolate the language differences as a determining factor for the subjects' attitudes from factors like tone of voice or gender, and this can only be said to be achieved if the four voice samples representing a variety are evaluated similarly to each other but differently than the eight other voice samples representing the two other varieties. If this is the case, then differences in the varieties can be regarded as the major factor in the evaluations of the subjects' evaluations. Another reason for using the design with different speakers for each voice sample is that it has not been possible to find native speakers of Danish with enough competence to speak two or more varieties of Danish convincingly (Giles & Kristiansen 1992: 23). Quist and Jørgensen (2002) carried out a study of native Danish speakers' attitudes to second language Danish where the subjects were asked to evaluate 12 voice samples spoken by 10 bilingual Turkish-Danes and two monolingual Danes. In this study they state that the recognition of language is so multilayered and on such a deep level that a speaker cannot authentically reproduce other varieties than her own. An actor or a speaker who tries to perform another variety than her own has not got the ability to embrace the entire complexity of the variety and thus, the voice sample does not come across as authentic.

Digressing: "closed"- or "open"-scaled questionnaire?
The Kristiansen model uses a so-called "closed" design: the questionnaire is composed of closed scales with predefined

keywords. The framework is more or less set and does not open up for independent interpretations from the subjects that go beyond the semantic differential scales and the additional comments (which are rarely given). This design is very well suited for gathering a great amount of data and analysing this data statistically. In this study I will use this framework for the questionnaire.

There are also advantages to gain from using a more open design. Pedersen (1986), Ladegaard (2002) and Maegaard (2005, 2007) all argue that an open design may provide new perspectives on the stereotypes and categories concerning the research object. In the design of the Kristiansen model there is an open question as supplement to the semantic differential scales that offers the subjects the opportunity to add comments about the voice samples. In my study only 121 additional comments were made out of a possible total of 1404 (if each subject gave one additional comment for each voice sample), which means an answering rate of just 8,62%.

In two of her studies (2005, 2007), Maegaard uses an open design for the questionnaires where the subjects only have to answer one question concerning what they think of the person speaking in the voice sample and it is then up to each subject how elaborated an answer she or he gives. This way the subjects themselves determine which stereotypes and categories are relevant for evaluating this particular person. A creative process that a set framework does not allow and a creative process that may bring new and for the subjects more relevant stereotypes and categories into focus.

An open design also avoid the question of which categories are relevant for the subjects and which are not as it is required in the design for a semantic differential scale. What the researcher associates with a certain word does not necessarily reflect the associations of the subjects and if it does not this may mean that the categorization is off and that following analyses are compromised.

Arguably, of course, any research that needs to have a basis in semantic coding may be susceptible to

culturally variable semantics. Extending our discussion in the previous section, a further analytical issue from our experience with keywords concerns cultural semantics at a wider (i.e. less local) level. Apparently identical lexical items can be quite variable in their meanings. (...) So, again, the cultural influences on the respondents are also important to keep in mind as one analyses keywords (Garret et. al. 2005: 49).

On the downside, data gathered with an open questionnaire are very complex and time consuming when it comes to processing them statistically. Maegaard (2005, 2007) uses the Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin 1998) to code the data for phenomenon and categorize them as preparation for a statistical analysis.

Categorizing the semantic differential scales into two dimensions
In their paper on "The Speech Evaluation Instrument" (1985), Zahn & Hopper conclude that three dimension were of particular relevance in categorizing the results of language attitudes studies. These are *social attractiveness*, *superiority* and *dynamism* (Zahn & Hopper 1985). The semantic differential scales used in the Kristiansen model are divided into two of these dimensions, superiority and dynamism, since they proved to be the most relevant to the subjects in the studies, but the third, social attractiveness or *sociability* (Kristiansen 2001), is kept across the two other dimensions with the scales *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy* (superiority) and *Nice – Repulsive* (dynamism). Thus the evaluations of the voice samples can be categorized as either belonging to the superiority or the dynamism dimension.

The LANCHART attitudes studies

Within the LANCHART project a number of attitudes studies using the Kristiansen model were carried out in five different

locations in Denmark: Copenhagen, Næstved, Vissenbjerg, Odder, and Vinderup.

The locations included in the LANCHART project.

In each location the relationship between the MS, the CS, and the LV was investigated (Kristiansen 2007), with the LV being the variety spoken in the nearest potential norm centre for language change (Copenhagen for Copenhagen, Næstved for Næstved, Odense for Vissenbjerg, Århus for Odder, Holstebro for Vinderup). In all location both subconsciously (SEE) and consciously (LRT) elicited language attitudes were studied. The results of the consciously elicited attitudes can be seen below.

Copenhagen is in this context an exception since there is no separate parallel to the LV. With this in mind a rather clear pattern is showing: the subjects rank the local variety/varieties higher than both *rigsdansk* and *københavnsk*, and they rank *rigsdansk* higher than *københavnsk*. This expresses what Kristiansen is referring to as local patriotism (forthcoming: 4) and a strong standard norm.

LRT in the LANCHART locations	
Copenhagen	1. Københavnsk (LV, MS) 3. Rigsdansk (CS)
Næstved	1. Sjællandsk (LV) 2. Københavnsk (MS) 3. Rigsdansk (CS)
Vissenbjerg	1. Fynsk (LV) 2. Odenseansk (LV) 3. Rigsdansk (CS) 6. Københavnsk (MS)
Odder	1. Østjysk (LV) 2. Århusiansk (LV) 3. Rigsdansk (CS) 4. Københavnsk (MS)
Vinderup	1. Midtjysk (LV) 2. Vestjysk (LV) 3. Rigsdansk (CS) Københavnsk (MS)

Table 1. Results of LRT for the parallels to the LV, the MS & the CS.

The results of the subconsciously elicited attitudes reveal quite a different image:

SUPERIORITY					DYNAMISM				
Intelligent					**Self-assured**				
Copenhag	CS	**	M		Copenhage	M	**	C	
Næstved	CS	**	M	**	L	Næstved	M	**	C	**	L
Vissenbjer	CS	*	M	**	L	Vissenbjer	M	**	C	**	L
Odder	CS	**	M	**	L	Odder	M	**	C	**	L
Vinderup	CS	**	M	**	L	Vinderup	M	**	C	**	L
Conscientious					**Fascinating**				
Copenhag	CS	**	M		Copenhage	M	**	C	
Næstved	CS	/	M	**	L	Næstved	M	**	C	**	L
Vissenbjer	CS	/	M	**	L	Vissenbjer	M	**	C	/	L
Odder	CS	*	M	**	L	Odder	M	**	C	**	L
Vinderup	CS	**	M	**	L	Vinderup	M	**	C	**	L
Goal-directed					**Cool**				
Copenhag	CS	/	M		Copenhage	M	**	C	
Næstved	M	/	CS	**	L	Næstved	M	**	C	**	L
Vissenbjer	M	/	CS	**	L	Vissenbjer	M	**	C	/	L
Odder	CS	/	M	**	L	Odder	M	**	C	**	L
Vinderup	CS	/	M	**	L	Vinderup	M	**	C	**	L
Trustworthy					**Nice**				
Copenhag	CS	/	M		Copenhage	M	*	C	
Næstved	M	/	CS	**	L	Næstved	M	*	C	**	L
Vissenbjer	M	/	CS	**	L	Vissenbjer	M	/	C	*	L
Odder	CS	/	M	**	L	Odder	M	**	C	**	L
Vinderup	CS	/	M	**	L	Vinderup	M	/	C	/	L

Table 2. Evaluations of varieties on eight scales reflecting two dimensions. Wilcoxon Signed Pair Test: *** = p <.001, ** = p <.01, * = p <.05, / = n.s., CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = the Local Variety.

Here the LV is relatively downgraded in comparison to both the MS and the CS. The MS fares better in the dynamism dimension, whereas the CS does better in the superiority dimension, even though the MS is gaining ground (see scales *Goal-directed* and *Trustworthy*). Here the local patriotism seems to have vanished entirely and the MS and the CS seem to be leading in each their social dimension.

As it shows here there is quite a difference between the results of the two approaches, and in combination, they seem to account for a more complex representation of language attitudes among Danish adolescents. Later on in this study I will compare the results with those of the LANCHART results and then go further into the differences and what they may mean.

The interviews

An effort is made to make the interviews progress more or less as group conversations, with the intention of making the situation at little more informal and thus easier for the informants to negotiate. Such an interview situation is never going to be completely relaxed and casual but I find it important to make this effort nonetheless and try to strive towards a more amiable atmosphere. The hard part for the interviewer is to control the course of the conversation without dominating it too much or intimidating the informants.

The interviews are "semi-structured interviews"[3] (Kvale 2005: 19). The aim of this type of qualitative is to get the participants to represent or account for their "life-world" in their own words and then submit this account to analysis. This kind of interview allows the participants a certain amount of autonomy when it comes to terminology and being narratively creative, and thus it opens up to the introduction of new applicable categories as well as the use of a folk linguistical terminology (Niedzielski & Preston 1999). Where Kvale argues for avoiding the participants' own reflections on their own accounts (Kvale 2005: 136), I set out to try to get my informants

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[3] My translation from Danish – red.

to discuss and relate themselves to their own language attitudes and the stereotypes they express. The reason for this is an effort to get both their own accounts and a critical stance to the stereotypes behind these accounts and at the same time a way of achieving an understanding of how the informants negotiate language attitudes and stereotypes concerning them. Through this I also hope to get a more folk linguistical terminology with terms that are relevant to and used by my informants.

The Grounded Theory
For the analysis of the qualitative interviews I apply Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin 1998). In Grounded theory, theory about the gathered data is derived from the data itself, which ensures a thorough and methodical analysis of the entire amount of data. Using such an inductive process of analysis is also meant as a method to avoid that prior given (and perhaps not suitable) interpretations are "forced" upon the data in the analysis.

In short, the Grounded theory is based on a meticulous coding for phenomena like utterances about different varieties, for instance. These phenomena are then conceptualized and grouped in categories, and these categories are then arranged according to their internal relations in dimensions, where they are also distributed in categories and subcategories within the dimensions. Finally, these dimensions are selectively coded with the purpose of creating a theory about the data.

METHOD

Here I will demonstrate how the study was carried out and go through the details of the design of the questionnaire and the set up for the qualitative interviews.

Location

The town of Holstebro was chosen as location for the study for three reasons: novelty, accessibility and comparability. Novelty, since there are no accounts of a similar study having been carried out in Holstebro before. Accessibility, since it is the town where I grew up and went to elementary school and gymnasium, I have reasonably good contacts within the educational system in the town, which may makes it easier to gain access to subjects. Comparability, since Holstebro is the potential norm-centre for Vinderup in the LANCHART language attitudes studies (Kristiansen 2007), it is interesting to see how the results of my study compare with the results of the LANCHART study.

The subjects and the informants

As I have already hinted at, I distinguish between subjects and informants in my study. The subjects are the 117 adolescents who answered the two questionnaires, and the informants are the 12 adolescents, chosen from the 117 subjects, who participated in the three group interviews.

I obtained permission to carry out my study at the Holstebro Elementary School (HbE) and the Holstebro Secondary School (HbS)[4] in March 2006. All in all it amounts to 79 HbE 8th and 9th grade students and 38 HbS first year students, 73 female and 44 male subjects aged 14 to 18. This means that there is a majority of 62,4% female subjects. When the two schools are viewed separately though, it is revealed that the HbS has a rather large majority of female subjects, 76,3%, whereas the HbE has a

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[4] Both school names are pseudonyms.

much smaller majority of only 55,7% female subjects. The HbE subjects are all between 14 and 16 years of age and the gender distribution in Holstebro in that age group in 2006 was 53,4% female and 46,6% male subjects (www.statistikbanken.dk/ BEF1A). The gender distribution among the HbE subjects is thus representative for this age group in Holstebro. To compare, the gender distribution in the age group 16-18 years of age (similar to the age of the HbS subjects) in Holstebro in 2006 was 49,9% female and 50,1% male subjects and the distribution among the HbS students is 76,3% female and 23,7% male subjects.

Design of the study

As mentioned, the study consists of two questionnaires, 12 voice samples and four group interviews. In the following, I will account for the design of these and my choices concerning the design.

Voice samples
The 12 voice samples that the subjects evaluate are representing the MS, the CS and the LV. They are grouped so that each variety is represented by four speakers, two female and two male speakers, and they were played to the subjects in the order seen below.

The eight voice samples from Copenhagen (MS & CS) I have borrowed from Maegaard's study of language attitudes in Århus in Denmark (2005). Maegaard recorded 55 speakers from four different secondary schools/high schools (*gymnasier* in Danish – red.), one in Århus and four in Copenhagen, and selected 12 of these recordings for her study based on how representative they were for the varieties under investigation.

The four Holstebro voice samples (LV) are chosen among 20 recordings of second year students at HbS made by Monka for the LANCHART study in Vinderup (for results see Kristiansen 2007). I participated in the selection of the four Holstebro/LV voice samples.

Voice samples
1. Ole (m) – CS
2. Alice (f) – MS
3. Mikkel (m) – LV
4. Asta (f) – CS
5. Jon (m) – MS
6. Mille (f) – LV
7. Niklas (m) – CS
8. Laila (f) – MS
9. Laurits (m) – LV
10. Caroline (f) – CS
11. Simon (m) – MS
12. Liv (f) – LV

In her study in Århus (2005), Maegaard made a table with linguistical characteristics (using Dania) for each of her voice samples and since she already described the MS and the CS voice samples (for a modified copy see appendix-table 1), I will only describe the LV voice samples and compare them to the MS and the CS voice samples here.

The LV voice samples particularly stand out in comparison with both the MS and the CS voice samples in the use of the words "læreren" ("the teacher"), "lærer" ("a teacher") and "jeg" ("I"). The word "læreren" is used by six of the voice samples (02 Alice, 05 Jon, 07 Niklas and 08 Laila – all MS and CS, 09 Laurits and 12 Liv – both LV). The two LV speakers both have an [ɹ] ending the word whereas the MS and the CS speakers have [ɔ] or [α] (just 05 Jon). "lærer" appears in 11 of the voice samples (10 Caroline is the exception) and the LV speakers primarily have and [a] in it (03 Mikkel and 12 Liv both have a case of [ȧ]) while all the MS and the CS speakers have [ȧ] (except 08 Laila who follows the same pattern as the LV speakers). "jeg" is used in eight of the voice samples (02 Alice, 04 Asta, 08 Laila and 11 Simon – all CS and MS, 03 Mikkel, 06 Mille, 09 Laurits and 12 Liv – LV) and where the MS and the CS speakers primarily have [α] (except for 04 Asta who has [a]) the LV speakers primarily have [a] (03 Mikkel only has one case of [a] but three cases of [α] though). (Building on Maegaard's

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table, I have made a similar table with the characteristics for the four Holstebro speakers as appendix-table 2).

It is in the intonation patterns though, that the major difference is found. The MS and the CS speakers follow the Copenhagen pattern where their intonation goes <u>down</u> on the <u>stressed</u> syllable and <u>up</u> on the following <u>unstressed</u> syllable, and the LV speakers follow the pattern for Juttish/*jysk* and goes <u>up</u> on the <u>stressed</u> syllable and <u>down</u> on the following <u>unstressed</u> syllable (Grønnum 2007).

In all 12 voice samples the speakers are telling about what they think makes a good teacher. This topic was chosen since it is rather relevant to both the speakers and the subjects alike, and concerning the study object, it is a semantically rather neutral topic. On the CD used for the study each voice sample last approximately 30 seconds followed by a 15 seconds pause before the next voice sample, and the subjects are supposed to evaluate the voice samples on semantic differential scales presented in the questionnaire.

The key point in this set up is that if the subjects evaluate the voice samples alike according to variety then this is to be taken as reactions to the language differences. Other factors, like voice pitch or semantic content, are insignificant for or at least less influential on the evaluations. The evaluational patterns are vital for this method and the use of both female and male voices both ensures that influence caused by gender is controlled and that possible gender caused differences in the evaluations can be examined.

The questionnaire for the <u>subconsciously</u> elicited attitudes
On the front page of the questionnaire there was a short introduction with instructions on how to fill it in and then a single page with scales for each of the 12 voice samples. There are eight scales with a semantic differential word pair and seven possibilities between them to put down a mark of evaluation of how *nice* or *repulsive*, for instance, the voice sample seems. This is the SEE. Beneath the eight semantic differential scales there is a question about which educational level the voice

sample might achieve, and at the very bottom there is an opportunity to make additional comments.

The eight semantic differential scales consists of word pairs representing personality traits and these are divided into a superiority and a dynamism dimension, with a "hidden" sociability dimension going across the two dimensions.

The semantic differential scales divided in dimensions		
	Superiority	**Dynamism**
	Conscientious<–>Happy-go-lucky (*Seriøs<–>Ligeglad*)	*Fascinating<–>Boring* (*Spændende<–>Kedelig*)
	Intelligent<–>Stupid (*Klog<–>Dum*)	*Self-assured<–>Uncertain* (*Selvsikker<–>Usikker*)
	Goal directed<–>Dull (*Målrettet<–>Sløv*)	*Cool<–>Uncool* (*Tjekket<–>Utjekket*)
Sociability	*Trustworthy<–>Untrustworthy* (*Til at stole på<–>Ikke til at stole på*)	*Nice<–>Repulsive* (*Flink<–>Usympatisk*)

The question concerning the predicted educational level offers four answering possibilities and the point of interest is whether the voice samples are evaluated differently because of their different varieties.

