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Accents and folk linguistics

A grounded-theoretical analysis of Icelanders' reactions to foreigners' use of Icelandic

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Abstract

Iceland has long been a monolingual and monoethnic society, with the Icelandic language serving as a key element in the construction and maintenance of national identity. As numbers and percentages of first-generation, L2 speakers have risen substantially in the past three decades, foreign-accented Icelandic has only recently become perceivable throughout society. However, mechanisms underlying evaluations of L2 Icelandic are not yet known. Against this background, this dissertation seeks to investigate folk ideas about the status of Icelandic in general and L2 accents in Icelandic in particular. Such ideas are considered in light of the longstanding ideological positions on L1 Icelandic, including a stable evaluation system.

Drawing on concepts and methods established by research in folk linguistics, this qualitative study involved five focus group discussions with thirty-two participants, employing a semi-structured discussion guide. L1-speaker participants discussed general ideas on the Icelandic language and language variation. They were then presented with a voice-placing task using six verbal guises that had been recorded by five L2 speakers of Icelandic and one L1 speaker, each of whom read aloud the same grammatically and stylistically sound text. Subsequently, participants elaborated on their voice-placing strategies as well as different themes connected with ideas on Icelandic, including L2 and foreign-accented speech.

The results of this investigation show that mechanisms underlying evaluations of the use of L1 Icelandic are well in place, with participants resorting to deep-rooted categories when referring to assessments of good and bad language. In contrast, an evaluation system for L2 Icelandic has not yet been fully formed. Nevertheless, outcomes of this study indicate that language use of L2 speakers is less harshly judged than that of L1 speakers. In addition, results suggest that perceptions of listener effort, speaker effort, and ideas about geographic/linguistic origin of a speaker influence assesment of foreign-accented speech.

Ágrip

Oft er litið svo á að sérstakt „málloftslag“ ríki á Íslandi sem einkennist að einsleitni í máli, tiltölulega íhaldssömum viðhorfum til þess og sterkri málstefnu. Ísland var lengi eintyngt samfélag og íslenskan er oft talin vera helsta sameiningartákn Íslendinga. Á undanförnum árum hefur innflytjendum fjölgað mikið og tala sífellt fleiri íbúar hér á landi annað mál en íslensku eða íslensku með erlendum hreim. Í ljósi þess hefur þessi ritgerð það að markmiði að kanna viðhorf innfæddra Íslendinga til stöðu íslensku og erlends hreims og skoða þá þætti sem liggja á bak við þau viðhorf. Tekið er tillit til þeirra rótgrónu hugmynda sem hafa legið til grundvallar mati á máli þeirra sem hafa íslensku að móðurmáli og hafa myndað stöðugt matskerfi.

Rannsókn þessi er framkvæmd með eigindlegum aðferðum og nýtir sér hugtök og aðferðir alþýðumálfræði (e. folk linguistics). Skipulögð voru fimm rýnihópaviðtöl með þrjátíu og tveimur þátttakendum þar sem stuðst var við hálfstaðlaðan spurningalista. Auk almennrar umræðu um afstöðu til íslensku og breytileika í íslensku voru sex upptökur spilaðar fyrir þátttakendurna og þeir beðnir um að meta þær. Í upptökunum voru fimm einstaklingar með íslensku sem annað mál og einn móðurmálshafi fengnir til að lesa upp sama textann, sem var stuttur og málfræðilega tækur. Auk viðtalanna var heimskort lagt fyrir þátttakendurna og þeir látnir merkja það svæði sem þeir héldu að viðkomandi væri frá. Þátttakendurnir gerðu svo ítarlega grein fyrir ákvörðunum sínum og ræddu mismunandi þemu tengd hugmyndum um íslensku, innfædda og talaða með hreim.

Niðurstöður rannsóknarinnar hafa leitt í ljós að kerfið sem liggur til grundvallar mati á íslensku innfæddra byggist á því að þátttakendur grípa til rótgróinna hugmynda um gott og miður gott mál. Á hinn bóginn benda niðurstöður þessarar rannsóknar til þess að ekki hafi (enn) mótast matskerfi fyrir íslensku sem annað mál, þ.m.t. íslensku með erlendum hreim. Engu að síður gefa niðurstöðurnar til kynna að málnotkun innfæddra Íslendinga sé metin harkalegar en íslenska þeirra sem hafa hana sem annað mál. Þar að auki benda niðurstöðurnar til að skynjun tiltekinna þátta á borð við skynjaðan skiljanleika (e. listener effort), viðleitni talandans og hugmyndir um uppruna talandans hafi áhrif á mat á erlendum hreim.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Selection of the research topic

Iceland has traditionally been a monoethnic and monolingual society with a straightforward relationship between national belonging and the mother tongue. In the past three decades, increasing immigration to Iceland has disrupted this clear-cut relationship. The number of first-generation L2 speakers has risen substantially, with foreign accents now being heard throughout society. This development sparks questions as to how those accents are perceived and evaluated by L1 speakers of Icelandic, particularly because the Icelandic language serves as a key element in the construction and maintenance of Icelandic national identity.

Formal linguistic variation in Icelandic has been minor, and evaluation of language use has mainly considered conducted appropriateness of register-bound use of lexicon and overall correctness of inflections. Synchronically, internal variation in Icelandic phonology is also comparatively negligible, and existing variation has not been socially stigmatized – with only one historical exception. Both a purist attitude towards the Icelandic mother tongue and a gradual establishment of a purism-oriented language policy are deeply rooted in the nation's history, and language-political efforts have enjoyed language users' support. In addition, Icelanders show both great awareness of and interest in linguistic matters, which contributes to Iceland's special sociolinguistic situation. A stable evaluation system for L1 Icelandic has been established, also in terms of language users' ideas on distinctions between good and bad language.

Previous international sociolinguistic research on evaluations of linguistic variation has shown how laypeople's accounts of linguistic phenomena can help scholars understand mechanisms and aspects at work when people evaluate the language use of others. Language evaluation comprises varying formal aspects of language on the one hand and the social meanings people attach to them on the other hand. Language users' ideas on what is considered good or bad language use, or what is regarded as, e.g., beautiful or ugly, both draw on comprehensive categories established by language-attitude research: for instance, how deviant a feature or whole variety is from a reference feature or variety; how understandable it is, or how familiar; or how pleasant it is regarded to be, or in what way it

is viewed relative to notions of correct language. As is evident from these categories, language users' perception of formal aspects of language and linguistic deviation from a reference language, variety, or feature is essential to the evaluation of language use. As a result, the study of language attitudes has considered both differences in formal aspects of linguistic variation as well as the social meaning language users attach to them by drawing on conscious and subconscious attitudes, which are based in language users' individual experiences as well as in language-ideological principles characterizing a language community.

In light of the well-established evaluation system for L1 Icelandic, the particular sociolinguistic circumstances that have characterized Iceland's linguistic climate so far, and the demographic changes of recent immigration to the country, identifying factors contributing to the assessment of L2 speech constitutes an important research field. So far, there is little published data on L2 speech and L2 accents in Icelandic, and mechanisms determining evaluations of L2 speech in Icelandic are not known. As a result, Iceland constitutes a unique research context with very special historical, social, and linguistic developments that form the backdrop of this study on folk linguistics.

1.2 Objectives of the research

This study aims to examine folk ideas, i.e., ideas of L1-speaker linguistic laypeople, towards L2 accents in Icelandic. *Folk ideas*, in this study, comprise people's knowledge and beliefs about language. To be able to contextualize folk ideas on L2 accents in Icelandic society today, it is necessary to examine evaluations of both L1 and L2 Icelandic by employing various methods established by folk linguistic and language-attitude research.

Data for this study were collected using focus groups aiming to gather emic insights into folk ideas, i.e., ideas stemming from language users themselves. Focus groups were conducted with a semi-structured discussion guide. L1-speaker participants were presented with a voice-placing task employing voice samples of different speakers – so-called verbal guises, commonly used in language-attitude research – and participants elaborated on different themes connected with ideas on Icelandic in general, as well as L2 Icelandic and foreign-accented Icelandic in particular. Consistent with the qualitative nature of this study, analytical methods based on grounded theory, often employed in anthropological research, were used.

The first main objective of this study is to collect general ideas on Icelandic and its status as well as to gather folk ideas on L2 accents in Icelandic in order to draw conclusions

on how well-established the two ways of speaking are in terms of language users' awareness and what that means for the nation's current sociolinguistic climate. L2 accents are a relatively new phenomenon in Iceland in terms of broad exposure to L2 speech, and differences in evaluations of accents can be dependent on exposure to L2 accents, i.e., how familiar people are with a foreign accent. In light of these considerations, the second main objective of this dissertation is to examine where participants in this study locate L2 speakers on a world map. Apart from voice-placing decisions, the aim is to investigate what themes are connected to such decisions as expressed by participants and what they reveal about the sociolinguistic climate. The third main objective is to examine what evaluation themes participants connect with the concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness, as those are decisive factors in the evaluation of linguistic variation. Finally, the study's fourth objective is to infer significant aspects and principles of evaluation of L2 accents against the background of the sociolinguistic circumstances found in Iceland today.

The present research is the first major study to explore the assessment of L2 accents, seen in context with the deep-rooted evaluation system for L1 Icelandic. By employing a qualitative approach, it provides insights into sociolinguistics in Iceland and opens an opportunity to understand evaluation mechanisms against the background of traditional linguistic conservatism, minor internal formal variation, and recent – and drastic – demographic changes. It thus constitutes an original contribution to sociolinguistics and the study of language attitudes.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis takes the form of five chapters, including theoretical considerations on linguistic variation, presenting research on attitudes as well as foreign accents, providing background for the sociolinguistic circumstances characterizing Iceland, accounting for methodological considerations and describing the methods applied, presenting and discussing results, and drawing conclusions from the results as well as making suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 begins by laying out the theoretical dimensions of the research. It looks at the theoretical framework underlying the study and provides an overview of essential international research on attitudes towards L2 speech and accents. Section 2.1 discusses various aspects of evaluation of language variation and the study thereof, with a focus on foreign-accented speech. Different approaches and investigatory methods are examined, as is research into the entanglement of language variation in terms of form and social meaning. Research under the umbrella term *language regard* – encompassing both folk linguistics (and

perceptual dialectology) and the study of language attitudes in the tradition of social psychology – forms the focus of the review (sections 2.1.1–2.1.3). Attitudes, from their nature and elicitation to societal consequences of their expression, form another focal point, with an emphasis on foreign accents (section 2.2). Different approaches to defining foreign accents are examined in section 2.2.1. Aspects influencing the judgment of foreign accents are reviewed considering both speaker features (section 2.2.2), concerning mechanisms behind linguistic stereotyping (section 2.2.3), and in terms of established evaluation categories (section 2.2.4), as well as individual and societal characteristics and prerequisites encompassing variables attached to listener background (section 2.2.5).

Chapter 3 provides a compressed outline of the socio-historical events which influenced the shaping of Iceland's unique linguistic climate, including descriptions of the linguistic culture that has put its mark on the linguistic situation in Iceland today. Recent demographic changes caused by immigration are reviewed in light of deep-rooted purist attitudes towards Icelandic (section 3.1). In this dissertation, the term *speech community* is used to describe members' agreement on what linguistic variation is appropriate for what domains or circumstances (section 3.1). Section 3.2 is concerned with the status of Icelandic, language ideology, and language users' awareness, all of which are often regarded as unique in comparison to other speech communities. Language-political efforts and language-ideological principles are scrutinized (section 3.2.1), and the status of Icelandic is reviewed (section 3.2.2), particularly in light of the growing impact of English as well as formal variation in language use and its evaluation (section 3.2.3). Common folk ideas on Icelandic, linguistic variation, and evaluation are presented (section 3.2.4) and discussed in terms of language users' awareness of linguistic matters and public discourse (section 3.2.5). Section 3.3 examines formal aspects of linguistic variation in Iceland and their entanglement with social meaning. Iceland's special status as a speech community without dialects is discussed (section 3.3.1), as are traditional and non-traditional phonological variation and evaluation (section 3.2). The coherent picture Chapter 3 provides of significant sociolinguistic and socio-historical elements and their interplay in shaping Iceland's linguistic climate today, together with the theoretical considerations on evaluation of linguistic variation as reviewed in Chapter 2, builds the premises for this study.

Chapter 4 addresses the methodology used for this study. Four research themes and subordinate questions build the basis of the present study (section 4.1). Special attention is

paid to participants' general ideas on the status of Icelandic and foreign-accented Icelandic (section 4.1.1); their voice-placing strategies when listening to foreign-accented Icelandic (section 4.1.2); emic themes connected with the etic themes of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness (section 4.1.3); and implications of the evaluation of foreign-accented speech for the current sociolinguistic climate (section 4.1.4). Section 4.2 provides an overview of methods used to answer the research questions, whereas section 4.3 argues for employing focus group discussions as the main method for data collection (section 4.3.1). Further, it provides information on the selection and background of speakers and participants (section 4.3.2), sheds light on the development of the discussion guide employed in focus group interviews (section 4.3.3), and describes the interview process (section 4.3.4). Section 4.4 is concerned with approaches and methods used for data analysis based on grounded theory. It discusses main concepts (section 4.4.1) and the development of codes according to meaningful themes provided by participants in the focus group discussions (section 4.4.2).

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the research, focusing on three of the four key themes presented in section 4.1. Section 5.1 shows the general ideas of participants regarding the status of the Icelandic language as well as foreigners' attempts at learning Icelandic and Icelandic being spoken in a non-standard way. The results of the first research theme are summarized and discussed in section 5.1.6. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 are dedicated to answering the questions posed under research themes two and three, i.e., voice-placing strategies and emic themes connected with the etic themes of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness; these sections present results of the analysis of map data as well as voice-placing decisions and strategies. While section 5.2 is limited to a descriptive analysis of the maps that were provided by each participant for each guise, section 5.3 is concerned with voice-placing strategies that participants employ to locate a speaker (cf. sections 4.1.2 and 4.3.3.2). Those sections assist with answering questions posed under research theme two, aiming to uncover voice-placing strategies, emic themes connected with voice-placing strategies, and potential conclusions for the linguistic climate in Iceland. Outcomes from map data (section 5.2) are summarized in section 5.2.7. Voice-placing strategies presented in section 5.3 are summarized and discussed according to questions posed under research theme two in section 5.3.5. Meaningful themes that emerged in connection with the etic concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness are examined in section 5.4, thus providing insight into research theme three (cf. sections 4.3.1

and 4.3.3.3) and the themes' significance for the linguistic climate. Finally, results are summarized and discussed in light of questions posed in research theme three (section 5.4.4).

Chapter 6 is dedicated to answering the final question posed under the fourth research theme – namely, what conclusions can be drawn about the evaluation system for L2 Icelandic – by summarizing and interpreting the results as presented in Chapter 5 (section 6.1). Limitations of the study are accounted for and discussed in section 6.2. In the time that has passed since the focus groups were conducted, there have been some significant developments influencing language users' awareness of linguistic variation and discourse on language-related matters. The potential consequences of these developments for exposure to and evaluations of L2 speech are examined in section 6.3. Finally, suggestions for future studies addressing formal variation in L2 speech in Icelandic and its evaluation are presented (section 6.4).

2 Theoretical considerations: Linguistic variation, attitude research, and foreign accents

2.1 Key concepts: Linguistic variation and attitude research

Aesthetic evaluations of languages and language varieties seem to come naturally to humans. Generally, language variation as the variation of formal characteristics is accompanied by certain attitudes towards the speakers of distinct variants or varieties. A standard language often serves as a point of reference in such evaluations, with standard language ideology often building the backbone of evaluative hierarchization of varieties. However, all formal variation, whether it is the deviation from a standard variety – often called non-standard or sub-standard – or variation in relation to some other form, is accompanied by language-related attitudes, e.g., in terms of that variation being good or bad, beautiful or ugly, right or wrong. As such, language becomes an object of attitudes, often exceeding the boundaries of languages' role as a communicative means:

> To be sure the folk associate language facts and social groups, but they reject the cause-and-effect relationship: good language is not good just because it is (and has been) used by good speakers. Good language is for the folk a much greater abstraction; it is good because it is logical, clear, continuous (in an etymological sense), and so on. For the folk this notion of good language extends itself even to the boundaries of what the language is or may contain. What is not a part of that logical, continuous entity is not really language at all. (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 18)

Ascriptions of good and bad language can have different manifestations along various dimensions, such as register, dialect, or (L2) accent. It must be kept in mind that from a strictly linguistic point of view, different linguistic forms, as manifest in, e.g., different words or pronunciation, are value-free. But linguistic form always becomes associated with social meaning, as Edwards notes with regard to dialects: "Some have argued that while dialects may not be better or worse than any other in purely linguistic terms, they differ in aesthetic quality" (Edwards 2009: 66). This description holds certainly not only for distinctions along the lines of an established language standard and dialect(s), but also for aesthetic differentiations between L1 and L2 accents.

To investigate formal aspects of language in addition to connections and interrelations in terms of attitudes towards them, the study of language variation as well as the study of attitudes towards language variation have gained traction in the last decades. Ever since Labov's study on language variation and social stratification in New York (1966, 1972a) and Giles's research on attitudes towards different accents of English (1970), researchers all over the world have increasingly concerned themselves not only with descriptions of formal aspects of language variation, but also its social meanings and values substantiated in individual language users' attitudes as well as an underlying language ideology in the respective language community. As such, "judgments of linguistic beauty are determined in large part by the larger context in which they are embedded [and] linguistic aesthetics do not come in a social vacuum" (Giles & Niedzielski 1998: 90).

A vast and complex body of scientific literature has been produced within the field of attitudes towards language variation in the course of the past six decades. Research has focused both on the analysis of regional language varieties and sociolects within a single language (cf. perceptual dialectology: e.g., Preston 1989, 1996; Honey 1997) and on foreign-accented speech (e.g., Brennan & Brennan 1981; Lippi-Green 1997; Lindemann 2003, 2005; Subtirelu 2015).

2.1.1 The study of language regard

After decades of research on laypeople's attitudes towards linguistic variation, Dennis Preston, the American linguist and "father" of folk linguistics, coined the term *language regard* (Preston 2010a, 2013). This concept serves as an umbrella term for all matters of investigations of language-variational issues and beliefs with various methods and data types, typically provided by language users with no background in linguistics. Thus, language regard encompasses both attitude-oriented sociolinguistic studies as well as those aiming to uncover mechanisms behind linguistic change. The study of language attitudes and folk linguistics, to which the subfield of perceptual dialectology belongs, allows for an array of different methods – both quantitative and qualitative. The concentration on laypeople's perceptions, towards linguistic variation and language use of certain groups lends itself to investigating and uncovering attitudes and beliefs held towards these phenomena and the motivations underlying them.

Language regard "is not methodologically confined" (Evans et al. 2018: xx), as it often seems when referring to *language attitude research*. Although such research is most often associated with certain methods, first and foremost the matched-guise technique

(Lambert et al. 1960; see discussion in section 2.1.3), language regard in fact offers a wide variety of methodological approaches and methods for investigating language attitudes and folk ideas, e.g., mapping and labelling tasks as well as conversational tasks. Having a pool of diverse methodological tools allows for investigations of people's attitudes and beliefs about language being tailor-made for the particular linguistic climate surrounding the speech community in question, ultimately offering insights into individual and language-ideologically motivated folk beliefs, their relationships, and their expression.

Throughout this dissertation, the term *linguistic climate* is used when referring to external factors that contribute to the shaping of a linguistic situation in a distinct speech community. Drawing on an understanding of language ecology (Haugen 1971), in which any given language interacts with its environment, linguistic climate comprises external circumstances and linguistic influences, such as L2 Icelandic that might not follow deep-rooted traditions or a stable evaluation system. In contrast, the term *linguistic culture* (cf. Chapter 3) is employed when specifically referring to a traditional evaluation system that has developed over time and includes cultural heritage, of which the L1 variety is an integral part. Schiffman defines it as follows:

> [T]he sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious structures, and all the other cultural 'baggage' that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their background. Linguistic culture also is concerned with the transmission and codification of language and has bearing also on the culture's notions of the value of literacy and the sanctity of texts. (Schiffman, 1996: 276)

Therefore, the mechanisms behind linguistic culture are known in individual speech communities.

Returning to the study of language regard, this concept comprises several approaches to and methods for the study of language variation, with the immediate research interest and appropriate research design determining which methodological concepts fit the individual research goal. In this way, "language regard data can help the researcher identify which variants are socially salient through the investigation of which linguistic variants speakers overtly mention" (Evans et al. 2018: xxi). By investigating the social salience of single variants, conclusions can potentially be drawn about the social significance of varieties containing or believed to contain those variants.

Because the study of language regard treats the thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and actions of non-linguists as central to our understanding of linguistic variation (Preston 2010a), the essence of language regard can be described as follows:

> At a most basic level, language regard refers to both the individual beliefs about and affective responses to language details at any level and from any source. It also refers to the organized structure of such beliefs and responses from cognitive, sociolinguistic, and anthropological points of view. (Preston 2018: 3)

As such, language regard provides a framework at the intersection of attitude formation, processing, and expression (cognitive factors) towards linguistic variation (sociolinguistic factors) concerning language users' qualitative accounts (anthropological factors). Apart from collocating different methods for eliciting attitudes towards language variation – including various dialects and non-standard forms in different social and geographical contexts – studies within language regard as an umbrella term seek to explore theoretical dimensions behind perception, processing, and assessment of variation in usage.[1]

Functioning at the intersection of etic knowledge – collected through investigating the social categories underlying language variation and change (e.g., Labov 1966; Trudgill 1974; Wolfram 1969) – and emic examinations of social meaning with ethnographic methods (e.g., Milroy 1980; Eckert 2000), the study of language regard unites the two approaches under one umbrella term (see also Preston 2010a). The following distinction between emic and etic concepts, originating from anthropological research, is useful in this context:

> Emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviours are being studied […] Etic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers. (Lett 1990: 130)

[1] In his elaborations on language regard, Preston establishes main principles governing the processing and assessment of language variation. The relationships between *language production and comprehension*, *subconscious reactions to language*, and *conscious reactions to comments on language* are compiled into an interrelational paradigm at the intersection of production, regard, and cognitive foundation (see Niedzielski & Preston 2003: xi). With consciousness/subconsciousness at the basis of reactions to language variation, Preston contributes to the ongoing discussion on the nature of conscious and subconscious attitudes and their accurate elicitation as well as influencing factors such as associations, prior experience, and working memory (see section 2.1.3 for a more detailed consideration of the issue; see also Pharao & Kristiansen 2019). As such, Preston's considerations are at the heart of language attitude research and social psychology, thus integrating them into the overall framework of language regard (for a detailed discussion of Preston's theoretical accounts, see Preston 2010a and Preston 2010b: 101ff.).

These two perspectives are separated in the way that researchers' analysis of emic data, i.e., data or categories collected from folk accounts ("what the folk say"; cf. Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 2) is always etic. A lack of interrelation between the two concepts has been criticized in Eckert's (2012) account of three waves of sociolinguistics, in which she contrasts and analyses the achievements and methods of the first wave (etic) and second wave (emic):

> The ethnographic studies of the second wave provided a local perspective on the findings of the survey studies of the first wave, making the connection between macrosociological categories and the more concrete local categories and configurations that give them meaning on the ground. But like studies in the first wave, second-wave studies focused on apparently static categories of speakers and equated identity with category affiliation. (Eckert 2012: 93)

Hence, a framework for linguistic analysis that can provide the most comprehensive picture of variation necessitates the inclusion of both emic and etic approaches to perceptions of language (Cramer 2018: 65–66).

In order to account for emic perspectives of language users, and to integrate them into an etic framework of the perception and evaluation of linguistic phenomena, the study of folk linguistics has been established and refined in the past decades.

2.1.2 Folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology

Constituting a single research area within the study of language regard, the two approaches of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology (Evans et al. 2018; Hoenigswald 1966; Niedzielski & Preston 2003) have been shaped by different goals and mechanisms. Since the latter, i.e., perceptual dialectology, is a subfield of the former, a common objective of both approaches is to get to the bottom of non-linguists' perceptions of linguistic matters and variations as well as their attitudes towards linguistic phenomena. In the case of perceptual dialectology, investigations are most often concerned with how non-linguists view their dialect landscapes.

One of the main goals of perceptual dialectological studies is to uncover how linguistic facts are linked to geographical ones in the minds of "the folk" (cf. Preston 2010b), i.e., non-linguists within a distinct speech community (Preston 2005: 143). With roots in the late 19th century (see Preston 2010b: 89ff. for an overview of the history and development of perceptual dialectology), perceptual dialectological studies have attempted to uncover links between (varying) linguistic forms and mental maps in specific linguistic

contexts and countries/geographical areas (e.g., Alfarez 2002; Bijvoet & Fraurud 2015; Cramer 2016; Cornips 2018; Cukor-Avila et al. 2012; Hundt et al. 2010; Inoue 1995; Kristiansen 2004; Long & Preston 2002; Preston 1996, 1999a). Investigations of folk perceptions of dialect landscapes often employ methods typically associated with language attitude research in the tradition of social psychology, such as the matched-guise technique for voice-sampling – i.e. audio recordings of the same speaker reading the same text with different ways of speaking, dependent on the research aim – and semantic differential scales in survey rating tasks (see section 2.1.3 for a more detailed discussion). However, other approaches, methods, and tasks have been developed within the framework of Prestonian perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics, and many of these have become standardized tools for the elicitation of folk beliefs on dialect variation.

Experiments in the tradition of Prestonian perceptual dialectology usually use five main methods to gain an understanding of, and potentially add to and/or revise, etic knowledge of perceptions and attitudes towards dialect variation (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 41ff.). These methods are as follows[2]:

1. Draw-a-map task
2. Degree-of-difference task
3. Pleasantness and correctness evaluations
4. Voice-placing task
5. Free association of concepts on dialects and language variation

Individually, these methods provide diverse insights into how dialects are perceived, what ideas and stereotypes exist about those dialects, and, most importantly, why people react to language variation in the way they do. The five methods are also often employed in combination, predominantly to explore interrelations between the individual concepts and the ways in which they influence one another.

As has become clear already, folk linguistics is interested in those ideas about language variation that are provided by people themselves and are, therefore, emic. To extract exactly those emic views, presentation of preconceived, i.e., etic, concepts is to be avoided or needs to be disentangled from purely emic ones. This focus on emic folk ideas – which is the approach taken in this study – has been contrasted to traditional language attitudes research in which participants often "check off attributes which they assign to the speaker based on a short tape-

[2] The way in which these concepts are used and adapted to this study on foreign-accented Icelandic will be discussed at length in Chapter 4 on methodology and methods employed.

recorded sample" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 45). The notion of preconception is an essential one, as linguistic laypeople or "the folk" are encouraged to provide their own (emic) ideas on linguistic variation. Concerning the above-mentioned checking-off of attributes, laypeople would create their own attributes instead of being presented with etic ones. In keeping with the goal of identifying emic views, the idea behind the draw-a-map task is to get people to identify areas where they think people speak differently.

Preston directed his research at three areas within the United States that are stereotypically associated with certain ways of speaking, i.e., "the United States South […,] southern Indiana (an area suspected to be linguistically insecure) […] and southeastern Michigan […] which should show little or no linguistic insecurity" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 45). Participants in the first draw-a-map task were encouraged to "label the areas they outlined with the name of the variety of English spoken there or, if they did not know or use one, with the label they usually assigned the speakers who lived there" (Preston 1982). Participants were thus requested to share their folk knowledge in terms of their perception of language variation as well as denominations of what they perceive as separate varieties and stereotypical labelling/ascriptions (Figure 1). The task is designed to give insights into folk linguistic perceptions that can be analysed on their own or in combination with the free association task.

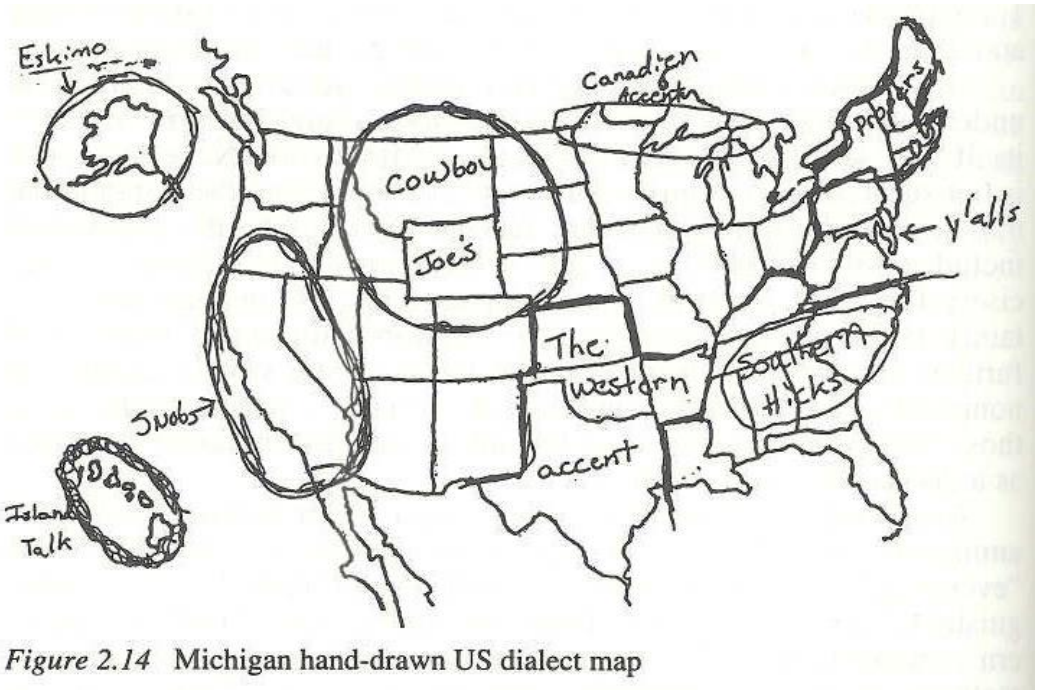


Figure 2.14 Michigan hand-drawn US dialect map

Figure 1: Hand-drawn map with perceived dialect areas and labels[3]

[3] Figure 1 is taken from Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 58.

Furthermore, the draw-a-map task contributes to gaining an in-depth understanding of individual choices and, potentially, underlying influences such as standard language ideology. Maps drawn by speakers from different areas in the US yielded results that showed similar perceptions of dialect borders, indicating the existence of "the same general cognitive template for area identification" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 49). In this way, core regions can be identified, i.e., regions the majority of participants select as housing a distinct language variety (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 52). Core regions can then help with mapping perceptions of and ideas on dialect variation. At the same time, they also allow for comparisons between etic descriptions of de facto isoglosses and formal aspects of dialect, on the one hand, and emic perceptions by laypeople including accompanying attitudes towards those varieties on the other hand. Attitude clarifications are typically yielded through free association tasks in which participants get the opportunity to freely talk about their choices and underlying assumptions.

The majority of studies employing map-drawing tasks have focused on dialect features, thereby maintaining the point of view originating from perceptual dialectology. When looking beyond individual maps generated in mapping tasks:

> [P]erceptual dialectology also seeks to create generalizations across participants. This process is inherently etic, as researchers seek to find categories that fit the individual (emic) perspectives of the participants, using generally more neutral (or at least less value-ridden) labels to aggregate the individual regions drawn by respondents. (Cramer 2018: 68)

This description of a bottom-up approach that aims to find categorizations valid for all participants in a study is crucial in that it seeks to use individual statements – or descriptive/explanatory drawings – from participants to uncover underlying categories governing the evaluation of language variation. These categories are, then, seen as relevant for a specific (speech) community at a certain time (the time of the investigation).