The possibility for additional comments is the only real "open" option in the questionnaire which offers the subjects the possibility of contributing with their evaluations based on their own categories or characterizations.

During the answering of the questionnaire for the subconsciously elicited attitudes, it is important that the subjects are unaware of language differences being the aim of the study and a thorough thought introduction is crucial to achieve this. In the HbE, I had to carry out the two questionnaires simultaneously in four different classes. To make this possible I had the teacher in each class introduce the questionnaire and for

that purpose I composed a step-by-step guide for the introduction. In the HbS, I introduced the study myself, but for the sake of comparability I followed the step-by-step guide as well.

The questionnaire for the <u>consciously</u> elicited attitudes
The questionnaire for the consciously elicited attitudes consists of four parts: a question concerning how standardized the voice samples seem, a question concerning whether the voice samples are from Holstebro or Copenhagen, a LRT where the subjects are supposed to rank different varieties, and finally some personal information about the subject.

In the question concerning the standardization of the voice samples, the subjects evaluate how standardized or *rigsdanske* each of the voice samples sounds on a seven-step scale. The purpose is to find out if any of the three represented varieties sound more standardized than the other to the subjects.

The question about geographical location of the voice samples has a control function of whether it makes sense to talk about the possible different evaluations as triggered by language differences. The subjects have to decide if they think each voice sample is from Holstebro or from Copenhagen. If they are quite capable at locating the voice samples correctly, it is taken as an indication of language differences as the primary trigger of different evaluations. The success criterion here is that at least 50 % of the subjects are able to locate the voice samples correctly (Kristiansen & Monka 2006: 13).

The LRT is the main question in this questionnaire and the results are meant to be directly compared with the results of the SEE. Here the subjects are presented with nine different Danish varieties and asked to rank them according to preference from 1 (*like the most*) to 9 (*like the least*). The nine varieties are: *østjysk*, *bornholmsk*, *midtjysk*, *sjællandsk*, *vestjysk*, *københavnsk*, *nordjysk*, *rigsdansk* and *sønderjysk*. In order for the results to be comparable not only to the SEE results but also to the results of the LANCHART attitudes study, it is important that *københavnsk* (MS) and *rigsdansk* (CS) as well as the local variety (LV – in this case *midtjysk* and *vestjysk*) are represented.

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The personal information part concerns possible social variables that might have an influence on the results such as whether the subjects are local or not and what their educational aspirations are, but the main emphasis will be on the question concerning their self evaluation in terms of what they consider themselves to be speaking. This question is particularly interesting in relation to the group interviews where it is one of the topics on the agenda.

The qualitative interviews

As mentioned three group interviews were carried out with 12 informants, each interview lasting just about an hour.

The interview groups		
Group 1	NETE (f), LEAH (f), TONE (f), ANNA (f)	8th grade at the HbE
Group 2	ROSA (f), RENE (m), LING (f), SINE (f)	9th grade at the HbE
Group 3	MAJA (f), MARK (m), LISE (f), NILS (m)	1. year at the HbS

Informants in the qualitative interviews.

To break the ice, so to speak, in what is an unusual and potentially awkward situation, each interview started with four fragments from the documentary film about Danish dialects "I Danmark er jeg født" by Peter Klitgaard. These fragments are in played order:

1. The fairy tale "The Little Match Girl" by H. C. Andersen told by dialect speakers from different parts of Denmark (time: 01.37–08.34).
2. The Queen of Denmark talks about the Danish language (time: 38.55–39.42).

3. Anne Langer from Harboøre in Western Jutland talks about what it is like to be a young dialect speaker (time: 37.03–38.54).
4. Henries Hvas from Harboøre in Western Jutland talks about what is like to be a young dialect speaker (time: 31.17–33.13).

(All together these fragments last 11 minutes and 31 seconds)

The telling of "The Little Match Girl" will present the informants to both familiar and unfamiliar dialects or varieties of Danish. As these are not named in the fragments, the informants will be asked to place some of the speakers geographically. All this is meant to ensure the focus on language differences as the main topic of the interview and to serve as a starting point as well as a point of comparison throughout the conversation.

In her fragment, the Queen gives a short, general account of her perspective on Danish and on her own variety and where she thinks it stems from. Also, the Queen is such a well known character in Denmark that all the subjects will have an opinion about her and how she speaks which makes this fragment very well suited as a point of comparison.

In the two last fragments, two young women talk about being dialect speakers. These excerpts are interesting because the two women are quite close to the age of the informants who may or may not identify themselves with them. As addition to that, Harboøre is a small village (1.642 residents – http://www.statistikbanken.dk/BEF44) about 40-45 kilometres from Holstebro so it is probably well known to the informants.

While watching the four fragments the informants are asked to consider three questions:

1. Who is in your opinion the best storyteller(s)?
2. What is your impression of the two young girls in the last two fragments?
3. What do you consider yourself to be speaking in comparison to the speakers in the fragment?

In the first question, it is interesting to see whom of the speakers telling the fairy tale the informants consider to be the best storytellers, what they mention as criteria for a good storyteller, and if there might be a dialect/variety based pattern in their preferences.

The two young girls talk about the upsides and downsides of being dialect speakers and of how people react to their dialect. This helps emphasize some relevant issues about language differences in Danish and the stereotypes attached to dialect.

The third question is meant as a basis for discussing the informants' relations to different Danish varieties, to what they consider their own, and why that is so. The informants are expected to position themselves and how they speak in relation to the film fragments, the mentioned varieties, the stereotypical concepts, and the discussion during the interview.

Overall the three questions are also meant as an icebreaker, in combination with the film fragments, that gives both the informants and the interviewer a starting point for the conversation.

During the interview the interviewer has to keep the focus of the discussion on the topics relevant to language attitudes, language differences, and associated stereotypes. In addition to that, it is important that the interviewer asks in depth questions and inquires further into the informants' utterances but at the same time keeps back and makes an effort to let the informants lead the conversation (Kvale 2005). One strategy to achieve this is to let the informants introduce as many topics as possible so that they discuss what they find relevant using their own terminology and to use experiences and topics from one interview in following interviews. This insures a grounded approach where the method partly stems from the data itself.

Analysis of the qualitative interviews
The interviews are coded for phenomena or utterances about language use that are either negatively or positively loaded and these phenomena are then categorised according to which variety they relate to. Finally, the categories are conceptualized in dimensions: superiority, dynamism, and sociability. If one of

the informants uses the word "smart-ass", for instance, about a certain way of speaking Danish this utterance is coded as either negative or positive, depending on the context, categories as belonging to the mentioned way of speaking, and conceptualized in the dynamism category, since the word "smart" is often associated with being young and modern during the interviews. The word "*bondsk*" ("boorish") is coded as negative because it is used in derogatory sense about more dialectal speech than the informants' own way of speaking, it is categorized as "*lokalpræget jysk*" ("dialectal *jysk*") since it is aimed at that particular group of speakers, and it is conceptualized in the superiority dimension since the speaker positions herself as being superior (better educated, more intelligent) to the speaker-group in question.

My purpose of using Grounded theory for the analysis of the qualitative interviews does not include creating a new theory about my gathered data, and thus, I will only apply the first three steps of the approach. My analysis also diverge in that I will try to see if the coded phenomenon and categories can be fitted in the dimensions mentioned earlier: superiority, dynamism, and sociability (the analysis of the interviews reveal a need for a reintroduction of the sociability dimension). This is to make them comparable to the quantitative results from the questionnaires.

Carrying out the study

Before the actual study I held a couple of meetings with the teachers involved where they were presented with the aim of the study, the step-by-step introduction, and given the opportunity to ask questions.

The questionnaire for the subconsciously elicited attitudes is naturally the first one to be handed out. After receiving the questionnaires the subjects were asked to read the instructions on the front page and to save possible questions till after the filling in of the questionnaire. When they were all ready the recording with the voice samples was played. The recording was played twice. First the subjects were asked to just listen with the

questionnaire turned over in front of them, and the second time they were asked to answer the questionnaire. After the filled in questionnaires were gathered, I asked the subjects what they thought the study was about. This is a control question to see if any of them had guessed that language differences were the actual aim. If none of the subjects seem to have guessed what the study is about, this is revealed to them and they get to ask questions. If someone has guessed the aim, it is important to inquire further into it to find out more and to note who it is so it is possible to check if it has any influence on the answers.

After the handing out of the questionnaires for the consciously elicited attitudes and a short introduction, the recording of the voice samples is played for the third and final time while the subjects fill in the questionnaire. After finishing the questionnaire the subjects are once more given the opportunity to ask questions.

The course of the study

22.03. 2006	23.03. 2006	24.03. 2006	27.03. 2006	28.03. 2006	30.03. 2006
09.00–?? The voice samples from HbS are recorded among the 2. year students (by Malene Monka). 14.30–15.30 Preliminary meeting with the teachers from HbE.	14.15–15.15 Preliminary meeting with the teachers from HbS.	Back in Copenhagen to choose and edit the voice samples (in co-operation with Malene Monka and Janus Miller).	11.00–12.30 The question-naire part is carried out in HbE. 13.15–14.15 The interview with group 1.	09.00–10.00 Interview with group 2.	12.20-13.35 The question-naire part is carried out at HbS. 13.45–14.55 The interview with group 3.

The first group interview was carried out immediately after the filling in of questionnaires in HbE and the second the following

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day. The third interview was carried out immediately after the filling in of the questionnaires in HbS.

The course of the study lasted from the 22nd of March, where I had the first preliminary meeting with the teachers from HbE, until the 30th of March, where the study at HbS was carried out.

Sources of error – and possible counter measures

Participating in the study is for the subjects an unusual situation and they have to position themselves within its framework of practicalities concerning the answering of questionnaire and being interviewed, being presented with varieties and having to evaluate them, and being presented with a foreigner, the researcher, who wants something, perhaps not straight forward comprehensible, from them. During the test some measures are taken in an effort to counter these disadvantages. In every second questionnaire (for the subconsciously elicited attitudes) the order of the semantic differential scales are reversed which makes it harder to copy the neighbour's answers during the answering.

The study takes place in the subjects' school which may cause a "right or wrong" expectation, since such an expectation is normally anticipated in this particular setting, and that is certainly not in the best interest of the study. Thus, the reversal of every second questionnaire may help prevent intended or unintended copying of answers.

The presence of the researcher in the classroom handing out questionnaires and asking for answers to what may seem complicated questions is also an important factor for the success or lack thereof of the study. The subjects may construe it as a test situation with right and wrong answers, or try to interpret what the researcher wants and accommodate to what are assumed to be the responses preferred by the researcher.

It may also be that the subjects react by expressing "political correct" opinions or responses. Garret et. al. (2005) calls this "social desirability biases" (:39) when subjects reformulate or even alter their attitudes to sound more socially

acceptable or less controversial than the ones they actually hold. Social desirability biases can also be when the subjects express attitudes they wish to have but which differ from their actual attitudes. A counter measure to this is securing the anonymity of the subjects and taking care to tell it to the subjects so that they may feel more at ease to express their honest attitudes (Garret et. al. 2005: 39). Another counter measure is using time pressure to tease out immediate responses instead of more contemplated, possibly influenced by social desirability, responses.

The results

A large part of the quantitative results have been analysed using the program SPSS to carry out different statistical tests (like the Friedman or the Wilcoxon test) to see whether they are significant or not. The rest of the quantitative results are either presented as simple counts or in percentages. Regarding the qualitative results and their dimensional coding, these are also presented in simple counting or in percentages when necessary.

How standardized do the voice samples sound?
The first question in the questionnaire of the consciously elicited attitudes is concerned with how standardized or *rigsdansk* the voice samples sound.

As table 3 shows there is a quite evident pattern in the relation between variety and standardization. The CS voices are without a doubt considered the most standardized, followed by the MS voices, and with the LV voices as the least standardized. Only voice sample 08 Laila (MS) and 09 Laurits (LV) do not fit into that pattern since they have swapped places. It is noticeable though that all the voices actually are considered to be quite standardized.

There is only a small difference between top (07 Niklas (CS) 2,6724137) and bottom (03 Mikkel (LV) 4,6608695) in the average ranking, and none of the voices are ranked lower than five on the seven-step scale.

Ranking of the voice samples according to standardization	
Voice sample	Average ranking
07 Niklas (CS) m	2,6724137
04 Asta (CS) f	3,1130434
10 Caroline (CS) f	3,2155172
01 Ole (CS) m	3,3931623
02 Alice (MS) f	3,6120689
11 Simon (MS) m	3,7068965
05 Jon (MS) m	3,7241379
09 Laurits (LV) m	3,9224137
08 Laila (MS) f	3,9310344
12 Liv (LV) f	4,1724137
06 Mille (LV) f	4,3017241
03 Mikkel (LV) m	4,6608695

Table 3. 1 = most standardized and 7 = least standardized. MS = modern Cph. speech, CS = Conservativ Cph. speech, LV = Holstebro speech (117 subjects), f = female, m = male.

Since top and bottom are so closely ranked it could be interesting to look at the spread in the ranking of the two voice samples.

07 Niklas (CS) & 03 Mikkel (LV): standardization
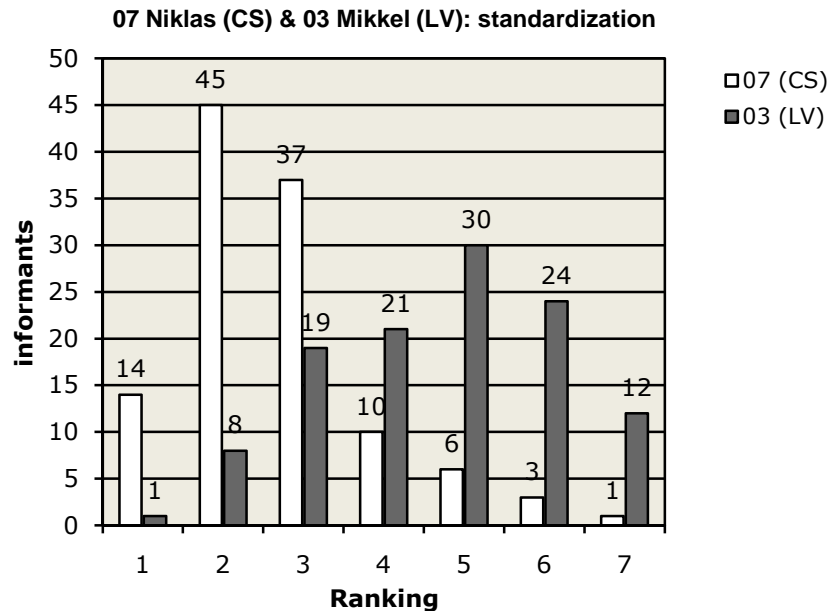
Figure 1.

The subjects clearly agree that 07 Niklas (CS) is very standardized. 82,8% of the rankings are to the <u>left</u> of the middle value (4 = 8,6% of the rankings). There is more disagreement in the rankings of 03 Mikkel (LV). 57,4% of the rankings are to the <u>right</u> of the middle value (4 = 18,3% of the rankings).

Does gender and school level have any impact?
Appendix-table 3 shows that the male subjects regard the voice samples a little more standardized than the female subjects. Only the two MS male voice samples (05 Jon and 11 Simon) are regarded as more standardized by the female than the male subjects.

In appendix-table 4 the HbE students evidently regard the voice samples as more standardized than the HbS students do. Only 07 Niklas (CS) is regarded more standardized by the HbS students than by the HbE students. Overall, the HbS students seem to be more critical towards ranking the voice samples as standardized or they have a different idea of what standardized sounds like than the HbE students.

Another look at table 3 reveals that the gender of the voice samples does not have any influence on how standardized they seem to the subjects. Both among the CS and the LV voices a male voice sample is ranked as the most standardized but the other male voice is ranked as the least standardized within the two varieties and of the MS the one female voice is ranked as the most standardized whilst the other is ranked as the least standardized. Accordingly, there is no conclusive pattern in favour of neither female nor male voice regarding standardization.

Locating the voice samples

On the first page of the questionnaire, the subjects also had to locate the voice samples as either coming from Holstebro or Copenhagen (and naturally at this point of the study, they are aware of language differences being the aim). This question is meant to check if it is at all meaningful to see the geographically based language differences as the main trigger of the possible differences in the results of the SEE. If 50% or more of the subjects locate a voice sample correctly the language differences are assumed to be the main trigger.

The subjects are very good at recognizing and locating the LV or Holstebro voices correctly, which is no surprise since they represent the variety they speak themselves. More than 84% of the subjects recognize the LV voices as coming from Holstebro. The MS and the CS voices are a little more difficult to recognize and locate. 08 Laila (MS) and 04 Asta (CS) are by far the most recognized with respectively 85% and 83% of the subjects locating them correctly. Next come the rest of the Copenhagen voices with a recognition percentage from 63% to 71%. 07 Niklas (CS) and 11 Simon (MS) are the least recognized with 63% of the subjects locating them in Copenhagen but they are still considerably above the crucial 50%.

Is the voice sample from Holstebro or Copenhagen?			
Voice samples	Holstebro	Copenhagen	Not filled in
09 Laurits (LV) m	96%	4%	
06 Mille (LV) f	91%	9%	
03 Mikkel (LV) m	88%	12%	
08 Laila (MS) f	14%	86%	
12 Liv (LV) f	85%	15%	
04 Asta (CS) f	16%	83%	1%
02 Alice (MS) f	29%	71%	
10 Caroline (CS) f	29%	71%	
01 Ole (CS) m	32%	67%	1%
05 Jon (MS) m	34%	66%	
07 Niklas (CS) m	37%	63%	
11 Simon (MS) m	37%	63%	

Table 4. Voice samples are ranked according to percentage of recognition, f = female, m = male (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

A comparison of the results from table 3 (standardization) and table 4 (geographical location) reveals some interesting observations about 07 Niklas (CS) and 08 Laila (MS). 07 Niklas (CS) is ranked as the most standardized of all the voices but at the same time 37% recognize him as coming from Holstebro. That could indicate that coming from Holstebro <u>and</u> being very standardized is compatible. 08 Laila (MS) is ranked as the least standardized of all the Copenhagen voices and 83% of the subjects recognize her as coming from Copenhagen. Being from Copenhagen (and speaking like 08 Laila does) does not

necessarily correspond with being standardized in the eyes of the subjects.

Gender and school level

When the results are seen in relation to subject-gender (appendix-table 5), the female subjects are clearly better than the male subjects at recognizing where the voice samples come from. In the case of the seven of the 12 voice samples, the female subjects are significantly better (level $p<.001$ to $p.05$) at recognizing them geographically than the male (01 Ole (CS), 02 Alice (MS), 03 Mikkel (LV), 06 Mille (LV), 08 Laila (MS), 10 Caroline (CS), 12 Liv (LV)). It is only in the recognition of two of the voice samples that the male subjects do better than the female. Both of these are MS voices, 05 Jon and 11 Simon, but the gender based difference is not significant. These two MS voices are also the two that represent the greatest difficulties to the female subjects concerning locating them correctly. Respectively 64% and 59% of the female subjects recognize 05 Jon and 11 Simon as coming from Copenhagen. The two voices that represent the most difficulties for the male subjects are 01 Ole 50% and 07 Niklas 57%. Both are CS voices and in the case of Ole, the recognition is very low and even on the very border of the dividing line of 50%. Only the girls – and the fact that the evaluations of 01 Ole fit the general pattern of evaluations for the CS voices – ensure that it is meaningful to talk about the language differences as the main trigger of the evaluations.

The school level seems to be somewhat of a factor in the recognition of the voice samples (appendix-table 6). The HbS students are better than the HbE students when it comes to recognizing where the speakers come from and in the case of 01 Ole (CS), 02 Alice (MS), 03 Mikkel (LV), 04 Asta (CS), 06 Mille (LV), and 12 Liv (LV) they are significantly better (level $p<.001$ to $p.05$). All the HbS students recognize and locate the LV voices correctly!

The percentages of recognition of the CS voices among the HbS students are also at a quite high level. 97% locate 01 Ole and 04 Asta correctly, whereas the level of recognition is only 71% and 79% for 07 Niklas and 10 Caroline, respectively. For

the HbE students 04 Asta is most recognizable as coming from Copenhagen, since 76% locates this voice correctly. Then come 10 Caroline with 67%, 07 Niklas with 59%, and finally 01 Ole with 56%. Thus, almost half of the HbE students think that 07 Niklas and 01 Ole are from Holstebro.

Also the MS voices are widely recognized as coming from Copenhagen by the HbS students: 02 Alice 92%, 08 Laila 89%, 05 Jon 76%, and 11 Simon 71%. For the HbE students especially 08 Laila is easily recognizable as coming from Copenhagen. 85% locate her correctly, which is a lot higher than for the rest of the MS voices. 61% locate 02 Alice and 05 Jon correctly, and 59% locate 11 Simon correctly. This means that more than a third of the HbE students locate 02 Alice, 05 Jon and 11 Simon as being from Holstebro instead of Copenhagen.

The results reveal that both gender and school level have an influence on locating the voice samples correctly. An average of 83% of the female subjects locate them correctly but only 70% of the males and an average of 89% of the HbS students get the location of the voice samples right whereas it is only 72% of the HbE students. These results may be closer connected than they appear since there is a majority of 76,3% female subjects among the HbS students and a majority of 62,4% female subjects in the entire group. Appendix-table 7 and 8 show the results of the geographical location of the voices samples divided according to gender within the HbE and the HbS group, respectively. As it is revealed in these two tables, gender is only a factor within the group of HbE students. The female subjects in this group are better than the males at locating all of the voice samples, except for the two MS voices 05 Jon and 11 Simon. Thus, the fact that gender plays a role in the results from the entire group is partly because the female HbE students are better at recognizing the voice samples than the male students, and partly because there are 40 female subjects in the group of HbS students and this amounts to 40% of the female subject all together.

Concerning the gender of the voice samples, it does not seem to be a factor that influences the results. 81% of the subjects locate the female voices correctly and 74% locate the male voices correctly.

Local patriotism and norms

In the label ranking task, the subjects' rankings are distributed like this:

The results of the Label Ranking Task				
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min.	Max.
1. Midtjysk	2,70	1,664	1	8
2. Vestjysk	3,70	2,578	1	9
3. Rigsdansk	3,91	2,532	1	9
4. Østjysk	4,66	1,898	1	9
5. Sjællandsk	4,98	2,102	1	9
6. Nordjysk	5,01	1,786	1	9
7. Københavnsk	5,34	2,431	1	9
8. Sønderjysk	6,99	1,858	2	9
9. Bornholmsk	7,82	1,849	1	9

Table 5. The Friedman Test: chi^2=315,723, df=8, p<.001 (117 subjects), 1 = like the most, 9 = like the least.

The local variety *midtjysk* is ranked as number one, followed by the other local variety *vestjysk*. In third place comes *rigsdansk*, and *københavnsk* is ranked as number seven. *Vestjysk*, *rigsdansk*, and *københavnsk* are all similar (2,578, 2,532, and 2,431) when it comes to standard deviation, whereas the standard deviation is much lower for *midtjysk* (1,664).

Differences in the rankings of *midtjysk*, *vestjysk*, *rigsdansk* and *københavnsk* in the LRT
All varieties: *Midtjysk***Vestjysk/Rigsdansk*Østjysk/Sjællandsk/Nordjysk/Københavnsk***Sønderjysk***Bornholmsk*
The relevant varieties: *Midtjysk***Vestjysk/Rigsdansk***Københavnsk*

Table 6. Wilcoxon Signede Pair Test: /=n.s., *=p<.05, ***=p<.001 (117 subjects).

In table 6 there is clearly a significant difference in the rankings of *midtjysk* and *vestjysk*, *vestjysk* and *rigsdansk* are almost ranked on a par with each other, and they are all significantly higher ranked than *københavnsk*. The local patriotism is clear, the subjects rank the way they consider themselves to be speaking, *midtjysk* and/or *vestjysk*, the highest. *Rigsdansk* follows as third, which is probably due to societal conventions and expectation as to which variety is 'proper' and prestigious Danish. Finally, *københavnsk* is ranked way below the other relevant varieties as number seven, which signals distance and that the subjects do not identify themselves with this variety. These consciously elicited attitudes display a bias for closeness and social prestige.

The male subjects have more of a bias for *vestjysk* than the female

In appendix-table 9 the results of the LRT are divided into female and male subjects. The female subjects rank *midtjysk* first, *rigsdansk* second, *vestjysk* third, and *københavnsk* seventh. The male subjects rank *midtjysk* first, *vestjysk* second, *rigsdansk* third, and *københavnsk* seventh. Thus, there is a gender based difference in the LRT.

The results of the LRT divided in female and male subjects	
Female (73)	*Midtjysk**Rigsdansk/Vestjysk***København*
Male (44)	*Midtjysk/Vestjysk#Rigsdansk#Københavnsk* (*Midtjysk**Rigsdansk*)

Table 7. Gender specific differences in the ranking of *midtjysk*, *vestjysk*, *rigsdansk*, and *københavnsk*. Wilcoxon Signed Pair Test: /=n.s., #=p<.10, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001 (117 subjects).

The female subjects rank *midtjysk* significantly higher (p<.01) than *rigsdansk* and *vestjysk*. They rank these two on a par with each other. *Københavnsk* is ranked significantly lower (p<.001) than the other three varieties. The male subjects rank *midtjysk* higher than *vestjysk* but without any significant or tendentious difference. *Rigsdansk* ranked significantly lower than *midtjysk* (p<.01) but only tendentiously lower (p<.10) than *vestjysk*. *Københavnsk* is only tendentiously lower (p<.10) ranked than *rigsdansk*.

The male subjects rank *midtjysk* on a par with *vestjysk* and they also rank *vestjysk* as better than *rigsdansk*, whereas the female subjects prefer *midtjysk* compared to *vestjysk*, which they also rank lower than *rigsdansk*. Seen in relation to each other the gender specific difference in the results of the LRT seems to reveal that the male subjects have a bias for the local variety, whilst the female subjects have a bias for the more standardized variety, and that they the preference for *midtjysk* (which in the interviews seems to be considered as more standardized than *vestjysk* by the informants). Nevertheless, overall there does not seem to be any significant gender specific differences in the results of the LRT.

Does the school level make a difference?
Considering the small gender specific differences that nevertheless are in the results, it seems quite likely that there

will be school level specific differences as well, since there is a huge majority of female subjects in the group of HbS students. The question is whether the school level is more influential than the gender proved to be, or not?

Differences in the HbE and the HbS students ranking in the LRT		
	Østjysk	Bornholmsk	Midtjysk
chi^2	0,004	0,63	1,232
df	1	1	1
asymp.sig.	0,948	0,428	0,267
	Sjællandsk	Vestjysk	Københavnsk
chi^2	4,378	0,255	0,288
df	1	1	1
asymp.sig.	0,036	0,613	0,592
	Nordjysk	Rigsdansk	Sønderjysk
chi^2	0,296	1,592	0,494
df	1	1	1
asymp.sig.	0,586	0,207	0,482

Table 8. Kruskal-Wallis Test, Test Statistics[a,b]: a. p<.05 , b. Grouping Variable: School (117 subjects).

The ranking order of the varieties by HbE students is different from the ranking order by the HbS students (appendix-table 10). The HbE students rank *midtjysk* first, *vestjysk* second, *rigsdansk* third, and *københavnsk* sixth. The HbS students also rank *midtjysk* first, but *rigsdansk* second, *vestjysk* third, and *københavnsk* seventh. Of all the varieties the two groups of subjects only rank *midtjysk*, *sønderjysk*, and *bornholmsk* alike. The only significant difference is in the two groups' ranking of *sjællandsk* where the difference is on the p<.036 level (table 8) with the HbS student liking *sjællandsk* more than the HbE students.

A comparison with the LANCHART results

In all five LANCHART attitudes studies (appendix-table 11), the different LVs are all ranked as number one, or number one or two if there are more LVs in a location, like in my study. So here my results are consistent with those of the LANCHART studies. There is a clear local patriotism when it comes to the consciously elicited attitudes.

The ranking of *rigsdansk* in Holstebro as number three (table 5) is also consistent with the LANCHART studies. In all of those, *rigsdansk* is ranked as number three, too. Adolescents in Holstebro thus share their positive, consciously elicited attitudes towards *rigsdansk* with adolescents from other parts of Denmark.

With *københavnsk* there is more disagreement in the results all together. In my study, the subjects from Holstebro rank *københavnsk* as number seven (of nine). In the LANCHART studies, *københavnsk* is of course ranked as number one (of seven) in Copenhagen, since it is the LV there. In Næstved it is ranked two (of seven), in Vissenbjerg six (of seven), in Odder four (of ten), and in Vinderup ten (of 11). The ranking of *københavnsk* is very different from location to location, but there seems to be a pattern in the discrepancy. The results are here listed geographically from east to west (Copenhagen being furthest to the east and Vinderup being furthest to the west of Denmark) and it looks like the further west the attitudes studies are made, the lower *københavnsk* is ranked. The pattern is not evenly falling (Odder is west of Vissenbjerg and Holstebro west of Vinderup) but, nevertheless, it could be an explanation of the differences in the ranking of *københavnsk*.
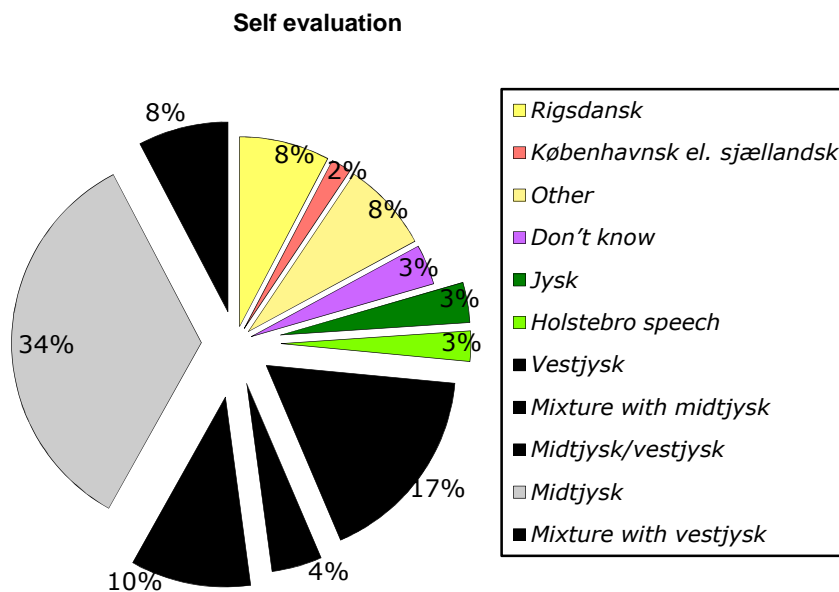
Figure 2 (All results are rounded off to whole percentages).

What do the subjects consider themselves to be speaking?

Since I grew up in Holstebro, I had the expectation that the subjects would consider themselves to be speaking *vestjysk*, as that is what I, my family and my friends always considered ourselves to be speaking. This assumption, though, is somewhat wrong. A larger part of the subjects considered themselves to be speaking *midtjysk* than *vestjysk* but they are both by far the two major varieties mentioned. 34% consider themselves to be speaking *midtjysk* and an additional 4% consider themselves to be speaking a mixture of *midtjysk* and something else (other than *vestjysk*). 17% consider themselves to be speaking *vestjysk*, and 8% a mixture of *vestjysk* and something else (other than *midtjysk*). On top of these percentages for *midtjysk* and *vestjysk* a total of 10% of the subjects consider themselves to be speaking a mixture of the two (which could indicate that a change is going on). Altogether 73% of the subjects see either *midtjysk* or *vestjysk* or both of them as their own variety. Thus, there is strong evidence for regarding *midtjysk* and *vestjysk* as the LVs.

Another interesting observation is that only 3% describe themselves as speakers of Holstebro speech. This indicates that

the subjects do not regard Holstebro to have its own town-speech like, for instance, Århus or Copenhagen have. Instead, they seem to be more region-oriented, that is, they identify themselves (linguistically) with the region or the geographical area rather than with the town.

When looking at possible gender specific differences (appendix-table 12), it seems that a greater part of the male subjects (21%) than of the female (15%) consider themselves as *vestjysk* speaking, whereas a greater part of the female subjects (36%) than male (32%) regard themselves as speaking *midtjysk*. However, taking the mixtures into account, the results are very similar. For *midtjysk*: 40% of the female subjects and 37% of the male. For *vestjysk*: 25% of the female subjects and 26% of the male. For a mixture of the two: 10% of the female subjects and 11% of the male subjects. Gender does not seem to matter very much.

The school level does not seem to be of major influence (appendix-table 13). The largest difference concerns the mixture of *midtjysk* and *vestjysk*: 10% of the HbE students and 16% of the HbS students consider themselves to be speaking this. Otherwise, the results for *midtjysk* (+ mixture with) are very similar, 38% of the HbE students and 37% of the HbS students, and that goes for *vestjysk* (+ mixture with) as well, 25% of the HbE students and 26% of the HbS students.

Summing up the results of the consciously elicited attitudes

Concerning how standardized the voices sound to the subjects (table 3), there is a clear pattern in the rating showing that the four CS voices are deemed to be the most standardized of all, followed by the four MS voices, and with the four LV voices being regarded as the least standardized (08 Laila (MS) and 09 Laurits (LV) switch places though). This is a clear indication of the CS voices being equal to the term *rigsdansk*, which is the traditional folk linguistical term for the Danish standard, in the setting of the study. Neither gender, nor school level turned out to be of major importance.

When it comes to locating the voices as coming from either Holstebro or Copenhagen (table 4), the subjects are overall rather good at locating them correctly. There are the least agreement in locating 07 Niklas (CS) and 11 Simon (MS), but still 63% of the subjects located them correctly. The female subjects are clearly better than their male counterparts at locating the voices (appendix-table 5), and the HbS students are definitely better at locating the voices than the HbE students (appendix-table 6), but the gender of the voices does not seem to matter at all.

In the LRT (table 5) the subjects rank the two LVs (*midtjysk* and *vestjysk*) as first and second, followed by *rigsdansk* as third, and *københavnsk* is ranked seventh, with significant differences between all except *vestjysk* and *rigsdansk* (table 6). The subject-gender did not seem to matter either (table 7). The female subjects did have more of a bias for *rigsdansk* and the male more of a bias for *vestjysk*, but the difference in rankings is not noteworthy. There are small differences in the rankings by the HbE students and the HbS students (table 8), but the only significant difference is concerning *sjællandsk* where the HbS students rank it higher than the HbE students.