To sum up, draw-a-map tasks produce valuable information on categorizations of dialect areas and accompanying ideas about speakers from those areas. Moreover, labels provided by participants can be employed as tokens for indirect deductions about attitudes towards language variation – for example, in semantic differential scales. Thus, they generate a holistic picture of the linguistic issues under scrutiny by combining and transferring emic accounts of speakers into etic knowledge, which can then be employed to

investigate language attitudes at a given time in a distinct speech community[4] (see also section 2.1.3).

Analysis of hand-drawn maps and labels provided by participants in Preston's folk linguistic studies (Preston 1982, 1989, 1996, 1999; Preston & Howe 1987) has offered clues as to distinctions in evaluations along certain dimensions. Comparable to distinctions along lines of prestige and solidarity found in classical language attitude research (cf., e.g., Giles 1970; Stewart et al. 1985; see also section 2.1.3.2),[5] participants in Preston's studies (cf. 1999, 2010b) distinguished between the categories of *correctness* and *pleasantness*. As one example, Giles (1970) (see also section 2.1.3.2) found that British study participants evaluated a German accent in British English as having higher status than any regional accent in the UK, but they rated it much lower for pleasantness. Similarly, Preston's participants contrasted "labels such as 'standard,' 'normal,' and 'everyday' […] with 'high-falutin', 'very distinguished,' and 'snobby'" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 57).

Following up on those outcomes, participants in subsequent studies were asked to provide statistically valid evaluations of where they think the most (in)correct and (un)pleasant varieties of English are spoken. Conclusions could be drawn regarding the geographical distribution of high-status and high-solidarity areas (and their opposites) in terms of participants' background, potential linguistic insecurity, and overall association of prestige- and solidarity-related issues towards speakers from certain geographical areas with a distinct dialect (for an extensive discussion of results, see Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 63–77).

Consequently, evaluations along certain dimensions – e.g., in terms of correctness and pleasantness – appear to be useful for analysing, understanding, and assessing language users' (linguistic) environment as well as shaping their linguistic identity.

The third concept originating from and utilized by Preston in his approach to perceptual dialectology is the *degree of dialect difference* (see Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 77ff.). This concept is designed to investigate a perceived degree of "otherness" in regional

[4] Apart from demonstrating the cognitive perception of dialect boundaries by laypeople, also in connection with participants' place of residence – thus shedding light on possibly different perceptions and associations depending on geographical location – quantitative evaluation of map drawings can provide clues on background variables such as gender, age, and class (see Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 55ff.).

[5] The two studies mentioned sought to elicit covert attitudes of L1 speakers of British English (Giles 1970) and American English (Stewart, Ryan, & Giles 1985) about regional accents in Britain and the US, as well as their attitudes about foreign accents in English (Giles 1970) and about speakers of standard American and standard British English (Stewart, Ryan, & Giles 1985). The studies employed matched guises and contributed significantly to establishing the evaluation categories of prestige/status and solidarity (see section 2.1.3.2 for a more detailed description of methods and results of language attitude research).

dialects, thereby acquiring knowledge about people's ideas of the geographical distribution of different degrees of otherness from their own local variety and/or from a standard variety. The idea of measuring the degree of difference is disconnected from measuring correctness and pleasantness insofar as "two areas [can] have very different 'correctness' rankings but be perceived as equally 'different' from the local area" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 77). Asking participants to rate degrees of dialect difference (e.g., on 10-point Likert scales) for various regions is supposed to overcome this problem. Results of tasks addressing ascriptions of dialect differences have shed light on general perceptions of dialect difference in terms of geographical distribution (see draw-a-map task), on perceptions of intelligibility and comprehensibility (see discussion on the concepts in section 2.2.4), and on associations with non-standardness, linguistic insecurity, and regional/local identity (see Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 79–80).

The fourth task performed within the framework is the voice-placing task, in which respondents are asked to place speakers with distinct dialectal features on a map when listening to their voice recordings. In the context of their research, Niedzielski and Preston describe the aim and nature of the voice-placing task as follows:

> We seek to discover in this task how accurately respondents can locate voice samples along a US North-South continuum and how the boundaries which emerge correspond to those already established in the above tasks [i.e. the draw-a-map task and evaluations of correctness/pleasantness as well as the degree of dialect difference]. (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 82)

Results of this task have shown that American participants are rather exact when it comes to placing speakers on a North–South dimension, "revealing a folk ability not previously suspected of United States nonlinguists" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 84).

Voice-placing tasks have been employed in several studies with different aims. As a result, the use of voice samples has gradually become a larger and more critical component in perceptual dialectological studies, thus "blurring the lines between language attitude research and PD [perceptual dialectology]" (Preston 2010b: 91). Employing audio recordings of speech with different characteristics has been developed both in terms of research interests and technological advances; such advances render it possible, for example, to manipulate speech samples in order to highlight single linguistic features, thus making them salient for assessment (e.g., Gooskens 1997, 2005; Plichta & Preston 2005; Van Bezooijen & Gooskens 1999).

Making use of map-drawing as well as voice-placing methods borrowed from perceptual dialectology, Lindemann (2005) investigated listeners' ideas of speech areas in a global context by having respondents in her study divide the world according to perceived linguistic areas and note characteristics associated with the use of English by speakers of those areas. The main goals of this part of her study were, firstly, to investigate the salience of speech areas, i.e., which areas of the world are salient to L1 speakers of US English when it comes to L2 varieties of English; secondly, to see which aspects of language are most salient according to respondents; and, thirdly, to examine how respondents view various varieties, also in comparison to each other (Lindemann 2005: 195).[6] Although respondents varied in their ideas about the number of perceived speech areas (some identified as few as four, whereas others divided the world into 26 different speech areas), the ten countries central to the identification of speech areas closely corresponded to the fifteen countries with the most familiar Englishes (Lindemann 2005: 196–197). It is not surprising that the countries most commented on included those with primarily L1 speakers of English. However, it is worth noting that countries with primarily L2 English speakers that, at the same time, yielded mostly negative evaluations (China, Mexico, and Russia) ranked among those most commented on. In terms of salience, "China appears to be the major representative for Asia and the Far East, as does Mexico for all of Latin America. In contrast, no one country appears to stand for (Western) Europe" (Lindemann 2005: 197). The continent of Africa represented a special case, with no country within it mentioned separately and with the majority of respondents characterizing it as one single speech area. From the organization of different varieties of spoken English into area clusters, it also became apparent that evaluations were increasingly negative with increasing distance from the US (excluding countries with an English-speaking majority, such as the UK and Australia). Speakers from Western Europe scored higher than those from Central Europe or South America, who, on the other hand, were evaluated higher than speakers from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, or Asia. Results from this study as well as from my own suggest not only an L1/L2 dichotomy, but also a hierarchical distinction between a perceived in-group (i.e., Western Europeans) and an out-group (i.e., Eastern Europeans and Asians) within the L2 dimension (Bade 2018, 2019 and section 3.3.2.2).

[6] Detailed descriptions of Lindemann's methodology and results on the first and third goals are to be found in Lindemann 2005: 196ff.

Concerning the second goal of Lindemann's study, Table 1 (taken from Lindemann 2005: 198) gives an overview of the salience of language aspects associated with L2 speakers of English.

Table 1: *Number of common types of descriptions for the (mostly) non-English-speaking countries*[7]

Category	France	Italy	Germany	Russia	India	Mexico	China	Total
name/comparison	8	12	7	10	15	21	6	79
grammar/lexicon	4	6	6	7	4	10	13	50
phones	8	6	9	7	6	19	12	67
stress/intonation	0	9	1	3	9	3	10	35
smoothness/fluency	3	2	1	2	6	4	18	36
speed	1	0	1	3	8	18	14	45
clarity/comprehensibility	5	4	4	14	11	14	12	64
global evaluation/description	19	13	23	30	16	20	16	137
total	48	52	52	76	75	109	101	513

As seen in Table 1, the greatest number of comments are made in the categories of *name/comparison* and *global evaluation/description*. Whereas the category of *name/comparison* refers to participants' comments in which they explicitly name a particular country or connect it with a certain way of speaking, comments made within the category of *global evaluation/description* are directed at (stereotypical) evaluations and perceptions of languages and their speakers, e.g., evaluations of whether speakers speak English well or poorly. Common global evaluations comprise, e.g., assessments or comments such as "broken English" or "speaks English well" (cf. Lindemann 2005: 199). The most common types of comments on phonology include those on phones, stress/intonation, smoothness/fluency, and speed. Other salient categories emerging from participants' accounts refer to clarity/comprehensibility and grammar/lexicon. To illustrate the various categories, the following six comments are taken from participants' accounts on how they perceive L2 English from speakers from China, one of the salient speech areas emerging from the study's draw-a-map-task (Lindemann 2005: 199–200):

1. Speak quickly, pronounce L's as R's. […]
2. This country speaks very fast; I don't know how they understand each other; the only way you know if these people are cursing you is if their voice rises.

[7] Table 1 summarizes the most common types of descriptions participants in Lindemann's study made on mainly non-English speaking countries. Numbers displayed refer to the number of comments made in the individual categories as generated from qualitative data. Numbers in bold represent comments by more than 10% of total respondents, underlined numbers represent more than 15%, and boxed numbers represent more than 20%.

3. Asians tend to speak choppy, high-toned English and often leave out predicates in sentences. […]
4. China and Japan are comparable to Mexico. They speak English, but sometimes leave out some words. It also sounds very cut up. By that I mean that their words do not seem to flow.
5. Difficult to understand, hard time pronouncing many words w/r and l, many times forget to put plural "s" on ends of words. […]
6. Broken English. […]

The six comments show a variety of folk ideas on Chinese-accented English and the L2 competence of Chinese speakers, thus providing insights into evaluations of L2 English from the perspective of L1 speakers of American English. Other notable results as seen in Table 1 concern the numbers of comments made in the categories of *phones* for Germany, Mexico, and China as well as *speed* for India, Mexico, and China. In general, results produced for China indicate an increased salience in language aspects associated with the country.[8] Looking at the overall results of Lindemann's study, negative evaluation itself seems to operate as a crucial element in the surfacing of salience, as respondents tend to describe in greater detail what L2 speakers do "wrong" rather than what they do right.

The fifth and last method suggested by Niedzielski and Preston (2003) for investigating laypeople's ideas on language variation is closely related to the inductive approach of grounded theory (see sections 4.2 and 4.4) in the way that it works with participants' data as raw and not pre-processed perception of (linguistic) reality. It invites respondents to talk freely about what they hear, paying attention to what they say and encouraging them to explain why they react to what they hear in the way they do. This method is thus inherently emic, without disregarding the etic nature of the analytical process. According to Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 26ff.), beliefs and attitudes may essentially arise from anything (other) people do or say. There may, however, be a difference between what people say about a certain linguistic phenomenon and their evaluative reaction towards it (cf. Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 25ff.).

Studies rooted in the tradition of perceptual dialectology have yielded an abundance of results that shed light on attitudes towards linguistic variation (including underlying demographic, geographic, and social factors as well as individual factors influencing

[8] Lindemann deepens the discussion on the salience of language aspects associated with countries and speech areas by giving examples of qualitative data, i.e., comments made on the specific speech areas briefly discussed here according to their category. See Lindemann 2005: 199ff. for a detailed discussion of qualitative accounts of participants' perception of linguistic areas and of speakers.

assessment), mechanisms behind linguistic change, and relationships between linguistic form and social meaning as well as geographical placement. In conclusion, "[a]ll this work indicates that there is a link between region and language in the public mind, perhaps a more subtle one than we might have guessed" (Preston 2010b: 100).

Considering that folk linguistic studies are bound to local as well as temporal validity, as illustrated by data provided by members of a distinct speech community at a specific point in time, one might wonder whether such studies contribute to the "bigger picture". The answer must be an affirmative one: emic contributions summarized in superordinate themes, as distinguished through etic analysis by the researcher, give an indication as to *which* varieties of language are perceived by non-linguists and, more importantly, *how* they are perceived and what social meaning is attached to them. In this way, the framework of folk linguistics lends itself to identifying trends in the development and importance of sociolinguistic features, especially because language users themselves are the instigators of linguistic change (or guardians of stability), as governed at least partly by their attitudes towards linguistic variation. They are thus crucial for shaping the linguistic culture of the speech community (see also discussion in section 3.1.1).

2.1.3 Attitudes and language attitude research

2.1.3.1 The nature of attitudes and their elicitation

In terms of evaluating the outside world, people hold views, attitudes, and beliefs on a great variety of matters. Whether we have a *view* on an issue or we have an *attitude* towards it is a function of how intense, stable, and durable our evaluations are (see Garrett 2010: 31–36 for a more extensive discussion on distinctions between the diverse concepts), apart from a distinction along lines of awareness (see also sections 2.1.3.2 and 2.1.3.3).

Definitions of the term *attitude* have been formulated in descriptions of different lengths and amounts of detail, and they have often been adapted for application by a given academic field or branch of science. In the widest sense, "An attitude is a summary evaluation of an attitude object. Attitude objects include the self, others, things, actions, events, or ideas: any aspect of the social world" (Smith et al. 2015: 232). Consequently, it seems natural to us human beings to hold an attitude or "summary evaluation" towards any kind of phenomenon, with language and language variation being no exception. According to the traditional approach to the study of language attitudes stemming from social psychology (cf. section 2.1.2), an attitude (*viðhorf*, *Einstellung*) is composed of three main elements: a cognitive, an affective, and a behavioural element (see Allport 1954;

Oppenheim 1982: 39). However, different weights are ascribed to the individual elements (see, e.g., Cargile et al. 1994) as well as to their interplay and congruity (see Garrett 2010: 24ff. for a more detailed discussion).

Oppenheim offers a definition of attitudes that considers their compositional elements, their significance in daily life and orientation processes, as well as their nature:

> [A]ttitudes affect most of our cognitive processes as well as our emotional ones; they dominate important aspects of our social life such as religion, marriage, politics, work and leisure, and they tend to be long-lasting and difficult to change. An attitude is a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. (Oppenheim 1982: 39)

The cognitive element of an attitude comprises (learned) "beliefs about the world, and the relationship between objects of social significance" (Garrett 2010: 23). The second, affective, element comprises emotions people have in relation to objects, events, ideas, etc. This component is closely linked to the cognitive one and includes two aspects important for further classification of an attitude, namely, attitude direction and attitude intensity (cf. Smith et al. 2015: 231). Attitude direction indicates whether the attitude is favourable, neutral, or unfavourable, while attitude intensity reveals whether the attitude is moderate or extreme. Whether and how a person acts upon their cognitive and affective attitude is disclosed in their behaviour as a part of attitude expression. In this way, cognitive and affective elements of an attitude can trigger a certain behaviour, but they are not necessarily predictive of that behaviour.

The three individual aspects, i.e., cognitive, affectual, and behavioural, are very closely intertwined. However, the behavioural outcomes of the interplay between cognitive and affective aspects are the only ones we can observe, without having knowledge of other influential processes and/or the interplay with other attitudes at cognitive and affective stages. In light of this, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) proposed the *Theory of Reasoned Action* to distinguish intended behaviour from actual behaviour. According to this theory, several factors can cause study participants to alter their behaviour – with those factors stemming from individual motivation, external circumstances, and/or methodological complications – when researchers attempt to evoke attitudes in experimental situations. In their model, Ajzen and Fishbein describe two main factors – beliefs about the consequences of behaviour and beliefs about how others would view one's performance of the behaviour – with corresponding evaluations of those

beliefs. The former belief comprises a mostly neutral reflection on the consequences of a certain behaviour and its potential outcome, relying on an individual's internal motivations. The latter belief, however, focuses on external circumstances, and is built on ideas of what others might think of the individual's actual behaviour. An intention to behave in a certain way can thus be distorted by the motivation to comply with socially acceptable behaviour and/or behaviour that would cast the individual in the most positive light.[9]

As Oppenheim (1982) as well as Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) touch upon, it can be difficult to abstract attitudes as they truly are, since (raw and uncompromised) cognitive and affective attitudes are – almost definitely – altered by beliefs about social consequences of expressing those attitudes, be it through speech or actions. Finding methods and approaches to separate one from the other seems to be a daunting task. Many scholars have concerned themselves with the accessibility of attitudes, thereby often distinguishing between explicit and implicit attitudes. Explicit attitudes are, roughly speaking, "attitudes that people openly and deliberately express in self-report or by behaviour", while implicit attitudes contain "automatic and uncontrollable evaluations of objects as positive or negative" (Smith et al. 2015: 232). As is obvious from these descriptions, the two kinds of attitudes do not necessarily go hand in hand.

In their reflections on the relationships between explicit/implicit attitudes and direct/indirect methods of attitude elicitation,[10] Pharao and Kristiansen establish the following distinction between the two sets of attitudes:

> These dichotomies [between overt/public/explicit vs. covert/private/implicit attitudes, SB] are similar in the sense that they establish (the potential existence of) two different value systems associated with differences in language use. Methodologically, the distinction is commonly related to how the attitudes are offered by dint of the methods used for elicitation. Thus, overt/public/explicit attitudes result from being elicited by the use of direct methods, and covert/private/implicit attitudes result from being elicited through indirect methods. Theoretically, the distinction often seems to be conceived of – more or less clearly – in terms of an assumed difference in consciousness or awareness. (Pharao & Kristiansen 2019: 1)

[9] Complying with normative behaviour can also be a significant factor in experimental attitude research (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.3.4).
[10] Different terms have been used in the scientific literature to describe the level of one's consciousness of attitudes. Overt/public/explicit attitudes are contrasted with covert/private/implicit attitudes.

Differing methodological approaches can be employed to tap into different value systems that people (might) have, dependent on their level of awareness of subject matter. At the same time, research interests as well as the kind of attitudes to be investigated both determine elicitation methods and, thus, determine the type of value system to be elicited. As implicit attitudes are hard to access and account for, the question of whether they are truly implicit or *subconsciously offered* – to use Kristiansen's terminology – complicates matters severely.[11]

2.1.3.2 Language attitude research

According to Pharao and Kristiansen, "there are cognitive/evaluative processes that produce implicit attitudes that differ from explicit attitudes" (2019: 2), an assumption built on two sets of evidence – one derived through theoretical assumptions, the other concluded through experimental evidence. On the one hand, they refer to past research on the issue with classifications of attitude elicitation as automatic (implicit) and deliberate (explicit) (see Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019: 1–2), adding the dimension of consciousness or awareness as a determining factor for the nature of attitudes as implicit or explicit. On the other hand, Kristiansen's long-term experimental studies on linguistic change and attitudes towards different varieties of (spoken) Danish – manifest in the Danish LANCHART project – have shown that overt/explicit attitudes can contradict covert/implicit attitudes (Kristiansen 2009).[12] Different results were obtained by using different methods, i.e., direct and indirect. The distinction between direct and indirect methods is thus not solely limited to the elicitation of one or the other kind of attitude on distinct levels of awareness, but is also associated with certain experimental methods and approaches.

Traditionally, indirect methods have almost entirely been associated with the so-called *matched-guise technique* (MGT), first designed and employed by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert et al. 1960). The method comprises samples of speech with different

[11]A detailed discussion on the formation and nature of implicit and explicit attitudes is provided by Gawronski et al. 2006.

[12] Pharao and Kristiansen (2019: 2) see insufficient research design concerning indirect approaches to attitude elicitation as responsible for incongruent results and/or the failure to elicit truly implicit attitudes (see also Gawronski et al. 2006). According to Pharao and Kristiansen, speaker evaluation experiments (SEE) often fail to guarantee participants' unawareness of the subject matter, i.e., the investigation of attitudes to language (varieties). Kristiansen states that settings of experimental studies can be a problem when aiming for participants' unawareness since they are seldom natural. If, however, data targeting language attitudes is collected in "an everyday setting where the manipulation of stimulus voices can go unnoticed while reactions can be reliably registered and background variables controlled" (Kristiansen 2020: 29), then elicitation of implicit attitudes can be assured. In this context, Kristiansen has made use of the so-called theatre-audience method (for a detailed description of the method and its implications for elicitation of attitudes, see, e.g., Kristiansen 1997, 2020, 2022).

language varieties, either in the form of texts read aloud or naturally produced speech, such that two or more samples are produced by the same bilingual/bidialectal speaker. Participants listen to different speech samples, not knowing that at least two of the recordings they listen to are produced by the same speaker. Ideally, participants are left in the dark about the study's aim to tap into implicit attitudes – at least making sure that participants are unaware of the fact that the research focuses on their attitudes towards language variation.

A plethora of experimental studies have employed the matched-guise technique over the past decades, their diverse research goals covering dialect variation, foreign-accented speech, and different speech styles, which have allowed researchers to explore "regular dimensions of judgments across many communities" (Ammon et al. 2005: 1253) and the evaluation dimensions of *superiority*, *social attractiveness/solidarity*, and *dynamism*.

A slightly altered version of the matched-guise technique is the *verbal-guise technique*, or VGT (see, e.g., Bade 2019; Giles 1970; Lindemann 2003), in which every guise is produced by a different speaker reading the same text but with their individual speaker features – both in terms of their typical language use as well as their idiosyncratic voice and performance characteristics.

In a multitude of studies, the examination of reactions to standard and non-standard varieties, such as regional varieties and foreign accents, has shown that the two different dimensions of superiority – with labels such as rich/poor or educated/uneducated – and social attractiveness – including, e.g., the labels of honest/dishonest or friendly/unfriendly – regularly yield opposite results in such a way that varieties that are upgraded for one dimension are downgraded for the other dimension and vice versa (e.g., Giles 1970; Ladegaard 1998; Stewart et al. 1985). In this way, speakers often attach labels to their own variety – such as warm, honest, sympathetic, friendly, and trustworthy – that reflect social attractiveness or solidarity, while at the same time seeing their fellow speakers as unintelligent, uneducated, or unambitious and thereby downgrading them for superiority or prestige. In contrast, speakers of the standard variety are often evaluated as dishonest, unsympathetic, and cold, but also as intelligent, ambitious, and quick (see also Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 43).

In Lindemann's study (2005) (see section 2.1.1), the ratings of L1 speakers of American English on the dimensions of correctness and pleasantness often correlated with

the concept of *familiarity.*[13] Unsurprisingly, the varieties of English the participants were most familiar with were found in countries with primarily L1 English speakers, although some high-score familiarity ratings were yielded for countries with primarily L2 English speakers, such as Mexico. As discovered in other studies, scores for *correct*, *pleasant*, and *friendly* ratings were closely related to each other. However, "relatively familiar varieties of English did not necessarily translate into correct, pleasant, and friendly English" (Lindemann 2005: 189). In looking for a feasible explanation for those ratings, Lindemann established an interrelation between ratings for stigmatized and non-stigmatized groups (cf. Lippi-Green 1997). According to the results of Lindemann's study (2005), non-stigmatized groups (France and Germany) were rated positively for correctness, whereas stigmatized groups (Mexico, Japan, China, and India) yielded less favourable results for correctness.

Another trend emerging from this study is that countries whose L2 English was rated most positively and as most familiar lie in Western Europe (see also section 3.3.2.2 and Bade 2018, 2019). According to Lindemann, possible reasons for these results are both the good relationships between those countries and the US during the participants' lifetime and the absence of large immigration from those countries to the US, also during participants' lifetime (Lindemann 2005: 193), although it must be noted that Germans are among the largest immigrant communities in the history of the United States.

However, it must be kept in mind that categorizations of groups as stigmatized or non-stigmatized are highly dependent on the individual speech community in which that stigmatization takes place. Another split emerging from stigmatization and general public discourse can be seen in the example of Germany, which is rated fairly highly for correctness but downgraded for pleasantness, in keeping with the results of Giles's study in Great Britain (1970). In Lindemann's eyes, "the high correctness rating for German English is consistent with the generally non-stigmatized status of Western Europeans' English, [while] the lower ratings on *pleasant* and *friendly* are consistent with some stereotypes of Germans, especially those associated with World War II films" (Lindemann 2005: 193, italics in original).

All in all, some varieties seem to trigger attitudes that function on different levels of assessment, with potential consequences for speakers of these varieties in various

[13] Familiarity with a language or language variety is a crucial component in language variation evaluation studies. This will be discussed in greater detail with regard to listener background and evaluations of foreign accents in section 2.2.5.

contexts of daily life.[14, 15] In the case of Denmark, as witnessed by Kristiansen's studies, results retrieved through subconsciously offered attitudes towards regional/local varieties and standard Danish contradict those of consciously offered towards those varieties. Those results suggest that overt attitudes are bound to change according to the social environment, the context in which attitudes are articulated, and standard language ideology.

2.1.3.3 Attitude formation and social context

As has become clear, attitudes consist of several – both separate and interrelated – factors and exist on different levels of awareness. In addition, they are durable and stable, and they constitute an essential part of how individuals construct and understand their environment; they also help to determine group identifications, which tend to last once formed. According to this understanding, the rule of thumb seems to be that the earlier in life an individual acquires an attitude, the more probable it is that its nature remains stable and that it lasts longer (cf. Sears 1983).

Although it seems conceivable that attitudes are subject to change according to (differing) environmental and individual circumstances or an individual's internal motivation and are thus (re)negotiable, personal attitudes seem to constitute a relatively stable phenomenon that can, however, be affected by immediate context (Garrett 2010: 30). Accordingly, attitudes can be more or less superficial or stable, dependent on their significance to the individual attitude-holder and their social environment and experiences.[16]

Since a large part of fundamental attitudes is formed in childhood and adolescence, individuals close to a person during this period – often also ranking higher in a hierarchy – are bound to have a strong influence on attitudes. These include parents, (older) siblings and

[14] The (potential) relationship between accent and social/linguistic stereotype has given rise to a vast number of investigations into the matter. These have been conducted from several perspectives with different methods as well as consideration of diverse contexts, such as health, education, employment, and the legal justice system. The aspects of accent bias and linguistic stereotyping respectively will be covered at length in section 2.1.5.

[15] Giles's study of attitudes towards accent in Britain has served as a blueprint in the tradition of attitudinal investigations of language variation. Inspiring an ample number of studies in different global and local contexts, a broad follow-up investigation is also currently being executed in Britain to examine whether subconscious accent bias plays a role in how job candidates are evaluated (see accentbiasbritain.org).

[16] Since attitudes are thought to be learned, both observational learning and instrumental learning are crucial processes in attitude formation as well as expression. Observational learning involves observation of one's environment and interactional behaviour of others, as well as learning consequences of behaviour, including observations of social acceptance and desirability. Instrumental learning covers learning processes that centre around evaluations of how beneficial or detrimental the behaviour is for oneself (see also discussion on *Theory of Reasoned Action* in section 2.1.3.1).

close family members, teachers, and trainers, as well as peers. By confirming or rejecting an individual's attitudes and resulting behaviour, those influential people can play a decisive part in attitude formation and maintenance on a personal level. On a different level, the media, including advertising as well as the dominant discourse in the respective community, can greatly affect an individual's attitudes. In this regard, it is worthwhile to point out that media portrayals constitute an essential contribution to shaping and reproducing discourse in societies, and they often resort to stereotypes or stereotypical representations of individuals, groups, phenomena, and events.

Consequently, stereotypical characteristics of groups along the whole of a society's demographic spectrum and prevalent attitudes towards them tend to be reinforced rather than questioned (see, e.g., Manstead & McCulloch 1981). Among those are cultural stereotypes regarding minority groups along lines of ethnicity and religious affiliation. Since the media and political/social discourse shape, reflect, and reinforce dominant ideas and stereotypes prevalent in society, ideological processes interact with individual observation, experience, and processing.

Attitudes and ideology – including language attitudes and language ideology – are different concepts insofar as the former often refers to attitudes held by an individual, whereas the latter is connected to a group of individuals as well as to the cognitive processes that govern those attitudes and ideology respectively (cf. Evans et al. 2018: xxi). Nonetheless, both concepts are tightly interwoven in attitude formation and maintenance and constitute essential, individual, and inseparable components in terms of investigations into language regard, as has already been discussed in section 2.1.1. It is, however, necessary to clearly distinguish between individual attitudes and a collective's (or, in this case, a language community's) language ideology. Since our attitudes are shaped by both individual circumstances and experience as well as those societal influences that are, for example, exercised by the media, the educational system, and the general social and political climate, the attitudes we hold individually may differ from those that are (widely) socially accepted, possibly resulting in discrepancies between overt and covert attitudes (cf. Kristiansen's studies on attitudes towards varieties of Danish; Kristiansen 2009 and section 2.1.3.2).

Considering all of the above, this study is interested in folk beliefs and knowledge on language variation in Icelandic, and, especially, on L2 accent, as openly expressed by the study's participants in focus groups. In contrast to language attitudes, we understand

folk beliefs as laymen's ideas on language and language variation, which, firstly, do not need to be stable and durable constructs (cf. Garrett 2010; Sears 1983; and sections 2.1.3.1 and 2.1.3.3), and, secondly, do not necessarily have an evaluation component (see Preston 2018:xix). Therefore, folk beliefs can span a wider range of topics, than introduced by the researcher, which is one of the main pillars of this research, manifest in its emic component.

2.2 Foreign accent, linguistic stereotyping, and perception of L2 pronunciation

2.2.1 Towards a definition of foreign accent

A particular phenomenon among non-standard varieties of language is foreign accent. With increasing movement of people across borders and, thus, often language borders, more and more people speak the language of their new home with a foreign accent. The increasing numbers of immigrants in certain parts of the world have sparked research on the nature of, and attitudes towards, foreign accents in both sociolinguistics and applied linguistics in recent years.

Before we have a more detailed look at definitions of and research on perceptions of foreign accents, a note is due on the concept and employment of the terms *L1 speaker and L2 speaker*, in favour of the terms *native speaker* and *non-native speaker*. In the past two decades, discussions have been going on about the appropriateness of the terms native speaker versus non-native speaker, as well as their meaning concerning the language proficiency of the two speaker groups. Whereas Davies (2003) criticizes both a certain blurriness as to what the concepts comprise and an evaluation dimension to them, i.e. their deliberate exclusion of high-proficiency non-native speakers, Dewaele (2017: 3) turns the latter thought around by arguing that being a native speaker of a language or languages does not necessarily translate into very high levels of proficiency – contrary to what the term implies. Also, Dewaele pushes for refraining from using the dichotomy between a native speaker and non-native-speaker "because of the inherent ideological assumptions about the superiority of the former and the inferiority of the latter" (2017: 4). Consistent with Cook's (1999) advocacy for actively replacing those traditional terms by the terms L1 speaker and L2 speaker, Dewaele goes even further by suggesting the term *LX speaker* be employed for "people knowing second language(s)" (2017:2), without needing to consider language acquisition according to chronology.

In light of this discussion, we follow Cook's (1999) suggestions by using the terms L1 speaker and L2 speaker throughout this dissertation when referring to people's first language(s), i.e. mother tongue(s), on the one hand, and concerning people's second languages on the other hand. In our understanding, the term *second language* applies to a language learned in the linguistic environment, in which the language is dominant, and can, thus, be a speaker's

third, fourth, or Xth language. In contrast, the term *foreign language* refers to a language or languages, that are learned through formal instruction in e.g. schools, and are part of the learner's speech community or linguistic environment (see also Arnbjörnsdóttir 2007: 15).

Returning to foreign accents, not many scholars have concerned themselves with clearly defining what this concept means. This could either mean there is an underlying consensus as to what the term comprises, or that it is in its essence so difficult to grasp that only a few dare to advance into the lion's den. When looking at definitions of foreign accent, it is quite noticeable that they seem to either exclusively describe purely formal aspects – often in comparison to an L1 accent and, therefore, by definition of demarcation – or that they appear to be confined to potential functional consequences and their embeddedness into language-ideological patterns. As form and function compose the essence of all sociolinguistic study, both aspects need to be considered, with the latter surely having diverse, if not divergent, implications.