The question about what the subjects considered themselves to be speaking confirmed *midtjysk* and *vestjysk* as the LVs in Holstebro, since they are the two varieties most often mentioned (figure 2), and it showed that Holstebro speech was not relevant as the LV to the subjects. There does not seem to be any noticeable gender or school specific differences here either.

The Speaker Evaluation Experiment – the individual voice samples

These are the results of the subjects' evaluations of the 12 voice samples:

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The results of the SEE
Intelligent – Stupid (N=116, chi^2=203,467)

CS7 m	CS10 f	**CS1 m**	CS4 f	MS5 m	**LV9 m**	MS11 m	MS2 f	**MS8 f**	LV12 f	LV6 f	LV3 m
3,66	5,02	5,59	5,88	5,93	6,59	6,68	7,11	7,67	7,78	7,97	8,12

Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky (N=114, chi^2=226,448)

CS7 m	CS10 f	**CS1 m**	CS4 f	MS5- m	MS11 m	MS2 f	**LV9 m**	**MS8 f**	LV6 f	LV3 m	LV12 f
3,72	4,88	5,37	5,54	6,18	6,67	6,81	6,92	7,41	7,56	8,39	8,54

Goal directed – Dull (N=115, chi^2=190,430)

CS7 m	CS10 f	CS4 f	MS2 f	MS5 m	**CS1 m**	MS11 m	**MS8 f**	**LV9 m**	LV6 f	LV12 f	LV3 m
4,22	4,73	5,75	5,83	6,16	6,4	6,46	6,87	7,15	7,64	7,78	9

Trustworthy – Untrustworthy (N=115, chi^2=127,506)

CS7 m	CS10 f	**CS1 m**	MS5 m	CS4 f	MS2 f	MS11 m	**LV9 m**	LV12 f	**MS8 f**	LV6 f	LV3 m
5,07	5,46	5,59	5,66	6,04	6,08	6,4	6,91	6,95	7,7	7,99	8,16

Self-assured – Uncertain (N=112, chi^2=316,605)

CS7 m	MS2 f	MS11 m	MS5 m	CS10 f	**MS8 f**	CS4 f	**CS1 m**	LV12 f	**LV9 m**	LV6 f	LV3 m
4,31	4,51	4,82	5,35	5,49	5,88	6,04	7,44	7,81	8,33	8,99	9,04

Cool – Uncool (N=114, chi^2=283,994)

MS2 f	MS11 m	MS5 m	**MS8 f**	CS10 f	CS7 m	CS4 f	**LV9 m**	LV12 f	**CS1 m**	LV3 m	LV6 f
4,5	4,64	5,14	5,21	5,41	5,94	6,25	7,43	7,67	8,01	8,62	9,18

Fascinating – Boring (N=107, chi^2=259,406)

MS2 f	MS11 m	MS5 m	CS10 f	CS7 m	**MS8 f**	CS4 f	LV12 f	**LV9 m**	**CS1 m**	LV3 m	LV6 f
4,54	4,86	4,98	5,21	5,66	5,95	5,99	6,93	7,75	8,49	8,79	8,86

Nice – Repulsive (N=114, chi^2=99,400)

MS5 m	CS7 m	CS10 f	MS11 m	**CS1 m**	MS2 f	CS4 f	LV12 f	**LV9 m**	**MS8 f**	LV3 m	LV6 f
5,28	5,71	5,89	5,91	5,93	6,02	6,39	6,61	7	7,17	7,6	8,49

Table 9. (Friedman Test: values are Mean Rank, all df=11, all p<.001). CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.

A quick look at table 9 shows a slight predominance of the CS voices to the left (more positive evaluations), closely followed by the MS voices, and a more clear predominance of the LV voices to the right. This means that the CS and the MS voices generally score higher than the LV voices on the evaluational scales. Furthermore, this reveals that the subconsciously elicited attitudes are very different from the consciously elicited attitudes: the local patriotism does not seem to be present here.

The results of the scales in the superiority dimension
Intelligent – Stupid (N=116, chi^2=203,467)

CS7 m	CS10 f	CS1 m	CS4 f	MS5 m	LV9 m	MS11 m	MS2 f	MS8 f	LV12 f	LV6 f	LV3 m
3,66	5,02	5,59	5,88	5,93	6,59	6,68	7,11	7,67	7,78	7,97	8,12

Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky (N=114, chi^2=226,448)

CS7 m	CS10 f	CS1 m	CS4 f	MS5 m	MS11 m	MS2 f	LV9 m	MS8 f	LV6 f	LV3 m	LV12 f
3,72	4,88	5,37	5,54	6,18	6,67	6,81	6,92	7,41	7,56	8,39	8,54

Goal directed – Dull (N=115, chi^2=190,430)

CS7 m	CS10 f	CS4 f	MS2 f	MS5 m	CS1 m	MS11 m	MS8 f	LV9 m	LV6 f	LV12 f	LV3 m
4,22	4,73	5,75	5,83	6,16	6,4	6,46	6,87	7,15	7,64	7,78	9

Trustworthy – Untrustworthy (N=115, chi^2=127,506)

CS7 m	CS10 f	CS1 m	MS5 m	CS4 f	MS2 f	MS11 m	LV9 m	LV12 f	MS8 f	LV6 f	LV3 m
5,07	5,46	5,59	5,66	6,04	6,08	6,4	6,91	6,95	7,7	7,99	8,16

Table 10. (Friedman Test: values are Mean Rank, all df=11, all p<.001). CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.

Whereas the LV voices seem to be quite consistently evaluated lower than the CS and the MS voices, there seems to be more disagreement in the evaluations of the different Copenhagen based voice samples, but when the scales are distributed in dimensions of superiority and dynamism, a pattern in the evaluations appears.

The CS voices are evaluated higher than both the MS and the LV voices on the scales in the superiority dimension. The only voices that do seem to be able to challenge this dominance are the two MS voices 02 Alice, who comes in third on the *Goal directed – Dull* scale, and 05 Jon, who comes in fourth on the *Goal directed – Dull* scale and third on the *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy* scale.

The results of the scales in the dynamism dimension

Self-assured – Uncertain (N=112, chi^2=316,605)

CS7 m	MS2 f	MS11 m	MS5 m	CS10 f	MS8 f	CS4 f	CS1 m	LV12 f	LV9 m	LV6 f	LV3 m
4,31	4,51	4,82	5,35	5,49	5,88	6,04	7,44	7,81	8,33	8,99	9,04

Cool – Uncool (N=114, chi^2=283,994)

MS2 f	MS11 m	MS5 m	MS8 f	CS10 f	CS7 m	CS4 f	LV9 m	LV12 f	CS1 m	LV3 m	LV6 f
4,5	4,64	5,14	5,21	5,41	5,94	6,25	7,43	7,67	8,01	8,62	9,18

Fascinating – Boring (N=107, chi^2=259,406)

MS2 f	MS11 m	MS5 m	CS10 f	CS7 m	MS8 f	CS4 f	LV12 f	LV9 m	CS1 m	LV3 m	LV6 f
4,54	4,86	4,98	5,21	5,66	5,95	5,99	6,93	7,75	8,49	8,79	8,86

Nice – Repulsive (N=114, chi^2=99,400)

MS5 m	CS7 m	CS10 f	MS11 m	CS1 m	MS2 f	CS4 f	LV12 f	LV9 m	MS8 f	LV3 m	LV6 f
5,28	5,71	5,89	5,91	5,93	6,02	6,39	6,61	7	7,17	7,6	8,49

Table 11. (Friedman Test: values are Mean Rank, all df=11, all p<.001). CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.

Overall the CS voices are evaluated as being more *Intelligent*, *Conscientious*, *Goal Directed*, and *Trustworthy* than both the MS and the LV voices.

Here in the dynamism dimension the MS voices are being upgraded in comparison with the CS and the LV voices, and the LV is clearly downgraded in this dimension too. The predominance of the MS voice here is not as clear-cut as that of the CS voices in the superiority dimension. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that, overall, the subjects consider the MS voices to be more *Self-assured*, *Cool*, *Fascinating*, and *Nice* than the CS and the LV voices.

01 Ole (CS), 08 Laila (MS), and 09 Laurits (LV)
In table 9 three voices have been highlighted with bold (01 Ole (CS), 08 Laila (MS), and 09 Laurits (LV)) because each of them stands out in comparison with the other three voices within their respective varieties.

01 Ole stands out as the least consistently evaluated and the relatively most downgraded of the CS voices. On half of the scales, he is evaluated lower than the other CS voices, which also goes for 04 Asta, but 01 Ole achieves quite lower rankings in the evaluational hierarchy. Whereas 04 Asta is rather consistently evaluated on a par with the other CS and MS voices (never lower than any of the LV voices), 01 Ole is, as the only

CS voice, in three of the scales evaluated on par with the LV voices (*Self-assured – Uncertain*, *Cool – Uncool*, and *Fascinating – Boring*). Thus, the subjects find him as *Uncertain*, *Boring* and *Uncool* as the LV voices. Maybe a look at how standardized (table 3) and how recognizable (table 4) 01 Ole is to the subjects, may give a hint as to what is going on. He is considered the least standardized of the CS voices but still more standardized than all the MS and the LV voices, and 67% of the subjects recognize him as coming from Copenhagen, but these results does not stand particularly out in comparison with the rest of the CS voices. Neither the results of the consciously elicited nor of the subconsciously elicited attitudes shed more light on why 01 Ole is evaluated a little differently than the other CS voices.

Among the MS voices 08 Laila very clearly stands out. In every scale she is evaluated lower than the other MS voices, and in five of them she is evaluated on a par with the LV voices (*Intelligent – Stupid*, *Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky*, *Goal directed – Dull*, *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy*, and *Nice – Repulsive*). Only in one scale is she evaluated among the first four (*Cool – Uncool*, which has the MS voices as the four highest evaluated). In the standardization task (table 3), she is evaluated as being the least standardized of all the Copenhagen voices – and even slightly less standardized than one of the LV voices (09 Laurits), and in the recognition task (table 4), she is the most recognized Copenhagen voice with 86% of the subjects – even slightly more recognized than one of the LV voices (12 Liv). Consequently, her downgrading on the scales in the SEE is not because she is thought to be a LV voice. Rather, it may be the case, since she is the least standardized Copenhagen voice, that she is too *københavnsk* sounding, that is, she comes across as being too local.

Looking at the LV voices 09, Laurits is overall evaluated higher than the other LV voices. Only in three of the scales (*Self-assured – Uncertain*, *Fascinating – Boring*, and *Nice – Repulsive*) is he evaluated lower than one of the other LV voices (12 Liv in all three). In four of the scales he is evaluated on a par with either the CS or the MS voices (*Intelligent – Stupid*,

Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky, *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy*, and *Cool – Uncool*). On the *Intelligent – Stupid* scale, he is even evaluated higher than three of the four MS voices (11 Simon, 02 Alice, and 08 Laila). 09 Laurits is evaluated as the most standardized (table 3) of the LV voices (and more standardized than 08 Laila (MS) too), and he is recognized as coming from Holstebro by 96% of the subjects (table 4). Thus, it does seem possible for a LV voice to attain some sort of prestige, if ever so little, but it might have something to do with the playing order of the voices. In five of the eight scales (*Intelligent – Stupid*, *Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky*, *Goal directed – Dull*, *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy*, and *Nice – Repulsive*), 09 Laurits is evaluated on a par with or better than 08 Laila (MS), who might come across as 'too' *københavnsk* and, since he is following directly after her in the playing order, his relatively high evaluations (for a LV voice) could be an affect of his coming across as more standardized in comparison with her. That four of the five scales are in the superiority dimension could point in that direction.

The Speaker Evaluation Experiment – overall

When the voices are grouped according to variety, and the scales are distributed in the superiority and the dynamism dimension, a clear pattern in the evaluations emerges.

The CS is evaluated significantly higher than both the MS and the LV in the scales in the superiority dimension, and the MS is evaluated significantly higher than the LV. The subjects evaluate the group of CS voices to be more *Intelligent*, *Conscientious*, *Goal directed*, and *Trustworthy* than both the groups of the MS and the LV.

In the dynamism dimension, however, the group of MS voices are significantly higher evaluated than the group of CS voices on all scales, except the *Nice – Repulsive* scale where there is no significant difference in the evaluation of the two groups. The group of LV voices, however, is here also evaluated significantly lower than both of the other groups.

Differences in the results of the SEE grouped in varieties and distributed in dimensions

The superiority dimension	
Intelligent – Stupid	CS***MS***LV 1,35 2,15 2,50
Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky	CS***MS***LV 1,31 2,15 2,54
Goal directed – Dull	CS***MS***LV 1,47 1,93 2,59
Trustworthy – Untrustworthy	CS***MS***LV 1,56 2,02 2,42
The dynamism dimension	
Self-assured – Uncertain	MS***CS***LV 1,43 1,78 2,79
Cool – Uncool	MS***CS***LV 1,38 1,97 2,64
Fascinating – Boring	MS***CS***LV 1,43 1,92 2,65
Nice – Repulsive	MS / CS***LV 1,76 1,76 2,47

Table 12. Wilcoxon: ***=p<.001, /=n.s., CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety.

Thus, the subjects downgrade the group of LV voices, their own variety, significantly in comparison with both groups of Copenhagen voices, the CS and the MS, in all scales. The LV simply does not have as much prestige as both the CS and the MS in any of the personality traits that make up the scales of the SEE. Looking at the CS and the MS in comparison with each other, they seem to attain relatively more prestige than the other in each their dimension, with the CS being evaluated

significantly higher in the scales in the superiority dimension, and the MS being evaluated significantly higher in three, and insignificantly higher in the fourth, of the scales in the dynamism dimension.

A comparison with the LANCHART results

Appendix-table 14 is an overview of the results of this study and the LANCHART studies (Kristiansen 2007). The overview reveals a pattern of the CS being evaluated higher than the MS in the superiority dimension, and they are both evaluated higher than the LV, and the MS being evaluated higher than the CS in the dynamism dimension, and here too they are both evaluated higher than the LV. Whether the differences in evaluations are significant or not, and to what degree they are significant, varies a little, but the pattern is still rather stable.

In the superiority dimension, the CS is predominantly higher evaluated than the MS and the LV, but the MS seems to enjoy a certain amount in this dimension though. In all of the LANCHART studies, there are scales in the superiority dimension where the difference in the evaluation of the CS and the MS is not significant, and in some of the scales, the MS is even evaluated higher than the CS (without significant difference though). In all five LANCHART locations, the MS challenges the CS in the same scales: *Goal directed – Dull* and *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy* (in Næstved and Vissenbjerg it is also the case in the scale *Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky*). In my Holstebro result though, the CS is evaluated significantly higher than the MS in all the scales.

In the dynamism dimension, the MS has more of a stronghold. Only in two of the LANCHART locations there is a case of the MS not being evaluated significantly higher than the CS, Vissenbjerg and Vinderup, and in both cases it is the *Nice – Repulsive* scale. My results from Holstebro are similar to these two locations, without any significant difference in the evaluation of the two, and that is also on the *Nice – Repulsive* scale.

The Holstebro results seem to be consistent with those of the LANCHART studies. Except for the seemingly stronger

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position of the CS in the superiority dimension in Holstebro than in the LANCHART locations, the same pattern of the LV being relatively downgraded in comparison with both the CS and the MS is in line with the LANCHART results. In the subconsciously elicited attitudes there is left no room for prestige for the LV in neither the superiority nor the dynamism dimension.

Conspicuous scales in the LANCHART and the Holstebro results

Three scales were particularly noticeable in the comparison of the LANCHART results and the Holstebro results: *Goal directed – Dull*, *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy* (both in the superiority dimension), and *Nice – Repulsive* (in the dynamism dimension). The former two are also the two scales that preserve Zahn & Hopper's (1985) third dimension, which Kristiansen (2001) calls the sociability dimension. This seems to indicate that, even though it did not seem to be an important factor in the study of the two Danish standards (Kristiansen 2001), the sociability dimension may still play a role in the attitudes. On the other side, the results may also indicate that the subjects perceive the *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy* scales as a dynamism scale rather than a superiority scale.

The scale *Goal directed – Dull* may also be a case of the subjects perceiving the scale as belonging to the dynamism rather than the superiority dimension. Then again, it could be that the MS is gaining prestige as an alternative to the traditional Danish standard, and that the subjects therefore perceive it as nearing the CS in the superiority scales. The results in appendix-table 14 may indicate that the former is what is going on. In the dynamism dimension, the MS is significantly higher evaluated than the CS in 21 of 24 scales, and of these 19 are at the p<.001 level (p<.05 for the remaining two). In the superiority dimension the CS is significantly higher evaluated in 12 of the 24 scales, and of these seven are at the p<.001 level, three at the p<.01 level, and two at the p<.05 level. Thus, it is only in half of the scales in the superiority dimension that the CS is evaluated

significantly higher than the MS, and it looks like the MS status in these scales is on the rise and is nearing that of the CS.

The results from Holstebro differed from those of the LANCHART studies precisely in the fact that the CS was significantly higher evaluated than the MS in all four scales of the superiority dimension, and it could mean that Holstebro is hanging behind, so to speak, in this development, and as such might support that the change is going on.

Are there subject-gender specific differences?