L2 speakers often show some deviations from L1 speech, including inconsistencies in cultural knowledge with consequences for interaction and behaviour as well as gaps in lexicon and morphology in a given L2. Phonological features are said to be especially salient when identifying foreignness, since they span "motor skill, audition, and cognition, which support a veritable orchestra of intonation, pitch, rhythm, stress, pause, tempo, syllable duration, and elision, not to mention phonetic precision, all of which provide an immediate picture of the speaker's identity" (Moyer 2013: 85). In other words, an accent encompasses a patterned language behaviour that can also be (stereo)typical for distinct regions, social classes, ethnic groups, and age groups, with an accent only referring to speech sounds (i.e., the phonetics and phonology of a given language variety).

Continuing with a focus on phonological features in a foreign accent, "L2 pronunciation involves many acoustic features of the speech stream such as the quality of vowels and consonants, the presence and placement of pauses, as well as broader, measurable components of prosody: stress, rhythm, and intonation" (Kang & Ginther 2018: 3).[17] Hence accents, and foreign accents in particular, seem to be limited to segmental and supra-segmental features in phonetics. In contrast, dialect "refers to a fully functioning language variety with its own vocabulary and grammar, discursive style" (Moyer 2013: 10).[18]

[17] Thomson (2018: 16–17) provides a detailed discussion of foreign accents, including an overview of studies measuring the degree of accent and their operationalization. The concept of degree of accent will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

[18] L2 speech often involves some morphological or syntactic characteristics, such as deviation from default V2 word order in sentences starting with a time phrase, e.g., "Ég fór í bíó í gær" (*I went to the cinema*

Munro and Derwing provide another description of formal aspects of foreign accent, defining it as "non-pathological speech that differs in some noticeable respect from native speaker pronunciation norms" (1995b: 289). Stressing the non-pathological nature of foreign accent can only be explained in the light of a history of denunciation of the phenomenon (especially in educational contexts), leading to increased attention to the matter in the field of applied linguistics in recent decades.[19] This view is enforced by asserting that a foreign accent is not "in itself, a bad thing […] subject to treatment, intervention, or even eradication in […] the same way as a language pathology" (Munro & Derwing 1995a: 74).

As is apparent from the definitions of accent and foreign accent stated above, the phenomenon is not limited to purely linguistic features of foreigners' speech, but it is also associated with listener perception, which is inevitably intertwined with certain ideas about the speaker and their supposed character traits and origin. In other words, linguistic form gets entangled with social ascriptions of speakers based on social stereotypes.

Munro and Derwing (1995b) even go one step further in their considerations of foreign accent by viewing it as a perceptual rather than a solely factual-phonological phenomenon, thus emphasizing the notion of listener evaluation for constructing and retrieving ideas of foreign accent. As such, a foreign accent may be a natural, non-pathological, and increasingly widespread phenomenon (e.g., English today has a higher number of L2 than L1 speakers). However, concerning Munro's and Derwing's view of foreign accent, as quoted above, as deviation "from native speaker pronunciation norms" (Munro & Derwing 1995b: 289), the element of normativity – and, thus, standard language ideology – completes the picture of holding an attitude as a result of perception based on individual (societal) context. In other words, perception of foreign accent and subsequent attitude expression is intertwined with both the special linguistic climate in which the attitudes are formed and individual accent perception by a listener.

yesterday) vs. "Í gær fór ég í bíó" (*Yesterday, I went to the cinema*). L2 speakers tend to not follow this rule, especially in earlier stages of L2 acquisition, and say "Í gær ég fór í bíó." Another example that shows deviation from the V2 rule, as well as the use of subjunctive following expressions of feelings, stems from a TV interview with Borja López Laguna, a teacher from Spain, in which he says, "Núna mér líður eins og ég er heima" instead of the correct "Nú líður mér eins og ég sé heima" (*Now I feel like I am home*) (RÚV 2022). Non-traditional morphological or syntactic features in L2 speech in Icelandic have not yet been investigated, except for observations of the so-called BÚNA-construction, derived from the standard Icelandic "að vera búinn að", a kind of perfect form (Andrason 2008).

[19] A vast body of research investigating attitudes towards L2 speaker teachers (NNSTs) and L2 speaker teacher assistants has been accumulated in the past decades, inspired by the pioneering work of Peter Medgyes (e.g., 1994). His work on the perception of L1 and L2 speaker teachers based on the *ideal speaker teacher* has led to diverse approaches and research foci in the field. Attitudes towards L1 and L2 teachers have been investigated concerning linguistic, pedagogical, and individual features.

2.2.2 The L2 speaker: Linguistic, paralinguistic, and non-linguistic factors

An important factor in both production and perception is the *degree of accent*,[20] i.e., the strength or weakness of any given accent. It is dependent on both strength and frequency of deviation from a variety that serves as a normative form – both phonologically and in terms of social value. As Thomson notes, definitions of foreign accent have largely focused "on the extent to which a foreign accent differs from the target native variety, [whereas] many of those differences are rooted in patterns carried over from the speakers' first languages" (Thomson 2018: 16). The so-called transfer of phonological features from a mother tongue (L1) to another/foreign language (L2) is a well-known phenomenon, with ratings of degree of accent being best predicted by pitch range and word stress (Kang 2010).

In assessment studies using accent ratings, laypeople's assessments of degree of accent have been astonishingly close to assessments by linguists (Brennan et al. 1975). Moreover, studies have found the degree of perceived accent to correlate with evaluations of status and solidarity (see, e.g., Ryan et al. 1977), with a linear relationship between evaluations of the degree of accent and downgrading of status. This relationship has, however, not been found to be true for the dimension of solidarity, thus substantiating assumptions on the distinctive nature of evaluation dimensions.

In attempting to grasp the phenomenon of foreign accent, Major (2007: 540) summarizes the most common characteristics of what he calls a *global foreign accent*, i.e., the overall rating for a degree of phonological closeness to an L1 accent, by compiling those factors that foreign accent is correlated with and categorizing them. These are i) linguistic features, such as segmentals, syllable structure, prosody, and speaking rate; ii) paralinguistic features, such as voice quality, settings, and utterance duration; and iii) non-linguistic features, such as age, length of residence, formal instruction in the foreign language, experience with the foreign language, comprehensibility, attitudes (towards the foreign language), identity, self-perception of consequences of one's foreign accent, automatic speech recognition, and gender. Even though many aspects constitute an accent, these aspects are more or less the same amongst speakers with the same foreign accent. Such consistency creates the basis for the listener's ability to identify "what kind of accent" an L2 speaker has (Clarke 2000: 323).

[20] The concept of degree of accent applies to different language phenomena involving deviation between two forms, most often a standard form and non-standard forms. In perceptual dialectology, folk accounts of perceived dialect differences are often targeted to make assumptions on the perceived difference between a standard variety and people's own dialect, or between people's own dialect and another (salient) dialect. (For a detailed discussion on the degree of dialect difference, see Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 77ff.).

All in all, research on the nature, perception, and evaluation of foreign accents has progressed substantially in the past years. Former research has often concerned itself with analysing foreign accents phonologically, socially, and a mix thereof. Studies in this field include, for instance, analyses of phonological deviations from English vowel and consonant systems (Flege et al. 1995; Flege, Frieda, & Nozawa 1997; Flege, Schwen-Bohn, & Jang 1997), the importance of prosody in Spanish-accented Italian and Italian-accented Spanish (Boula de Mareüil & Vieru-Dimulescu 2006), intonation in Dutch-accented English (van Els & Bot 1987) and Italian-accented German (Missaglia 1999),[21] fluency (Derwing et al. 2004; Derwing & Munro 2009), speaking rate (Munro & Derwing 2001), stress (Zielinski 2007), and degree of accent. Some of these studies connect phonological phenomena with comprehensibility and intelligibility from the listener's perspective (Derwing & Munro 1997; Munro & Derwing 2001; Munro et al. 2006a; Trofimovich & Isaacs 2012). Others consider demographic information about the foreign-accented speaker (i.e., non-linguistic features, Major 2007: 540 and above). Other non-linguistic aspects that have been considered in this regard are the age of arrival of the L2 speaker (Flege et al. 2003), the age of learning (Flege et al. 1995; Piske et al. 2001), the length of residence (Flege et al. 2006), and the use of the mother tongue (L1) (Flege, Frieda, & Nozawa 1997).

In contrast to the studies mentioned here that focus on the L2 speaker, research exploring the role and involvement of the L1 listener has been of little scientific interest until recently.

2.2.3 Linguistic stereotyping

As the discussion on folk linguistics, language attitude studies and the nature of foreign accents has shown, evaluating others' speech not only comes naturally to us but also plays a large part in constructing identity, both one's own and that of others. Since the beginning of the study of attitudes towards linguistic variation, research interests have been shaped by distinctions of good and bad language along a certain aesthetic scale, as well as ideas about the speaker attached to the language (variety) in question – and thereby beliefs on the

[21] A relationship between the accuracy of dialect placement and intonation has been found for Norwegian (Gooskens 2005) and Dutch (Gooskens 1997, 2005), confirming the importance of considering phonological features in terms of interdependence of segmental and suprasegmental aspects. Concerning foreign accents, a study by Kang (2010) has revealed an effect of L2 suprasegmental features on perceived listener evaluations in terms of comprehensibility and accentedness. According to this study, comprehensibility scores were most associated with speaking rates, whereas accentedness was best predicted by pitch range and word stress.

language (variety) itself as being more or less valuable, alongside the associated speaker. The disentanglement of influencing factors has also been of interest.

The relationship between language (variety), its speaker(s), and its assessment has been referred to as *linguistic stereotyping*. In short, "listeners attribute to individual members of a group the traits that they stereotypically ascribe to the group, and speech patterns are a major trigger to those attributional processes" (Kang & Rubin 2009: 2; cf. Lindemann & Subterilu 2013). As a result of this process, Kang and Rubin developed the linguistic stereotyping hypothesis, which "holds that even brief samples of speech varieties (e.g., dialects, genderlects, minority languages) associated with low-prestige groups can cue negative attributions regarding individual speakers" (2009: 2). Examining these two statements on linguistic stereotyping in general and the linguistic stereotyping hypothesis in particular (which also involves the element of access and expression and, thus, attitude elicitation towards an attitude object), some aspects require further comment.

Social categorization, i.e., "dividing the world into social groups, classifying individuals as members of social groups on the basis that they share certain features of a particular group" (Garrett 2010: 32), serves as the foundation of social stereotyping. The phenomenon applies to all kinds of groups, and thus individual representatives of those groups, as perceived by others. Apart from generalizations, social stereotyping is characterized by exaggerations such that both similarities among members of a social group and differences between groups are overemphasized (Garrett 2010: 32).

When applying this concept to the area of language evaluation, "language varieties and styles can trigger beliefs about a speaker and their social group membership, often influenced by language ideologies, leading to stereotypical assumptions about shared characteristics of those group members" (Garrett 2010: 33). In contrast to the definition of the linguistic stereotyping hypothesis formulated by Kang and Rubin (2009: 2, see above), the description provided by Garrett presents a more balanced perspective on the phenomenon, refraining from viewing potential social consequences as necessarily negative. In our understanding, stereotypes are phenomena that build on social categorization, independent of whether evaluations of groups or individuals representing a group are positive or negative.

As we have already seen, research on language attitudes shows that non-standard varieties, such as a German accent in English (see Giles 1970) or a Moroccan accent in Dutch (see Grondelaers & van Gent 2019), can be positively evaluated (along the

dimensions of correctness and dynamism, respectively). In these two instances, the connection between evaluations of L2, non-standard varieties and stereotypical ideas of their speakers seems quite straightforward. However, the varieties in question were downgraded for other dimensions, implying a co-existence of conflicting – or at least differing – parameters for stereotyping. Therefore, the term *prejudice* for distinctively negative stereotypes about a group or an individual representative of a group seems more appropriate, and this can be used in contrast with the neutral nature of the term *stereotype*.

However, stereotypical ascriptions about groups and group members are most often accompanied by negative social, psychological, and financial consequences due to employment in lower-income jobs, as Kang and Rubin (2009) as well as others (e.g., Kinzler et al. 2009; Lippi-Green 1997; Munro et al. 2006a: 68) have demonstrated. Social categorizations and their activation through linguistic cues appear to accompany humans from infancy, as extensive research in the field of developmental psychology reveals.

Infants are not only able to distinguish between their mother tongue and a foreign language, they also prefer their mother tongue to the foreign one, provided that they are distinctively different. The same is valid for dialect distinctions in five-month-old children. Kinzler, Shutts, DeJesus, and Spelke (2009) hypothesize that early distinctions and preferences for a language (and language variety) play a distinctive role in acquiring information on different social groups.[22] Their findings show that five-year-old children prefer to be friends with L1 speakers of their mother language rather than with children who speak a foreign language or with a foreign accent. When adding the element of race, children preferred "same-race children as friends when the target children were silent, but they chose other-race children with a native accent when accent was pitted against race" (Kinzler et al. 2009: 623). Yet another study showed that children of the same age trust L1-accented more than L2-accented speakers, independent of informational content (Kinzler, Corriveau, & Harris 2011).

Kang and Rubin (2009) also conducted a series of experimental studies involving the factor of *race*. In connection with the linguistic stereotyping discussed above, they suggest a reverse version of the process, which they call *reverse linguistic stereotyping* (RLS). According to them, "the speaker's language pattern is not the trigger to stereotyping processes but rather their object. In RLS, attributions of a speaker's group membership cue

[22] For a detailed review of research on the role of language and linguistic differences in social categorizations in children, see Kinzler et al. 2009.

distorted perceptions of that speaker's language style or proficiency" (Kang & Rubin 2009: 1). This hypothesis has been verified by findings of their experimental studies, in which listeners in matched-guise experiments – although listening to the same recording of standard American English – believed they were listening to a highly accented L2 speaker when shown a picture of an Asian male instead of a Caucasian one.

The study conducted by Kang and Rubin (2009) aligns with a large body of research on *raciolinguistics* and *embodiment* (Alim, Rickford & Ball 2016; Lippi-Green 1997; Rosa 2019; Rosa & Flores 2017). Raciolinguistics, an umbrella term for the study of relations between language and race, investigate "the processes of racialization by hightlighting language's central role in the construction, maintenance, and transformation of racial and ethnic identities" (Alim 2016: 7), and examines the language's central role "by using race theory to better understand the social and political process of sociolinguistic variation" (Alim 2016: 12). Furthermore, Rosa and Nelson (2017) regard distinctions between Europeanness and non-Europeanness, rooted in colonialism and maintained by racial categorizations of whiteness and non-Whiteness, as fundamental for the construction of racial stereotypes and its association with language use (see also Mesthrie, Opsahl, & Røyneland 2022). Focussing on the entanglement of racial categorizations as manifest in phenotype, embodiment is "central to the production, perception, and social interpretation of language" (Bucholtz, & Hall 2016: 173).

Experimental studies confirm that visual cues, i.e. information on a speaker's ethnicity, impact evaluations of the speaker's language use rooted in racial categorizations and stereotypes. Some of those studies reveal that (white) listeners perceive an L2 accent that does not exist when presented with images of people of varying ethnicity or given information on speakers' presumed nationality, a phenomenon also called *accent hallucination* (Atagi 2003; Kang & Rubin 2009; Rubin 1992). Other research conducted among undergraduates and their perceptions of race and accentedness in L1 and L2 speaker teaching assistants shows that perceptions of higher degrees of accent translate into ideas of a speaker as more Oriental/Asian, whereas perceiving moderate degrees of accent results in raters seeing speakers as more White/Caucasian (Rubin & Smith 1990). Yet other studies conducted in the US with images of children on the one hand (Williams, Whitehead & Miller 1971), and pictures of students on the other hand (Jensen & Rosenfeld 1974), show that speakers identified as "Anglo" are rated higher than Black children/students, with Mexican children/students rated even less favourably than their Black counterparts.

Having a look at this relationship the other way around, Roth-Gordon suggests that "race is not something that you 'see' through visual cues alone – but it is, in no small part, constructed through how people 'sound'" (2016: 51). When applying this suggestion to the context of L2 speakers, phonological features (as well as others) perceived in L2 speech are likely to result in ascriptions of ethnicity based on racial categorizations. [23]

Returning to Lindemann (2003: 348), she suggests that research with matched and verbal guises has shown that people prefer dialects, accents, or languages spoken by historically powerful groups, especially on the grounds of status-related qualities (Lambert et al. 1960) and suitability for higher-status jobs (Seggie, Smith, & Hodgins 1986). Consequently, L2 speakers are often evaluated negatively on solidarity- and status-related measures across a variety of L2 speakers, and a vast number of studies have targeted evaluations made by L1 speakers of American English (e.g., Ryan et al. 1977; Ryan & Sebastian 1980; Cargile & Giles 1997; Mulac et al. 1974). Research in other countries such as France (e.g., Yzerbyt et al. 2005), Germany (e.g., Androutsopoulos 2000), and Sweden (Kotsinas 2005) shows the same tendencies.

Social evaluation triggered by linguistic stereotyping is dependent on many factors that are bound to the speaker, listener, and context. Context refers both to the immediate context, i.e., the situation in which the evaluation takes place, as well as the societal context with its prevailing language ideology and expression of dominant stereotypes about certain groups.

2.2.4 Perception of foreign accent

The perception of a foreign accent is not an objective process; it involves cognitive aspects of speech perception as well as demographic and social information about the speaker being judged. Several studies have shown that various factors, beyond those already mentioned, affect the assessment of language use by foreigners. Among these factors are individual characteristics of the speaker and their social status (Cargile & Giles 1997; Ryan & Bulik 1982), stereotypes regarding certain nationalities (Frumkin 2007; Kristiansen 2001), and attitudes towards accented speech (Lindemann 2002; Niedzielski 1999). In addition, L1 speakers rate foreign-accented speakers generally lower in status- and prestige-related categories than individuals who speak the standard variety (see section 2.1.3.2 and, e.g., Ryan et al. 1977; Ryan & Sebastian 1980; Ryan & Bulik 1982; Cargile & Giles 1997;

[23] For a detailed discussion of the phenomenon of linguistic profiling, i.e. racial identification and linguistic discrimination based on speech, see Baugh 2003.

Lindemann 2003). Other factors found to influence the perception of linguistic variation with potential consequences for evaluation are perceived degree of accent, intelligibility, and comprehensibility, as well as familiarity with the accent.

In contrast to depictions of the degree of accent already discussed above (see section 2.2.2), Saito, Trofimovich, and Isaacs describe foreign accent as "listeners' perceptions of the degree to which L2 speech is influenced by his/her native language and/or coloured by other non-native features" (2016: 8). The focus on listener perception is an essential one, since empirical measurement of an accent's deviance from an L1 standard variety cannot account for (subjective) listener perceptions and factors that potentially influence (individual) listener perception, even though linguists' and non-linguists' ratings of degree of accent seem to overlap. Additionally, degree of accent plays a role insofar as the speaker with the least L1-like accent is often found to be rated lowest in the dimensions of status and solidarity as well as language-related categories (Cargile & Giles 1997; Ryan et al. 1977; Lindemann 2003). Still, the results for solidarity-related categories are not always so clear-cut (Lindemann 2003; Subtirelu 2015), since differences in ratings between L1 and L2 speakers have occasionally turned out to be insignificant on scales measuring solidarity.[24]

Together with accentedness, the concepts of *intelligibility* and *comprehensibility* have attracted new attention within L2 pronunciation research in the past fifteen years (Kang & Ginther 2018: 2). However, there appears to have been some confusion about the exact interpretation and application of the two. Although closely related, these are different measures: intelligibility refers to "the extent to which a given utterance *is understood* by a listener", while comprehensibility is understood as listeners' perception of how easily they understand an utterance (Kennedy & Trofimovich 2008: 461, italics in original). In other words, intelligibility measures the actual understanding of an utterance, whereas comprehensibility involves the effort a listener has to make to understand an utterance.[25]

[24] In an attempt to shed light on conflicting ratings concerning status and solidarity, Yzerbyt, Provost, and Corneille (2005) successfully tested the compensation hypothesis – i.e., that members of both high- and low-status groups associate high-status groups with high levels of competence and low levels of warmth on the one hand, and low-status groups with low levels of competence and high levels of warmth on the other hand. Their study investigated attitudes towards French-speaking French (high-status group) and French-speaking Belgians (low-status group).

[25] Several studies have investigated intelligibility between dialects with divergent differences in dialect degree as well as mutual intelligibility between languages (see, e.g., Kürschner 2013; Kürschner & Gooskens 2011; Kürschner et al. 2008).

The concepts discussed so far – perceived degree of accent, intelligibility, and comprehensibility – do not exist in isolation, but have a highly intertwined relationship that is potentially difficult to disentangle. The following summary of studies (taken from Yan & Ginther 2018: 68) will provide examples of the concepts' interconnectedness and clarify the nature of their relationship. Many investigations conducted by Derwing and Munro (e.g., Derwing & Munro 1997; Munro 2008; Munro & Derwing 1995a, 1995b) have shown that "while speech identified as unintelligible is always identified as highly accented, highly accented speech is not always identified as unintelligible" (Yan & Ginter 2018: 16). When considering ratings for comprehensibility and degree of accent, listeners tend to rate comprehensibility as high even though they evaluate accentedness as high as well. From this, it is again conceivable that listeners are more sensitive to accents when the speakers themselves remain comprehensible. Besides levels of comprehensibility and intelligibility, evaluations of accent are dependent on some phonological divergences from the normative variety.

Several studies have investigated which formal aspects of language are most likely associated with accent perception and ratings. Among the associations found are errors in lexical stress, slow speech rate and/or pausing, and reduced pitch range. Moreover, investigations into the production of L2 English with L1 speakers of Mandarin have found that vowels contribute largely to the intelligibility of words (Bent et al. 2007), while "phonemic errors in initial consonants […] are more detrimental to intelligibility than errors in coda consonants" (Thomson 2018: 23).

2.2.5 Listener background

As has already been indicated, certain aspects strictly concerning individual listener background are deemed highly significant in the perception and evaluation of language varieties and, thus, foreign accents.

One of those factors is *familiarity* with the accented speech being judged. Considerable evidence in linguistic studies throughout the past decades indicates that a familiar foreign accent is easier to understand than an unfamiliar one. The reason lies in "the perceptual weighting that listeners attribute to certain features of pronunciation changes with linguistic experience" (Carey, Mannell, & Dunn 2010: 202).[26]

[26] Carey, Mannell, and Dunn (2010) provide a detailed overview of comprehensive theories of speech perception, including exhaustive discussions of individual theories.

Unsurprisingly, L2 accents used widely in a given society yield better scores for comprehensibility than accents that are seldomly heard (Flowerdew 1994). Greater familiarity not only exercises an influence on intelligibility and comprehensibility but also has a potential effect on attitudes towards the variety in question. In an attempt to disentangle the relationship between familiarity and comprehensibility, Gass and Varonis (1984) suggest four categorizations of familiarity: familiarity with the topic, familiarity with L2 speech in general, familiarity with a particular L2 accent, and familiarity with a particular L2 speaker. All four aspects have been shown to contribute to comprehensibility, with familiarity with the topic, i.e., context, largely aiding with information interpretation.

Although some studies suggest a direct relationship between familiarity with a foreign accent and its assessment, or familiarity with the L1 of a foreign speaker and assessment of their accent (Adank et al. 2010; Fraser & Kelly 2012), others do not indicate this relationship (Major 2007; Munro et al. 2006b). However, even in studies that do not confirm a relationship between the familiarity of the respective L1, L1 speech was always rated differently, i.e., more positively, than L2 speech.

Apart from the listener variables mentioned, several studies suggest that the listener's gender (see Kristiansen 2018), age, socioeconomic situation, and residence can exercise significant effects on speaker ratings. Additionally, aspects such as ethnocentrism (Giles 1971), mood or affective state of the listener at the time of rating (see Garrett 2010: 99), context (see Garrett 2010: 102), and speaker identity (Kang & Rubin 2009) have been identified as potentially influencing the perception and evaluation of language variation.

2.3 Final remarks

As has emerged from the discussions in this chapter, diverse factors can influence people's perception and evaluation of language varieties, with foreign accents being no exception. Now and then, people tend to personify language or (a distinct) language variety based on aesthetic and emotional evaluations along the lines of good and bad. Those evaluations are then transferred to the speaker of the respective language or language variety, so that speakers themselves are judged good or bad.

In their initial quote of this chapter, Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 18; see section 2.1) describe a clear distinction between, on the one hand, linguists' etic descriptions of language and language use and its associations with demographic groups, and on the other hand, non-linguists' emic perceptions of language as an emotionally charged phenomenon whose existence can even be denied. Niedzielski and Preston (2003) remind us that in the

mind of some members of a speech community, language seems to be a self-sustaining being with clear character traits and a history that needs to be cherished. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the unique linguistic culture in Iceland has brought about a very tight-knit relationship between L1 speakers of Icelandic and their national identity, with Icelandic being viewed as a cultural institution or object. Aspects contributing to this tight-knit relationship must be considered in order to grasp the emic concepts governing Icelanders' ideas on language and varieties of language.

3 Background and context: Icelandic language and ideology

3.1 Sociolinguistic setting and demographic history

From its settlement to the middle of the 20th century, Iceland has, due to its isolated geographical position, housed an ethnically and linguistically homogenous group of people. Over the past eleven centuries, this isolation – along with some other decisive elements – has essentially contributed to the development of a strong connection between the Icelandic language and Icelanders' national identity, which can be described as virtually mythical (Leonard & Árnason 2011: 170). The pride Icelanders take in their collection of medieval manuscripts as well as in the nation's ideology of linguistic purism (*hreintungustefna*, *málhreinsun*), which was an important characteristic during the 19th-century independence campaign (cf. Ottósson 1990), are examples of this powerful connection. Both this purist attitude towards the Icelandic mother tongue and a gradual establishment of a language policy oriented around purism are deeply rooted in the nation's history.

In the course of globalization, international migrations have increased, leading to ethnic diversity in more countries throughout the world (Castles & Miller 2009: 16). In Iceland, labour immigration in particular has accelerated dramatically in a relatively short time. Currently, immigrants make up 15.5 % of the population in Iceland (Statistics Iceland, 19 October 2021), a percentage that has quintupled since the year 2000 (see Figure 2).[27] The largest group of immigrants by far comes from Poland, with Poles accounting for 35.9% of all immigrants in Iceland. The next largest immigrant populations originate from Lithuania (5.7%) and the Philippines (3.7%) (Statistics Iceland, 19 October 2021).

This fast-growing number of immigrants would seem to pose new and profound linguistic, cultural, and socio-ethical challenges to Icelandic society by breaking up the hitherto traditional homogeneity that characterized Icelandic society over the centuries. This tradition is reflected in the Icelandic language, which exhibits great diachronic as well as synchronic homogeneity and consistency, and which is in the eyes of many a precious

[27] According to Statistics Iceland, the following definition is valid for immigrants and people with a foreign background: "An immigrant is a person born abroad with both parents foreign born and all grandparents foreign born, whereas a second generation immigrant is born in Iceland having immigrant parents. A person with a foreign background has one parent of foreign origin" (https://statice.is/publications/news-archive/inhabitants/population-by-origin-1-january-2021/, last accessed 8 September 2022).

national treasure that deserves protection – independently from its value as a means of communication (cf. section 2.1 on idealization of language).

This attitude has been reflected in the basic principles of the language policy that is dedicated to the preservation (*varðveisla*) and strengthening (*efling*) of the Icelandic language. At the same time, these basic principles constitute an integral part of Icelanders' attitude towards their mother tongue, with notions of purity and nativeness playing a decisive role in language ideology.[28]

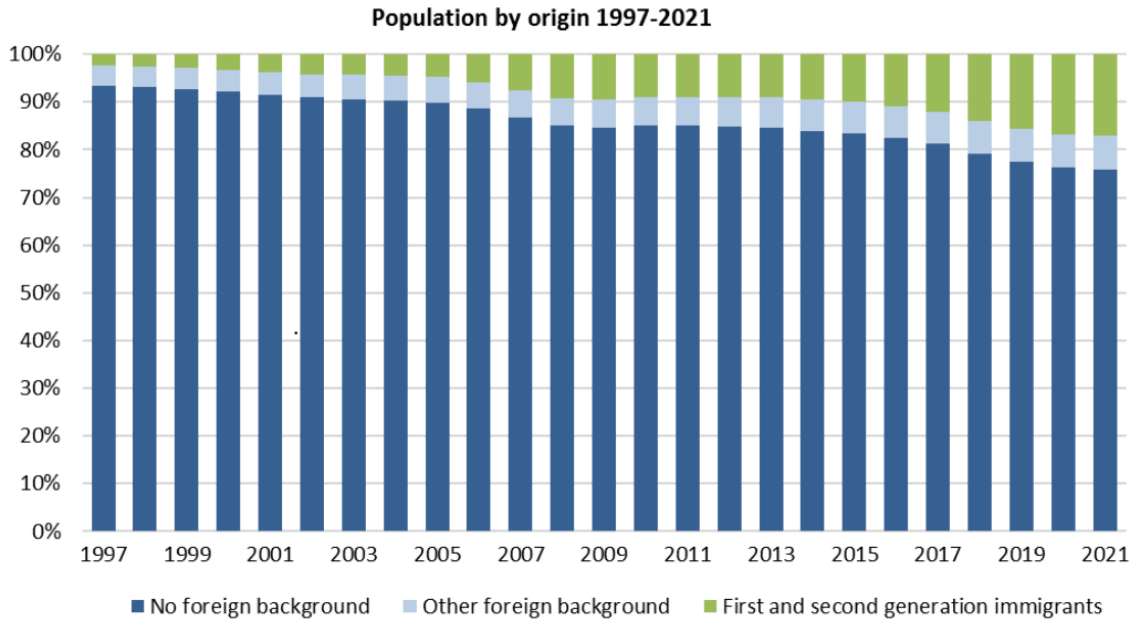


Figure 2: Percentage of immigrants and people with foreign background in total population, Statistics Iceland 2021

With numbers of first-generation L2 speakers rising, non-traditional language use – including foreign-accented language – is soaring and increasingly perceivable in all parts of society.[29] Because the Icelandic language serves as a key element in the construction and maintenance of Icelandic national identity (Skaptadóttir & Innes 2017; see also Hálfdánarson 2001; Þórarinsdóttir 2010), and because there is a high awareness of linguistic matters – both regarding function (domain) and form (borrowing, foreign accent,

[28] The role of folk ideas and attitudes towards Icelandic as well as recent developments and efforts to reduce rigorousness in language users' judgment of the language use of others (cf. Rögnvaldsson 2022) will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.4.

[29] Apart from non-traditional language use comprising that of first-generation immigrants, English plays a distinct role in the Icelandic speech community today. Issues concerning English and Icelandic, especially in terms of domains, will be discussed separately in section 3.2.3.

linguistic correctness, etc.) – on behalf of the general population of language users, Iceland constitutes a special case for investigating foreign accent and its evaluation.

Many scholars have supported the view that Iceland holds a somewhat special position in terms of its socio-historical and linguistic circumstances as well as its development throughout the past millennium (cf., e.g., Auer 2005; Vikør 2010). In this way, "Iceland has often been presented as being the only country within Europe which is monolingual because it has no indigenous minorities, nor has it had any sizeable immigrant communities" (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 207). With several other conditions shaping the special linguistic culture in Iceland today, the latter argument concerning sizeable immigrant communities does not seem valid anymore at the beginning of the third decade of the 21st century.