Appendix-table 15 displays differences in the evaluations of the voice samples based on subject-gender. There are not that many of the differences that are significant or even tendentious, but when they are, and there are differences in more than one scale, then the subject-gender specific difference is consistent for the given voice sample. That is, if the male subjects evaluate the voice sample significantly or tendentiously higher than the female subjects in one scale, and there are significant or tendentious differences in more than one scale, then these are all male subjects evaluating the voices sample higher than female subjects.

There are only significant differences in the evaluation of five of the 12 voice samples, 01 Ole (CS), 02 Alice (MS), 03 Mikkel (LV), 10 Caroline (CS), and 11 Simon (MS), and of these it is only in the case of 10 Caroline that there are significant differences in more than one scale (she is also the only one where the difference is significant on a $p<.001$ level). There are simply too few significant subject-gender specific differences to conclude anything, except that the female subjects generally seem to evaluate 10 Caroline (CS) higher than the male subject, since they do that with a significant or tendentious difference in five of the eight scales (*Goal directed – Dull*, *Intelligent – Stupid*, *Self-assured – Uncertain*, *Nice – Repulsive*, and *Cool – Uncool*).

Are there voice-gender specific differences?

In appendix-table 16, the differences based on voice-gender are displayed, but what first catches the eye is the fact that variety is

more important to the evaluations than voice-gender. In almost all scales, the voices are distributed according to variation and follow the overall pattern of evaluation, where the CS is evaluated highest in the superiority dimension, and the MS in the dynamism dimension.

The only exception is in the *Nice – Repulsive* scale. Here the MS male voices are evaluated highest, followed by the CS male voices, then the MS female voices followed by the CS female voices, then the LV male voices followed by the LV female voices. The male Copenhagen voices are upgraded in comparison with the female Copenhagen voices in this particular scale, which may be because 08 Laila (MS) is being relatively downgraded in this scale (table 9) and that the MS is not evaluated significantly higher than the CS (table 12).

Among the CS voices, the male voices are evaluated higher than the female in three out of four scales in the superiority dimension, but the female voices are evaluated higher than the male in three out of four scales in the dynamism dimension. Among the MS voices, the male voices are evaluated higher in all scales in the superiority dimension and in three out of four in the dynamism dimension. Among the LV voices, there is an equal distribution in both dimensions. Thus, among the Copenhagen voices, the male voices are overall higher evaluated than the female voices, but the female CS voices are considered to be more dynamic than the CS male voices, and among the LV voices the voices-gender does not influence the evaluations.

The school level and the SEE
In order to be able to talk about school level specific differences in the evaluations of the voice samples in the SEE, there necessarily must be a certain degree of agreement within the two groups, HbE and HbS students. Appendix-tables 17 and 18 are detailed overviews of the differences in the results seen according to school level and within the two schools (HbE and HbS).

The results for the HbE students are rather much in agreement and there is only four significant differences (all level $p<.05$) within the group. Within the group of HbS students,

however, there seems to be some disagreement. Here there are 11 significant differences (one level p<.001, four level p<.01, and six level p<.05), which is more than twice the amount within the HbE group.

The relative many significant differences within the HbS groups are due to one of the two classes continuously being more critical in their evaluations than the other. This class is labelled 5 in tables 17 and 18 and consists of 24 students, whereas the other class is labelled 6 and consists of 14 students. Eight of the significant differences between 5 and 6 are in the evaluation of the LV voices, and five of those are in the evaluation of 12 Liv. It seems that, instead of 5 being relatively critical, it might be 6 that is relatively positive towards the LV voices and 12 Liv in particular. This could mean that the students in class 6 either know that language differences are the aim of the study, or guessed during the SEE. The SEE was carried out with both classes 5 and 6 at the same time and in the same room, so if they knew in advance, they did not tell the students from class 5. After the SEE, I asked to the purpose of the study, and nobody expressed that language differences might be it. Taking this into account, it is not very likely that they did know or guessed the purpose of the study. Since the voice samples are recordings of second year HbS students made some weeks before the SEE, the remaining possibility is that they may have simply recognized 12 Liv. This, however, does not seem likely either, since they appeared to be surprised when I, after the SEE, revealed that the LV voices are from HbS. All this is no proof, of course, that they did not know or guessed the purpose and/or recognized 12 Liv and just kept quiet about it.

With the differences between the two HbS classes in mind, there is still a great deal of agreement, though, and the differences between the HbS group and the HbE group are so substantial that a comparison makes sense. There are 35 significant differences between the HbE students and the HbS students (nine level p<.001, ten level p<.01, and 16 level p<.05), and the HbS students relatively downgrade the voice samples in comparison with the HbE students. Only in one case of significant difference, 02 Alice (MS) in the *Cool – Uncool* scale,

do the HbE students downgrade the voice in comparison with the HbS students. In the evaluation of 04 Asta (CS), the HbS students significantly downgrade her in six of the eight scales, and in the evaluation of 08 Laila (MS), they do it in five of the eight scales. Even in the evaluation of 12 Liv (LV), where class 6 of the HbS students are relatively more positive towards her than class 5, the HbS group still significantly downgrade her in three of the eight scales.

Especially in three of the eight scales there are differences in the evaluation of the voice samples. In the scales *Goal directed – Dull*, *Intelligent – Stupid*, and *Nice – Repulsive*, there are significant differences in the two group evaluations of half of the voice samples. If the significant differences are seen in relation to the dimensions, it becomes clear that it is in the superiority dimension most of the differences occur.

When the voices are grouped according to variety, the most differences are seen in the evaluation of the MS voices (15 significant differences), then the LV voices (14), and finally the CS voices (6 – all in the evaluation of 04 Asta).

School level does seem to play a role in the evaluation of the voice samples, since the HbS students relatively downgrade the voices in comparison with the HbE students, but, with 35 significant differences out of a total of 96 comparisons, the influence does not seem that important after all.

Which educational level could the voice samples achieve?
In the question concerning the future educational level of the voice samples, the subjects had to choose one of four different categories, numbered 1 to 4. For simplicity, I here label them, 1. *Short*, 2. *Medium*, 3. *Medium-high*, and 4. *High*. 17% of the subjects marked the *Short* category, 31% the *Medium*, 29% the *Medium-high*, and 19% the *High* (and 4% did not answer this question).

The CS is ranked highest in both the *High* and the *Medium-high* category, and lowest in the *Medium* and *Short* category. The MS is ranked highest in the *Medium* category, comes second in the *Medium-high* and *Short* category, and lowest in the *High* category. The LV is ranked highest in the *Short*

category, comes second in the *High* and *Medium* category, and lowest in the *Medium-high* category.

The predicted education for the varieties			
Education	CS	MS	LV
Short	14%	34%	52%
Medium	21%	43%	36%
Medium-high	42%	33 %	25%
High	58%	18 %	24%

Table 13. CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local Variety (The results are rounded off to whole numbers)

The accumulative percentage for the scores of each voice sample is displayed in appendix-table 19. A quick look at the table marks 07 Niklas apart since he receives a relatively great part of his scores in the *High* category (67%). But, there are other interesting patterns too. If 75% are set as a limit of interest in the accumulative percentages, then three of the four CS voices only reach this limit in the *High* category, and the last (04 Asta) reaches it in the *Medium-high* category, whereas all of the of the MS and the LV voices reach it in the Medium-high category, and thus, the CS voices are evaluated as having more potential for a *High* education than the other two varieties. The MS and the LV voices are evaluated rather alike, but if a limit of interest is set at 25% it looks like there is a difference in the evaluation of the two. None of the MS voices reach this limit until the *Medium* category, and three of the four LV voices reach it already in the *Short* category (09 Laurits is the exception).

In appendix-table 20, the accumulative percentages of the results are divided according to subject-gender. Starting out with the same two limits of interest (25% and 75%), the female subjects' evaluation of the CS voices show that two of them reach the 25% limit in the *Medium* category, and in the male's it is three. Concerning the 75% limit neither of the subject-gender

specific results for the CS voices deviate from the overall results. The results for the MS voices show that in the female subjects' evaluation all of them reach this limit in the *Medium* category, but in the male's two of them reach it already in the *Short* category (04 Alice and 11 Simon). Regarding the 75% limit there is no difference. The female subjects' evaluation of the LV voices show that three of them reach the 25% limit in the *Short* category, and in the male's two of them do. Concerning the 75% limit there is no differences.

Table 14 shows the average ranking of the voices and there seems to be no informant-gender specific pattern or influence on the subjects' evaluations.

Average ranking for the voices concerning predicted educational level	
07 Niklas (CS) m	3,526315789
10 Caroline (CS) f	2,903508772
01 Ole (CS) m	2,770642200
04 Asta (CS) f	2,732142857
05 Jon (MS) m	2,504424779
09 Laurits (LV) m	2,350877193
06 Mille (LV) f	2,330357143
02 Alice (MS) f	2,324324324
11 Simon (MS) m	2,247787611
08 Laila (MS) f	2,236842105
12 Liv (LV) f	2,140350877
03 Mikkel (LV) m	2,080357143

Table 14. Average ranking from 1 = Short to 4 = High education. CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.

Within the group of HbE students, there is only significant difference (level $p<.05$) in the results (appendix-table 21) for two of the 12 voices: 01 Ole (CS) and 11 Simon (MS). Within the group of HbS students there are significant differences in the results for three: 06 Mille (LV) $p<.001$, 07 Niklas (CS) $p<.05$, and 12 Liv (LV) $p<.01$. Thus, within both groups, there is at least a reasonable agreement. Between the two groups there are more differences though. There are significant differences in the results for five of the voices: 01 Ole (CS) $p<.01$, 07 Niklas (CS) and 10 Caroline (CS) level $p<.05$, 02 Alice (MS) and 08 Laila (MS) level $p<.05$. In the case of the first four of these, the HbS students predict a higher educational level than the HbE students, but in the case of 08 Laila (MS) it is the other way around.

Additional comments

The majority of the additional comments are positive: 76 of the 122 are categorized as positive comments, 31 as negative, and 15 as neutral. The LV voices get 44 comments, the CS voices 40, and the MS voices 38. Considering that if each subjects made just one comment for each voice sample there would be 1404 comments, then the 122 comments can hardly be considered a very successful result, nevertheless, there might be some interesting observations among them.

It was just shown how the three varieties get almost the same amount of comments, so the variety does not seem to have influence on whether the voices are commented upon or not. There is a difference in the distribution of the loaded utterances though. Of the comments given to the CS voices 73% (29) are positive, 15% (6) are negative, and 12% (5) are neutral. For the MS voices 58% (22) are positive, 26% (10) are negative, and 16% (6) are neutral. For the LV voices 57% (25) are positive, 34% (15) are negative, and 9% (4) are neutral. Thus, the subjects are more positive towards the CS voices than the rest of the voices and more negative towards the LV voices.

The distribution of the additional comments for each voices sample							
	All	*Positive*	*...in %*	*Negative*	*...in %*	*Neutral*	*...in %*
01 Ole (CS) m	13	9	69%	4	31%	0	0%
04 Asta (CS) f	11	9	82%	1	9%	1	9%
07 Niklas (CS) m	10	7	70%	1	10%	2	20%
10 Caroline (CS) f	6	4	67%	0	0%	2	33%
02 Alice (MS) f	11	6	55%	4	36%	1	9%
05 Jon (MS) m	6	4	67%	0	0%	2	33%
08 Laila (MS) f	9	3	33%	3	33%	3	33%
11 Simon (MS) m	12	9	75%	3	25%	0	0%
03 Mikkel (LV) m	12	6	50%	5	42%	1	8%
06 Mille (LV) f	9	5	56%	3	33%	1	11%
09 Laurits (LV) m	9	5	56%	3	33%	1	11%
12 Liv (LV) f	14	9	64%	4	29%	1	7%

Table 15. CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local Variety (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

All the voices get more positive than negative and neutral comments, except for 08 Laila (MS). She gets a complete equal distribution of comments in all three categories, which means that she is the only one of the voices which gets less than 50% of positive comments. Besides that it is hard to say anything at all, since there are so few comments.

Summing up the results of the subconsciously elicited attitudes

The subconsciously elicited attitudes (table 12) reveal that the CS and the MS voices, respectively, are relatively upgraded in each their dimension, the CS in the superiority and the MS in the dynamism dimension, and that the LV voices are downgraded on all scales in both dimensions. This evaluational pattern is very similar to that found in the LANCHART studies in Copenhagen, Næstved, Vissenbjerg, Odder and Vinderup (appendix-table 14). The only noticeable difference in comparison with the LANCHART results is that the CS voices have more of a stronghold in the superiority dimension in the Holstebro results than is the case in the LANCHART results. This may be a sort of "lacking behind" in Holstebro, since it seems that the MS is gaining ground in the superiority dimension in all the LANCHART locations.

Only in the evaluation of one of the voice samples, do the subject-gender specific differences seem to have an impact (appendix-table 15). The female subjects evaluate 10 Caroline (CS) significantly better than the male subjects in three of the eight scales. Looking at voice-gender specific differences, they are less influential than the varieties, but the MS male voices are evaluated a little higher than the female in both dimensions, the CS male voices in the superiority dimension but lower than the female in the dynamism dimension, whereas the female and male LV voices are evaluated alike (appendix-table 16).

The school level does seem to matter (appendix-tables 17 and 18). The HbS students generally evaluate the voices a little lower in the scales than the HbE Students, especially 08 Laila (MS), who they evaluate significantly lower in all scales in the superiority dimension and in one scale (*Nice – Repulsive*) in the dynamism dimension.

The CS voices are predicted to achieve the highest educational level of the three represented varieties (tables 13 and 14), and in particular 07 Niklas (CS) is predicted to achieve a high educational level. The MS and the LV voices was

evaluated quite alike here with the MS voice being predicted a slightly higher level than the LV voices (appendix-table 20).

The possibility of writing additional comments results in only 122 comments (table 15), which is a very low amount, and therefore it is difficult to conclude anything from them. Of the comments given, the CS voices get a relatively larger part of positive than the voices representing the other two varieties, and the LV voices get a relatively larger part of negative comments than the other voices. 08 Laila (MS) stands out as the only voice with less than 50% positive comments (33%).

Analysing the interviews

In table 16 the coded results of the interviews are divided in positive and negative utterances and distributed in three dimensions (superiority, dynamism, and sociability):

Interview results divided in positive and negative utterances and distributed in three dimensions: superiority, dynamism, and sociability					
+	*LV*	*MS*	*Jysk*	*CS*	*Other*
Superiority	14 (17%)	33 (40%)	3 (4%)	29 (35%)	3 (4%)
Dynamism	14 (16%)	69 (77%)	6 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sociability	34 (50%)	8 (12%)	23 (34%)	0 (0%)	3 (4%)
–	*LV*	*MS*	*Jysk*	*CS*	*Other*
Superiority	28 (24%)	2 (2%)	87 (74%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Dynamism	13 (24%)	13 (24%)	28 (52%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sociability	3 (5%)	53 (81%)	8 (12%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)

Table 16. The percentages are calculated within each dimension and divided in two categories (positive or negative) (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

There is an equal distribution of positive and negative utterances, 239 positive and 236 negative – 475 all together, but the distribution in the varieties is very disparate. There are 178 utterances about the MS, which is 38% of the total, 110 positive and 68 negative. There are 155 about *jysk*, 33% of the total, 32 positive and 123 negative. There are 106 about the LV, 22% of the total, 62 positive and 44 negative. There are 29 about the CS, 6% of the total, all positive. The CS immediately comes to attention since there are quite few loaded utterances about it, and all of them are positive and in the superiority dimension.

Among the positive utterance in the superiority dimension, the MS is the top-scorer followed by the CS – 75% of the utterances are about the MS or the CS. In the dynamism dimension for positive utterances, the MS is sole top-scorer with 77% and thus dominates this dimension completely. In the sociability dimension, the LV is top-scorer with half of the utterances, followed by *jysk* with 34%.

Concerning the negative utterances, *jysk* is by far the most "unpopular" in the superiority dimension with 74%. This is also the case in the dynamism dimension but only with a little more than half of the utterances. In both dimensions the LV gets 24%. When it comes to the sociability dimension the MS is by far the most "unpopular" with 81%.

The informants definitely associate the two Copenhagen varieties with superiority when talking about the varieties. In fact, they associate the CS exclusively with the superiority dimension, since all the utterances about it are positive and in this dimension. They also find that *jysk* has nothing to do with superiority what so ever. 4% of the positive utterances and 87% of the negative show very clearly that *jysk* is unsuited for this dimension. Concerning the LV they are less clear in what they say about it. It is not very much associated with superiority, 17% of the positive utterance, and 24% of the negative. In the dynamism dimension, the MS is all dominating with 78% of the positive utterances and only 2% of the negative. The case of both the LV and *jysk* are similar to that of the superiority dimension, except that there are less negative utterance about *jysk* in the dynamism dimension.

Table 17 is concerned with the coding result within the varieties:

Interview results divided in positive and negative utterances and distributed in three dimensions: superiority, dynamism, and sociability					
+	LV	MS	Jysk	CS	Other
Superiority	14 (23%)	33 (30%)	3 (9%)	29 (100%)	3 (50%)
Dynamism	14 (23%)	69 (63%)	6 (19%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sociability	34 (55%)	8 (7%)	23 (72%)	0 (0%)	3 (50%)
–	LV	MS	Jysk	CS	Other
Superiority	28 (64%)	2 (3%)	87 (71%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Dynamism	13 (30%)	13 (19%)	28 (23%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sociability	3 (7%)	53 (78%)	8 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)

Table 17. The percentages are calculated within each variety and divide in two categories (positive or negative) (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

The LV is the variety with the most even distribution of positive (62) and negative (44) utterances, which may indicate that the informants' concept of the variety is less stereotypical and more complex than is the case with the other varieties. A little more than half of the positive utterances are in the sociability dimension, but there are also a reasonable amount of positive utterances in both the superiority and the dynamism dimension. When it comes to the negative utterances, there is no doubt that the informants regard the LV unsuited for the superiority dimension.