Emanating from the assumption that Iceland has been home to a large majority of monoethnic and monolingual speakers (of Icelandic) for a long time, the concept of speech community will be applied with consideration of some defining preconditions. Although the concept of speech community has been delineated in many – and partly contradictory – ways, one of the main aspects has been the necessity of members "participation in a set of shared norms" (cf. Labov 1972b: 121). This notion is not merely important when attempting to delimit the concept of speech community and its consequences for the sociolinguistic situation in Iceland; engaging in and agreeing on language use as apparent in linguistic practices forms a crucial part of a community's (overt) attitudes towards those practices as shared norms.

Based on the assumption that languages and language varieties accommodate systematic linguistic variation, shared linguistic norms would mean that members of a speech community share similar attitudes towards variation. Those shared linguistic norms also involve members' agreement on which kinds of variations are appropriate for particular circumstances or domains. That is certainly not to say that members of a speech community always show the same linguistic behaviour in comparable circumstances or within the same groups. It does, however, mean there is a certain underlying consent amongst members of a speech community as to what kind of variation is acceptable and/or preferable or, conversely, undesirable/less highly valued.

Members of a speech community regularly engage in linguistic practices that are constantly evaluated based on appropriateness of linguistic form and circumstances. As such, members of the community assess other members and their language and gauge

whether they comply with shared norms (cf. Eckert 2000). To separate the term *speech community* from the concept of *community of practice*, our understanding of the latter term is built on the assumption that members of a single speech community can participate in several communities of practice wherein they engage in linguistic behaviour appropriate for that community. In contrast, members of a speech community share the same linguistic norms about linguistic behaviour in particular circumstances, without needing to engage in linguistic practice.

With comparatively little formal variation (see section 3.2) and the overall consent amongst language users of Icelandic with regard to acceptability of linguistic variation, there has been a unique degree of agreement in language behaviour, language beliefs, and language management (cf. Spolsky 2004 and see discussion in section 3.2.1). The same holds for regionally distributed phonological variation, and members of the speech community to a large extent share the same linguistic norms (Árnason 2005a; Guðmundsdóttir 2022; see also section 3.3.2.1).

Undoubtedly, linguistic norms are constantly (re-)negotiated by language users through their engagement in linguistic practice. However, agreement on variation – both in terms of formal characteristics, their social function, and attitudes towards them – is part of the shared knowledge of the speech community.

3.2 Status, ideology, and awareness

3.2.1 Language policy and ideology

Language-political efforts have been at the centre of Iceland's self-conception for a long time and constitute an integral part of the country's dominant language ideology and linguistic culture (see Ottósson 1990 and Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010 for a detailed overview of historical developments in the evolution of linguistic purism and linguistic culture in Iceland).

When considering standardization processes and the development of Icelandic, there are three main and interconnected events, according to Árnason:

> (a) the emergence of the Icelandic language following the settlement of Iceland, (b) the development of the old Icelandic literary standard, and (c) the actual standardization of Icelandic in the present-day sense of the word. (Árnason 2003: 245)

These three aspects depict significant stages in the development of the linguistic culture in Iceland, including language-political efforts and their share in shaping language ideology as well as national identity in Iceland. In addition, they roughly reflect an adapted model of Haugen's (1966, 1983) descriptions of language standardization.[30]

In 2009, a white paper regarding Icelandic language policy called *Íslenska til alls* ("Icelandic for all purposes") was put forth, clarifying the legal status of Icelandic and the law regarding language policy as passed through the Alþingi, the Icelandic parliament. According to an earlier manifesto, the two main goals underlying Icelandic language policy are defined as the preservation (*vernd*) and strengthening (*efling*) of the Icelandic language, as stated here:

> The people of Iceland have set themselves the goal of preserving their language and strengthening it. Preserving the Icelandic tongue means keeping up the linguistic tradition from one generation to another, particularly taking care that the relation that has prevailed, and continues to do so, between language and literature from the beginning of writing, will not be jeopardized.[31] (*Íslenska til alls* 2009: 9; first formulated in Gíslason et al. 1988: 53; translation Árnason 2003: 246)

This is reemphasized in 2009 in *Íslenska til alls*:

> Strengthening of the language is especially directed at enriching vocabulary to enable the people of Iceland to speak and write about whatever topic in Icelandic, and enable them to enhance proficiency in using the language and strengthen their belief in the language's value.[32] (*Íslenska til alls* 2009: 9; translation SB)

The first goal, the preservation of the Icelandic language, is twofold. On the one hand, Icelandic is seen as having been a linguistically homogenous language from the

[30] Haugen's model of language standardization processes, developed in 1966 and revised at later stages (Haugen 1966, 1983), lends itself to analysis of significant historical developments when investigating the stages of a language's institutionalization. Additionally, the four-stage model – consisting of norm selection, norm codification, norm acceptance, and norm elaboration – allows for a systematic examination of standardization processes and their manifestation in language-political aspects, especially concerning corpus- and status-related elements. Several scholarly articles have connected Haugen's model of language standardization with the Icelandic context (see Árnason 2002, 2003; and Kristinsson 2019 for a detailed discussion of standardization processes and their implications). Discussing the individual stages in an Icelandic context would, however, go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[31] "Íslendingar hafa sett sér það mark að varðveita tungu sína og efla hana. Með varðveislu íslenskrar tungu er átt við að halda órofnu samhengi í máli frá kynslóð til kynslóðar, einkum að gæta þess að ekki fari forgörðum þau tengsl sem verið hafa og eru enn milli lifandi máls og bókmennta allt frá upphafi ritaldar."

[32] "Með eflingu tungunnar er einkum átt við að auðga orðaforðann svo að ávallt verði unnt að tala og skrifa á íslensku um hvað sem er, enn fremur að treysta kunnáttu í meðferð tungunnar og styrkja trú á gildi hennar."

settlement up to today, with comparably few diachronic changes in grammar and morphology. For this reason, Icelanders can still read medieval texts with relatively little difficulty. Apart from the obvious significance of such a possibility for the cultural value of Old Norse texts in today's society (and, frankly, its uniqueness on an international scale), there is a strong traditional ideology underlying Iceland's language policies, "intimately related to the literature surrounding the early period of settlement and the fact that Iceland was under foreign rule for hundreds of years" (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 211).

Iceland's long literary tradition has contributed significantly to the shaping of the country's linguistic culture. With the earliest manuscripts dating to shortly after 1100 CE and spanning different genres, Icelandic medieval manuscripts were not only produced at a notably early time in European written history, but were written in the vernacular long before Martin Luther translated the Bible into High German, the vernacular commonly said to be in the central-eastern dialect of Saxony.[33]

In this respect, it is worth mentioning one particular Icelandic medieval text, the First Grammatical Treatise (*Fyrsta málfræðiritgerðin*), which was written in the vernacular. In his treatise, the anonymous First Grammarian proposes a spelling standard for Icelandic based on a phonological analysis containing both descriptive and prescriptive elements; however, the First Grammarian's suggestions for a graphemic system were not followed (Árnason 2003: 262). Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson summarize and evaluate the treatise's contents and value in the following way:

> The treatise describes the pronunciation of Icelandic as it existed in the twelfth century. The author, who evidently knew other languages as well as the works of Latin grammarians, prescribed systematic and detailed spelling rules for written Icelandic. These rules constitute the earliest recorded example of overt Icelandic language corpus planning as well as the first recorded example of unsuccessful Icelandic language planning, as few of the author's contemporaries seem to have followed those spelling rules; neither have later writers. (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 213)

[33] Early Icelandic manuscripts, as well as those written in following centuries, were not limited to particular topics or genres but covered a range of text types including legal texts, historical accounts, religious literature, prose, and poetry. They provide, among other things, clues and insights into experiences and observations, historical facts and mythical stories, and the legal foundations of the oldest modern democracy in the world. For detailed descriptions and accounts, see *Íslensk bókmenntasaga* 2006, Volumes I and II.

Evidently, the treatise constitutes a very early example of language-political efforts, considering it comprises descriptive elements of 12th-century Icelandic pronunciation but also plans and attempts to influence written language use.

Furthermore, the First Grammatical Treatise touches upon a unique aspect of Icelandic language policy and tradition to date, which is the preference for neologisms over borrowings from other languages (see Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 213). The coining of neologisms (*nýyrðasmíð*) involves the creation of new lexical items based on indigenous Icelandic material in terms of form, preferably with a transparent meaning. The practice itself serves both fundamental elements inherent to Icelandic language policy, i.e., "preservation" and "strengthening".[34]

Returning to the nation's vast body of medieval literature, these manuscripts are world renowned, with many belonging to the Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection and included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. The cultural heritage stemming from the medieval texts, along with their linguistic value, has "contributed to a widespread consciousness among the Icelandic population about what they believed – and still, believe – to be a unique language culture. This belief underlies the centuries-old ideology that Icelandic needs to be preserved and nurtured" (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 213).

Scholars agree that active promotion of language purism can be dated back to the early 17th century, especially concerning Arngrímur "the Learned" Jónsson's postulation that it had been possible to keep the Icelandic language in its archaic form since "old manuscripts preserved the purity of the language and its elegant style and partly because [Icelanders] had had very little communication with foreigners" (Ottósson 1990: 20; translation Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 214). As we can deduce from this postulation, extra-linguistic factors – such as the geographical isolation of Iceland and its people – as well as socio-linguistic factors emanating from distinct aesthetic ascriptions and attitudes towards the Icelandic vernacular have influenced the dominant language ideology underlying the linguistic culture.

Geographical isolation has been mentioned in general as one of the significant factors in determining linguistic conservatism and purism as well as potentially influencing the (formal) development of a language (Piechnik 2014). In the case of Iceland, the insular character of the country alone is reason to expect little intermixture with other cultures

[34] Kristinsson (2017) and Árnason (2009) provide detailed accounts of the nature, mechanisms, and types of neologisms as well as adaptations of borrowings into Icelandic.

and/or languages. Moreover, it has been suggested that the lack of internal language variation can be traced to a close-knit network supporting localized linguistic norms and resisting change originating from outside the network (Milroy & Milroy 1985: 377). The assumption that close-knit social networks with strong ties are better fit to resist language change (in contrast to loose-knit social networks with weak ties) is built on an understanding of constant mutual communicative exchange.

According to this interpretation, Iceland has been a close-knit society since its settlement, with people assembling annually for the parliament in Þingvellir. These gatherings not only promoted democratic exchange between Icelanders and advanced the country's jurisdiction, but also guaranteed ongoing communication between multiple, and quite detached, parts of the country. Consequently, this regular exchange between inhabitants from different geographical areas supported the development of a society that has been "virtually monodialectal and [is] characterized by long-term linguistic homogeneity" (Leonard 2011: 169). Furthermore, insular geographical isolation has been accompanied by "cultural and linguistic seclusion" (Piechnik 2014: 398) that withstood potential influences under the rule of the Norwegian and Danish crown (cf. Ellenberger 2009).[35]

Árnason attributes the country's linguistic uniformity mainly to its early written norm and the maintenance of that norm (2003, 2011a), as found in "the strong influence of the literary and legal norm which were accepted by the church and the secular authorities from the very beginning" (Árnason 2011a: 13). The rich cultural legacy evident in the medieval manuscripts, as well as their linguistic and meta-linguistic significance for Icelandic identity, have played their part in creating a particular linguistic culture in Iceland: they set their distinct mark on dominant language ideology concerning both language-political issues and attitudes towards Icelandic (and other languages) amongst its users.

Another determining factor influencing conservatism and purism is the notion of national consciousness. In the wake of the struggle for independence from Denmark, political efforts to become detached from the Danish crown were accompanied by "a movement for the raising of the status of Icelandic […] and the 'purification' of the language, i.e. the purging of Danish and other non-Icelandic words" (Vikør 2010: 23). Aesthetic evaluations of Icelandic based on *purity*, i.e., home-grown lexical material, have

[35] The notion of social networks as described by Milroy is compelling insofar as Iceland's insularity alone does not sufficiently explain the diachronic nor the synchronic linguistic homogeneity and stability of Icelandic (in contrast to the linguistic situation in, e.g., the Faroe Islands or Norway). Árnason (2011a: 13) criticizes this view of the substantial contribution of close-knit networks to Icelandic linguistic homogeneity for lacking an explanation on how these networks "would have had the supposed effect".

played a role in both consolidating its status (often in combination with references to the language of medieval literature) and significantly changing and expanding its (active) vocabulary and, thus, the language's form.

Concerning the early corpus-planning efforts of the First Grammarian and the more focused and purist postulations of Arngrímur the Learned after the reformation, it can be assumed that language planning in the sense of purifying the Icelandic language (*hreintungustefna*) has a long tradition, despite disagreement as to when exactly the conscious protection of Icelandic began (see Ottósson 1990 for a detailed discussion on the topic). It is, however, certain that the pre-existing tendency towards purification was successfully instrumentalized during the campaign for independence from Denmark in the 19th century, supported by romantic and nationalist ideologies. At the same time, efforts to gain independence – symbolized by the purging of Danish borrowings from Icelandic – were "characterized by increased linguistic awareness in Iceland and by a general consensus in the speech community that Danish borrowings were undesirable" (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 218).

Although Iceland gained full independence from Denmark in 1944, the purist language policy remained strong and stayed one of the keystones of Icelandic language policy. This fact, in our view, constitutes the third main aspect shaping the country's linguistic culture in terms of historical considerations. It is therefore worth further consideration by looking at its nature, perception, and current societal developments, especially in the light of possible changes in language attitudes and language ideology.

Together with the "strong linguistic heritage which ties Modern Icelandic to Old Norse" – which at the same time constitutes one of the keystones of modern language policy (see *Íslenska til alls* 2009 and above) – the "medieval Icelandic/Nordic literature, plays an important role in Icelandic language ideologies, and has been of importance for language policy and planning" (Kristinsson 2018: 244, cf. also Árnason 2003: 274). Formal aspects regarded as *pure* or *unpolluted* are favoured, while the notion of purity is also connected with ideas of *better* language use in former times, i.e., the so-called Golden Age (Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2013: 213).

It has often been noted that Icelanders not only acknowledge domestic language policy but also actively participate in both corpus development – mostly in terms of the creation of neologisms (as well as their acceptance/rejection) – and strengthening the language's status with positive attitudes towards (the use of) their mother tongue (cf., e.g.,

Árnason 2006; Kristmannsson 2004; Vikør 2010). Language-political efforts have thus not been enforced via superimposition on language users. On the contrary, they have enjoyed support from users of Icelandic, with their active contribution to modern processes of norm elaboration – that is, language development through, e.g., augmentation of vocabulary – including its modernization as well as its stylistic development (cf. Haugen 1966, 1983; Kristinsson 2019: 131).

At this point, it is worthwhile to consider Spolsky's model of language policy and apply it to the Icelandic context to better grasp the factors that have contributed significantly to the linguistic culture. The model builds on three main elements as decisive factors in a community's language-political decisions (Spolsky 2004: 9).[36] These are the following:

1. Language practices are "the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language" (Spolsky 2004: 9).
2. Language beliefs or ideologies, on the other hand, "designate a speech community's consensus on what value to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up the repertoire" (Spolsky 2004: 14).
3. Language management[37] refers to "cases of direct efforts to manipulate the language situation" (Spolsky 2004: 8).

These three elements – language practices, language beliefs, and language management – are not only theoretical constructs applicable, in varying degrees, to language users of different speech communities, but they have also traditionally constituted a stable entity in the case of Iceland. They have been relatively united, including choice of grammar and vocabulary according to register, (overt) beliefs about the appropriate application of language practices (following Labov's set of shared norms), and efforts directing language use and practices (both top-down and bottom-up).

In recent years, however, this traditional consensus appears to have been under pressure with regard to language practices as well as language beliefs (see discussion in section 3.2.3).

[36] Ari Páll Kristinsson (2019) provides a detailed discussion of Spolsky's model of language policy and its application in the Icelandic context. Basic elements of language-political efforts and their interplay, as well as contents and objectives of official language-political documents, are explored by Kristinsson and evaluated through concise examples.

[37] Spolsky prefers the term *language management*, although many other scholars refer to *language policy*.

3.2.2 Status of Icelandic: Official language, ideology, and vitality

In 2011, the Icelandic parliament passed a law introducing official language policy about the status of Icelandic and Icelandic Sign language stating that Icelandic is the national language of the Icelanders and an official language in Iceland (*Íslenska er þjóðtunga Íslendinga og opinbert mál á Íslandi*, Althingi 2011). In the preceding years, concerns about increasing exposure to English had sparked discussions on the necessity of enshrining language policy in law. The fact that such considerations did not cause much concern until recently is, however, remarkable on its own. As has already been touched upon, the Danes and the Danish language played a distinct role in relation to Iceland over the past centuries, influencing the nation's culture, language-political efforts, educational possibilities, and foreign-language instruction to the present day. But although Danish rule over Iceland lasted almost half a millennium,

> [n]o efforts can be discerned on behalf of the Danish authorities […] to impose the Danish language on Iceland as an official language in the sense that Icelanders in general would be required to use that language in their dealings with the authorities. (Ottósson 2005: 1999)

However, command of Danish was necessary for communication with Danes, not least in trade-related contexts and public administration. Since those contexts were mostly limited to the capital, Reykjavík, and some other trading posts, communication in Danish and visibility of Danish culture and its influence were mostly restricted to those areas as well. Concerning status, Danish and its use were regarded as a sign of refinement, placing its users amongst the Danish-Icelandic elite. In contrast to the situation in the capital, the countryside was largely unaffected by this situation, creating a certain urban/rural rift (Hauksdóttir 2013; see also Hauksdóttir 2016, 2020; Ottósson 1990).

In addition, Icelanders' education was predicated on a certain command of Danish since it was key to higher education, which they sought in Denmark. Danish continues to be taught in schools as a mandatory foreign language.[38]

Despite the influence of Danish, it remained the case that Icelandic was spoken amongst the common Icelandic population as the only traditional and uncontested language since the island's settlement. On 21 January 2021, the prime minister of Iceland, Katrín Jakobsdóttir, introduced a proposal to change the Icelandic constitution, consolidating the law from 2011, for the first time in the country's history stating that Icelandic was the

[38] Until 1999 Danish was taught as a first foreign language in Icelandic schools, but it has been replaced as a compulsory first foreign language by English and has since been taught as a second foreign language.

national language (Parliamentary document 787-466, 2020-2021, para. 81). Although selective motions have been made before about the use of Icelandic in distinct domains, especially concerning the elaboration of domain-bound terminology, this legislative action marked a certain turning point (cf. Kristinsson 2017: 95; Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010: 208).

As mentioned above, the document *Íslenska til alls* (2009) contains suggestions for language-political measures regarding Icelandic (see section 3.2.1), and according to the law from 2011, Icelandic Sign Language is the only indigenous minority language in the country. Since then, Icelandic Sign Language has enjoyed legal protection, and 250 deaf first-language users and 50 deaf immigrants communicate in the language (Stefánsdóttir et al. 2019: 239; Þorvaldsdóttir & Stefánsdóttir 2015).

Still, recent developments connected with globalization, increasing international and inter-cultural communication, and technological innovation have led to changes in Icelanders' communicative behaviour and linguistic practices. English is used in more and more domains in everyday life (cf. Kristinsson 2018: 244), thus putting pressure on Icelandic. These domains are quite diverse and span business and work-life with sectors such as the tourism industry, the financial system, and academia and tertiary education, as well as private communication, especially among adolescents and younger language users.

Although Icelanders generally have quite a good command of English, which has a strong standing within certain domains, Icelandic is the main language used every day (cf. Kristinsson 2018: 244).

One way to observe the recent changes in Iceland's linguistic climate is by looking at signs at the international airport in Keflavík. This has become a well-frequented hub for passengers travelling between Europe and North America, and the country itself has also attracted increasing numbers of tourists in recent years (with a temporary drastic drop due to the Covid-19 pandemic). While signs at the airport had for a long time displayed information in Icelandic first – with English information in smaller letters underneath – this relationship was reversed in 2016. One (now historical) sign at the Keflavík airport deserves special attention (Figure 3), as the two languages used – Icelandic and English – are targeted at different audiences.

Figure 3: Sign formerly displayed at Keflavík International Airport

The Icelandic words are translated as *Welcome home*, while the English expression welcomes people arriving at the airport to the country, i.e., Iceland. This particular sign has attracted some attention and has been discussed in more detail by Whelpton (2000). For him, the sign is a simple yet striking example of the relationship between the Icelandic language and Icelandic society, because the Icelandic version assumes everyone who speaks Icelandic is an Icelander and every Icelander speaks Icelandic. Additionally, the sign implies that everyone who speaks Icelandic calls Iceland their home. This is a very straightforward relationship, as has been noted by scholars and literary figures. On festive occasions – political or otherwise – the trinity of country, nation, and language (*land, þjóð og tunga*) is conjured up, also manifest in a famous poem by Snorri Hjartarson (see, e.g., Kristinsson 2017: 162).

In terms of national identity, Icelandic has often been described as the main marker, functioning as a core element (Árnason 1999; Skaptadóttir 2004; Hálfdánarson 2001). Yet speculations about an approaching doomsday for the Icelandic language appear to be part of the metalinguistic discourse, which leads us to the language's vitality.

The Icelandic language receives a grade of 1 in the current version of the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), which measures the status of a language in terms of endangerment or development.[39] As can be seen in Figure 4, Icelandic

[39] The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) is a multi-dimensional scale that focuses on different aspects of vitality at different levels (see Ethnologue 2020). It consists of thirteen levels,

is spoken by a mid-sized speaker population, i.e., 10,000 to 1,000,000 users, and is regarded as an institutional language, meaning it "has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community" (Ethnologue 2020). Furthermore, it is regarded as a vital, national language "used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level" (Ethnologue 2020), according to that scale.

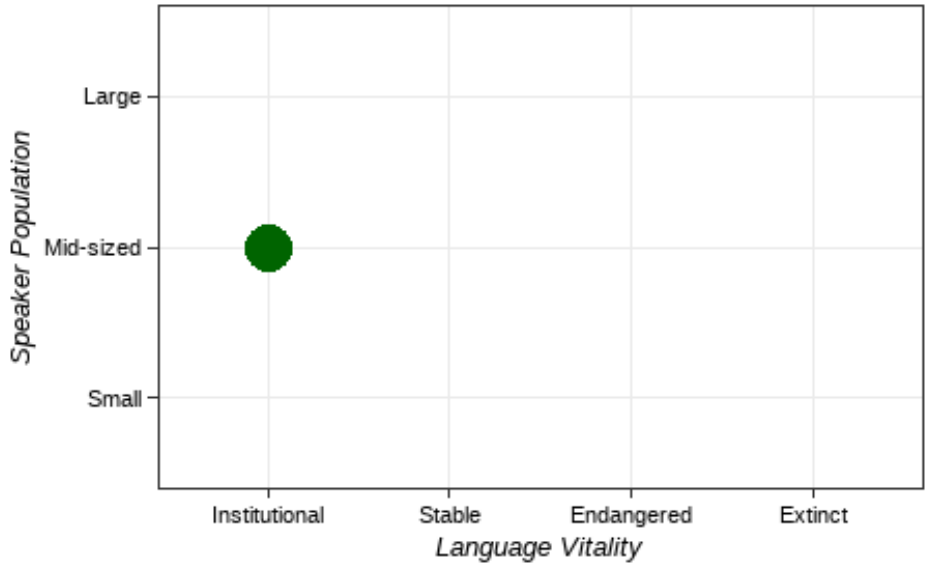


Figure 4: Size and vitality of Icelandic according to EGIDS[40]

Speculations about the deterioration of Icelandic – i.e., its form on the one hand and its status on the other – are not new. Perceived threats from the influence of Danish loanwords (form) have significantly contributed to their purging during the struggle for independence from Denmark in the late 19th century (cf. Árnason 2019; Ottósson 1990: 29–32). Icelanders' attachment to the Icelandic language as a strong symbol of unity was surely a fundamental element and a motivational force for the purging of formal elements from the vocabulary. Coining new words for foreign concepts or replacing them with Icelandic words has a rich tradition (Ottósson 1990: 76ff.).

The current situation, however, in which Icelandic is faced with English as a potential impact on form and status, is essentially different, especially since status-related issues are less central.

from 0 to 10, with each higher number on the scale representing a greater level of disruption to the intergenerational transmission of the language. Therefore, 0 represents the strongest level of vitality, whereas 10 is ascribed to an extinct language.

[40] Figure 4 is taken from Ethnologue 2020.

3.2.3 The impact of English and new challenges

More and more research has been conducted on language contact between Icelandic and English in recent years. During World War II, British and American troops stationed in Iceland brought the English language directly into the country for the first time. Radio stations broadcasting in English and, at a later stage, English-language television programs started to influence the media landscape and linguistic input.[41] Later, globalization and internationalization furthered the influence of English, with use of the language gaining more ground in certain domains and connoting prestige amongst Icelanders.

After the global financial crisis of 2008, industrial sectors saw a reorientation. Tourism has since become one of Iceland's most important industrial sectors, with numbers of tourists peaking in 2018 and rising again after a severe drop due to the Covid-19 pandemic (Figure 5).[42].

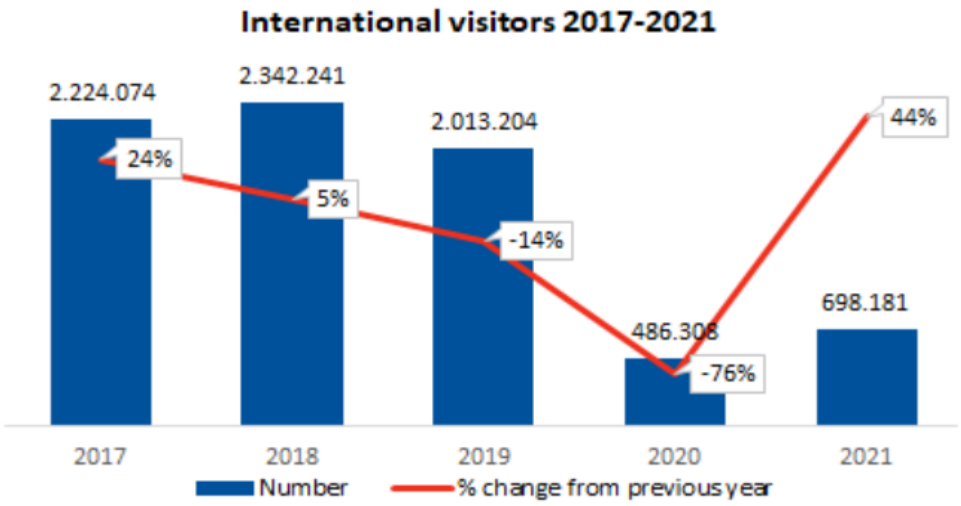


Figure 5: International visitors to Iceland, 2017–2021[43]

It is not hard to imagine that tourists mostly resort to conversing with the native population in English and, as a consequence, that more and more domains have seen an upsurge in English use. As a consequence, many businesses – whether directly or indirectly

[41] For example, American material currently comprises almost half of the broadcasting time on Icelandic television, resulting in substantial exposure of Icelandic viewers to American English from an early age (Kristinsson 2013).

[42] The drastic decline in numbers of tourists in the year 2020 is due to the Covid-19 pandemic and comparably strict measures by Iceland's Department of Civil Protection and Emergency Management in connection with border control.

[43] Figure 5 shows the total number of visitors to Iceland in 2017–2021, measured in thousands, according to the Icelandic Tourist Board. It is taken from https://www.ferdamalastofa.is/en/recearch-and-statistics/numbers-of-foreign-visitors, retrieved 22 May 2022.

related to tourism – decide to promote their services in both Icelandic and English (or sometimes only in English, which is against official language policy). As has already been touched upon, general competence in English is fairly high in Iceland – although not as high as many would like to think (Arnbjörnsdóttir & Ingvarsdóttir 2018). Nevertheless, these circumstances still facilitate communication with foreigners and make way for increased use of English in many domains of everyday life.

Secondly, Iceland's modest population of 368,792 (Statistics Iceland, 1 January 2021) has not been able to meet the demand for employment opportunities posed by foreigners' thirst to come to the island. Consequently, foreigners have been actively encouraged to work in the tourist industry where, again, their main language of communication with both Icelanders and foreign visitors is English. As a side effect of the booming tourism industry, more and more hotels have been built to meet the strong demand, thus attracting construction workers. Other industries that have attracted foreign workers are the care and cleaning sectors (Ministry of Social Affairs, 24 September 2020).

Although tourism and other sectors have played an important role in Iceland's economy in recent years, English use is not restricted to those sectors but has gained importance in many domains, both in the private economic sector and in state-run institutions such as the University of Iceland.[44]

Potential impacts on the linguistic structure of Icelandic, as well as its lexicon, are examples of consequences for formal features. In recent years, research has concentrated on a potential loss of language domains to English, especially in the light of digital language contact.[45] Rögnvaldsson and Sigurjónsdóttir (2021: 4) describe digital language contact as a new form of language contact between people with different mother tongues who do not live in the same geographical area or have contact in the real world. In the digital world where they meet, two languages coexist. The foreign language, i.e., English, becomes prominent in that specific speech community, in our case the Icelandic one. Digital language contact between English and Icelandic (consisting of four pillars,

[44] Kristinsson and Bernharðsson (2014) discuss the conflict arising from the internationalization of educational institutions. They also address efforts to avoid the loss of domains to English as per the language-political principles of preserving and strengthening Icelandic.

[45] The three-year project Modeling the Linguistic Consequences of Digital Language Contact has been investigating an array of aspects and outcomes of language contact between Icelandic and English in the digital age. Topics include the impact of English on vocabulary and sentence structure, potential correlation between English input and output as well as consequences for L1 acquisition in Icelandic, and attitudes towards Icelandic and English. More information on publications and project descriptions can be found on the project's website: http://molicodilaco.hi.is.

namely, smart device revolution, interactive computer games, streaming services, and voice-controlled devices) has thus occurred at the same time as changes in society brought about by globalization, including the rise in immigrant numbers, expansion of tourism, and choice of language of instruction in tertiary education (Rögnvaldsson & Sigurjónsdóttir 2021:1–4).

Digital language contact on the one hand and input of English on language acquisition of children and youth with Icelandic as mother tongue on the other hand (see, e.g., Hilmisdóttir 2021; Friðriksson & Angantýsson 2021; Nowenstein & Sigurjónsdóttir 2021; Hafsteinsdóttir et al. 2021) can have severe consequences for language use. Considering general folk ideas on Icelandic and underlying language ideology, increased use of English also has consequences for the evaluation of language use and its users.

3.2.4 Folk linguistic ideas

We know that any standard language comprises a selection of formal features (form) to which language users attach a certain value (function). Regarding language beliefs or language ideologies as stipulated by Spolsky (2004: 14 and section 3.2.1), consensus on the evaluation of language variables and their use is one of the defining elements of a speech community. Evaluation of formal features and corresponding evaluation of the users of those features are, therefore, made according to whether or not they are in keeping with a standard. As such, ideas about right and wrong language use (correct or incorrect, good or bad) are dependent on a standard variety as well as an ideological attachment to that variety, manifest in a speech community's standard language ideology.

In Iceland, ideas about good and bad language use are mainly influenced by two factors. The first refers to the right choice of language according to register, i.e., an appropriate choice for the communicative situation (Kristinsson 2017: 176). In certain situations, this can involve the use of English words, or words of English origin (Kristinsson 2021: 204). The second aspect is built on aesthetic evaluations of the "purity" of the Icelandic used and conceptions of good usage in terms of formal features, often referring to medieval Icelandic literature and formal features in lexicon and morphology. Medieval texts such as the Sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendingasögur*) – which, as part of the country's cultural heritage, are a source of national pride and identity – have been regarded as linguistic role models, reminding Icelanders of their literary Golden Age.