The MS is the variety with the largest number of utterances of all, and the positive (110) are almost twice as many as the negative (68). The MS gets the largest amount of positive comments in the dynamism dimension, followed by the superiority dimension, but with only 7% of the positive utterance in the sociability dimension, the informants clearly do not associate the MS with this dimension. The sociability

dimension is where the MS gets the most negative utterances with 78%, which only supports that this variety is ill suited in this dimension.

Jysk is the only variety about which there are more negative (123) utterances than positive (32). Only about 20% of the utterances are positive, and of these the majority is in the sociability dimension. Of the negative utterances the major part is in the superiority dimension, but there are also quite a few in the dynamism dimension, whereas there is only a very small amount in the sociability dimension.

The CS stands out in comparison with the other varieties, since there are very few loaded utterances about it and they are all positive utterances in the superiority dimension. In order to investigate this further, I conducted a buzz word search of both the word '*rigsdansk*' (CS) and the word '*københavnsk*' (MS) (for comparison), since the very low number of loaded utterances might be due to it hardly being mentioned during the interviews. The word '*rigsdansk*' appeared 86 times and '*københavnsk*' 101 during the interview, which is a quite similar frequency. The difference does not explain the results for the CS, and consequently I categorized every occurrence of the word '*rigsdansk*' after what is being said when the word is mentioned. This resulted in five categories induced from what the informants uttered about '*rigsdansk*':

1) *Rigsdansk* as a variety: when *rigsdansk* is mentioned in comparison to other Danish varieties or being localized geographically.

"i think it is hard to tell where you speak rigsdansk # københa or not københavn what is it eh århusiansk (århus speech – red.) i would almost say that is kind of some of what # i guess that xxx"
                    [Excerpt from interviews – my translation]

2) *Rigsdansk* as a variable standard: it is possible to speak *rigsdansk* in Holstebro   as   well   as   in   Copenhagen

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(København) but with different accents or local influence –
it is simply the way you speak.

"hh # but # in a way in is kind of rigsdansk is just #
what you speak kind of # like # if i was here if i #
when i speak like i do now then i would say it was
rigsdansk # but if i went to københavn and lived
there for a couple of years # and then spoke # real
like københavnsk then i would think that[!!] was
rigsdansk"
                    [Excerpt from interviews – my translation]

3) *Rigsdansk* as a resource: it is possible to speak more or
less *rigsdansk* and thus adapting or accommodating to a
specific situation (The following excerpt is   about   a
hypothetical situation where the informants are talking to
two peers from Copenhagen).

"yes but i think that is when you speak the most[!!]
rigsdansk # cause then if you come home and speak
with two that # maybe have a little jysk then #
everything gets kind of reinforced i guess"
                    [Excerpt from interviews – my translation]

4) *Rigsdansk* as norm-ideal (Kristiansen 2001): *rigsdansk* as
a prestigious and strong (ideal) standard that cannot be
contradicted (often regarded as the   written   standard
from the dictionary).

"i think it is the most correct danish you call
rigsdansk i guess"
                    [Excerpt from interviews – my translation]

5) *Rigsdansk* as a tool for comprehension (both ways):
everybody always understands *rigsdansk*!

"if they then speak so[!!] jysk that you cannot understand them and such # then i see that it would maybe be a bit more convenient if they could also speak rigsdansk"

[Excerpt from interviews – my translation]

These categories show that *rigsdansk* indeed is a part of the informants' linguistic sphere or world, since they do indeed know a lot about it (stereotypically anyway), but *rigsdansk* might be something different from the other varieties.

Summing up the interview results

The MS is seemingly the most "popular" variety since there are most loaded utterances about this variety, and the informants associate it primarily with dynamism, but also to a certain degree with superiority, whereas they do not associate it with sociability at all (tables 16 and 17).

Jysk is also very often commented upon, but most of the utterances about it are negative (tables 16 and 17) and in the superiority dimension. When the informants do speak positively about *jysk* it is almost exclusively in the sociability dimension.

The results of the LV are the most complex, since the distribution in dimensions and categories (positive and negative) are much more ambiguous than is the case with the other varieties. There is an almost equal distribution of positive and negative utterances about the LV (with a slight majority of positive). Regarding the positive utterances the informants associate it the most with sociability, but also to a certain degree with both dynamism and superiority. When it comes to negative utterances, there is a majority in the superiority dimension (tables 16 and 17).

The case of the CS is on the surface very clear. There are only 29 utterances about it, and all of them are positive and in the superiority dimension (tables 16 and 17). This is not, however, because the variety is not mentioned during the interviews. It seems to be regarded somewhat differently than the other varieties, since the utterances involving it or about it

are not categorizable as either negative or positive. A buzz word search of the word "*rigsdansk*" and a contextualization of the occurrences of it reveal five categories that apply to the CS: a variety, a variable standard, a resource, a norm-ideal, and a means of comprehension. These five categories support that the CS is regarded differently than the other varieties but still very much part of the informants' linguistic knowledge base or repertoire.

Comparing the results of the three approaches

In the results of the LRT *midtjysk* (LV), *vestjysk* (LV) and *rigsdansk* (CS) are ranked as first, second and third, and *københavnsk* is ranked seventh – significantly lower than the other varieties. These results show the subjects' consciously elicited attitudes where the clearly distance themselves from *københavnsk* (MS) in comparison with *midtjysk* (LV), *vestjysk* (LV) and *rigsdansk* (CS), and the top ranking of the two LV, *midtjysk* and *vestjysk*, is a clear indication of local patriotism.

In the results of the subconsciously elicited attitudes all traces of local patriotism is gone, since the subjects downgrade the LV significantly on all scales in comparison with the MS and the CS voices. The CS is also popular in the subconsciously elicited attitudes but more so in the scales in the superiority dimension, where it is upgraded significantly in comparison with the MS, than in the scales of the dynamism dimension, where it is downgraded significantly in comparison with the MS.

In the three interviews the informants discuss the varieties, stereotypes about them, and their attitudes towards them. The coding reveals that the informants are rather positive towards the LV and *jysk* in the sociability dimension, but negative towards them in the superiority dimension – all together the informants are more negative than positive towards *jysk* as the only of the four investigated categories. They talk positively about MS primarily in the dynamism dimension, but they are also quite positive towards it in the superiority dimension, whereas they talk negatively about it in the sociability dimension. The

informants only talk about the CS in the superiority dimension and exclusively positive utterances.

The upgrading of *rigsdansk* (CS) in the LRT and of the CS voices in the superiority dimension in the SEE seems to correlate with the potential for a *High* education, and the interview results also show that the CS is associated with status and prestige in the superiority dimension. The upgrading of *midtjysk* (LV) and *vestjysk* (LV) in the LRT is not supported in the SEE, where it is quite the opposite that is the case: the LV is downgraded in all scales and achieves no status or prestige what so ever in either dimension in comparison with the CS and the MS. In the interviews the LV achieves status in the sociability dimension, but here too it is downgraded in the superiority and the dynamism dimensions. The downgrading of the MS in the LRT is only mirrored in the downgrading of the MS in the sociability dimension in the interviews, but here it is still upgraded in both the superiority and the dynamism dimension. This is also the case in the SEE (in comparison with the LV, it is downgraded in comparison with the CS in the superiority dimension), but this does not seem to influence the predicted level of education, where the MS voices are upgraded only slightly in comparison with the LV voices.

Voice samples that stand out – 07 Niklas (CS) and 08 Laila (MS)
07 Niklas (CS) is being evaluated higher than the other CS voices, the MS voices and the LV voices in nearly all the different parts of the three approaches. He is regarded the most standardized of all (table 3), but has a rather low level of recognition of being from Copenhagen (table 4). In the SEE he is the overall highest evaluated voice (table 9). He is evaluated to be the most *Intelligent*, *Conscientious*, *Goal directed*, and *Self-assured* of all the voices, as the second most *Nice*, averagely *Fascinating* (fifth) and *Cool* (sixth). Thus, he is topping all of the superiority scales, two of the dynamism scales, and among these are the two sociability scales (*Nice – Repulsive* and *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy*) that go across the two other dimensions. The subjects' evaluations of him in the SEE are

very much in agreement, there are neither significant subject-gender specific (appendix-table 15) nor school level specific (appendix-table 17) differences. He is also the voice which the most (by far) of the subjects predict will achieve the highest educational level (table 14, appendix-table 19). Seven out of ten of the additional comments concerning 07 Niklas are categorized as positive, which makes him only surpassed by 04 Asta (CS) who gets nine out of 11 and 11 Simon (MS) who gets nine out of 12 (table 15).

08 Laila (MS) is generally being evaluated lower than the other Copenhagen voices, and in some cases even lower than some of the LV voices. She is regarded as the least standardized of all the CS and the MS voices and one of the LV voices (09 Laurits) (table 3). She is the most recognized of all the Copenhagen voices (table 4). In the SEE she is evaluated lower than the other three MS voices in all scales in both dimensions, and she is evaluated lower than one or two of the LV voices (09 Laurits and 12 Liv) in four of the eight scales: *Intelligent – Stupid* (09 Laurits), *Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky* (09 Laurits), *Trustworthy – Untrustworthy* (09 Laurits and 12 Liv), and *Nice – Repulsive* (09 Laurits and 12 Liv) (table 9). The subjects' evaluations of her in the SEE differ noticeably when it comes to school level where there are significant differences in five of eight scales (appendix-table 17). Of all the Copenhagen voices she is predicted to achieve the lowest educational level (table 14), and she gets the lowest number of positive comments (table 15).

CONCLUSION

The results show that the adolescents in Holstebro follow the same attitudinal pattern as the adolescents in the LANCHART studies. When asked directly, i.e. the consciously elicited attitudes, they express local patriotism and evaluate the LV higher than the MS. When they are asked indirectly, and are unaware of language differences as the study object, i.e. the subconsciously elicited attitudes, they evaluate the MS higher than the LV, not even in the sociability scales does the LV seem to have status. In the interviews the participants' utterances show a pattern similar to that of the subconsciously elicited attitudes, the MS primarily mentioned positively in the dynamism dimension but also to a certain degree in the superiority dimension, and the LV is primarily mentioned positively in the sociability dimension. The CS is evaluated quite high in all three approaches. It is ranked just below the LV in the LRT, it is ranked higher than the LV in both dimensions in the SEE, and higher than MS in the superiority dimension. In the interviews there are remarkably few loaded utterances about the CS and all of them are positive and in the superiority dimension.

The adolescents in Holstebro do express loyalty towards their own way of speaking, the LV, but only in the consciously elicited results. In the two other approaches they treat their own way of speaking as inferior and only partly suitable when it comes to closeness and familiarity (sociability). It has no place within the educational system or the business world (superiority), and there is no room for it in the modern media (dynamism). Speaking the LV marks you as being more *Stupid*, *Happy-go-lucky*, *Dull*, *Untrustworthy*, *Boring*, *Uncertain*, *Uncool*, and *Repulsive*, than if you are speaking either the CS or the MS.

Their relationship to the MS is rather complex. They distance themselves from it in the consciously elicited attitudes, but they evaluate it higher than the LV in both the subconsciously elicited attitudes and in the interviews, but

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participants in the interviews do distance themselves from it in the sociability dimension. In comparison with the CS it is more the language of the modern media than of education and business, and speaking it makes you appear more *Fascinating*, *Self-assured*, *Cool*, and *Nice*, than if you are speaking the CS.

In all three approaches the CS is highly evaluated by the subjects/participants. In the LRT it is almost on the level of the LV, and in the SEE CS speakers are considered to be more *Conscientious*, *Intelligent*, *Goal directed*, and *Trustworthy*. The results for the CS in the interviews indicate that it might not be perceived in the same way as the other mentioned varieties. A buzz word search determined that the participants did talk about the variety during the interviews and a contextual coding of the occurrences of the word "*rigsdansk*" reveals that the participants' utterances about it could be categorized in five categories: 1) a variety, 2) a variable standard, 3) a resource, 4) a norm-ideal, 5) and a means of comprehension. These categories indicate that the CS may be more of an ideological and stereotypical construct to the participants than the other varieties are, or rather it is perceived as more than and less of a variety than the other varieties. The participants seem to have difficulties in placing it geographically, they regard it as an overarching variety that encompasses the other varieties, they use it as a resource to adjust to more standardized or out-group situations, they consider it the correct way of speaking Danish, and they regard it as the most comprehensible way of speaking Danish. The other varieties all have ready and tangible stereotypes attached to them, that link them to given geographical places and given demographic categories. This is not the case with the CS. It is more of an ideological construction or a common sense assumption (Fairclough 2001: 64) to the participants – i.e. they conceptualize it as a norm-ideal (Kristiansen 2001).

Did I answer the questions in the thesis statement?

The comparison with the LANCHART results reveals that the attitudes of the Holstebro adolescents are very much in line with

those of other Danish adolescents. The LV and the CS are evaluated higher than the MS in the consciously elicited attitudes, the LV is evaluated lower than both the MS and the CS in the subconsciously elicited attitudes, where the MS is evaluated higher than the CS in the dynamism dimension and the CS higher than the MS in the superiority dimension, and this is also pretty much what the participants express in the interviews, with the exception that LV does achieve some status in the sociability dimension during the discussion.

The case of *rigsdansk* clearly shows that there is much more to the subjects' language attitudes than the Kristiansen model elicits (or means to elicit). The two different levels of attitudes, the subconsciously and consciously elicited, cover the apparent disagreement in what the subjects do and what they say they do and thus accounts for *københavnsk* spreading as a Danish standard even though it seems to be surrounded by negative stereotyping. A qualitative approach like the group interview is better suited for eliciting the reasoning behind this disagreement in the two levels of attitudes and thus it nuances the quantitative results. The two approaches are also different cognitive processes: 1) answering questionnaires about (stereotypical) concepts of language use, and 2) discussing these (stereotypical) concepts and other stereotypes about the varieties. A quantitative approach is furthermore restricted by the preconditions for statistical analysis and the following given framework (the scales in the questionnaires and the given concepts), whereas a qualitative approach is more open to results developing and being constructed by the participants during the process (Kruse 2008).

Returning to the case of *rigsdansk*, I would argue that the combination of the two approaches contributes to a fuller and more nuanced image of the subjects'/participants' attitudes. In the quantitative approach *rigsdansk* is considered a variety among other Danish varieties but the qualitative approach reveals that it is not as simple as that. The interview exposes the participants' own interpretation of the varieties, covered by the concepts used in the quantitative approach, and how they try to construct and reconstruct them in relation to each other and to

their own linguistical repertoire. The terminology of the quantitative approach is thus discussed and elaborated by the participants themselves. This achieves at least two important intermediate aims: 1) a validation of the terminology as relevant for the target group and thus meaningful to discuss, and 2) this validation secures that the analyses are not exclusively based on a scientific linguistical terminology, which may not correspond with the subjects'/participants' perceptions. Accomplishing these two goals strengthens the entire study and roots it in the linguistical worlds of both the subjects as well as the researcher.

The relationship between the adolescents' attitudes and the ongoing change in Danish becomes quite clear with the result of the attitudes study. The Danish dialects have more or less vanished due to the fact that they are no longer being independently productive or transferred between the generations. This is clear to the subconsciously elicited attitudes, where the adolescents evaluate their own way of speaking as being inferior and less attractive than the two represented Copenhagen varieties. This is, in my opinion, a clear indication of the fact that the subconsciously elicited language attitudes are a contributing factor to the ongoing language change in Danish.

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ABSTRACT

I set out to investigate the language attitudes to Modern and Conservative Copenhagen speech as well as the local variety (*midtjysk*/*vestjysk*) among 117 adolescents in the town of Holstebro in the western part of Jutland, and whether they are in agreement with the result for language attitudes studies in other parts of Denmark.

For the study I use the same design as was used for the large scale attitudes studies of the LANCHART Centre (University of Copenhagen). This design consists of a Speaker Evaluation Experiment, which is a guise test developed from the Matched-guise technique – an indirect approach, and a Label Ranking Task, which is a straightforward ranking of different Danish varieties – a direct approach. As a supplement to these two approaches I conduct three qualitative interviews with altogether 12 informants chosen from the 117 subjects where the language attitudes, stereotypes about and representation of different Danish varieties are discussed in general and the three above mentioned varieties in particular.

The standardization process in Danish has led to a dialect loss with virtually no variation left except for prosodic differences. Recent language attitudes studies suggest that standard language ideologies are a vital part of this language change. The studies also reveal that there seems to be a split in what is considered the Danish standard language. The traditional standard language, Conservative Copenhagen speech (*rigsdansk*) is being challenged in a dimension of superiority (concerning education and business) by Modern Copenhagen speech (*københavnsk*), which is rapidly on the rise and already has dominion in a dimension of dynamism (concerning mass media and youth culture) in the attitudinal landscape of Danish.