Language-political and language-ideological core themes, such as grammatical, orthographic, and lexical purism, are reflected in language users' attitudes, and they are

often discussed amongst the Icelandic public (Kristinsson 2018: 246; see also Kristinsson 2017; Leonard & Árnason 2011; Kristiansen 2010; and section 3.2.5). However, there seem to be varying levels of support for corpus planning and status planning. Regarding the former, efforts concerning, e.g., the coining of neologisms have been met with positive attitudes and have been largely supported by Icelanders up to the present (Árnason 2006: 19; Jökulsdóttir et al. 2019; Kristinsson 2021: 207). Concerning status-related issues such as the use of Icelandic versus English in certain domains, attitudes are less straightforward (Kristiansen 2010: 65–57; Kristinsson 2021: 207).

The inter-Nordic project MIN (Moderne importord i Norden; Sandøy 2013) investigated attitudes of inhabitants of the Nordic countries towards the influence of English on their respective languages. The project comprised several studies about language use and support for corpus- and status-related aspects of language-political measures; methods included matched-guise experiments, opinion polls, and qualitative follow-up interviews (see, e.g., Árnason 2005a; Árnason 2006; Kristiansen 2006; Óladóttir 2009; Kristiansen & Vikør 2006). Results showed that amongst the Nordic nations, Icelanders were the most purist (at least when considering formal registers), although they had the highest frequency of English use.[46] The outcomes of the studies conducted in Iceland thus indicated a discrepancy between overtly expressed language attitudes (cf. Kristiansen 2010) and general language practice (Kristinsson 2018: 246).

This can be summarized as follows:

> [T]he Icelandic speech community is perceived to have a protectionist language culture; however, this is deep-rooted ideologically primarily in relation to forms of the language, while Icelanders in general seem to be more "pragmatic" as to domains of language use. (Kristinsson 2018: 247)

This view is in keeping with Árnason's assessment of mechanisms in Icelandic language management and language users' attitudes, namely, that status-related issues have long attracted less attention since there was never a real doubt about the status of the Icelandic language (Árnason 2001b, 2017: 31). With corpus-related issues having been more prominent – also in the mind of the public, especially concerning neologisms – language

[46] Árnason (2005a, 2006) provides a detailed account of the results for the Icelandic part of the study, including analysis and discussion of results according to background variables of participants as well as contextualization within the socio-linguistic situation in Iceland.

use and linguistic practices could vary as the nation adapts to changing demographic and social circumstances.

As we have seen from the discussion on language contact between Icelandic and English above, English has gained more and more ground by permeating an increasing number of domains. This process seems to threaten the status of Icelandic, which – in contrast to the effect on its form – has not attracted much attention, due to the historically strong footing of the language in Icelandic linguistic culture. Although questions of status have not gone entirely unattended, especially in the light of influences from Danish, formal issues, i.e., purism of form, were addressed more systematically, particularly in the 20th century.

The clear demarcation of the use of Icelandic versus English forms according to register (cf., e.g., Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn 2013), as well as language users' awareness of language-ideological impact governing decisions of use, are mostly restricted to vocabulary. As for the status of the two languages, the story is somewhat different in the light of a diverging underlying language ideology (cf. Kristinsson 2017: 107). Kristinsson compares the present relationship between Icelandic and English with different currents drifting in different directions:

> Although some kind of "social contract" has been valid in Iceland about avoiding English words in respectable Icelandic texts, there is quite a different story about using English concerning entire domains, at work or for entertainment. To have command of English and use it at work and in one's leisure time is indeed a sign of having succeeded in life in Iceland.[47] (Kristinsson 2017: 108, translation SB)

On the one hand, English receives considerable interest and appreciation in Icelandic society, evidenced by extensive English use in many domains of society. Thus, "English has become indispensable as a utility language in Icelandic society at all levels" (Arnbjörnsdóttir & Ingvarsdóttir 2018: 218). On the other hand, a great deal of resentment is perceivable in that there are strong tendencies to refrain from using Anglicisms, so-called *slettur* ("stains" or "blemishes"), in formal registers of Icelandic. According to *Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók*, the Icelandic word *sletta* is a common folk term for "a foreign word

[47] "Þótt einhvers konar 'samfélagssátt' hafi gilt á Íslandi um að forðast að nota ensk orð i virðulegum íslenskum textum þá gegnir sem sé allt öðru máli um að nota ensku á heilum notkunarsviðum, í vinnunni og til skemmtunar. Það að hafa vald á ensku og nota hana í vinnu og frístundum er á Íslandi m.a.s. einhvers konar tákn um að hafa náð langt í lífinu."

or phrase which is not accepted in the target language because of insufficient adaptation to the phonological- or inflection system or other foreign characteristics" (*Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók* 2020[48]; cf. also Árnason 2009: 79). As is evident from this definition, *slettur* is an emic term used to describe improper language use by language users themselves. At the same time, *sletta* can function as social marker or shibboleth, i.e., by distinguishing one group of users from another based on their appropriate choice of vocabulary according to formality of register.

Kristinsson concludes that English has a tailwind in Icelandic society when considering the status of the two languages. However, this is not the case when it comes to form, since Anglicisms are frowned upon at least in the context of formal or proper (*vandað*) language and official policy (Kristinsson 2017: 106–107).

Although it is often the language use of the younger generation that is criticized (cf. Milroy 1998) for its inclusion of foreign words or elements that are equated with bad or impure language, those formal features are often preferred to traditional, "good Icelandic" amongst peers and in certain registers. Preferences for forms that can be regarded as diverging from conservative standard language seem to be most apparent in evaluations of speaker dynamism (Leonard & Árnason 2011: 94; see also Hilmisdóttir 2018 and discussion on evaluations of dynamism in language-attitude research in Chapter 2, e.g., Grondelaers & van Gent 2019).

The active use of non-standard forms (English) by younger Icelanders and accompanying positive attitudes towards that language use (Guðmundsdóttir et al. 2020; Jökulsdóttir et al. 2019) could mean more variability as well as acceptability of non-standard forms along lines of age. This could create an increasing formal and status-related gap between generations, thus leading to a radical shift in the traditionally stable status of the Icelandic language.

Returning to the overall vitality of Icelandic as measured on the EGIDS scale, the straightforward relationship between status as measured in total language use across domains, as well as the status of a language as a national/official/institutional language, appears to be only one side of the coin. Corpus-related issues, such as changes in grammatical structures and vocabulary, seem to be secondary to vitality measurements (cf. Kristinsson 2017: 108). In the light of a noticeable divergence between corpus- and status-

[48] "[E]rlent orð eða orðasamband sem ekki nýtur viðurkenningar í viðtökumálinu vegna ónógrar aðlögunar að hljóð- eða beygingarkerfi eða annars konar framandi einkenna" (*Íslensk nútímamálsorðabók* [Dictionary of Modern Icelandic] 2020 and Árnason 2009: 79).

related issues in the Icelandic context, there appears to be room for reconsideration of parameters when evaluating prospects for Icelandic and Iceland's linguistic climate.

In order to measure consequences for language structure and the sociolinguistic impact of language contact between Icelandic and English, phenomena such as code-mixing and use of English loanwords or *slettur* must be investigated, thus attending to formal aspects as well as questions of domain. Some efforts have recently been undertaken to give corpus-related aspects more weight, e.g., investigations into code-switching among secondary school students on social media platforms (Friðriksson & Angantýsson 2021) and informal Icelandic writing practices in online communication (Isenmann 2022).

Furthermore, results of the impact of English stemming from digital language contact have recently encouraged scholars to call for changes in the assessment of language vitality by including digital domains of language use (Drude et al. 2018).

3.2.5 Linguistic awareness and public discourse

In the digital age and times of social media, both linguistic exchange and stylistic choice and evaluation have increasingly taken place via online communication. Icelanders' high linguistic awareness (cf. Leonard & Árnason 2011: 94; Kristiansen 2010), as well as the open and public discourse on Icelandic, have contributed to lively exchange about linguistic matters in diverse Facebook groups and other online platforms. The most prominent of these groups are *Skemmtileg íslensk orð* ("Interesting Icelandic words"), with 31,000 members; *Málvöndunarþátturinn* ("Considerations in language awareness"), with ca. 8,150 members; and *Málspjall* ("Language chat"), with ca. 6,500 members. These platforms represent a relatively high number of participants, considering the total number of Icelandic speakers. While the first group generally includes discussions of the origin, distribution, and (correct) use of interesting Icelandic words, the second often has a more prescriptive tone, occasionally resulting in open hostility based on differences of opinion or misconceptions of linguistic authority. In response to the increasingly condescending tone found in Málvöndunarþátturinn, Rögnvaldsson[49] founded Málspjall in the year 2020; this

[49] Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson is a professor emeritus in Icelandic linguistics at the University of Iceland and has, in recent years, made use of his public image to propagate tolerance of linguistic form that does not traditionally comply with (some) language users' understanding of proper and good language use. This includes variation in both L1 and L2 Icelandic. Rögnvaldsson substantiates his agenda for more tolerance by drawing on his knowledge in linguistics and his own experience witnessing internal and external changes in Icelandic society and its linguistic climate. A compilation of his posts on Málspjall and (earlier) on Málvöndunarþátturinn was published in 2022 as the book *Alls konar íslenska* ("All kinds of Icelandic") (Rögnvaldsson 2022).

group aims to provide a venue for constructive, positive, and objective discussions and questions on the Icelandic language, its grammar, and its use (Málspjall, 12 April 2022). It invokes a certain code of conduct by asking members to refrain from commenting negatively on an individual's language use, thus propagating tolerance in the evaluation of linguistic form and protecting language users from the fear of speaking incorrectly (*málótti*).

All three Facebook groups serve as examples of Icelanders' – and increasingly foreign nationals' – active considerations of Icelandic. They discuss both corpus- and status-related issues, covering a broad spectrum of linguistic matters, e.g., appropriate language use according to communication situations and preferred forms according to purity (see discussion on standard language ideology and preferred forms in section 3.2.3). Offline in daily life, swimming pools and private parties often serve as venues for discussing current issues regarding the Icelandic language (Kristinsson 2018: 246).

Despite the current changes in language use according to register, and despite the challenges that increased use of English as a lingua franca has brought about, Icelandic is far from losing its value as a standard when considering functional aspects of Icelandic and English. Instead, the current development seems to point to a certain blurring of lines:

> It seems to be the case that "impure Icelandic" is gaining ground both by form changes, so that Icelandic today is commonly spoken in public (including prime time TV presentations of the daily news) with features that used to be associated with "impure" Icelandic, and by functional changes so that some sort of low variety is allowed to be heard in new domains, like radio and other media. (Leonard & Árnason 2011: 94)

3.3 Linguistic variation in Icelandic

3.3.1 The absence of dialects

Formal internal variation in Icelandic has been minor in comparison with that of other languages. Syntax and morphology have especially been very stable, with "inflectional paradigms and word formational patterns [having largely remained] the same in old and modern Icelandic" (Árnason 2003: 196; see also Ottósson 1990). According to Árnason, "Grammatical categories, such as case, gender, number, tense and mood, are unchanged although some changes in usage may reflect underlying tendencies" (2003: 196).

Diachronically, there have been some phonological changes over the past centuries that can be regarded as quite substantial, thus challenging the common view of the

language's conservatism, at least regarding phonology (cf. Árnason 2003: 195). Synchronically, there are different locally distributed phonological differences in Iceland. However, there are few marked dialect features distinguishing the speech of one area from neighbouring areas, nor are they generally socially marked.

According to Coseriu's (1980) discussion of *historical language* and *dialect*, a dialect is a language, but not all languages are dialects. This systematization is bound to the assumption that the concept of dialect only becomes significant in relation to a standard language. In Coseriu's view, a dialect is, as much as a language, a complete communicative system containing a complete collection of linguistic traditions. However, a dialect can be delimited by diatopic (i.e., local), diastratic (i.e., social), and diaphasic (i.e., stylistic) differences (1980: 46–50). In keeping with this view, differences in formal aspects (relative to standard variety), as well as associations with distinct regions, are crucial aspects in demarcating dialects according to what Árnason calls the European understanding of dialect (2017: 27; see also Auer 2005). None of these external criteria apply to the Icelandic context, resulting in *dialectness* (Árnason 2005b: 366) in Iceland according to this understanding (cf. also Árnason 2011a: 16, forthcoming; Kuhn 1935; and definition of dialect in Moyer 2013: 10 and section 2.2.1). Although the term dialect (*mállýska*) is used in the Icelandic context referring to diatopic variation, it primarily refers to single formal features in language use. According to Árnason (2017: 28), there are no dialects in Iceland with clearly distinctive formal characteristics associated with a place or social function in the same way as, e.g., in Norway and the Faroe Islands.

In addition to the above, the (European) notion of dialect implies that form (etic) is connected with folk ideas and plays a substantial role in the self-identification of speakers of dialects (emic). Depending on the dialect in question, this could include evaluations of correctness, underlying language ideology, and socio-historical circumstances (cf. dialect landscapes and attitudes towards dialects in Norway, e.g., Christiansen 1946–1948; Røyneland 2009; Sandøy 2011; and in Germany, e.g., Eichinger et al. 2011; Mattheier & Wiesinger 1994).

Some kind of exception can be observed in Iceland concerning diaphasic (i.e., stylistic) differences – to use the term Coseriu proposed – manifest in speakers' judgments of good and appropriate language (*vandað mál*) as opposed to less proper language use (*óvandað mál*), often concerning register (cf. Árnason 2017; Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010; Kristinsson 2013, 2017: 171ff.; Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn 2013;

and discussion in sections 3.2.3, 3.2.4, and 3.3.2.1). Occasionally, certain usages associated with improper language are deemed as so-called *málvillur* ("linguistic errors", "shibboleths"), i.e., linguistic features which, for some reason, are particularly condemned by the speech community (Árnason 1999: 456–457).

One of the most prominent *málvillur* is the shift in usage of the oblique case in constructions with the impersonal verbs *langa* and *vanta* from accusative to dative. For instance, the construction *mig langar/mig vantar* ("I want/I need"; cf. Germ. "mich verlangt/mich fehlt") can be contrasted to the newer (and "incorrect") form *mér langar/mér vantar* ("I want/I need"; cf. Germ. "mir verlangt/mir fehlt"). This shift, which is popularly called *þágufallssýki* ("dative sickness") or *þágufallshneigð* ("dative tendency"), has been the subject of heated discussions, with the latter form being stigmatized as undesirable (with similar ascriptions to its users).[50]

All in all, language users appear to have quite strong ideas about which kind of language (form) is appropriate and good and which is not, with certain features serving as social markers. However, we must not forget that evaluations of correctness can be in the eye of the individual beholder, dependent on social situations and register. In this context, Kristinsson and Hilmarsson-Dunn investigated the acceptability of different texts according to formality; they found that students aged 18–21 and their teachers had "different judgements as to the appropriateness of different texts for different written genres" (2013: 350). Although students were more willing than teachers to accept non-standard forms in informal written genres, they rejected borrowings as inappropriate in formal written genres (Kristinsson & Hilmarsson-Dunn 2013: 352). These results might indicate changes as to the acceptability of non-standard forms, depending on the formality of the (written) genre.

3.3.2 Phonological variation in Icelandic

3.3.2.1 Traditional phonological variation in Icelandic

Three major studies of phonological variation in Iceland have provided significant information on distribution, formal characteristics, speakers, and trends in language use. The first, conducted by Björn Guðfinnsson in the 1940s (Guðfinnsson 1946, 1964), was an

[50] The project Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð (*Variation in Icelandic Syntax*) developed an overview of variations of Icelandic syntax, with results shedding light on the status and ongoing development of Modern Icelandic (Þráinsson et al. 2013, 2015, 2017). Concerning the shift in oblique case in constructions with impersonal verbs, results indicate a correlation between approval of using the dative case and age of language users, i.e., the younger the language users, the higher the percentage of acceptance (Þráinsson et al. 2015: 42–44).

extensive investigation into primary school children's pronunciation across the country[51] (see also Benediktsson 1961/1962: 81; Hilmarsson-Dunn 2006: 296).

The second large-scale investigation was conducted in the 1980s by Höskuldur Þráinsson and Kristján Árnason under the name *Rannsókn á íslensku nútímamáli* (RÍN) ("Investigation into Modern Icelandic"). The project sought to establish an overview of phonological variation in Iceland, its formal characteristics, and its geographical distribution, as well as to compare results with the study undertaken by Björn Guðfinnsson and to identify current trends.[52]

Among the formal features examined was a well-known variation between so-called *harðmæli* ("hard speech") and *linmæli* ("soft speech"). Since *harðmæli* is characterized by postaspiration of plosives in words such as *sápa*, *láta*, and *strákar* ("soap", "let", and "boys"; examples from Árnason 2005b: 368), it sounds "harder" than *linmæli*, although the extent of realization can differ between speakers (Árnason 2005b: 368). The area where *harðmæli* is prominent covers the northern part of Iceland, which is why the variant feature is often referred to as *norðlenska* ("Northern speech" or "Northlandic"). The opposite is true of *linmæli*, which is widespread in the southern part of Iceland, including the greater Reykjavík area; conversely, this formal variant is often called *sunnlenska* ("Southern speech" or "Southlandic"), giving both variants distinct geographical references.

Even though existing differences in phonological variation are not clearly marked socially today (after the disappearance of *flámæli*, cf. discussion below), a slight hierarchical order can be detected on an aesthetic scale in that the speech of northern Icelanders seems to be more attractive than that of other inhabitants (Guðmundsdóttir 2022; Hlynsdóttir 2016). Although no other attributes seem to be significant in the evaluation of speakers of *harðmæli* and *linmæli*, there appear to be distinct aesthetics-related ideas about the variants and their speakers. Reasons for this assessment could lie in the common belief that *harðmæli* comprises an older and, therefore, more original and purer variant (Árnason 2005b: 368). This would be in keeping with both the elevation of a variety according to language-ideological ideals as well as expanding and normalizing this elevation to its speakers, in this case, Northerners.

[51] For an extensive discussion of the aim, methodology, and results of that investigation, see Guðfinnsson 1946 and Guðmundsdóttir 2022.

[52] A large number of publications have been based on the RÍN project, e.g., Árnason & Þráinsson 2003; Þráinsson & Árnason 1992; Gíslason & Þráinsson 1993. Audio examples of the different varieties as well as formal descriptions can be found in Þráinsson & Árnason 2001.

The third major investigation, *Málbreytingar í rauntíma í íslensku hljóðkerfi og setningagerð* (RAUN) ("Real-time change in Icelandic phonology and syntax") was conducted 30 years after the second one. The phonological part of the project studied the real-time development of numerous pronunciation features over several decades, using data from the previous two investigations and their participants (Höskuldsdóttir 2012, 2013; Guðmundsdóttir 2022: 96–97). The study also aimed to determine whether language users change their pronunciation through time and by moving between geographical areas (cf. also intra-speaker variation Stefánsdóttir 2016; Stefánsdóttir & Ingason 2018).

Although investigations into attitudes towards phonological variation in Iceland have revealed that language users are well aware of regional phonological variation, with *norðlenska* and *sunnlenska* as the most commonly mentioned varieties, it remains unclear whether language users share a similar cognitive template for area identification, thus placing certain variants in distinct areas (cf. Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 49 and section 2.1.2). New insights into internal phonological variation indicate that language users hold distinct attitudes towards *norðlenska* (characterized by "hard speech" or *harðmæli*) and *sunnlenska* (with its "soft speech", or *linmæli*), but that they do not necessarily recognize the phonological features (i.e., aspiration or lack thereof in words like *taka*, "to take") that are characteristic of those variants (Guðmundsdóttir 2016, 2022).

Comparing the three investigations conducted in the 1950s, 1980s, and 2010s, it is apparent that considerable changes have taken place since the mid-20th century. Mostly, there has been a decrease in the distribution of phonological variants that were found to be receding in the beginning, whereas those that were already on the rise in the 1950s have spread even more (for a detailed overview of increasing/decreasing phonological variation as well as possible reasons for such developments, see Árnason 2005b: 411).

Considering possible future trends and developments, it seems new phonological variants are on the rise. These include the so-called *ks-framburður* ("ks-pronunciation"), manifest in the pronunciation [ks] instead of the traditional [xs] in words such as *lax* ("salmon"); and *höggmæli*, or the debuccalization of stops, which affects the pronunciation of sound clusters such that stops before nasals such as [kn], [pn], and [tn] are realized as glottal stops instead of oral stops, e.g., in pronunciation of the word *vegna* as [vɛʔna] instead of [vɛkna] (Árnason 2005b: 417; Sigurjónsdóttir 2021).

In contrast to traditional forms of phonological variation showing geographical distribution, features of new, non-traditional forms seem to be connected to social variables

such as age, gender, social class, and speech rate and style (Árnason 2005b: 418). In the case of *ks-framburður*, frequency of use as investigated through the RÍN project indicates an increasing use of its characteristic forms by the younger generation; data on *höggmæli* is still inconclusive in terms of user variables (Sigurjónsdóttir 2021), although this is clearly an innovation.

A third phonological variant worth mentioning is *óskýrmæli*, the phonological reduction in connected speech (slurring or "allegro rules", i.e., sound changes occurring in fast speech). *Óskýrmæli* is an umbrella term for different kinds of formal features that are regarded as deviations from traditional pronunciation, e.g., omission of fricatives and nasals, monophthongization of diphthongs, and omission of syllables (Árnason 2005b: 418). In terms of distribution, studies have revealed this phenomenon is more common amongst younger people in the greater Reykjavík area. However, it can be found amongst all age groups in all parts of the country (Árnason 2005b: 422).

Returning to the first large-scale investigation into phonological variation, Guðfinnsson also targeted a phonological variant called *flámæli* ("slack-jawed speech"), which was condemned by both the Icelandic public and educational authorities (Árnason 2005b: 395). Regarding formal aspects, *flámæli* is characterized by a merger of the vowels /i/ [ɪ̲] and /u/ [ʏ̲] with the vowels /e/ [ɛ̲] and /ö/ [ö] (cf. Árnason 2005b: 395), which can result in homophones that do not exist in standard pronunciation. Examples of such homophones include *viður* and *veður* ("wood, timber" and "weather") and *flugur* and *flögur* ("flies" and "flakes"). Considering attitudes towards this variation as well as its geographical distribution, *flámæli* has been a rather special case. It is regarded as the only socially stigmatized variety in Icelandic, and active and systematic efforts to eradicate it have largely been successful, since only a very few older speakers now show characteristics of *flámæli* in their speech.[53] One could speculate as to whether stigmatization of this phonological variety was due to special formal characteristics, as the creation of homophones contradicts the very principles of lexical and etymological transparency in Icelandic. Furthermore, the variety is regarded as having emerged relatively recently, with descriptions only reaching back into the late 19th century (Árnason 2005b: 398), while at the same time failing to preserve older characteristics like other (accepted) variants such as *harðmæli*. As a consequence, *flámæli* does not fit the pattern of deep-rooted mechanisms

[53] However, this variety remained "undisturbed" amongst Western Icelanders, i.e., descendants of Icelanders who emigrated to North America in the second half of the 19th century (see, e.g., Arnbjörnsdóttir 2006).

concerning dominant language ideology in Iceland. Árnason sees the "very high level of 'linguistic' consciousness and overt metalinguistic discussion in Iceland" (2011a: 15) as playing a significant part in the variant's eradication.

Through Icelanders' general awareness of linguistic phenomena in their speech community, *flámæli* has been marked as undesirable or ugly, whereas other forms are regarded as preferable, more beautiful, or correct. Although marking of phonologically undesirable forms has been largely limited to *flámæli*, it is more common in other linguistic modules such as syntactical and grammatical constructions, morphology, and lexicon (cf. section 3.2.4 and *þágufallshneigð* discussed above). Linguistic variables classified as *markers* are those variables that language users are commonly aware of and attach social meaning to; *indicators* are variables that are non-salient in the speech community (cf. Labov 1972b). *Flámæli* and *þágufallshneigð* thus clearly function as sociolinguistic markers (see also Árnason 2001a: 84). In this regard, it is worth mentioning that undesirable forms are commonly given labels stemming from the semantic field around diseases. As with *hljóðsýki* ("sound sickness"), a value-charged ascription to *flámæli*, the largely frowned-upon shift in oblique case in constructions with impersonal verbs such as *mig/mér langar* and *mig/mér vantar* is generally referred to as *þágufallssýki* ("dative sickness") by language users.[54] These explicit ascriptions indicate certain attitudes towards the variants, with corresponding attitudes towards their users.

Returning to Spolsky and the Icelandic context, it has been regarded as striking how much the three aspects of language management, language practices, and language beliefs seem to go hand in hand and reproduce themselves in a harmonious circle. Kristinsson points out that language policy – when understood as a collective, more-or-less documented policy about the form and status of the language of a distinct speech community – is implicit (Kristinsson 2017: 90). Consequently, language users' attitudes towards the form and status of language varieties and language use have a significant influence on the linguistic culture of the community, and vice versa. With regard to *flámæli*, stigmatization by language users themselves – as part of Icelanders' general high level of linguistic consciousness –

[54] Pálsson (1979) discusses the branding of value-loaded ascriptions of undesirable forms at the same time as making systematic, top-down language-political decisions to discriminate against users of unwanted forms. In his view, advocates of conservative language policy – first and foremost older, self-designated specialists on Icelandic whom he calls *málveirufræðingar* ("language virologists") – encourage stigmatization of innovative forms (and their users) in their campaign to keep Icelandic "pure". This process has had, according to Pálsson, the social side-effect of retaining the myth of the linguistic homogeneity of Icelandic alongside the social homogeneity of its users, instead of admitting to the society's class division along with linguistic change and variation.

undoubtedly contributed to the variant's eradication, thus exemplifying the reproductive circle of Spolsky's three-stage model and demonstrating that the elimination of *flámæli* constituted both a top-down and bottom-up process. Therefore, efforts to eradicate the undesirable variant and standardize Icelandic pronunciation by language-political authorities – such as Björn Guðfinnsson (cf. Jónsson 1998: 231)[55] – were welcomed by the speech community.

3.3.2.2 Non-traditional phonological variation in Icelandic

The local phonological and other differences discussed above can all be called home-grown Icelandic. As such, those features – in combination with formal features of other linguistic modules – constitute an evaluation system in which the standard variety (or ideas of how the standard variety should be) serves as a guiding light. As for foreign-influenced phonological features in people's speech, their role in this (or outside of this) evaluation system has not yet been investigated and determined.

Since it is reasonable to assume that cultural diversity and linguistic diversity open up potential fields for value-based discrimination (Coupland & Kristiansen 2011: 18; see also Chapter 2), it remains to be seen whether a deviation from standard Icelandic pronunciation as found in L2 speakers has the potential to establish an in-group/out-group dichotomy based on accent only. Furthermore, it is still very unclear how Icelanders react to foreign-accented varieties of Icelandic, and what ideas and associations those varieties trigger.

Feelings ran high amongst the Icelandic public when a German geologist read the weather forecast on state radio in 2015. Although reactions were largely positive, with many Icelanders showing tolerance towards foreign-accented speech, some criticized the engagement of an L2 speaker. Their arguments mentioned the necessity of unconditional intelligibility of a weather forecast[56] or had a generally xenophobic tone (see, e.g., Jenssen 2015). This simple example illustrates the broad spectrum of aspects involved in considerations and evaluations of foreign accents, not only touching on issues purely related to phonology and reception but also to socio-political and demographic concerns. In the face of the language's significance for national identity, some scepticism can be explained by a general idea about Icelandic belonging to Icelanders: the language can be

[55] Kristinsson (2019) applies Ammon's model of social forces determining what is standard in a language to Björn Guðfinnsson, thereby showing that Guðfinnsson affected all of the four forces at one point in time.
[56] Derwing and Munro (2015) provide some examples of failed intelligibility with L2 speakers that led to severe misinterpretations, even serious accidents.

seen as some kind of idiosyncratic property that is likely to be damaged or destroyed when used by others (see discussion on *country, nation and language* and national identity, section 3.2.2, and language as a detached entity according to Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 18, initial quote in section 2.1).

Consistent with recent developments in public discourse and efforts to propagate more tolerance towards non-standard forms in Icelandic (cf. section 3.2.5), in 2022 the honorary *Fjallkona*, or the "Lady of the Mountain" – who traditionally addresses the public every year on Iceland's national day (the 17th of June) – was Sylwia Zajkowska, a first-generation immigrant from Poland. She was the first *Fjallkona* addressing the public from Reykjavík with a clearly perceivable foreign accent.

On the whole, some L2 speakers of Icelandic are increasingly more visible and contribute to the public debate on Icelandic, especially as to the accessibility and quality of Icelandic courses on offer, and in light of the proclaimed importance of Icelandic skills for participation in society and social mobility. Their dissatisfaction with and claims for having access to a wider offer of courses on different stages of language acquisition are documented by several studies (see, e.g., Hoffmann et al. 2021; Meckl et al. 2020). However, they are only openly voiced by very few (high-proficiency) representatives of L2 speakers (e.g., Ásgeirsdóttir 2023), using both social media platforms such as Málspjall or newspaper articles (cf. section 3.2.5). Those representatives do, however, stress the importance of increased funding for and access to language-learning classes for L2 speakers as a means of guaranteeing the language's vitality in the future (cf. section 3.2.2), and emphasize that changes in demographics lead to changes and increased diversity in the Icelandic language. Furthermore, ambiguity in L1 speakers' reactions to L2 speakers' Icelandic has been criticized by, for example, L2 speaker and former Member of Parliament Nichole Leigh Mosty (2018), i.e. that L2 speakers are often complimented on their Icelandic, at the same time, as they are criticized for not speaking correctly or with an accent. In the same vein, a study on immigrants' experiences in Iceland shows, that although opportunities for L2 speakers in the labour market go up with increasing proficiency in Icelandic, "some of them have a hard time getting a job and are told that they do not speak well enough if they have an accent" (Skaptadóttir 2004: 144).

As of yet, there are no studies that systematically investigate the role of individual linguistic modules, or their hierarchical structures concerning perceptions of L2 speech in Icelandic. There is, however, some evidence that indicates that L1 speakers of Icelandic

tend to switch to speaking English very quickly when perceiving a foreign accent in Icelandic (Elliot 2018), with anecdotal accounts of L2 learners confirming those experiences (Birgisdóttir 2023).[57] This has recently sparked efforts to encourage L1 speakers to slip into the role of everyday language teachers and engage with L2 speakers in Icelandic, independent of their level of language acquisition or deviances from L1 Icelandic (University of the West Fjords 2023). Concerning communicative behaviour and what triggers (some) L1 speakers' decisions to continue conversing with L2 speakers in English, and assuming that L2 accent is not only salient (cf. section 2.2.1), but immediately recognized as such by L1 speakers (Kang, & Rubin 2009:441) – even before inflectional or lexical errors – it is all the more important to investigate the role of L2 accent in Icelandic and folk ideas on it.

With regard to all of this, giving L2 speakers a broader platform has meant that foreign accents seem to have found their way into the larger public arena, but research on foreign accent has not been prominent in Iceland so far. I investigated Icelanders' attitudes towards foreign accents amongst 538 L1 speakers of Icelandic in an online survey, making use of eight verbal guises involving seven L2 speakers and one L1 speaker of Icelandic (Bade 2018, 2019).[58] L2 speakers originated from Denmark, Germany, Lithuania, the Philippines, Poland, Thailand, and the US. The study focused on covert attitudes towards foreign-accented Icelandic and made use of eight different personality traits evaluated on semantic differential scales, reaching from plus 3 (highest rating) to minus 3 (lowest rating).[59] Personality traits employed in the study were mostly taken from the MIN project and its matched-guise experiment (cf. Kristiansen 2006: 16, 2010). In addition to examining evaluations for individual accents according to the guises' L1 background, the study also investigated listener background in eleven different categories.[60] Surprisingly, overall

[57] The author of this thesis holds a position as an adjunct lecturer of Icelandic as a second language at the University of Iceland and has informally collected L2 learners' experiences of speaking Icelandic with L1 speakers. Often, L2 learners complain about not having enough opportunities to practice and improve their Icelandic skills, especially concerning spoken language, because L1 speakers tend to answer them in English, despite having been addressed in Icelandic by the L2 speaker.

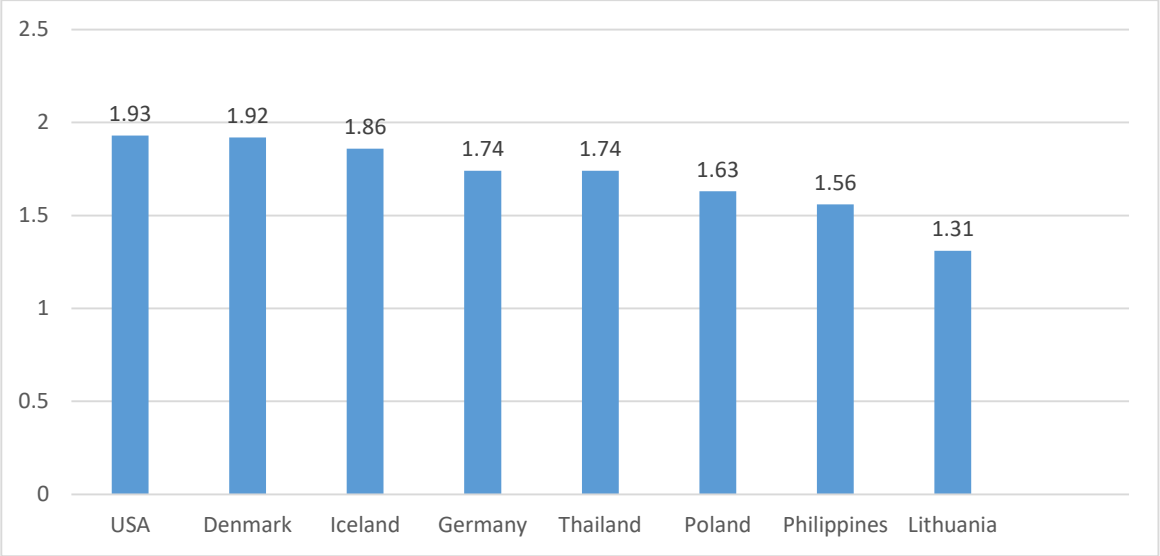
[58] It is worth noting that both my study described here and the study presented in this thesis were carried out before Rögnvaldsson founded *Málspjall* (cf. section 3.2.5), with potential consequences for the findings.

[59] Although the study aimed to elicit covert attitudes towards foreign accents in Icelandic, its design and setting make it arguable as to whether participants' awareness of that aim could be fully avoided. Participants in this online study listened to three of the eight verbal guises and were asked to rate speakers on job suitability for a multilingual playschool in Reykjavik (see Bade 2019: 59 for a more detailed description of the study's procedures). As participants answered the questionnaire where and when it suited them, there was little control over the testing situation, and it was unnatural as the verbal guises were part of a survey. Considering both these circumstances and the high linguistic consciousness of Icelanders (cf. section 3.2.5), it is doubtful that most participants were unaware of expressing their attitudes towards linguistic variation.

[60] Bade (2018) provides a detailed discussion on the results of listeners' background variables.

evaluations of speakers showed that the American and Danish guise scored higher than the guise speaking L1 Icelandic, with alternating results for the individual personality traits, as seen in Table 2 (taken from Bade 2019: 60–61).

Table 2: *Means across all traits for each speaker's country of origin*



Possible explanations for the good performance of the American guise might lie in the study's research design – the participants' role in the study was to choose a suitable employee for a multicultural playschool in the capital city of Reykjavík – or in the growing status of (American) English within the Icelandic speech community (Bade 2019: 67). In terms of both the Danish and American guises, it might be assumed that exposure to Danish and English in educational settings and the media (cf. section 3.2.2; Kristinsson 2013) influences Icelanders' familiarity with the two languages and their phonological characteristics.

In the same vein, roughly half (51%) of participants correctly identified the Polish speaker as such, providing the second-highest score for identification after the L1 speaker of Icelandic (Bade 2019: 66).[61] Therefore, it is conceivable that Icelanders are either more familiar with a Polish accent – possibly due to exposure based on the large number of

[61] Keeping in mind that the study employed only one L1 speaker, no reliable conclusions can be drawn on speaker identification. However, the results can provide valuable insights into perceptions of foreign accents in an Icelandic context in terms of familiarity and exposure. For the voice-placing in this covert study, participants were given the choice between fifteen possible answers for each guise, including thirteen countries of origin. These countries were China, Denmark, France, Germany, Iceland, Lithuania, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Thailand, the UK, and the US. Additional choices were "I do not know" and "I do not want to answer".

immigrants from Poland – or that Icelanders resort to identifying a foreign accent as Polish because they know that Poles are by far the most populous immigrant group.

As discussed in section 2.2.5, familiarity with accent can influence several aspects, e.g., intelligibility, comprehensibility, and attitudes towards the accent in question. Concerning the relationship between the familiarity of accent and attitudes towards it, research indicates that exposure to a distinct variety results in increased familiarity and positive attitudes towards that variety, in addition to potentially greater intelligibility (cf. Dimova 2018; Yan & Ginter 2018: 77). Results for overall evaluations for the eight guises in my investigation on covert attitudes towards foreign accents in Icelandic indicate a categorization of accents according to origin, such that accents stemming from the Western world seem to be preferred to those from Eastern Europe or Asia (Bade 2019: 67; see also Lindemann 2005 and discussion in Chapter 2). In the light of those results and the special role of Danish and English in the Icelandic speech community, the question arises as to whether Icelanders' attitudes towards L2 accents are in keeping with Lindemann's idea (2003: 348) that people prefer dialects, accents, or languages spoken by historically powerful groups, especially on the grounds of status-related qualities, or whether Danes are seen as friendly instead of powerful.

As already established in section 3.2.4, evaluations of validity of proper/good speech are mostly negotiated along the lines of lexical items and inflections. Evaluation of the choice of lexical items considers distinctions between Icelandic and English equivalences as well as appropriate word choice from the home-grown Icelandic lexicon.

Pronunciation, however, has not been said to have an effect on such evaluations or stigmatization (except for *flámæli*, see 3.3.2.1). As mentioned above, appreciation of moderate regional variation – although such variation is minor and decreasing – has been a natural part of the linguistic culture in Iceland, with speakers generally being well aware of existing variation. Although phonologically marked foreign accent as a linguistic and easily perceivable phenomenon has been limited internally and has, generally, not been stigmatized, it is conceivable that the evaluation system for lexical choice according to register and correct use of inflectional patterns is not directly connected to underlying parameters regarding phonological correctness and acceptability.

For the time being, it remains relatively unknown as to which particular factors determine ideas on and evaluations of foreign accents in the Icelandic context. As is widely known from research on foreign accents and their evaluation in other societies, it can be

assumed that aspects such as familiarity with an accent have some influence. On the whole, features influencing the perception and evaluation of foreign accents in Icelandic are expected to be dependent on both the individual listener's background and language-ideologically motivated folk beliefs particular to the linguistic culture of the speech community (cf. section 2.1.1).

3.4 Iceland today: A coherent speech community?

As Kristinsson remarks, "the historically straightforward correspondence between ethnicity of the population of Iceland and having Icelandic as their mother tongue has been changing in recent years" (2018: 245). The fact that more and more non-traditional minority languages, as Kristinsson calls them, are audible and visible in Icelandic society today bears witness to the Icelandic speech community's transformation from an exception – by sociolinguistic standards – to what is more common around the world (Kristinsson 2017).[62]

Furthermore, the stable relationship between language practices, language beliefs, and language management (cf. sections 3.2.1, 3.2.3, and 3.3.2.1) appears to be under pressure amongst L1 speakers, potentially weakening the consensus on shared norms. With the increased spread of and exposure to other languages than Icelandic as well as foreign accents in Icelandic, questions arise as to how those accents are perceived and evaluated by L1 speakers, against the backdrop of a well-established evaluation system for L1 varieties and language users' high awareness of linguistic matters.

[62] Immigrant languages, such as Polish or Thai, are regarded as non-traditional minority languages despite being represented by a large number of speakers. As such, they do not benefit from legal protection or special status within the linguistic landscape in Iceland (cf. Kristinsson 2017: 24ff.).

4 Methodology and methods

The study at hand makes use of both deductive and inductive concepts, typical for research methods associated with grounded theory. It is based, firstly, on deductive concepts relating to socio-historical and linguistic events that have shaped the current linguistic culture in Iceland and might result in changes to this culture; and, secondly, on general theories and concepts that have been used in language attitude research.

4.1 Research themes and questions

In keeping with the theoretical framework of the study of language regard, this study makes use of several methods to investigate folk beliefs and to gain an understanding of "the organized structure of such beliefs" (Preston 2018: 3, cf. also section 2.1.1). Against the background of the linguistic climate presented in Chapter 3, the study gives particular consideration to potential mechanisms behind Icelandic language ideology and the recent linguistic and demographic transitions in Iceland.

The research themes and questions forming the basis of this study are the following:

1. General ideas

1a What emic accounts do participants provide about current issues concerning the Icelandic language?

1b What ideas do "the folk" (i.e., the non-linguists comprising the Icelandic language community) have on L2 Icelandic?

1c What do general ideas emerging from folk accounts indicate about the current linguistic climate in Iceland?

2. Voice-placing strategies

2a What voice-placing strategies do "the folk" have?

2b What emic themes are connected with voice-placing strategies?

2c What do voice-placing strategies emerging from folk accounts indicate about the current linguistic climate in Iceland?

3. Emic themes and their interrelation with the etic concepts of *degree of accent, pleasantness,* and *correctness*

3a What emic themes do "the folk" connect with evaluations of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness?

3b What do the emic themes emerging from folk accounts indicate about the current linguistic climate in Iceland?

4. Evaluations of foreign-accented Icelandic

4a What conclusions can be drawn from the results of questions 1–3 in terms of an evaluation system concerning L2 speech?

4.1.1 General ideas on the status of Icelandic and L2 speech

The first research theme and its three sub-questions are directed at gaining insight into general folk ideas concerning the status of the Icelandic language and L2 Icelandic. Discussions of general folk ideas emerging from introductory as well as other questions throughout the focus group interviews (see section 4.3) are restricted to two main aspects.

First, salience of topics is considered, focusing on two aspects. On the one hand, participants' general accounts of the status of Icelandic are investigated. We look for participants' ideas on the importance of foreigners' acquisition of Icelandic and their ideas on the language being spoken differently, i.e., in a non-traditional way (cf. section 3.3.2.2). Topics provided by participants are inspected as to whether and how they reflect etic knowledge on the current linguistic climate in Iceland and on language use deviating from traditional usage, and which emic themes participants provide on the issues.

Second, potential conclusions can be drawn on linguistic awareness towards both L1 and L2 Icelandic – or the lack thereof – as indicated by salient emic topics provided by participants. We remember that L1 speakers of Icelandic are said to have a "high linguistic awareness" (see, e.g., Leonard & Árnason 2011); this is manifest in Icelanders' active participation in official discourse on language-related and language-political issues, including widespread participation on relevant social media platforms (cf. section 3.2.5). It is interesting to see whether foreign accents in Icelandic have some sort of established position within the speech community's current linguistic climate (cf. Chapter 3) and what themes are attached to foreign accents and L2 speech.

4.1.2 Voice-placing strategies

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, three sub-questions circle participants' voice-placing strategies compiled in the second research theme. Their aims are to 1) uncover voice-placing strategies, 2) determine emic themes connected to participants' voice-placing strategies, and 3) draw conclusions on what those strategies indicate for Iceland's linguistic climate.

In light of the fact that non-traditional language use as seen and heard in L2 accents in today's speech community is a novelty (cf. section 3.3.2.2) – especially in terms of its

diversity – it is interesting to see how representatives of the speech community approach different accents and their geographic origin.

The voice-placing task, as described in section 4.3.3.2, aims both to uncover the strategies participants use to locate an accent and to shed light on whether participants have an underlying (cognitive) understanding of current demographics regarding speaker origin. Assuming that familiarity with an accent influences evaluation (cf. sections 2.3.3 and 3.3.2.2), it is interesting to see what voice-placing strategies participants have for different accents that are unevenly spread through Icelandic society, and whether those strategies give insights into perceptions of geographical proximity or distance. Concerning L2 accents, it can be assumed that Danish and English have a somewhat different spread and status than other L2 accents, in part due to increased exposure and formal instruction in those languages in Icelandic schools (cf. sections 3.2.2, 3.2.3, and 3.3.2.2).

Since the L2 accents employed in this study are limited to one sample per accent (see section 4.3.3.2), no attempt is made to make general assumptions about evaluations of speakers of certain languages based on their distinct L2 accents in Icelandic. However, in keeping with the qualitative approach of this study, we aim to shed light on relationships between perception of phonological deviance from the L1 standard variety and ideas of geographical proximity/distance. We also investigate the foundation of those perceptions and ideas in emically provided themes, and what those themes disclose about the current sociolinguistic climate in Icelandic.

4.1.3 Emic themes and their relationship with the etic concepts of *degree of accent, pleasantness,* and *correctness*

The significance of the etic concepts of *pleasantness* and *correctness* for evaluation of language variation in general, and the concept of *degree of dialect difference* for inquiries into the perceived degree of otherness in regional dialects based on perceptual dialectology specifically, has already become apparent (cf. section s 2.1.2 and 2.1.3.2). Just as we need to consider the backdrop of the sociolinguistic situation today, considering the three etic concepts underlying this group of research questions is important for gaining insights into folk evaluations of L2 Icelandic and motivations thereof.

Since the concept of degree of accent is based on the frequency and intensity of deviation from a distinct standard accent – in this case, standard (L1) Icelandic (cf. section 2.2.1) – questions concerning this concept are designed around a perceived difference from a reference variety, thereby altering the concept of degree of dialect difference proposed by

Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 77ff.) and adapting it to the investigation of folk ideas of L2 accents.

As data on the three concepts proposed by folk-linguistic studies are collected as metalinguistic comments (see section 4.4), they are not assessed quantitatively but rather put into context with other themes stemming from participants, thus producing deep insights into factors of influence and their entanglement with one another. As with previous research questions, the emic themes emerging from folk accounts – here in connection with the etic concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness – are examined. Answers to the questions are generated from participants' free association with questions asked in the semi-structured discussion guide (see section 4.3.3.3).

4.1.4 Evaluations of foreign-accented Icelandic

The final theme and question of this study seeks conclusions about an evaluation system for L2 speech in Icelandic based on results from the first three research themes and their questions. This theme – in its nature being superordinate to all other themes and standing on its own at the same time – centres around how Icelanders react to deviations in pronunciation manifest in foreign accents (see section 2.2). Furthermore, it is connected to the changing social and linguistic circumstances Iceland has been facing since the beginning of the 21st century, particularly those that have transformed Iceland's traditionally homogenous society into a multicultural one. Special attention is therefore given to changes involving languages and language varieties that have not been heard before (see section 3.3.2.2), and to the emerging propagation of tolerance towards non-standard forms and their users (cf. discussion on public discourse in section 3.2.5 and Rögnvaldsson 2022).

Potential factors influencing folk ideas of foreign accents in Icelandic are rooted in historical, social, and sociolinguistic processes unique to Icelandic society. Consequently, insights gained from the etic knowledge presented as a foundation in this study, as well as from the emic accounts from representatives of the language community, are only applicable to the distinctive mechanisms and perceptions in Iceland today. However, by employing analytical tools and principles associated with grounded theory (see section 4.3), this study provides a unique opportunity to connect sociolinguistic knowledge and individual folk accounts to see whether the two reveal any general relationships or patterns in terms of evaluations of foreign-accented Icelandic in today's sociolinguistic climate. Identifying themes underlying assessment of L2 speech in a purist speech community with recent, and substantial, demographic changes can contribute to an understanding of the effects of such

changes on the deep-rooted evaluation system for the L1 variety. Therefore, the current study can add to an understanding of evaluation mechanisms in the context of special sociolinguistic circumstances.

In sum, this concluding theme seeks an overall impression of indications from themes one to three on evaluations of foreign-accented Icelandic in the current linguistic climate in Iceland, and implications for the general system(s) underlying evaluation of speech.

4.2 Research design and methods

To review the emic/etic distinction used as a foundation in this study, the definition by Lett (1990; cf. section 2.1.1) is restated here:

> Emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviours are being studied […] Etic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers. (Lett 1990: 130)

In this study, these two constructs appear through a deductive (etic) and an inductive (emic) approach to the research design. The conceptual framework underlying this study and other folk-linguistic approaches thereby brings together certain concepts and methods from perceptual dialectology on the one hand, and relevant experimental instruments and methods of analysis from anthropological research on the other hand.

As touched upon in section 2.1.1 concerning the three waves of sociolinguistic study (cf. Eckert 2012), this discipline, like many others, has seen a shift in recent decades from segregating quantitative and qualitative research methods to incorporating them both within single studies. Accordingly, our study makes use of qualitative methods, supported by a quantitative reference for voice-placing, as well as analytical tools that draw on established grounded-theoretical methods. Etic concepts are incorporated into a semi-structured discussion guide, and emic themes are gathered from L1-speaker folk representatives participating in five focus group discussions.

We have seen (cf. section 2.1.2) that five main methods have been identified by Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 41ff.) as essential for determining folk evaluations of language variation and for potentially adding to and/or revising etic knowledge of perceptions

and evaluations of linguistic variation. To review, these methods are the following, with the latter four methods often employing matched or verbal guises:

1. Draw-a-map task
2. Degree-of-difference task
3. Pleasantness and correctness evaluations
4. Voice-placing task
5. Free association of concepts on dialects and language variation

A deductive approach can be taken by offering folk representatives with etic concepts (see sections 4.3.3 and 4.4.), namely, by presenting participants with maps of dialect areas and asking them to evaluate distinct dialects according to the preconceived concepts of degree of dialect difference, pleasantness, and correctness. Folk reactions to etic concepts and their evaluation can offer insights into emic concepts governing evaluation and provide new emic concepts.

Four methods, drawing on those established by Niedzielski and Preston (cf. above, section 2.1.2, and 2003: 41ff.), are employed in this study. Participants in focus groups (see section 4.3.2) are presented with a voice-placing task based on six verbal guises (see section 4.3.3.2), and they freely discuss their perception of and ideas on those guises according to the three concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness (see section 4.3.3.3), thus providing emic themes connected with those concepts. Furthermore, this study investigates salient themes related to the current linguistic climate and the significance of L2 speech within that climate (see section 4.3.3.1). Motives for the implementation of methods and their incorporation into the study's discussion guide are discussed in section 4.3.3. Processing and analytical principles drawing on selected methods from grounded theory are discussed in more detail in section 4.4.

4.3 Focus group discussions

The focus group discussions themselves encompass several procedures. A semi-structured interview guide (see 4.3.3 and Appendix B) assists with conducting the interviews. Following introductory questions of a general nature, participants are then asked to listen to six audio recordings and complete a voice-placing task; afterwards, they are invited to freely discuss their ideas on the accents they heard. In this way, "a multidimensional approach to what are ultimately folk questions […] help[s] build a more complete and accurate picture of the regard for language use and variety within a speech community" (Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 96).

4.3.1 Motives of implementation

Choosing focus group interviews as a primary source of data collection is directly motivated by the aim of this study. Focus groups lend themselves especially to "gaining information on participants' views, attitudes, beliefs, responses, motivations and perceptions on a topic; 'why people think or feel the way they do'" (Litosseliti 2003: 18). They are thereby in keeping with Niedzielski and Preston's (2003: 30ff.) view of the importance of getting to the bottom of not only what people think about language (varieties), but why. Insights into participants' own, i.e., emic, ideas are thus expected to generate answers as to the motivation behind evaluation of foreign accents in Icelandic.

Further advantages of employing focus group interviews in this study include access to broad and even conflicting insights into participants' ideas. In terms of breadth, they generate more insights into the research topic than single interviews with the same number of participants (Hennink et al. 2011: 136), and they enable the researcher to understand participants' ideas based on the interaction between them (Crang & Cook 2007: 90). Furthermore, they have the invaluable advantage of possibly producing and/or bringing forward ideas and beliefs that would not have surfaced in single interviews without the interaction between the participants, as suggested by Crang and Cook:

> Focus groups are […] a key means through which researchers can study […] processes by setting up a situation in which groups of people meet to discuss their experiences and thoughts about specific topics with the researcher and with each other. Such groups can provide forums for the expression and discussion of the plurality of sometimes contradictory or competing views […]. (Crang & Cook 2007: 90)

Comparison of data between and within focus groups, including contradictory and competing ideas, is one of the cornerstones of grounded-theoretical data analysis and therefore comprises an integral tool for analysis in this study (cf. section 4.4.2), provided certain standardized questions are part of every discussion guide used (Fife 2005: 99; see also semi-structured discussion guide in section 4.3.3). The interactive character of focus group discussions further encourages spontaneous answers and unexpected types of information (cf. Hennink et al. 2011: 159), thus yielding folk ideas that would not be obtainable through individual in-depth interviews.[63]

[63] It is important to note that the interactive character of focus group discussions can pose certain dangers, such as undermining minority viewpoints and creating consensus amongst participants on especially sensitive issues (Fife 2005: 95). Care must be taken that participants do not reproduce what they think the researcher wants to hear rather than stating their own opinion; this is a well-known phenomenon in qualitative interviews,

4.3.2 Participants in focus groups

Five focus group discussions were conducted in March and April 2019 in 90-minute evening sessions, each held from 6:00 to 7:00 p.m. All interviews were conducted in the same meeting room at the University of Iceland.

The Social Science Research Institute of the University of Iceland (*Félagsvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands*) was commissioned to contact individuals registered in their pool for survey participation, informing them about an ongoing study on Icelandic without stating the exact purpose of the study. Individuals willing to participate provided information on their background (gender, age, education) and were offered a voucher amounting to 8,000 ISK for a shopping centre in Reykjavík.

Eight participants were expected to attend each discussion, but the actual total attendance was 32 individuals. Table 3 provides an overview of participants, including individual pseudonyms, gender, and year of birth.

Table 3: *Participants' pseudonyms, gender, and age*

Focus group	**Pseudonym**	**Gender**	**Year of birth**
1	Guðmundur	M	1966
	Freyja	F	1954
	Íris	F	1957
	Klara	F	1965
	Tómas	M	1976
	Sigurður	M	1938
	María	F	1943
	Páll	M	1952
2	Ásta	F	1944
	Emil	M	1949
	Björn	M	1957
	Kári	M	1939
	Soffía	F	1967
	Jón	M	1963
3	Ágúst	M	1968
	Hugrún	F	1975

for instance, in the deference effect (cf. Hennink et al. 2011: 164) and social desirability bias (cf. Garrett 2010: 44–45). However, with the main aim of collecting overtly expressed folk ideas on L2 accent in Icelandic by employing tools offered by grounded theory, using focus group discussions is a logical choice.

	Ingimar	M	1960
	Dagbjört	F	1969
	Steinþór	M	1937
	Hanna	F	1965
	Edda	F	1965
4	Steinar	M	1936
	Emma	F	1983
	Anton	M	1972
	Dagur	M	1964
5	Atli	M	1986
	Sunna	F	1989
	Vigdís	F	1997
	Margrét	F	1956
	Kolfinna	F	1942
	Sigrún	F	1959
	Berglind	F	1955

As evident from Table 3, the number of participants varied across groups. There were eight participants in the first focus group discussion; the following discussions included, respectively, six, seven, four, and seven participants. Across groups, there were 15 men and 17 women, thus providing quite a good balance amongst participants according to gender. Participants' age, displayed as the year of birth, was unevenly distributed across focus groups; the average age was 60, with the oldest participant aged 82 and the youngest aged 21 at the time of the focus group. According to the university's Social Science Institute, the imbalance in participants' age reflects the fact that there are more individuals of older generations registered in their pool, and that representatives of the older generation are more likely to show an interest in participating in surveys and focus groups concerned with the Icelandic language.

4.3.3 Development of the discussion guide

A semi-structured discussion guide was employed in all focus group interviews. This allowed for flexibility in gaining emic themes and enabled the researcher to explore topics in detail or construct theory (Esterberg 2002: 87), while at the same time maintaining necessary cohesion and comparability between discussions (see constant comparative method in section 4.4.2). The semi-structured approach used in this study is common in

qualitative research (Hennink et al. 2011: 109) and leaves the researcher space to conduct the interview in a way that responds to the information given in the discussion situations (Esterberg 2002: 94). Thus, different ideas and beliefs are generated that, firstly, give insights into the diversity of folk linguistic ideas on foreign-influenced phonological variation in Icelandic and, secondly, enable the researcher to determine emerging themes for further analysis from the ideas obtained (see also 4.4).

Regarding the content of the discussion guide, the etic – or, in grounded-theoretical terms, deductive – concepts collected (cf. Chapters 2 and 3) are employed and framed within questions that are easily understandable, accessible, and non-ambiguous (see Esterberg 2002: 98ff.; Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 117ff.; cf., e.g., question 10, Appendix B). Questions are openly formulated to encourage discussion and additional information. General and specific questions are supported where appropriate by so-called probes, which assist the researcher in attaining additional information and/or information of a deeper kind (Esterberg 2002: 104–105; Hennink et al. 2011: 161–164; cf., e.g., questions 11a and 11b, Appendix B). Probing can have many manifestations, e.g., asking all participants in a group to explain an issue when there is clear agreement or divergence about it (cf. discussion of group explanation probe, Hennink et al. 2011: 162). As an alternative to this kind of probing, the researcher might ask participants to come forward if they have a different opinion on an issue (cf. probe for diversity, Hennink et al. 2011: 162). Focusing on diverse emic views, and thereby maintaining flexibility in questioning, is of crucial importance since rigid questioning might endanger the possibility of uncovering ideas and beliefs not expected in the study.

The focus group discussion itself is divided into three major parts, with the second and largest further subdivided into two parts with different tasks. In the first part, *introductory questions* (see also section 4.3.3.1) ease participants into the discussion and help gather general folk ideas on the status of Icelandic and L2 Icelandic (cf. research theme one and section 4.1.1; see also section 4.3.3.1). In the second and most extensive part, two tasks are employed: first, a voice-placing task based on verbal guises (cf. research theme two and section 4.1.2; see also section 4.3.3.2), and second, discussions based on participants' perception of those guises around the etic concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness, as well as emically generated themes from the discussions (cf. research theme three and section 4.1.3; see also section 4.3.3.3). Finally, the third part comprises final questions and gives participants the opportunity to add information or share ideas that had not already come forward, thus

potentially adding to themes generated in the main discussion in the second part. This part is also used for debriefing the participants (see also section 4.3.3.4).

4.3.3.1 Introductory questions

In addition to the social function of easing participants into the discussions ahead, introductory questions often define the mood and tone of the interview session and set a certain frame in which participants feel comfortable discussing an issue. In this case, the researcher can gain insight into participants' general ideas on the current status of the Icelandic language (question 1; see all questions in Appendix B) and an overview of themes deemed important by participants. The following three introductory questions and their sub-questions investigate participants' ideas on immigrants speaking Icelandic in general and their emotional responses towards the phenomenon (questions 2 and 3); they also explore whether participants deem it necessary for immigrants to learn Icelandic (question 4). The next two introductory questions (5 and 6) examine participants' ideas on L2, non-traditional language use in Icelandic as well as what speaking Icelandic "differently" means to them.

Consistent with studies on familiarity with accent and potential consequences for evaluations (cf. section 2.2.5), questions 7 and 8 address connections and interactions with L2 speakers, and the final introductory question explores participants' choice of language for communication with L2 speakers (question 9).[64]

4.3.3.2 Audio recordings and voice-placing task

The second part of the focus group discussions begins with a voice-placing task. Participants listen to six audio recordings in which speakers read aloud the same text.

To review, research theme two (cf. section 4.1.2) aims to investigate participants' voice-placing strategies and uncover whether they have an underlying awareness of speaker origin based on foreign accent. Conclusions might be drawn on familiarity with accent and its interplay with emically provided themes as well as the spread of L2 accents and perceptions of geographical proximity or distance.

This portion of the data collection makes use of the so-called verbal-guise technique (cf. section 2.3.1 and, e.g., Bade 2019; Huygens & Vaughan 1983; Lindemann 2003; Lindemann & Subterilu 2013). There are several reasons for using verbal guises in this

[64] Questions on folk ideas towards immigration, the need for foreigners to learn Icelandic, and choice of communication language are disregarded in the analysis and presentation of data (see also section 5.1).

study instead of the matched-guise technique (cf. sections 2.1.1, 2.1.2, and 2.1.3), in which all audio cues are produced by one bi-/multilingual or bi-/multidialectal speaker.

As has been proven in other studies (Huygen & Vaughan 1983; Lindemann 2003), the main reasons for employing different speakers are, firstly, the difficulty of finding one speaker who can replicate the range of varieties involved in the study. Secondly, the desire to avoid mimicking and authenticity issues, i.e., "inaccuracies when people are asked to mimic accents" (see Garrett 2010: 58), speaks in favour of the employment of verbal guises. In studies such as the current one, in which audio samples represent more than two or three different varieties, it is especially difficult (or even impossible) to find one speaker able to mimic all those varieties. This is why speakers are employed whose L2 accent is part of their natural way of speaking, thus excluding questions of mimicking and authenticity (see also Preston 1996: 65).[65]

Because participants do not know that they will listen to L1- and L2-accented Icelandic, this method involves a degree of covert evaluation. The latter aspect, i.e., the generation of emic themes from participants' accounts, is in keeping with the general folk-linguistic understanding that every speech community is embedded within distinct sociolinguistic circumstances that shape its linguistic ideology and values (cf. discussion on preconceptions and significance of emic folk accounts in section 2.1.2).

Six verbal guises are employed in this study, produced by five L2 speakers of Icelandic and one L1 speaker. The five L2 speakers come from Denmark, Lithuania, the Philippines, Poland, and the US. L2 speakers from Denmark and the US are chosen because of Denmark's historical entanglement with Icelandic affairs on the one hand (cf. sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.3.2.2, and 4.1.2), and on the other hand, the special relationship between Icelandic and (American) English in the light of the language's status in Icelandic society today (cf. sections 2.3.2, 3.2.4, 3.2.5, 3.3.2.2, and 4.1.2).

Immigrants from Poland have been the largest foreign national group by far for quite some time, comprising 35.9% of the total immigrant population at the beginning of 2021 (cf. also Chapter 3 and Statistics Iceland, 19 October 2021). Regarding these figures, the question arises whether Polish and a Polish accent in Icelandic are more widespread in Icelandic society than other foreign accents (cf. also section 3.4), with corresponding implications for familiarity and, therefore, placement strategies and evaluations.

[65] Garrett (2010: 57ff.) provides a detailed discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the matched-guise and verbal-guise techniques, including the methods' employment in uncovering covert and overt beliefs, their suitability for comparison between multiethnic and multilingual contexts, as well as their appropriateness for investigating dimensions of language evaluation, e.g., prestige, solidarity, and dynamism.