Asked directly, subjects express "local patriotism" and upgrade their own, local way of speaking in comparison to the Danish standard language, but indirectly asked, they downgrade their own way variety in comparison to the Danish standard, which is in accordance with the ongoing standardization and

loss of dialects. These evaluative patterns in the results of the two approaches is also present in the results of this study, and the results of the qualitative interviews nuance and elaborate further on these patterns and the stereotypes and ideologies behind them.

Tables

Linguistical description of the MS and the CS voice samples		
CS-female	04 Asta	Copenhagen intonation. One instance of the Copenhagen/Zealand discourse articel "ik". [q⁺] in stead of [q] before labials and velars (4/5). No shortening of vowels preceding [D] (4/4). [ja] in stead of [jq] in "jeg" ("I")(1/1). [A] in stead of [a] in "lærer" ("a teacher") (1/1); [q] in stead of [a] in "klart" ("definitely") (1/1); [c] in the ending of "være" ("to be") (2/2).
	10 Caroline	Copenhagen intonation. No shortening of vowels preceding [D] (1/1); [jq] in stead of [ja] in "jeg" ("I") (2/2). [c] in the ending of "være" ("to be") (3/3).
CS-male	01 Ole	Copenhagen intonation. No shortening af vowels preceding [D] (2/2). [Cj] in stead of [cj] in "tøjler" ("reins") (2/2) [A] in stead of [a] in "lærer" ("a teacher") (1/1); [c] in the ending of "være" ("to be") (2/3).
	07 Niklas	Copenhagen intonation. No shortening of vowels preceding [D] (1/1). [ra] in stead of [rq] in "fremmest" ("foremost") (1/1) [A] in stead of [a] in "lærer" ("a teacher") (6/6); [q] in stead of [a] in "klart" ("definitely") (1/1); [R] in the ending of "være" ("to be") (6/9); [c] in stead of [R] in "læreren" ("the teacher") (2/2).

		Linguistical description of the MS and the CS voice samples
MS-female	02 Alice	Copenhagen intonation. [q] in stead of [q⁺] before labials and velars (2/2). [rq] in stead of [ra] in "resten" ("the rest") (1/1). [jq] in stead of [ja] in "jeg" ("I") (1/1) [A] in stead of [a] in "lærer" ("a teacher") (3/3); [c] in the ending of "være" ("to be") (2/2); [c] in stead of [R] in "læreren" ("the teacher") (1/1).
	08 Laila	Copenhagen intonation. One instance of the Copenhagen/Zealand discourse particle "ik"; lengthening of stressed short vowels (3/7). [q] in stead of [q⁺] before labials and velars (2/2) [jq] in stead of [ja] in "jeg" ("I") (1/1); [a] in stead of [A] in "lærer" ("a teacher") (2/3); [c] in the ending of "være" ("to be") (3/3); [c] in stead of [R] in "læreren" ("the teacher") (1/1); [E] in stead of [rq] after [t] i "interesse" ("interest") (2/2).
MS-male	05 Jon	Copenhagen intonation. Staccato rythm; [tˢ] in stead of [t] (5/5). Velarised [D] and shortening of the preceding vowel (2/2) [A] in stead of [a] in "lærer" ("a teacher") (1/1); [q] in stead of [c] or [R] in "læreren" ("the teacher") (2/2).
	11 Simon	Copenhagen intonation. Staccato rythm. [rq] in stead of [ra] in "interesse" ("interest") (1/1). Velarised [D] and shortening of the preceding vowel (1/1) [A] in stead of [a] in "lærer" ("a teacher") (1/1); [R] in the ending of "være" ("to be") (6/6); [rq] in stead of [E] after [t] in "interesse" ("interest") (1/1).

Appendix-table 1. Linguistic description of the MS and CS speakers (with the use of Dania) – my additions under the dotted lines.

(Maegaard 2005: 60)

Linguistical description of the voice LV samples (Holstebro)		
LV-female	06 Mille	Holstebro intonation; [ja] in stead of [jq] in "jeg" ("I") (3/3); [a] in stead of [A] in "lærer" ("teacher") (1/1); [a] in stead of [q] in "klart" ("definitely") (1/1).
	12 Liv	Holstebro intonation; [ja] in stead of [jq] in "jeg" ("I") (1/2); [a] in stead of [A] in "lærer" ("teacher") (1/2); [R] in the end of "være" ("to be") (2/2); [R] in stead [c] in "læreren" ("the teacher") (2/2).
LV-male	03 Mikkel	Holstebro intonation; [jq] in stead of [ja] in "jeg" ("I") (3/4); [a] in stead of [A] in "lærer" ("teacher") (1/2).
	09 Laurits	Holstebro intonation; [ja] in stead of [jq] in "jeg" ("I") (1/1); [a] in stead of [A] in "lærer" ("teacher"); [R] in the end of "være" ("to be") (1/2). [R] in stead of [c] in "læreren" ("the teacher")(1/1).

Appendix-table 2. Linguistic description of the LV speakers
(with the use of Dania)

Average ranking of each of the 12 voice samples according to standardization and divided into subject-gender			
Voice samples	01 (CS) m	04 (CS) f	07 (CS) m	10 (CS) f
Female	3,466	$3,155^2$	$2,736^1$	$3,236^1$
Male	3,273	3,046	2,568	3,181
Voice samples	02 (MS) f	05 (MS) m	08 (MS) f	11 (MS) m
Female	$3,667^1$	$3,694^1$	$3,931^1$	$3,667^1$
Male	3,523	3,773	3,932	3,773
Voice samples	03 (LV) m	06 (LV) f	09 (LV) m	12 (LV) f
Female	$4,676^2$	$4,319^1$	$4,014^1$	$4,333^1$
Male	4,626	4,273	3,773	3,909

Appendix-table 3. 73 female and 44 male = 117 subjects, f = female, m = male
[1] Only 72 subjects since one did not fill in.
[2] Only 71 subjects since two did not fill in.

Average ranking of each of the 12 voice samples according to standardization and divided into HbE and HbS students			
Voice samples	01 (CS) m	04 (CS) f	07 (CS) m	10 (CS) f
HBE students	3,329	2,936[1]	2,859[1]	3,141[1]
HbS students	3,526	3,486[2]	2,289	3,368
Voice samples	02 (MS) f	05 (MS) m	08 (MS) f	11 (MS) m
HBE students	3,333[1]	3,474[1]	3,718[1]	3,628[1]
HbS students	4,184	4,237	4,368	3,868
Voice samples	03 (LV) m	06 (LV) f	09 (LV) m	12 (LV) f
HBE students	4,654[1]	4,167[1]	3,679[1]	3,782[1]
HbS students	4,676[2]	4,579	4,421	4,789

Appendix-table 4. 79 HbE students and 38 HbS students = 117 subjects, f = female, m = male.
[1] Only 78 subjects since one did not fill in.
[2] Only 37 subjects since one did not fill in.

Voice samples	Female Holstebro	Male Holstebro	Female Copenhagen	Male Copenhagen	Not filled in	Difference
The results of the geographical location of the voice samples divided into female and male subjects.						
01 Ole (CS) m	18%	50%	81%	50%	1%	***
04 Asta (CS) f	11%	25%	88%	75%	1%	#
07 Niklas (CS) m	33%	43%	67%	57%		/
10 Caroline (CS) f	22%	41%	78%	59%		*
02 Alice (MS) f	22%	41%	78%	59%		*
05 Jon (MS) m	36%	32%	64%	68%		/
08 Laila (MS) f	7%	25%	93%	75%		**
11 Simon (MS) m	41%	30%	59%	70%		/
03 Mikkel (LV) m	96%	75%	4%	25%		**
06 Mille (LV) f	97%	82%	3%	18%		**
09 Laurits (LV) m	97%	93%	3%	7%		/
12 Liv (LV) f	92%	73%	8%	27%		**

Appendix-table 5. 73 female and 44 male = 117 subjects. The Voice samples are ordered according to variety. Significance: ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05, #=p<.10, /=n.s., f = female, m = male (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

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	HbE	HbS	HbE	HbS		
The results of the geographical location of the voice samples divided into HbE and HbS subjects.						
Voice samples	**Holstebro**	**Holstebro**	**Copenhagen**	**Copenhagen**	**Not filled in**	**Difference**
01 Ole (CS) m	43%	3%	56%	97%	1%	***
04 Asta (CS) f	23%	3%	76%	97%	1%	**
07 Niklas (CS) m	41%	29%	59%	71%		/
10 Caroline (CS) f	33%	21%	67%	79%		/
02 Alice (MS) f	39%	8%	61%	92%		***
05 Jon (MS) m	39%	24%	61%	76%		#
08 Laila (MS) f	15%	11%	85%	89%		/
11 Simon (MS) m	41%	29%	59%	71%		/
03 Mikkel (LV) m	82%	100%	18%	0%		**
06 Mille (LV) f	87%	100%	13%	0%		*
09 Laurits (LV) m	94%	100%	6%	0%		/
12 Liv (LV) f	77%	100%	23%	0%		**

Appendix-table 6. 73 female and 44 male = 117 subjects. The Voice samples are ordered according to variety. Significance: ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05, #=p<.10, /=n.s., f = female, m = male (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

The results of the geographical location of the voice samples within the group of HbS students and dived into female and male subjects						
	Female	Male	Female	Male		
Voice samples	Holstebro	Holstebro	Copenhagen	Copenhagen	Not filled in	Difference
01 Ole (CS) m	30%	60%	68%	40%	2%	**
04 Asta (CS) f	16%	31%	82%	69%	2%	/
07 Niklas (CS) m	34%	46%	66%	54%		/
10 Caroline (CS) f	23%	46%	77%	54%		*
02 Alice (MS) f	32%	49%	68%	51%		/
05 Jon (MS) m	41%	37%	59%	63%		/
08 Laila (MS) f	5%	29%	95%	71%		**
11 Simon (MS) m	48%	31%	52%	69%		/
03 Mikkel (LV) m	93%	68%	7%	32%		**
06 Mille (LV) f	95%	77%	5%	23%		*
09 Laurits (LV) m	95%	91%	5%	9%		/
12 Liv (LV) f	86%	66%	14%	34%		*

Appendix-table 7. 44 female and 35 male = 79 subjects. The Voice samples are ordered according to variety. Significance: ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05, #=p<.10, /=n.s., f = female, m = male (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

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Voice samples	Female Holstebro	Male Holstebro	Female Copenhagen	Male Copenhagen	Difference
The results of the geographical location of the voice samples within the group of HbS students and dived into female and male subjects					
01 Ole (CS) m	0%	11%	100%	89%	#
04 Asta (CS) f	3%	0%	97%	100%	/
07 Niklas (CS) m	31%	22%	69%	78%	/
10 Caroline (CS) f	21%	22%	79%	78%	/
02 Alice (MS) f	7%	11%	93%	89%	/
05 Jon (MS) m	28%	11%	72%	89%	/
08 Laila (MS) f	10%	11 %	90%	89%	/
11 Simon (MS) m	31%	22%	69%	78%	/
03 Mikkel (LV) m	100%	100%	0%	0%	/
06 Mille (LV) f	100%	100%	0%	0%	/
09 Laurits (LV) m	100%	100%	0%	0%	/
12 Liv (LV) f	100%	100%	0%	0%	/

Appendix-table 8. 29 female and 9 male = 38 subjects. The Voice samples are ordered according to variety. Significance: ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05, #=p<.10, /=n.s., f = female, m = male (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

The results of the LRT divided in female and male subjects			
Female (73)		Male (44)	
1. Midtjysk	2,57	1. Midtjysk	2,91
2. Rigsdansk	3,72	2. Vestjysk	3,23
3. Vestjysk	3,99	3. Rigsdansk	4,23
4. Østjysk	4,54	4. Østjysk	4,84
5. Sjællandsk	4,81	5. Nordjysk	5,07
6. Nordjysk	4,97	6. Sjællandsk	5,27
7. Københavnsk	5,36	7. Københavnsk	5,30
8. Sønderjysk	7,13	8. Sønderjysk	6,77
9. Bornholmsk	8,00	9. Bornholmsk	7,52

Appendix-table 9. Friedman Test: female, Chi^2 216,828 df=8 p<.001, male, Chi^2 104,852 df=8 p<.001, 1 = like the most, 9 = like the least (117 subjects).

The results of the LRT divided in HbE and HbS students									
HbE students (79)					HbS students (38)				
	Mean	Std.	Min.	Max.		Mean	Std.	Min.	Max.
1. Midtjysk	2,63	1,706	1	8	1. Midtjysk	2,84	1,586	1	8
2. Vestjysk	3,63	2,624	1	9	2. Rigsdansk	3,53	2,638	1	9
3. Rigsdansk	4,10	2,474	1	9	3. Vestjysk	3,84	2,510	1	8
4. Østjysk	4,68	1,964	1	9	4. Sjællandsk	4,37	2,085	1	8
5. Nordjysk	4,97	1,780	1	9	5. Østjysk	4,61	1,779	1	8
6. København-havnsk	5,26	2,494	1	9	6. Nordjysk	5,08	1,822	1	8
7. Sjællandsk	5,28	2,057	1	9	7. København-havnsk	5,50	2,322	1	9
8. Sønderjysk	6,92	1,815	2	9	8. Sønderjysk	7,13	1,961	2	9
9. Bornholmsk	7,68	2,023	1	9	9. Bornholmsk	8,11	1,410	4	9

Appendix-table 10. Friedman Test: chi2=203,651, df=8, p<.000, 1 = like the most, 9 = like the least (117 subjects).

Average ranking of the LVs, *københavnsk* and *rigsdansk* plus the lowest ranked variety in each of the LANCHART locations	
København (Copenhagen)	1. Københavnsk
	2. Sjællandsk
	3. Rigsdansk
	7. Bornholmsk
Næstved	1. Sjællandsk
	2. Københavnsk
	3. Rigsdansk
	7. Bornholmsk
Vissenbjerg	1. Fynsk
	2. Odenseansk
	3. Rigsdansk
	6. Københavnsk
	7. Bornholmsk
Odder	1. Østjysk
	2. Århusiansk
	3. Rigsdansk
	4. Københavnsk
	10. Bornholmsk
Vinderup	1. Midtjysk
	2. Vestjysk
	3. Rigsdansk
	10. Københavnsk
	11. Bornholmsk

Appendix-table 11. Results of the LRT in the LANCHART attitudes studies (Kristiansen 2007).

What the subjects consider themselves to be speaking divided in female and male subjects		
	Female	Male
Rigsdansk	7%	9%
Jysk	4%	2%
Vestjysk	15%	21%
Midtjysk	36%	32%
Midt/Vestjysk	10%	11%
Mixture with vestjysk	10%	5%
Mixture with midtjysk	4%	5%
Holstebro speech	3%	2%
Københavnsk or Sjællandsk	1%	2%
Other	5%	11%
Don't know	5%	0%

Appendix-table 12. 73 female and 44 male = 117 subjects (The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

What the subjects consider themselves to be speaking divided in HbE and HbS students		
	HbE	HbS
Rigsdansk	8%	8%
Jysk	3%	5%
Vestjysk	17%	13%
Midtjysk	34%	32%
Midt/Vestjysk	10%	16%
Mixture with vestjysk	8%	13%
Mixture with midtjysk	4%	5%
Holstebro speech	3%	0%
Københavnsk or Sjællandsk	2%	3%
Other	8%	5%
Don't know	3%	0%

Appendix-table 13. 79 HbE and 38 HbS students = 117 subjects
(The results are rounded off to whole numbers).

The LANCHART results and the Holstebro results of the SEE		
	København	Næstved	Vissenbjerg
The superiority dimension			
Intelligent – Stupid	CS***MS	CS***MS***LV	CS*MS***LV
Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky	CS***MS	CS/MS*LV	CS/MS***LV
Goal directed –	CS/MS	MS/CS/LV	MS#CS***LV
Trustworthy – Untrustworthy	CS/MS	MS/CS**LV	MS/CS***LV
The dynamism dimension			
Self-assured – Uncertain	MS***CS	MS***CS/LV	MS***CS***LV
Fascinating –	MS***CS	MS***LV***CS	MS***CS/LV
Cool – Uncool	MS***CS	MS***LV**CS	MS***CS/LV
Nice – Repulsive	MS*CS	MS*CS/LV	MS/CS*LV
	Odder	Vinderup	Holstebro
The superiority dimension			
Intelligent – Stupid	CS**MS***LV	CS**MS***LV	CS***MS***LV
Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky	CS*MS***LV	CS**MS***LV	CS***MS***LV
Goal directed –	CS/MS***LV	CS/MS***LV	CS***MS***LV
Trustworthy – Untrustworthy	CS/MS***LV	CS/MS**LV	CS***MS***LV
The dynamism dimension			
Self-assured – Uncertain	MS***CS***LV	MS***CS***LV	MS***CS***LV
Fascinating –	MS***CS***LV	MS***CS**LV	MS***CS***LV
Cool – Uncool	MS***CS***LV	MS***CS**LV	MS***CS***LV
Nice – Repulsive	MS***CS***LV	MS/CS#LV	MS/CS***LV

Appendix-table 14. Wilcoxon: ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *= p<.05, #=p<.10, /=n.s.
CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety.