Lithuanians (5.7%) and Filipinos (3.7%) are the next largest foreign national groups (cf. Chapter 3 and Statistics Iceland, 19 October 2021) and have constituted (relatively) large immigrant groups for many years. Therefore, L1 speakers stemming from these three countries were included in the production of verbal guises for this study.

To engage L2 speakers with different backgrounds but similar time of L2 learning (Flege et al. 2006; Purcell & Suter 1980; and cf. section 2.2.2), i.e., comparable duration of organized instruction in Icelandic, students of the Icelandic as a Second Language program at the University of Iceland were approached through an e-mail to their teachers on two occasions (13 April 2015 and 27 January 2016).

Students willing to participate were sent a questionnaire exploring their background, i.e., age, gender, and country of origin/mother tongue. Other aspects addressed by the questionnaire included predictors for accented speech potentially influencing the degree of accent, e.g., length of residence, age of learning, and use of L1 and L2 (cf. section 2.2.2 and see Flege et al. 1995; Purcell & Suter 1980; Thompson 1991). In the end, only female students who were in their second year of the Icelandic as a Second Language program, were 25–35 years old, and reflected the requested country of origin/mother tongue and length of L2 learning, were chosen for the recordings. An L1 speaker of Icelandic was added to produce a verbal guise for comparison, fulfilling the same background criteria for gender and age (female, 25–35 years old). Despite these common background criteria, it is obvious that the learners of Icelandic most probably, firstly, have different levels of competence in the language and, secondly, have different pronunciation from each other because of their mother tongue. In other words, the students' pronunciation shows different deviations, both quantitatively and qualitatively, from L1 speakers of the standard variety. To address this issue, a phonological analysis of L2 speaker guises and deviation from L1 Icelandic was executed, examining both frequency (quantitative) and degree (qualitative) of accentedness (results are provided in Appendix E).

Recordings were prepared in two stages. The first session with each speaker took place 14 May–16 June 2015, and the second session was conducted 11–29 February 2016. All speakers were informed about the nature and execution of both the focus group discussions and the research project in general (cf. Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 210). It was made clear to them that they could withdraw their consent at any time and without having to explain their reasons. Although all speakers recruited for the audio recordings had had at least one year of formal instruction in Icelandic (or Icelandic as a mother tongue,

in the case of the speaker representing L1 Icelandic), the informed consent form was also provided in English to prevent misunderstandings (see Appendix C). Likewise, information on confidentiality and anonymity was provided on the consent forms and discussed orally before recording (see also section 4.3.4).

Since the research project focuses on one aspect of language use, i.e., foreign accent or phonological deviation from L1 standard Icelandic, the text that was used in the recordings was a grammatically and stylistically sound Icelandic text (see Appendix A). Even though the free production of oral text would have given examples of real-life communication (see Munro & Mann 2005), it is deemed important to separate phonological features from other linguistic aspects in the light of predominant language-ideological principles and evaluations of language use. A focus on the use of lexicon according to register and errors in inflection compared to the L1 variety (cf. sections 3.2.4 and 3.3.1) would have opened up more complications than there is room for in this work. The text of choice is a children's story (see Appendix A) used as an oral exam within the Icelandic as a Second Language program at the University of Iceland, as it comprises most of the sounds and sound clusters that occur in Icelandic. The speakers received the text along with the questionnaire on speaker background, and they were allowed to familiarize themselves with it.

Three audio stimuli were produced for each speaker, and each original recording lasts between 58 and 88 seconds of text read aloud. One of the three recordings was chosen per speaker, then played in the focus group discussions. A decision was made to shorten the recordings to 18–24 seconds, ending after a certain paragraph in the text, to prevent fatigue and loss of attention on the part of the listener participants (see Appendix A).

In the focus group discussions, participants were given the opportunity to read the text before listening to the first guise. This was done to minimize distraction by the content of the text, especially while listening to the first speaker. Although introducing participants to "the repeated content of a reading passage presented by a series of voices may exaggerate the language variations and make them much more salient" (cf. discussion of the "salience question" in Garrett 2010: 57), it was deemed important to have participants listen to one single text passage to enable them to concentrate on pronunciation alone. Concerning the four categories of familiarity suggested by Gass and Varonis (1984; cf. section 2.2.5), participants were familiar with the topic of the text before listening to the audio recordings, thus reducing issues of comprehensibility. It must be clearly noted that participants were at no time informed about the fact they would be listening to L2 speakers of Icelandic – or, more

specifically, to learners of Icelandic – neither before the first guise was played nor between guises.

Audio recordings were played in a different order in each focus group to minimize bias that could stem from the order of the guises' presentation to participants (Table 4), e.g., with regard to voice-placing strategies and emic themes (cf. sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3). In the light of results on speaker placement from my study on attitudes towards foreign accents in Icelandic (Bade 2018, 2019), in which speakers tended to place L2 guises in Poland regardless of speaker background, varying the order of guises in each focus group made it possible to see whether, e.g., all guises played first would be placed in Poland.

Table 4: *Order of audio recordings played in each focus group*

Focus group 1	**Focus group 2**	**Focus group 3**	**Focus group 4**	**Focus group 5**
Polish	Danish	Filipino	American Engl.	Lithuanian
Icelandic	Filipino	Lithuanian	Filipino	American Engl.
Danish	American Engl.	American Engl.	Lithuanian	Icelandic
Lithuanian	Lithuanian	Polish	Danish	Polish
Filipino	Icelandic	Icelandic	Polish	Danish
American Engl.	Polish	Danish	Icelandic	Filipino

After hearing each speaker recite the text, participants were asked to draw a circle around the speaker's perceived geographical origin on a world map, marked with nation-states' political boundaries. Although the use of maps with physical and political boundaries (cf. Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 46) as well as country names is recommended in order to facilitate orientation and prevent confusion, asking participants to associate L2 speakers with a certain nation-state poses some conceptual difficulty. First of all, language situations in nation-states vary tremendously. On the one hand, populations within a particular state can be mono-, bi-, or multilingual. L2 speakers might therefore be ascribed to a (nation) state in which several languages are spoken, possibly leading to ambiguity. Such might be the case with the Philippines, where both Filipino and English are official languages. On the other hand, single languages (and their varieties) might be spoken (also as a single official language) in more than one nation-state, as is the case of Spanish. Asking respondents to place a foreign accent within an individual nation-state might thus be problematic. Therefore, question 10 ("What are your first thoughts on what you just heard?"; see Appendix B) and its two probes are designed to allow participants to elaborate

freely on their choices by, firstly, restating them, and secondly, elaborating on them. This allows emic themes behind voice-placing to emerge. Question 11 ("Is there anything especially prominent in the way the person speaks?"; see Appendix B) and its two subquestions ("What is that exactly? / Can you describe that a little more?" and "How do you feel about that?"; see Appendix B, questions 11a and 11b) target evaluations of the various speakers as well as salience of L1 and L2 features.

As for the procedure of voice-placing in the focus groups, participants were handed a new world map prior to each guise; maps were pre-marked with a code for each participant on the back so that all maps could be matched with the correct participant and audio recording. Participants were asked to silently mark a country or area after having listened to a speaker guise and not to discuss voice-placing until all maps were collected, which I did after every guise. This prevented participants from discussing their decisions and ensured collaboration between participants was avoided.

4.3.3.3 General discussion with etic and emic concepts

Whereas the voice-placing task is a strategy to explore placement and connected emic themes, the etic concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness (cf. methods 2 and 3 in Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 41 and sections 2.1.2 and 4.2) are employed to further investigate emic themes underlying ideas on and evaluations of those concepts and their relationships as provided by L1 speakers of the speech community (cf. research theme three and section 4.1.3). Both elaboration on voice-placing strategies and general discussion based on etic themes presented to participants echo what Niedzielski and Preston call "what people say [and] why they react the way they do" (2003: 30; cf. section 2.1.2).

After listening to one speaker at a time, placing her on a map, and contributing to a general collection of ideas and motives concerning the accent in question (Appendix B, questions 10 and 11), participants are asked to evaluate the accent according to the perceived degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness (Appendix B, questions 12–14). Participants are then encouraged to share with the group where they think the speaker is from, and to elaborate further on their decision (Appendix B, question 15).

Since the concept of degree of accent is based on the frequency and degree of deviation from a distinct standard accent – in this case, standard (L1) Icelandic – questions concerning the degree of accent are designed around a perceived difference from the speaker's own variety (Appendix B, question 12). This alters the concept of degree of dialect difference proposed by Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 77ff.), adapting it to the

investigation of ideas on L2 accents. As discussed in detail in section 2.2.4, the perceived degree of accent can play a decisive role in how a speaker is perceived and assessed. Furthermore, it is entangled with other concepts, e.g., comprehensibility and perception of speaker status. As has become clear (cf. sections 2.1.2 and 4.1.3), the concept builds on investigating folk ideas of the geographical distribution of different degrees of otherness in relation to a reference variety, in our case L1 Icelandic

Pleasantness and correctness do play an important role in evaluations of language variation (cf. Niedzielski & Preston 2003; Preston 1999, 2010b and sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3), and are thus integrated into the discussion guide (Appendix B, questions 13 and 14).

In keeping with Niedzielski and Preston's fifth method, i.e., free association of concepts (cf. Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 41 and sections 2.1.2 and 4.2), as well as the inductive approach suggested by grounded theory, i.e., examining participants' data as their own perception of (linguistic) reality (see also section 4.4), participants are given room to freely talk about their perceptions and ideas.

Finally, participants are encouraged to comment on their voice-placing choices (Appendix B, question 15), separate from the preceding voice-placing task. Since a major interest of this study is to gain information on voice-placing, it is valuable to offer participants further room for explanation. In part, this is crucial in order to gain an understanding of the motivation behind accent evaluation. But prior to such a discussion, it is unclear to the researcher whether participants have enough geopolitical knowledge to be able to circle the area they think a speaker is actually from. A discussion about the perceived origin is thus also a means of ensuring no misunderstandings are at work. Yet another advantage of asking participants individually about their voice-placing decisions, especially after some time has passed after the collection of the world maps, is that participants might stick to their decisions made in the voice-placing task or reveal discrepancies that could be indicative of social desirability bias and, thus, a product of interaction with other participants and their opinions.

4.3.3.4 Final questions and debriefing

After listening to all six audio recordings, fulfilling the voice-placing task, and discussing questions regarding the recordings, final questions are posed (Appendix B, questions 16 and 17). This allows participants to add or revise information, thus potentially adding to, changing, or contradicting the pool of emic themes generated throughout the discussions (cf. constant comparative method and data analysis in section 4.4).

As already indicated, this research is conducted overtly, i.e., participants are initially made aware of the fact that they are involved in a study interested in uncovering ideas on different varieties of Icelandic. However, it is not made explicitly clear to them beforehand that they will be asked to listen to and share their ideas on foreign accents in Icelandic (cf. also section 4.3.3.2). This is, firstly, to leave options open for generating as diverse a pool of themes as possible, specifically with regard to general ideas addressed in the first part (cf. section 4.3.3.1). Secondly, in the interest of encouraging emic themes to emerge from participants throughout the discussions, including ad hoc perceptions of a L1 versus L2 accent in Icelandic (cf. section 4.3.3.2), participants were left in the dark about the nature of the different varieties of Icelandic. Thirdly, the question of whether participants realize to a full extent what the study is about could provide useful information on the linguistic awareness within the speech community.

For this reason, participants are finally asked whether they understand the goal of the discussion (Appendix 2, question 18) to its full extent. At the end, participants are debriefed, informed about the continuation of the research as well as conditions for withdrawal of consent, and handed a voucher for their participation (cf. section 4.3.2).

4.3.4 Conducting the discussions

Five focus groups[66] were conducted with four to eight participants each (cf. section 4.3.2 and Crang & Cook 2007: 93–94; Hennink et al. 2011: 152 for views on an appropriate number of participants in focus group discussions). Each focus group discussion lasted 90 minutes to allow for active participation, but, at the same time, preventing both fatigue and dwindling willingness to actively participate after that time. Focus groups took place in an easily accessible conference room at the University of Iceland, which was a logical choice since participants knew the discussions were to be conducted under the auspices of the university (cf. Davies 1998: 105).[67]

[66] The five focus groups were preceded by two test groups to assess the suitability of the prepared discussion guide and questions, especially concerning the research field and its terminology (cf. Hennink et al. 2011: 120). The test sessions also allowed the interviewer to consider their role in leading the discussions and to practice managing group dynamics both in terms of content and social dimensions (cf. Crang & Cook 2007: 95ff.).

[67] Although conference rooms are a common choice for focus groups, Davies notes that participants "are likely to feel that they are on the researcher's territory rather than the reverse" (1998: 105). With focus groups usually being composed of a group of strangers, it can be difficult to find a location that every participant feels comfortable with. Following the advice of Hennink et al., the meeting room at the University of Iceland was also chosen because it is "quiet, private, comfortable, free of distractions and easy for participants to locate" (2011: 152).

It lies in the nature of research involving participation by representatives of the general public that ethical issues must be considered, including guaranteeing participants' confidentiality and anonymity as well as considering the role of the researcher. With regard to the former, participants were promised both confidentiality and anonymity as much as is feasible in focus group discussions.[68] As is standard procedure, participants were informed that the focus group discussions were to be recorded and transcribed afterwards (cf. Crang & Cook 2007: 62). Concerning group dynamics and the so-called deference effect (cf. section 4.3.2), participants were informed that no answer, belief, or idea would be preferred over another, thereby also promoting a comfortable atmosphere amongst participants and encouraging a diverse range of ideas.

As for the latter, i.e., the role of the researcher and author of this thesis, special circumstances made it necessary to separate the roles of the researcher and the interviewer conducting the focus group discussions.

Since I am an immigrant to Iceland and am easily identified as such by my foreign accent, it was crucial to have an L1 speaker of Icelandic conduct the focus group discussions to encourage a free and unbiased exchange of ideas on foreign-accented speech. Kristín Ingibjörg Hlynsdóttir was employed to organize and conduct the discussions, transcribe them afterwards, and assist with revising the discussion guide after pilot testing. At the time of the interviews, she was an MA student in Icelandic linguistics at the University of Iceland with substantial knowledge of language attitude research and experience with conducting such research (cf. Hlynsdóttir 2016).

I was present at the focus group discussions, but my role was confined to note-taking. As a silent observer, I could help with catching non-verbal cues and the general mood in the discussions (cf. Hennink et al. 2011: 154–155), distributing and collecting world maps for the voice-placing task, and playing the audio recordings.

[68] According to Hennink et al. (2011: 71), confidentiality "refers to not disclosing information that is discussed between the researcher and the participant". With the study at hand, two obstacles could impede complete confidentiality. Firstly, the character of the chosen qualitative research method, i.e., focus group discussions, not only encompasses a confidential relationship between the researcher and an individual participant, but also the relationships amongst participants. Therefore, it cannot be fully guaranteed that participants do not discuss their experiences and exhchanges with a third party outside the focus group. Secondly, the publication of this research means that quotes from participants, although anonymized, will be publicly available. Although all information that might contribute to identifying an individual participant is removed from the transcript of the focus group discussions and quotations used (cf. Hennink et al. 2011: 71), in a small and close-knit society like Iceland (cf. Milroy & Milroy 1985 and section 3.2.1), it cannot be guaranteed that participants are not identifiable by certain parties. This is why participants are made aware of this fact at the beginning of each focus group discussion as well as in the informed consent.

At the beginning of each focus group discussion, I was introduced by the interviewer as a note-taker and observer from the research team. The Icelandicized version of my name, Stefanía, was used for my introduction to the participants to prevent distraction and possible influence on the outcome of discussions by having an L2 speaker in attendance. Although my true origin had been concealed throughout the discussions, thus subjecting participants to some form of deception, this was deemed important to prevent presumable distortion of research outcomes (cf., e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 212; Silverman 2011: 90ff).

Interviews were conducted and transcribed in Icelandic, and focus group discussions were transcribed promptly after the recording process (cf. Esterberg 2002: 107). Quotations and examples taken from the discussions as presented in Chapter 5 were translated into English by an expert who took care to maintain participants' individual language use (cf. Hennink et al. 2011: 148). Excerpts chosen for displaying significant results are presented in the main text in English translation. Original excerpts in Icelandic along with the English translations are provided in Appendix D. As conductor of the interviews, Kristín's name was not anonymized and is displayed as such in the excerpts.

As Silverman (2011: 282) notes, the level of detail in transcripts is dependent on the research problem and the preferred analytical approach. While conversation analysis as a research approach, for example, is dependent on a very detailed transcription of audio records due to its goal of uncovering the principles at play in human oral communication (Blöndal 2005: 101), other approaches focus more on the immediate content of the data rather than the manner in which something has been said. The latter approach is chosen for the transcription of this study's data. Transcription conventions for the data collected are based on a simplified adaptation of those suggested by Silverman (2004: 368–369).

4.4 Data analysis

The grounded-theoretical approach – originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and subsequently developed through different variations (see, e.g., Charmaz 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1998) – provides "a set of flexible guidelines and a process for textual data analysis" (Hennink et al. 2011: 206) that are suitable for analysis and interpretation of qualitative data. Since there are many different interpretations concerning the execution of qualitative research based on grounded theory, the next section below will discuss the main concepts as well as their use in this study.

4.4.1 Methodological concepts based on grounded theory and their implementation

As has become apparent, this study aims to provide insights into emic accounts, summarized as meaningful themes, stemming from participants of this study in their role as folk representatives of L1 speakers of Icelandic.

Methodologically, the distinctions between etic and emic knowledge find their representation in the deductive and inductive approaches offered by grounded theory (Hennink et al. 2011: 206). Drawing on the grounded-theoretical approach itself offers guidelines for the collection, treatment, and analysis of qualitative data "by the progressive identification of *categories of meaning*" (Willig 2013: 70, italics in original).

Consistent with the emic/etic dichotomy presented in section 2.1.1, it is necessary to stress that the exploration of etic knowledge, i.e., expert knowledge within a scientific field, and the collection of folk themes through inductively or emically acquired knowledge will ideally complement each other (cf., e.g., Suddaby 2006: 634; Hennink et al. 2011: 206). In basing this study on the individual sociolinguistic circumstances that we encounter in Icelandic society today, as presented in Chapter 3, it is neither feasible nor desirable to ignore existing etic knowledge.[69] As discussed at length in section 2.1.1, etic knowledge on the topic as reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 is to be complemented by emic knowledge provided by L1 speakers of Icelandic. This approach is largely motivated by the fact that considerable etic knowledge exists about internal variation of Icelandic and the evaluations thereof as well as about factors influencing speaker attitudes (for the native variety), as we have seen in Chapter 3. To review, evaluations of good and bad language are, for example, dependent on the choice of appropriate language according to register; further, grammatical, orthographic, and lexical purism serve as a guiding light in language-political efforts, and those efforts enjoy language users' support (cf. section 3.2.4). In contrast, etic knowledge about evaluations of L2 speech in Icelandic is still scarce.

[69] Suddaby (2006: 634–635) discusses some misunderstandings around the use of grounded theory concerning the researcher's assumptions that research questions, data collection, and analysis exclude drawing on etic or deductive knowledge. According to him, disregarding prior knowledge on an issue is not only close to impossible but also not intended by Glaser and Strauss, the founders of the approach (see, e.g., Glaser & Strauss 1967: 79). For this study, we support this view, particularly in terms of drawing conclusions on the evaluation system that L1 speakers of Icelandic employ when evaluating L2 speech, both as such and in contrast to the well-established evaluation system for L1 Icelandic (cf. sections 3.4 and 4.1.4).

4.4.2 Data analysis: Developing codes and the constant comparative method

Execution of data analysis with the help of grounded theory comprises several stages (Hennink et al. 2011: 209; Priest et al. 2002: 33ff.; Silverman 2011: 71ff.). These are not static, but build upon one another and require a continuous back-and-forth between the raw data material and analysed data. After having anonymized the data sets, codes are developed in several stages. These stages each include developing codes by defining and redefining them, coding qualitative data as well as describing it, comparing it constantly between participants and focus groups, and developing superordinate categories with "the emphasis […] on the generation of theory through the inductive examination of information" (Rennie et al. 1988: 141).

The first stage of analysis consists of *open coding*. This comprises a loose screening of the material, identifying rough categories and applying labels for similar themes or sentiments. It must be kept in mind that this study is built on the etic framework provided by folk linguistics and its study of the evaluation of language varieties according to certain concepts and methods. Those concepts and methods – i.e., evaluations of correctness, pleasantness, and degree of accent, as well as voice-placing strategies and perceptions of proximity or distance of accents – are inherently etic and need to be treated as such while coding. As such, etic or deductive codes "are not developed from reading the data" (Hennink et al. 2011: 218), in contrast to emic or inductive codes, which stem from participants' accounts (see also Chapter 5).

Following this distinction, the coding process for this study was characterized by marking deductive concepts, e.g. degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness as such by annotating participants' accounts of those concepts in purple, whereas emic/inductive themes expressing folk ideas connected to those concepts were marked with green. Also, participants' pseudonyms were marked in yellow, whereas guises were indicated by using a bright red colour, and voice-placing decisions, i.e. countries/geographical areas by using blue. Initially, codes amounted to 645, describing any issue raised by the participants themselves (inductive code) or containing a definition of a concept derived from the conceptual framework of the study (deductive code). All codes were listed in alphabetical order and kept in a code book. All coding stages were conducted with the program ATLAS.ti (ATLAS.ti: Qualitative Data Analysis & Research Software 2020), a data analysis tool used for storing, coding, and analyzing qualitative research data.

Figure 6 for example shows the working definition for the deductive concept of *degree of accent* and its employment in the data analysis. From left to right, Figure 6 shows the number the code was assigned in initial open coding, the colour used for deductive codes (purple), the name of the code, and, finally, its definition as used in the analysis process.

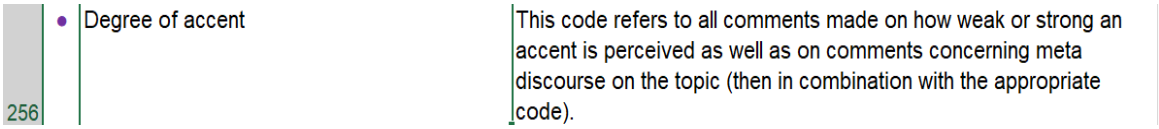


Figure 6: Example of the deductive code *Degree of accent* as used in data analysis

Another key element of the features associated with grounded theory employed in this study is the constant comparative method, which means the "moving back and forth between the identification of similarities and differences between emerging categories" (Willig 2013: 71). One of the aims of the constant comparative method is to ensure that the researcher executing data collection and analysis finds differences and similarities between the different data sets (cf. Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 165) and establishes themes of importance generated by participants. The method is employed after the initial stages of coding by examining the data again and again, thus enabling the researcher to establish categories, but also to break them down again and find both sub- and superordinate categories in the data sets. When developing analytical codes, it is necessary to delimit them precisely to ascertain their definitions are concise and to exclude overlapping codes.

Figure 7 presents an example of open coding, according to the first stage of analysis, taken from annotations to an excerpt by participant Kári (see also Excerpt 86 in section 5.4.1.4). The Figure shows three inductive concepts marked in green, as well as the reference guise in red, and the pseudonym of the participant discussing the guise. In the process of rereading and comparing data sets, it became apparent that the code *foreigners* was superfluous because other codes made it explicitly clear that participants' comments were directed at evaluations of L2 speakers as representatives of foreigners. That way, the number of initial codes could be reduced to 278. It must, however, be kept in mind that some codes were exempt from reduction, e.g. number of participants and guises, voice-placing decisions according to names of countries/geographical areas, and deductive codes, e.g. degree of accent.

Figure 7: Example of the open-coding stage and elimination of overlapping codes

Part of establishing categories and comparing them is to deliberately look for so-called negative cases, i.e., instances that do not fit, in order to add depth and density to the analysis and to ensure the categories are sound (cf. Willig 2013: 71). In the study at hand, constant comparison and the search for negative cases are conducted within emic themes emerging from the data, both between participants and across focus groups.

The second stage of analysis is so-called *axial coding*, in which connections between concepts and themes are uncovered and specific features identified, e.g., conditions that call for certain phenomena as well as the context in which those themes and concepts occur (cf. Priest et al. 2002: 34). Additionally, concepts can be investigated in terms of whether they contribute to a theme, and whether they are mutually exclusive or overlap with other subcodes (cf. Crang & Cook 2007: 143).

In Figure 8, we see an example of the axial-coding process (see also Excerpt 70 in section 5.4.1.2), in which the participant Ásta shares her reactions to the Icelandic speaker, and draws conclusions on perceptions of the speaker's language competence in Icelandic and perceived speaker effort (see definitions for the individual concepts and their interpretation in sections 5.4.1.2 and 5.4.1.3). As evident from this Figure, speaker effort is an inductive theme provided by e.g. Ásta, which, at the same time serves as a superordinate theme with several sub-themes, e.g. perceived L2 competence, and, shows its dependency on perceptions of the degree of accent.

Figure 8: Example of axial coding and connections between deductive and inductive codes

When revisiting the code *Degree of accent* after axial coding, we see that another theme, here the inductive theme *L2 competence*, is connected to this deductive theme (see Figure 9). At the same time, two additional columns emerge in the analysis tool indicating the concept's groundedness in the data and its density. Groundedness refers to the number of quotations linked to the code, whereas density involves the number of connections with other themes. The two concepts are inherently connected with axial coding, with one of the main aims of this coding stage being the uncovering of connections between themes.

1		Code	Comment	Grounded	Density
9	•	Conn: DoA + L2 competence	A participant provides ideas on the level of the speaker's L2 competence on the basis of perceptions of a speaker´s degree of accent.	18	3

Figure 9: Example of code definition after axial coding including groundednes and density

The final stage of analysis, *selective coding*, is twofold. At first, one or two core categories are identified to which all other subcategories relate. Those categories serve as the building ground for a conceptual framework from which grounded theory is developed (Priest et al. 2002: 35). By identifying such core categories and comparing them with the underlying deductive framework, new assumptions and theoretical suppositions can be made.

5 Results from focus group discussions

A wide variety of findings are presented in this chapter to provide insights into the vast and enlightening corpus of data.

As has been discussed at length in Chapter 4, the focus group discussions in this study are designed to apply etic tools from relevant literature and to extract emic themes and views that can contribute to an understanding of folk ideas and themes behind accent evaluation. When folk beliefs are accompanied by evaluation, the term *view* will be used to establish a distinction between themes as such and participants' evaluation of them. As such, the discussion guide and the voice-placing task provide the participants with etic concepts, which they react to and elaborate on. This etic/emic distinction will be upheld throughout the presentation of results from the qualitative data, presented as excerpts from folk accounts. These accounts include both contributions by individuals and exchanges between participants within a focus group. Sections are composed in a way that reflects the analysis based on grounded theory.

5.1 Focus group discussions: General folk ideas

As explained in section 4.3.3.1 (see also Appendix B), the focus group discussions begin with introductory questions to encourage participants to share their general views on the status of the Icelandic language and on Icelandic being spoken differently from "normal" L1 usage.

Some of the introductory questions are intended to explore general ideas on immigration and the need for immigrants to learn Icelandic (Appendix B, questions 2 and 4). In general, participants comment on immigration and the adaptation/integration of immigrants into Icelandic society in a positive and welcoming manner. Since this research is a qualitative study exploring ideas openly, this outcome is not surprising. However, social desirability bias known especially from qualitative research on sensitive topics, including immigration and attitudes towards immigration, can certainly affect participants' expression of ideas (see also section 4.3.3.4 and Garrett 2010: 44–45). Additionally, data collection and analysis do not allow for conclusions to be drawn on individual participants' beliefs about in conjunction with the evaluation of speakers in this study. For these reasons, this topic is disregarded in the further presentation of results. Consistent with studies on familiarity with accent and potential consequences for evaluations (cf. section 2.2.5), two

questions (Appendix B, questions 7–9) explore connections and interactions with L2 speakers as well as participants' choice of language for communication with L2 speakers. These are integrated into the presentation of results for voice-placing strategies, in cases in which they serve an explanatory function (see section 5.3).

In this section, presentation of general folk ideas as emerging from introductory questions is restricted to two main aspects, also bearing in mind that the main analysis of L2 speaker recordings comprises the focus of this study along with the voice-placement task. Firstly, the salience of topics is considered, both in terms of what themes seem generally to be on participants' minds when contemplating the status of Icelandic, the importance of acquiring Icelandic, and Icelandic being spoken differently. Themes provided by participants are thus inspected according to whether and how they comply with etic knowledge on the current linguistic climate in Iceland. Secondly, the matter of linguistic awareness of participants as indicated by salient emic topics can shed light on the status of L2 varieties in today's linguistic climate.

To review, the following questions underlie the analysis of results in this section:

1a What emic accounts do participants provide about current issues concerning the Icelandic language?
1b What ideas do "the folk" have on L2 Icelandic?
1c What do general ideas emerging from folk accounts indicate about the current linguistic climate in Iceland?

Comments on the status of the Icelandic language are of a very diverse nature, ranging from predictions of a fast-approaching doomsday for the language to attesting that it is in the best of health. Opinions circle the basic question of whether linguistic change is embraced as essential for any language, or whether change should be prevented.

These diverse opinions on the status of Icelandic mainly reflect topics discussed in Chapter 3. The most prominent themes discussed by participants encompass the following: Icelandic youth and diverging language use; the influence of English on Icelandic; the intersection of the two previous themes; standard language ideology and language change; Northern and Southern language ideologies; and non-awareness of other foreign influences. These main themes are presented below as they emerge in folk accounts.

5.1.1 The use of English and language usage among the younger generation

The first of a series of recurring themes amongst participants across the five focus groups addresses folk perceptions of diverging language use between generations. As participants often elaborate on the differences between younger- and older-generation Icelanders by mentioning formal characteristics stemming from English, the two themes are inspected together. Asked to comment on how he sees Icelandic today, the participant Emil says:

> Emil: Yeah, it [Icelandic] is, retreating because of all this tech uhm, and email and all that, everything is in a foreign language and then, Facebook and that stuff. So, giving way a little bit I think. Kids are using English a lot. (Excerpt 1)

Emil indicates in Excerpt 1 that the form and status of Icelandic are worsening due to the increased influence of English through recent developments in communication and other technology. Those new technologies, and the alleged increase in the use of English that accompanies them, are mainly associated with Icelandic youth and children and the linguistic practices they employ in certain domains (e.g., computer games, social media).

The next excerpt (Excerpt 2) is taken from a conversation between Hanna and Ingimar in which they discuss their ideas of the younger generation's language use. Similar to Emil (see Excerpt 1), Ingimar mixes issues of form and status.

> Hanna: I think we really need to be alert and on guard. Uh, yeah, I think, uh, adolescents use slang a whole lot. Mixing languages. The little kids […] I'm worried about that.
> Ingimar: I, uh, however, disagree, I don't worry about [the survival of] Icelandic. I, this is so weird, I have, since I was invited to take part in this, I naturally started thinking, how was I as a kid and teenager? I wasn't always using correct speech. (Excerpt 2)

Here, the two participants not only concern themselves with possible causes or reasons for the distinct (or different) language use of Icelandic children and teenagers, but they also reflect upon their own journey in terms of different language use across time. As Ingimar steps into the breach for the younger generation, he shows awareness of changing circumstances within the country's linguistic climate. Ágúst (Excerpt 3) further speculates about whether Iceland is moving towards a bilingual speech community with Icelandic and English as the main languages, thus touching upon the status of Icelandic.