	The superiority dimension				The dynamism dimension			
Subject-gender specific differences in the SEE								
	Goal directed...	**Trust-worthy...**	**Conscientious...**	**Intelligent...**	**Self-assured...**	**Fascinating...**	**Nice...**	**Cool...**
CS1-m		(b>g)						b>g
chi^2	0,400	3,112	0,369	1,487	0,139	0,328	1,168	6,197
P=	0,527	0,078	0,544	0,223	0,710	0,567	0,280	0,013
CS7-m								
chi^2	0,603	0,019	0,063	0,132	0,540	0,778	0,167	0,468
P=	0,438	0,891	0,802	0,717	0,462	0,378	0,683	0,494
MS5-m								
chi^2	0,152	0,112	0,090	0,133	2,405	0,510	1,247	1,595
P=	0,696	0,738	0,764	0,716	0,121	0,475	0,264	0,207
MS11-m								g>b
chi^2	0,078	0,012	0,007	0,168	1,635	1,611	0,490	4,764
P=	0,780	0,914	0,934	0,682	0,201	0,204	0,484	0,029
LV3-m	(b>g)			b>g				
chi^2	3,286	1,746	2,66	4,561	0,005	0,907	2,459	1,902
P=	0,070	0,186	0,103	0,033	0,943	0,341	0,117	0,168
LV9-m					(g>b)			
chi^2	0,01	1,585	0,010	0,102	3,312	0,828	0,338	0,384
P=	0,922	0,208	0,922	0,749	0,069	0,363	0,561	0,536

CS4-f				(b>g)				
chi^2	0,088	0,010	2,590	2,798	0,168	0,935	0,543	0,384
P=	0,767	0,921	0,108	0,094	0,681	0,334	0,461	0,535
CS10-f	(g>b)			(g>b)	g>b		g>b	g>b
chi^2	3,588	0,242	1,137	2,958	7,069	2,530	4,153	5,917
P=	0,058	0,623	0,286	0,085	0,008	0,112	0,042	0,015
MS2-f						g>b		(g>b)
chi^2	0,000	0,677	1,866	0,500	0,218	4,186	1,066	3,291
P=	0,995	0,411	0,172	0,480	0,640	0,041	0,302	0,070
MS8-f								
chi^2	0,808	0,415	0,567	0,001	0,188	0,736	1,031	0,024
P=	0,369	0,520	0,451	0,972	0,665	0,391	0,310	0,878
LV6-f								
chi^2	0,191	0,174	2,614	0,540	0,025	1,633	2,628	0,812
P=	0,662	0,677	0,106	0,463	0,874	0,201	0,105	0,368
LV12-f								
chi^2	1,319	0,426	0,322	0,023	0,109	0,436	0,134	0,000
P=	0,251	0,514	0,571	0,879	0,741	0,509	0,714	0,998

Appendix-table 15. Kruskal-Wallis Test. Significance levels = p<.01, p<.05, p<.10. 73 female and 44 male = 117 subjects. CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety. g = female subjects, b = male subjects.

Results of the SEE distributed according to voice sample-gender					

The superiority dimension

Intelligent – Stupid	CS-m	CS-f	MS-m	MS-f	LV-m	LV-f
	2,18	2,83	3,34	4,14	4,14	4,36
Conscientious – Happy-go-lucky	CS-m	CS-f	MS-m	MS-f	LV-m	LV-f
	2,23	2,59	3,48	3,95	4,28	4,47
Goal directed – Dull	CS-f	CS-m	MS-m	MS-f	LV-f	LV-m
	2,57	2,78	3,39	3,43	4,30	4,52
Trustworthy – Untrustworthy	CS-m	CS-f	MS-m	MS-f	LV-f	LV-m
	2,74	2,95	3,13	3,84	4,12	4,21

The dynamism dimension

Self-assured – Uncertain	MS-m	MS-f	CS-f	CS-m	LV-f	LV-m
	2,59	2,64	3,05	3,13	4,76	4,83
Cool – Uncool	MS-f	MS-m	CS-f	CS-m	LV-m	LV-f
	2,48	2,5	3,07	3,79	4,46	4,70
Fascinating – Boring	MS-m	MS-f	CS-f	CS-m	LV-f	LV-m
	2,50	2,61	2,89	3,93	4,43	4,64
Nice – Repulsive	MS-m	CS-m	CS-f	MS-f	LV-m	LV-f
	2,90	2,98	3,24	3,58	4,07	4,22

Appendix-table 16. Friedman Test: values Mean Rank, all df=5, ***=p<.001. CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.

Differences in the results of the SEE according to school level: the superiority dimension											
Variable	Goal directed (1) – (7) Dull										
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	3,29	2,33	2,43	2,29	2,71	2,81	2,29	2,62	4,43	3,52	3,38	3,38
2	3,00	2,21	2,92	2,75	3,26	2,92	2,96	3,25	3,46	3,50	3,88	3,71
3	2,87	1,73	2,47	2,13	3,00	3,47	3,13	3,47	3,80	2,67	3,40	3,27
4	2,79	2,47	3,21	2,47	2,26	3,11	3,11	2,74	4,16	2,79	2,58	3,21
5	3,48	2,50	3,33	2,38	3,71	3,92	3,08	4,13	5,04	3,96	4,83	5,04
6	3,29	2,36	3,14	2,43	3,14	3,00	2,79	3,79	4,36	3,43	3,57	3,07
Sign. all					*			***	*	*	***	***
HbE					#		#			#	#	
HbS						#					*	***
HbE/HbS			*		*	#		***	**	*	**	**
Variable	Trustworthy (1) – (7) Untrustworthy										
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	3,14	2,57	3,00	2,57	2,86	2,76	2,76	3,24	3,81	3,19	3,43	3,24
2	2,88	3,12	2,96	3,00	2,83	3,04	3,21	3,62	3,50	3,25	3,54	3,54
3	3,00	2,47	2,67	2,53	2,87	3,53	3,27	3,60	3,87	2,67	3,86	3,13
4	2,79	2,89	3,00	3,26	2,47	2,89	2,84	3,16	3,68	3,26	3,42	3,21
5	3,04	2,67	3,38	2,71	3,50	3,92	3,37	4,08	4,04	3,75	4,21	3,83
6	3,36	2,86	3,50	2,79	3,14	3,14	3,21	4,50	3,57	3,71	3,57	3,29
Sign. all						*		*				
HbE												
HbS						#						
HbE/HbS			*		*	*		**			*	#

Variable	Conscientious (1) – (7) Dull											
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	2,90	1,81	2,29	2,00	2,71	2,52	2,52	2,71	3,48	3,05	3,24	3,33
2	2,22	2,04	2,83	2,63	2,88	2,79	3,21	3,50	3,12	3,00	3,54	4,21
3	2,47	2,00	2,20	1,73	2,60	3,33	3,27	3,20	3,73	2,53	3,00	3,60
4	2,42	2,32	2,26	2,47	2,16	2,95	2,68	2,58	3,95	2,79	2,84	3,47
5	2,63	1,88	3,00	2,46	3,58	3,63	3,17	4,17	4,29	4,08	4,17	4,29
6	2,57	1,79	2,57	2,57	3,07	3,14	3,42	4,29	3,79	3,21	3,07	3,21
Sign. all				#	*			***		**		
HbE			*	*			#	#				
HbS										#	#	*
HbE/HbS			#		**	#		***	#	***	#	
Variable	Intelligent (1) – (7) Stupid											
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	3,00	2,05	2,67	2,24	2,95	3,00	2,81	3,10	3,57	3,20	3,9	3,33
2	2,42	1,92	2,67	3,00	2,75	2,87	3,37	3,46	3,12	3,17	3,58	3,79
3	2,67	2,07	2,47	2,33	2,47	3,40	3,67	3,87	3,93	2,33	3,33	4,00
4	2,68	2,58	2,68	2,74	2,58	3,05	3,11	3,05	3,84	3,05	2,58	3,37
5	3,17	1,87	3,92	2,50	3,50	3,46	3,75	4,58	4,71	3,88	5,08	4,75
6	2,86	2,29	3,14	2,86	3,14	3,07	3,43	4,50	3,86	3,29	3,57	3,29
Sign. all			*	#			#	***	*	**	***	*
HbE				*						#	*	
HbS											**	**
HbE/HbS			***		*		#	***	**	**	***	*

Appendix-table 17. Differences in the results from six school classes. Average in scales from 1 to 7. The testing of significance (Kruskal-Wallis, ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05, #=p<.10) adhere to all six classes (1,2,3, 4,5,6), four HbE (1,2,3,4), and two HbS (5,6) and to HbE vs. HbS (1+2+3+4 vs. 5+6). CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="13" align="center">Differences in the results of the SEE according to school level: the dynamism dimension</td></tr>
</table>

Variable	Fascinating (1) – (7) Boring											
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	4,71	3,19	3,43	2,90	2,90	2,81	2,86	3,24	4,57	4,71	4,95	4,14
2	4,46	4,13	3,96	3,92	3,83	3,29	3,54	4,00	4,43	3,96	4,63	4,33
3	5,20	3,40	3,47	3,27	3,53	3,27	2,80	3,87	5,13	4,67	4,64	4,40
4	4,58	3,37	3,42	3,58	2,89	2,74	3,39	3,47	5,06	4,17	4,42	4,17
5	4,75	3,46	4,29	3,04	3,71	3,75	2,96	4,25	5,21	4,65	5,58	4,58
6	5,50	4,07	4,36	3,21	3,38	3,36	2,62	3,86	4,93	4,21	5,07	3,29
Sign. all			#									
HbE				#								
HbS	#											*
HbE/HbS			**				*	#			*	

Variable	Self-assured (1) – (7) Uncertain											
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	3,86	2,10	2,86	2,62	2,38	2,33	2,33	2,81	3,95	4,19	4,10	3,19
2	3,39	2,50	3,17	3,22	3,21	2,63	2,46	3,25	4,17	3,67	3,79	3,92
3	4,00	2,07	2,53	2,47	2,86	2,80	2,20	2,40	4,4	4,47	4,13	4,33
4	3,17	2,42	2,63	2,84	2,37	2,58	2,89	2,74	4,58	3,21	3,58	3,53
5	3,46	2,29	3,71	2,71	2,71	2,46	2,50	3,42	4,42	4,38	5,08	4,33
6	3,86	2,29	3,5	2,71	2,29	2,07	1,85	2,79	3,64	3,21	4,50	3,07
Sign. all			#				#			*	***	*
HbE					#					#		
HbS							*			**	#	*
HbE/HbS			*								***	

Variable	Nice (1) – (7) Repulsive											
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	2,86	2,52	2,90	2,90	2,57	2,76	2,86	3,19	3,67	3,43	3,95	3,43
2	3,00	3,08	2,79	2,92	2,63	2,50	2,71	3,13	2,87	2,88	3,83	3,38
3	2,8	2,73	3,00	2,73	2,40	2,67	2,79	3,07	3,20	3,07	3,67	2,80
4	3,26	2,74	2,84	2,84	2,53	2,68	2,47	2,79	3,89	2,89	3,32	2,95
5	2,96	2,67	3,33	2,96	3,21	3,50	3,42	4,29	3,67	3,58	4,00	3,48
6	3,21	3,29	3,64	2,93	2,71	3,00	3,00	3,79	3,29	3,43	3,36	2,64
Sign. all						**	#	**	#			
HbE									#			
HbS						#	#				#	#
HbE/HbS			**		*	***	**	***		*		
Variable	Cool (1) – (7) Uncool											
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	4,43	3,38	3,76	3,10	3,10	3,10	3,05	3,33	4,75	4,14	4,90	4,19
2	4,38	4,17	3,88	4,04	3,29	3,46	3,29	3,88	4,17	3,92	4,71	4,29
3	4,67	3,80	3,53	3,07	3,40	3,00	2,93	2,93	4,87	4,40	5,00	4,33
4	4,00	3,32	3,74	3,42	3,00	3,11	3,37	3,32	4,84	3,63	4,63	3,53
5	4,39	3,25	3,88	3,17	3,71	3,08	2,83	3,75	4,88	4,63	5,54	4,92
6	5,38	4,00	3,64	3,29	3,07	2,64	2,29	2,86	4,36	4,07	4,64	4,00
Sign. all				#			#	#			#	*
HbE				*								
HbS	*							#			**	#
HbE/HbS							*			#	#	*

Appendix-table 18. Differences in the results from six school classes. Average in scales from 1 to 7. The testing of significance (Kruskal-Wallis, ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05, #=p<.10) adhere to all six classes (1,2,3, 4,5,6), four HbE (1,2,3,4), and two HbS (5,6) and to HbE vs. HbS (1+2+3+4 vs. 5+6). CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.

The predicted educational level for each of the voices samples in accumulative percentages					
	Short	Medium	Medium-high	High	No answer
01 Ole (CS) m	7 %	35 %	73 %	93 %	7 %
04 Asta (CS) f	10 %	32 %	80 %	96 %	4 %
07 Niklas (CS) m	3 %	13 %	31 %	98 %	2 %
10 Caroline (CS) f	9 %	28 %	72 %	98 %	2 %
02 Alice (MS) f	18 %	57 %	85 %	95 %	5 %
05 Jon (MS) m	11 %	51 %	82 %	97 %	3 %
08 Laila (MS) f	20 %	58 %	93 %	97 %	3 %
11 Simon (MS) m	21 %	65 %	84 %	97 %	3 %
03 Mikkel (LV) m	33 %	67 %	83 %	96 %	4 %
06 Mille (LV) f	25 %	55 %	81 %	96 %	4 %
09 Laurits (LV) m	20 %	61 %	81 %	98 %	2 %
12 Liv (LV) f	31 %	62 %	89 %	97 %	3 %

Appendix-table 19. Accumulative percentages:
Short>Medium>Medium-high>High. CS = Conservative
Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV =
Local variety, f = female, m = male. (The results are rounded off
to whole numbers).

The predicted educational level of each the voice samples seen in a subject-gender perspective with accumulative percentages					
Female subjects:	Short	Medium	Medium-high	High	No answer
01 Ole (CS) m	7 %	34 %	72 %	93 %	7 %
04 Asta (CS) f	4 %	25 %	77 %	96 %	4 %
07 Niklas (CS) m	1 %	8 %	31 %	98 %	2 %
10 Caroline (CS) f	6 %	18 %	71 %	98 %	2 %
02 Alice (MS) f	14 %	55 %	88 %	95 %	5 %
05 Jon (MS) m	7 %	51 %	81 %	96 %	4 %
08 Laila (MS) f	22 %	60 %	94 %	98 %	2 %
11 Simon (MS) m	18 %	70 %	88 %	97 %	3 %
03 Mikkel (LV) m	38 %	74 %	86 %	96 %	4 %
06 Mille (LV) f	25 %	51 %	80 %	96 %	4 %
09 Laurits (LV) m	19 %	62 %	81 %	99 %	1 %
12 Liv (LV) f	36 %	66 %	92 %	99 %	1 %
Male subjects:	Short	Medium	Medium-high	High	No answer
01 Ole (CS) m	7 %	37 %	73 %	93 %	7 %
04 Asta (CS) f	20 %	43 %	84 %	95 %	5 %
07 Niklas (CS) m	5 %	21 %	30 %	96 %	4 %
10 Caroline (CS) f	14 %	44 %	71 %	96 %	4 %
02 Alice (MS) f	25 %	59 %	80 %	96 %	4 %
05 Jon (MS) m	18 %	52 %	84 %	98 %	2 %
08 Laila (MS) f	18 %	54 %	90 %	95 %	5 %
11 Simon (MS) m	25 %	57 %	77 %	95 %	5 %
03 Mikkel (LV) m	25 %	57 %	77 %	95 %	5 %
06 Mille (LV) f	25 %	61 %	81 %	95 %	5 %
09 Laurits (LV) m	20 %	59 %	79 %	95 %	5 %
12 Liv (LV) f	23 %	55 %	85 %	96 %	4 %

Appendix-table 20. Accumulative percentages:
Short>Medium>Medium-high>High. CS = Conservative
Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV =
Local variety, f = female voices, m = male voices, female subjects
73, male subjects 44 = 117. (The results are rounded off to whole
numbers).

Differences in the predicted educational level of the voice samples divided according to school level											
Variable	Predicted educational level: Short (1) – (4) High										
	CS1-m	CS7-m	CS4-f	CS10-f	MS5-m	MS11-m	MS2-f	MS8-f	LV3-m	LV9-m	LV6-f	LV12-f
1	2,24	3,10	2,58	2,85	2,50	2,40	2,26	2,50	1,95	2,25	2,11	2,25
2	2,83	3,52	2,71	2,65	2,33	2,43	2,12	2,17	2,33	2,22	2,09	2,26
3	2,93	3,71	3,00	3,14	2,21	2,07	2,07	2,21	1,93	2,79	2,43	1,86
4	2,37	3,37	3,00	2,58	2,58	1,63	2,37	2,53	1,95	2,42	2,84	1,95
5	3,09	3,92	2,48	3,12	2,65	2,35	2,55	1,92	1,86	2,13	1,83	1,83
6	3,25	3,50	2,79	3,21	2,77	2,57	2,62	2,14	2,50	2,57	3,15	2,86
Sign. all	**	**				*					***	*
HbE	*					*					#	
HbS		*							#		***	**
HbE/HbS	**	*		*			*	*				

Appendix-table 21. Differences in the results from six school classes. Average in scales from 1 to 4. The testing of significance (Kruskal-Wallis, ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05, #=p<.10) adhere to all six classes (1,2,3, 4,5,6), four HbE (1,2,3,4), and two HbS (5,6) and to HbE vs. HbS (1+2+3+4 vs. 5+6). CS = Conservative Copenhagen speech, MS = Modern Copenhagen speech, LV = Local variety, f = female, m = male.