> Ágúst: I think that the large majority of kids are basically at least bilingual. By that, I mean that they naturally acquire a lot of English via those computer interactions that they engage in, right in childhood. And that's why it is so natural for them to speak it, and one hears from them speaking that they are in some kind of online games, you know on the internet, and they speak, although most of the gamers are Icelanders, they speak English among themselves, in those games, because everything on the screen is in English. (Excerpt 3)

According to Ágúst, English serves as a code for certain social practices. This development is accompanied by an awareness that Icelandic is losing ground in certain domains, including those connected with leisure activities such as computer gaming. While these circumstances appear to be largely acknowledged – although not always accepted – the formal intermixing of the two languages seems to be considered undesirable, as Dagur believes: "I think that, for Icelandic, and just, for a sensible approach to this, then we naturally have to be able to switch between the languages. Learning English doesn't mean that you have to mix and match it with all your Icelandic" (Excerpt 4). In this comment, Dagur clearly distinguishes between questions of corpus and form by specifically evaluating formal intermixing.

Comments in Excerpts 1–4 illustrate participants' shared general concern about the (increasing) influence of English, both in terms of formal aspects (e.g., lexical items) and the status of Icelandic by its gaining ground in distinct domains. Concerning future prospects, participants suspiciously observe increasing English input, especially in children's language acquisition. The general perception (there are exceptions, as has been shown!) that the language used by younger people is less standard or – to apply an evaluational term here – inferior to that of the older generation is almost entirely limited to lexical input, its application in certain domains, and its detrimental effect on language acquisition and Icelandic usage.

Other participants do not perceive the influence of English on certain domains as threatening to Icelandic. María states, "The computer language is in Icelandic, and the written language is also in Icelandic, there is spoken language in Icelandic, and I think we don't need to be so terribly pessimistic" (Excerpt 5). María's account is in keeping with vitality measures as proposed by the EGIDS scale for Icelandic (cf. 3.2.2 and 3.2.4), and it reflects a less pessimistic view regarding future linguistic developments by emphasizing the function and active language properties of Icelandic in contested domains. Altogether, participants' comments imply that distinctions between the problem of form and domain are emic in Icelandic culture, although the distinction is sometimes blurred.

5.1.2 Language purism and internal language change

Focusing on general evaluations of language and its susceptibility to change, Ásta's and Emma's accounts (Excerpts 6 and *7*) provide knowledge and reflections about such change in the light of language purism as well as a language's role as means of communication. Both Ásta and Emma share the idea that language needs to develop and change to meet the demands of language users in modern society.

> Ásta: I think it's just normal that speech evolves and changes, spoken language does that. It is unavoidable in human communication and technology like it is today, we cannot be so narrow-minded that we want nothing to change, that we always speak golden-age language; that won't do. (Excerpt 6)

Ásta emphasizes the importance of moving away from ideologically motivated language use that focuses on the past, whereas Emma stresses the role of neologisms for proper language use: "I think we just shouldn't be really afraid to let Icelandic evolve. And we should continue to find new words and 'Icelandicize' words, as neologisms and stuff" (Excerpt 7). Emma believes that the creation of new words for new concepts and inventions is an integral part of Icelandic self-conception (cf. 3.2.1 and 3.2.4). As much as the coining of new words is seen as positive – symbolic of positive language change in the vocabulary – foreign (unadapted) influences and their mixing with "pure" Icelandic is regarded as negative change (see Excerpts 4 and 8).

Some participants also see internal changes affecting morphosyntax negatively. In Excerpt 8, Steinþór gives insights into his belief that language purism is deeply intertwined with evaluations of which linguistic forms are regarded as good and proper and which are undesirable, accompanied by judgments of the speakers of such forms.

> Steinþór: I take a man with dative disease, and I mean disease, I don't take that man as seriously. It, I know, it's so bizarre, I just don't take him as seriously. […] And, also when, when educated men are talking about, on TV in interviews and whatever, and cannot, don't have Icelandic terms that every healthy man […] with healthy reasonability should have, they are so much in their own world, can't switch over to Icelandic. The thing is that [Icelandic] is mixing. The language is, it is mixing. […] But stirring together many languages, that I think is just, it's just, it is not some kind of porridge. It's nonsense, you know. (Excerpt 8)

In this account, Steinþór touches upon the shift of oblique case ("dative sickness", the best-known *málvilla* or shibboleth) discussed in section 3.3.2 in connection with stigmatized variants. He believes that mixing Icelandic with English bears witness to speakers' inability to use Icelandic correctly. Borrowing lexical items from other languages – presumably English – is downgraded, confirming the language user's inability to speak proper Icelandic (cf. section 3.2.4).

5.1.3 Northern and Southern Icelandic ideologies

In addition to the above themes, i.e., perceptions of language use by Icelandic youth and the influence of English, there is another theme that emerges from general discussions on the status of Icelandic. Although internal linguistic variation in Iceland has been described as comparably minor, it has been argued that phonological variation and some diverging identity construction lie along lines of a North/South dichotomy (see section 3.3.2.1), resulting in evaluating the speech of Northerners (*harðmæli*) differently than that of Southerners (*linmæli*).

This socially constructed "rivalry" is brought up in different contexts in the focus group discussions. Whereas participants draw upon the concept of a North–South division when exchanging views on language use and its evaluation in general (Excerpts 10 and 11), other comments concern directing this division towards other parts of Icelandic linguistic structure, i.e., shift in oblique case and use of English *slettur*, as in Excerpt 9:

> Ásta: I'm not going to discuss this in any more detail because this [i.e., dative tendency] gets accepted here in the South. But I am from the North, and we are probably stricter with this, I don't know. But I think that Icelandic is giving way considerably, which is most obvious from all of the Anglicisms (*slettur*) […]. I think that some, and it is immensely difficult to judge what is completely correct, who can say that, and it is also dependent on what one is used to and what kind of upbringing one has, how one is talked to, and you know, in childhood and so on. I can only tell my own story, I am from Akureyri and my partner is from Keflavík, and we are completely at odds when it comes to language. […] You said that you had said 'þeim vantar' [i.e., stigmatized form of oblique case commonly referred to as dative sickness], and well, I don't hear that anymore, but I found it terrible when I first came to the South. Then I really found the dative sickness horrible. (Excerpt 9)

Ásta shares her beliefs on the shift of oblique case, which appears to be stigmatized, a shibboleth in the sociolinguistic sense (cf. section 3.3.2.1 and cf. Steinþór's account in Excerpt 8). She also knows that this variation is generally stigmatized more by speakers from the North due to their adherence to standard Icelandic, which they – according to Ásta – pass on to the next generation of speakers. Her comment indicates that there is some individual understanding of and knowledge on what is acceptable or correct, depending on regionality and upbringing (cf. Excerpt 113 and discussion on correctness in section 3.3.1). Ásta's account is echoed by Vigdís, who also mentions language teaching and language management at home (cf. Spolsky 2004 and section 3.2.1) as having a distinct influence on speaking better Icelandic. Vigdís states, "But, um, she [a female friend of same age] didn't understand at all what I was talking about, yeah. But, then it really depends on the upbringing I think. I was raised in Akureyri, so, yeah. And my family, my parents were from the countryside, kind of…" (Excerpt 10). Similar ideas are expressed by Tómas, who says, "My boy is 8 years old and one of his teachers is from Akureyri and he speaks […] almost better Icelandic than I do" (Excerpt 11).

Ásta (Excerpt 9) gives a clear example of a North/South dichotomy in her linguistic perception and evaluation, with her identity as being from the North serving as the most important distinction. This idea does not seem to be limited to participants from the North but appears to enjoy acceptance in general and independent of speaker origin, as Tómas indicates in Excerpt 11. Furthermore, Vigdís (Excerpt 10) shares a rather common idea within the North/South dichotomy with regard to an additional urban/rural distinction, where rural upbringing is associated with better language use (cf. section 3.3.2 for the presentation of etic knowledge on the topic).

So far, the themes shared and discussed by participants have emphasized issues that may be seen as corroborating etic knowledge about Iceland's linguistic climate. Although participants present different views on the themes mentioned, they do not provide significant new insights, apart from mentioning a certain undesirability for the mixing of Icelandic and English independent of register and domain.

Consequently, emic accounts of formal features in Icelanders' language use, linguistic norms, appropriateness to certain registers and domains, and evaluations based on the dominant language ideology all follow the main pillars of etic knowledge in Iceland today. As such, participants appear to agree on which main themes are considered

meaningful when discussing the current status of the Icelandic language, with a certain "set of shared norms" (cf. Labov 1972b: 120 and sections 2.1.1 and 3.1.1) in place.

5.1.4 What about L2 speech?

The fact that foreign influences – other than the impact of English – are not mentioned in the focus group introductions by a single participant in the five groups is quite remarkable on its own.

Participants only make a few comments on non-standard pronunciation in this introductory part of the discussions, but they do not mention L2 pronunciation. Comments on phonological characteristics in the speech of others are exclusively limited to those associated with younger L1 speakers and how poorly they speak. According to Excerpt 12 below, the variety etically referred to as *óskýrmæli*, i.e., slurring or phonological reduction in connected speech (cf. section 3.3.2), can impact intelligibility. Participants in Excerpt 12 do agree that the non-traditional pronunciation they discuss is limited to the younger generation of L1 speakers of Icelandic. Issues of intelligibility appear to be intertwined with a certain use of lexical items limited to distinct domains.

> Freyja: Yes, I even find pronunciation not to be that good. I sometimes have the feeling that I don't understand young people. They have, they have […] some kind of 'tone' in their voice and everything becomes less clear. And then it probably gets mixed with some computer language that I don't know.
> Sigurður: […] I can also relate to what you're saying and I sometimes don't understand what people say. […] I mean, I just don't understand those poor kids <u>at all.</u>
> Íris: I completely agree. One does often hear very unclear pronunciation, and *slettur*, but I think that's okay. (Excerpt 12)

There could be diverse explanations for the fact that participants do not associate foreign influences – other than those stemming from English – as potentially influencing the status or formal development of Icelandic. These could include a lack of exposure or awareness, or simply a lack of concern. However, as we will see, only one participant (see Excerpt 18 in section 5.1.5) provides a direct explanation.

5.1.5 Foreign Icelandic

Diverse views are expressed by participants when considering their ideas about Icelandic being spoken in a non-traditional way. On the whole, deviation from the norm seems to first and foremost conjure up ideas about errors in inflection, vocabulary, and

morphosyntax. Other participants, e.g., Björn, mention accents or foreign accents, but they consider this a common phenomenon in the speech of L2 speakers: "It has become very common that people speak Icelandic with all kinds of accents" (Excerpt 13). Björn uses the Icelandic word *hreimur* to mean "accent" in his comment. Recalling the definitions, i.e., etic descriptions, of accent as presented in section 2.2.1, we do not fully know whether this emic use of the word is consistent with its etic meaning(s). This is especially true in light of how little phonological variation there is in L1 Icelandic, which could mean the term is interpreted differently by L1 speakers of Icelandic.

Some participants find hearing L2 Icelandic enjoyable, since communication in Icelandic by foreign nationals is a result of effective language-learning efforts worthy of compliment; others find it irritating or amusing. At the same time, many participants mention directly that different evaluation systems apply when evaluating L1 versus L2 speech. Whereas rigid demands for correct and proper language use apply to L1 speakers of Icelandic, requirements concerning L2 speakers seem to be slacker – at least as shared in folk ideas. The following excerpts from several accounts illustrate the phenomena described.

Asked how she finds foreign Icelandic,[70] Freyja says, "Well, I find it okay when coming from a foreigner because Icelandic is a hard language to learn. There, I find it okay, if people just dare to speak although it's somehow broken. But coming from an Icelander, that's not okay" (Excerpt 14). Similarly, Atli states, "I would, for example, be much more patient when speaking with a foreigner who has learned Icelandic but speaks wrong than with an Icelander" (Excerpt 15). Hanna, too, implies her application of different standards when evaluating L1 and L2 speech, which also has consequences for how patient and tolerant she is towards the respective language user. She says, "I find it okay, and as I said, I am much more patient towards people who learn Icelandic than native Icelanders who can't inflect and use dative case or something" (Excerpt 16).

Klara's view below (Excerpt 17) on differences in evaluation of L1 and L2 speech appears to agree with Freyja's, Björn's, and Atli's beliefs. However, she stresses that leniency towards mistakes in L2 speech reflects the appreciation of L2 speakers for putting an effort into learning Icelandic, despite shortcomings in their competence and flaws in performance. Klara says, "I really enjoy listening to foreigners speak Icelandic, even when it's broken Icelandic. But I find it bad to hear Icelanders speak poor Icelandic. That's worse" (Excerpt 17).

[70] Question 5 ("How do you feel about Icelandic being spoken a little 'differently'?"; cf. Appendix B) aims to gauge participants' attitudes towards L2 Icelandic in general, without an immediate focus on L2 phonological accent only.

Steinar (Excerpt 18) touches upon exposure to and familiarity with L2 speech in Icelandic society:

> Steinar: I, I think, if one would go to another country and learn a new language, one would not learn it as well as the natives. […] I also believe, I think that there is no danger in connection, in connection with this, you know, there is no danger for the language from this. This is something completely different than this big and strong influence that English has on the language today, with all those media devices and, gadgets that are used. And that always increases. (Excerpt 18)

In this excerpt, Steinar makes a clear distinction between L2 Icelandic and the influence of English on the speech of L1 speakers of Icelandic; he believes that foreigners speaking Icelandic pose little danger to the form and status of Icelandic. Strikingly enough, this is the only comment that discusses the status of Icelandic and foreign accent/influences aside from English, which is in keeping with the lack of participant accounts about L2 speech discussed in section 5.1.4.

5.1.6 Summary and discussion of general folk ideas

Consistent with the questions asked in the first research theme, the purpose of this section is, firstly, to explore general (current) folk ideas on the status of the Icelandic language; secondly, to gather folk ideas on L2 Icelandic; and thirdly, to determine what these accounts indicate about today's language situation. Salient folk ideas stemming from the analysis of participants' responses to the introductory questions are displayed and discussed according to themes.

Concerning the first research question, analysis of general accounts about Icelandic and its status found diverse themes and subthemes. Mostly, emic themes from participants reflect the etic themes discussed in Chapter 3 in terms of L1 Icelandic. Participants mention internal and external factors influencing the use and development of Icelandic, both with regard to status and corpus.

The first theme generated from participants' accounts is the observation that the increased use of English has had effects both on form, i.e., corpus, and on status through its gaining ground in certain domains. With participants touching especially upon increasing use of English in domains connected with digital language contact – e.g., computer gaming, social media, and communication with technical devices – they reflect knowledge on digital language contact as gathered by Rögnvaldsson and Sigurjónsdóttir (2021: 1–4; cf. section

3.2.3). In this regard, diverging language use between generations, mostly manifest in register-bound lexical borrowing from English, is mentioned and evaluated based on aesthetic parameters and standard language ideological assumptions. Participants also discuss the possible future development of Icelandic and its co-existence with English.

Participants pay special attention to the language use of younger speakers, including the input of Icelandic versus English in children's language acquisition. They thereby mirror etic concerns regarding increased impoverishment in Icelandic input in L1-speaker children (cf. Nowenstein & Sigurjónsdóttir 2021; Hafsteinsdóttir et al. 2021 and section 3.2.3). Interestingly, participants' ideas on English-influenced language use and input appear to be motivated by diverging prospects: namely, on the one hand, an approaching doomsday for the Icelandic language; or, on the other hand, the prospect of Icelandic society developing into a bilingual one, with all the advantages that could imply for a small society in a globalized world. Whether the latter belief is motivated by an understanding that English is a necessary tool, i.e., a utility language (cf. Arnbjörnsdóttir & Ingvarsdóttir 2018: 218 and section 3.2.4), remains unclear. One explanation for this result is Icelanders' somewhat pragmatic approach to language use according to domain (Kristinsson 2018: 247 and section 3.2.4). This reflects the changing social reality of the widespread use of English in many domains – especially certain business sectors, e.g., tourism (cf. sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) – and English as the language of international communication (cf. Árnason 2006: 17), trade and, increasingly, tertiary education (cf. section 3.2.3).

In addition to these themes, participants' evaluation of language use – particularly in light of possible gaps between generations caused by external factors, i.e., use of English – are almost entirely based on lexicon and use of lexical items according to suitability for different domains. This confirms etic knowledge on evaluation structures concerning proper and improper language use (cf. Árnason 2017; Hilmarsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010; Kristinsson 2013, 2017: 171ff.). Independent of particpants' stance on future developments and the co-existence of Icelandic and English, they agree that mixing of the two languages is undesirable; this substantiates the status of *slettur* (cf. section 3.2.4) as lexical social markers functioning along the lines of suitability for informal/formal register based on ideas of proper and improper language.

Participants mention the growing impact of English on language use, especially in digital domains, in conjunction with perceptions of the decreasing vitality of the Icelandic language. This supports the idea that the vitality of Icelandic – and probably other languages

as well – should be evaluated by closely examining its relationship to English. Such an examination, and the inclusion of digital language contact in assessments of a language's vitality as measured by, e.g., the EGIDS scale, would be a valuable step in terms of understanding vitality within current circumstances and linguistic practices (cf. Drude et al. 2018 and sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.4).

Participants elaborate on a few themes connected with internal language change and evaluation, concerning linguistic purism in general on the one hand and along regional lines on the other hand. The most significant finding in this category is that participants' themes entirely reflect etic knowledge as reviewed in Chapter 3. Participants refer to the tradition of linguistic purism and its manifestation in the country's language-political efforts according to the two principles of preservation and strengthening of the Icelandic language (cf. section 3.1). Considering the preservation of Icelandic, participants specifically mention a preferred use of older and "purer" forms, and the link of those forms with the literature of the Golden Age. As for the strengthening of the language, participants comment on the coining of neologisms. These results confirm that people have an overt awareness of the two main pillars of language-political efforts (i.e., the preservation and strengthening of Icelandic), although they are differently evaluated in this study.

Consistent with results from, e.g., the MIN project (Árnason 2006: 19 and cf. section 3.2.4), folk ideas on creating new Icelandic words for foreign and/or new concepts harmonize with the language-political approach taken for strengthening the corpus and – in the end – the status of Icelandic by enabling language users to use those words in the relevant domain. In keeping with an official policy of active norm elaboration through neologisms (cf. Haugen 1966, 1983; Kristinsson 2019: 131 and section 3.2.1), some participants emphasize the nature of language as a means of communication and, therefore, the importance for it to develop in order to meet communicative needs; this supports the policy of strengthening Icelandic.

Some participants regard the preservation of the language to be negative, arguing that adhering to older and "purer" forms would hinder the development of the language and its purpose as a means of communication in a changed environment (cf. Excerpt 6). Although the accounts collected in this study are not quantifiable because of the qualitative approach taken, such comments are well worth consideration for future research (see section 6.4), especially concerning a potential rift in language users' shared norms and attitudes towards (L1) language evaluation as put forward in section 3.4.

When it comes to regionally distributed variation, participants refer to Northern/rural vs. Southern/urban. This is mostly in the context of evaluations of good and bad language use, rather than phonological variation, i.e., *harðmæli* vs. *linmæli* (cf. section 3.3.2.1). With participants – independent of their own geographical origins – evaluating the language use of so-called Northern Icelanders as generally better than that of so-called Southern Icelanders, these beliefs reflect those gathered by several studies (cf. Guðmundsdóttir 2022; Hlynsdóttir 2016). This distinction is negotiated by drawing on sociolinguistic markers, most prominently the shift in oblique case and the use of *slettur*, thus validating those features' status in terms of folk awareness (cf. sections 3.3.1 and 3.2.4). According to participants, reasons for rural speakers' better Icelandic can be traced to "better" language management in homes and schools (cf. Excerpts 10 and 11). It is somewhat surprising that the mere fact that language acquisition and teaching takes place in the North/in rural areas appears to be the determining factor for this belief. A possible explanation for this might be the high average age of participants; it might therefore be interesting to repeat this study with younger participants (see also section 6.4).

In general, findings from the introductory part of this study suggest that phonological features play a negligible role in the evaluation system for L1 speech in Icelandic, with only a single mention of "slurring" (cf. section 3.2.2.1) associated with younger L1 speakers. It must, however, be noted that "slurring" or *óskýrmæli* (phonological reduction in connected speech) as an etically (phonologically) determined variant in the RÍN project (cf. Árnason 2005b: 422 and section 3.2.2.1) needs to be separated from the folk terms *skýrmæli* and *óskýrmæli*. *Skýrmæli* refers to people's (emic) conception of "clear pronunciation", which is mostly associated with the postaspiration of stops typical for *harðmæli* (cf. Guðmundsdóttir 2022 and section 3.3.2.1). This phonological variant and its connection with speaking clearly is commonly positively evaluated. Its opposite is *óskýrmæli*, "slurring" or "unclear pronunciation", which is considered undesirable in emic terms. Although distinct pronunciation in terms of postaspiration of plosives is connected with *harðmæli* and "better", i.e., clearer, pronunciation, participants do not mention phonological features in their accounts, but rely on established features stemming from morphosyntax and lexicon. Those appear to function as a template for categorization into good language use by Northern Icelanders and worse/bad language use by Southern Icelanders.

Although there appears to be some folk connection between phonological form (i.e., postaspiration of plosives), geographical ascription, and evaluation of clear/good and unclear/bad pronunciation, it would be interesting to see whether other formal features are thought to be typical for *norðlenska* and *sunnlenska*. It would also be interesting to see how etic descriptions of areas featuring phonological variation typical for *harðmæli* and *linmæli* might agree with folk ideas (cf. perceptual dialectology in section 2.1.2 and Preston 2010b).

Considering the second question of the first research theme, one of the most striking findings to emerge from the analysis of participants' accounts is the absence of any mention of foreign influences in and/or on language use in Icelandic, other than the influence of English. This could be indicative of the powerful role English plays – in terms of influence on status/corpus but also ideologically as a potential threat to the existence of Icelandic – as participants confirm in their accounts on common linguistic practices and language use in certain domains as well as growing input from English (see discussion above). This result is in stark contrast to the salience of and correspondence with etic themes in deliberations on L1 Icelandic, and it is certainly challenging to attempt to explain the lack of attention given to L2 speech in Icelandic.

The diverse reasons for this lack of attention are worth some contemplation. The first possible explanation is a lack of discourse on the topic – at least at the time of conducting the focus groups – whether openly in the media, half-openly in social media, and privately in, e.g., swimming pools (cf. Kristinsson 2018: 246 and section 3.2.5). It may also be partly explained by lack of research on the topic: this is the first sociolinguistic study investigating L2 language use in Icelandic in general, and L2 accent in Icelandic in particular – apart from my own quantitative study (Bade 2018, 2019) on the topic. Another possible explanation is a lack of widespread exposure to L2 Icelandic and L2 accents, either in society as a whole or in terms of selective exposure (see section 5.3). A final reason could have to do with a certain folk preoccupation with the threat from English, either leaving no room for other external factors, e.g., L2 speech in Icelandic, or rendering it relatively unimportant, especially considering that L2 accent is a temporal phenomenon occurring only in first-generation L2 speakers.

When asked to comment on their perceptions of foreign Icelandic, participants mention and elaborate on several themes. Analysis of participants' accounts reveals meaningful themes and gives clues about whether and how evaluation parameters used for L1 speech in Icelandic apply to L2 speech. One of the two main themes that emerges is L1

speakers' self-proclaimed tolerance towards L2 speakers, such that linguistic errors are more likely to be tolerated than when evaluating L1 speakers. Participants refer to certain labels (shibboleths), i.e., shift in oblique case as a salient *málvilla* and the use of *slettur*, when evaluating inflectional correctness and appropriateness of register-bound vocabulary for L1 speakers of Icelandic. This is consistent with folk evaluations of language use of L1 speakers as presented in section 3.2.4. Although participants themselves point to the significance of distinct linguistic modules other than pronunciation when evaluating L1 speech, we do not know whether the same labels are applicable for evaluations of L2 speech.

The other emic theme suggested by participants is a certain benevolence towards L2 speakers when they are perceived as putting an effort into learning Icelandic. Since this theme, i.e., speaker effort, is a repeated one (cf. themes connected with the degree of accent and pleasantness in sections 5.4.1.2 and 5.4.3.2), it can be assumed to have important implications for the assessment of L2 speech. The two themes of tolerance and speaker effort appear to be intertwined through amplification, i.e., the greater the perceived speaker effort, the higher the listener tolerance. It is, however, important to bear in mind a possible bias in these themes as a result of the overt approach taken in this study.

In terms of the last sub-question of this first research theme and indications about the current linguistic climate in Iceland, two main findings emerge from participants' accounts and themes from the first two research questions. Analysis of the data indicates a consensus as to which general themes participants consider to be important concerning L1 Icelandic and its evaluation; these themes stem from participants' corroboration of etic knowledge, both in terms of internal and external language variation in Icelandic. Therefore, the results confirm folk awareness of deep-rooted evaluation parameters, language-political mechanisms, and themes reflecting discourse on linguistic matters amongst the Icelandic public.

In contrast to emic themes on L1 Icelandic, foreign-influenced Icelandic appears to play a negligible role in the minds of participants, which implies that it is not salient in the public mind. Consequently, questions arise as to whether there is a set of shared norms, yet to be discovered, amongst L1 speakers' evaluations of foreign-influenced Icelandic – and more specifically, of phonologically distinct foreign accents – and wherein those evaluations are grounded.

5.2 Voice-placing task and map drawings

The voice-placing task yielded 185 valid drawings, as no drawings were provided on seven out of the 192 maps provided (see Table 5 for a detailed overview of all countries/regions marked in the five focus group discussions). Six of the seven blank maps came from the first focus group discussion, while the remaining one was from the fourth focus group. Two blank maps were returned for the American guise, two for the Danish guise, and one for the Filipina, Lithuanian, and Polish guises respectively. All participants provided answers for the Icelandic guise.

Table 5: *Overview of countries and participants from focus group discussions*

The header row indicates the origin of the speakers in the audio recordings; subsequent rows list the countries/areas assigned by participants to the respective recording. The far left column lists focus group participants by their assigned pseudonyms.

Pseudonym	**Iceland**	**US**	**Denmark**	**Philippines**	**Lithuania**	**Poland**
Guðmundur	Iceland	Australia	Norway Sweden	Brazil	SE Asia: Philippines Thailand Indonesia	Poland
Freyja	Iceland	Spain Portugal	-	SE Europe: Czech Rep. Slovakia Romania Hungary	SE Asia: Philippines Thailand	Poland
Íris	Iceland	US	Norway Sweden Denmark Finland	Syria	Italy	Poland
Klara	Iceland	Germany	Norway Sweden Denmark	SE Asia: Philippines Indonesia Thailand	Spain Portugal	Poland
Tómas	Iceland	Europe	Denmark	W Europe: UK Ireland France Spain Portugal	Spain Portugal	E Europe: Poland Belarus Ukraine
Sigurður	Germany	-	-	Asia: India China Afghanistan Pakistan	W/Central Europe: UK France Germany Netherlands Belgium	Sweden Norway Finland
María	Iceland	Germany	Norway	-	-	-

Pseudonym	**Iceland**	**US**	**Denmark**	**Philippines**	**Lithuania**	**Poland**
Páll	Iceland	Portugal Spain Italy	Spain Portugal	SE Asia: Philippines Thailand	Baltic region	Poland
Ásta	Germany	UK Ireland	Poland	Philippines Indonesia	N Africa: Libya Algeria Niger Chad	E Europe: Poland Belarus Ukraine Czech Rep. Hungary Romania
Emil	Iceland	Norway	Denmark	Italy	N Africa: Libya Algeria Niger Mali	Poland
Björn	Iceland	E/SE Europe (incl. Turkey, Russia)	Denmark Germany Norway Sweden UK France	S Europe: Portugal Spain Italy Greece	Poland Belarus Baltic region	Brazil Mexico
Kári	Iceland	Norway	Germany	Philippines	China	Spain Portugal France
Soffía	Iceland	Denmark Germany	Sweden Norway	UK Ireland	SW Russia	Central/S Europe
Jón	Iceland	Sweden	Czech Rep.	Spain	Poland	South America
Ágúst	Iceland	Norway	Denmark Germany	Germany	Italy	Poland Belarus Ukraine
Hugrún	Iceland	Faroe Isl.	Denmark	Brazil	Spain	Greece
Ingimar	Iceland	Croatia	Germany	Poland Baltic region	Spain Portugal South Amer.	Poland
Dagbjört	Iceland	Norway	Denmark	Canada	Thailand (China)	France
Steinþór	Iceland	Poland	Netherlands	Former Yugoslavia	Germany	Poland
Hanna	Iceland	UK	Baltic region	Poland	Spain	Norway Sweden
Edda	Iceland	Canada	Faroe Isl.	Poland Baltic region	France Brazil	Germany Austria Czech Rep.
Steinar	Russia	-	Norway	N/Central Europe	Philippines	Sweden
Emma	Iceland	Poland	Norway	Southern Africa	Turkey Iraq	Italy
Anton	Iceland	UK Ireland	Germany	Philippines	France Switzerland Austria	Baltic region Belarus Ukraine Russia

Pseudonym	Iceland	US	Denmark	Philippines	Lithuania	Poland
Dagur	Iceland	UK Ireland US	Faroe Isl.	Germany	Sweden	Germany Poland
Atli	Iceland	Russia Kazakhstan Ukraine	Russia Belarus Ukraine	Turkey Iraq Iran	S Europe: Romania Hungary Slovakia Albania	E Europe: Poland Czech Rep. Slovakia Hungary Romania Albania
Sunna	Iceland	Lithuania	Denmark	Spain Portugal	Germany	Poland
Vigdís	Iceland	Sweden	Denmark	Namibia	France	Poland
Margrét	Iceland	US	Netherlands	Italy	Malaysia Philippines Indonesia Thailand	SE Europe: Romania Bulgaria Albania
Kolfinna	Iceland	NOT Africa or Asia	Canada US UK Australia New Zealand; NOT South Amer. Asia Africa	N/Central Europe (excl. all countries south of Austria and Slovakia)	Denmark UK Germany France Poland Czech Rep.	Poland Latvia Lithuania Belarus
Sigrún	Iceland	Sweden	Faroe Isl.	Southern Africa	Central and South Amer.	Poland Latvia Czech Rep. Slovakia
Berglind	Iceland	Germany	Faroe Isl.	Germany	SE Europe: Czech Rep. Slovakia Hungary	Canada
Valid maps of 32	32	30	30	31	31	31

5.2.1 Voice-placing task: Icelandic guise

Looking at the areas assigned to the L1 Icelandic speaker, 29 out of the 32 answers provided correctly identify Iceland as the speaker's country of origin. Judging from the focus group interviews (see also section 5.3), participants seemed to identify the L1 speaker with great speed as well as precision. This assumption is supported by respective comments in the individual interviews. In three cases, the L1 speaker is placed in other geographical areas and linguistic environments: Ásta and Sigurður locate the speaker in Germany, and Steinar places her in Russia (see participants' comments on their voice-placing decisions in section 5.3.2).

5.2.2 Voice-placing task: American guise

Only three participants (Íris, Dagur, and Margrét) identify the American guise correctly, with five further participants (Guðmundur, Ásta, Hanna, Edda, and Anton) placing the speaker in other English-speaking countries, i.e., the UK, Ireland, or Australia.

Tómas draws a circle around all of Europe after hearing the American guise, whereas Kolfinna excludes the continents of Africa and Asia as the speaker's origin. A further nine participants perceive the speaker as originating from the north of Europe, whereas three others (Klara, María, and Berglind) assume she is from Germany. Freyja and Páll place the speaker in southern Europe (including Spain, Portugal, and/or Italy), and Steinþór and Emma place her in Poland. Sunna places the guise in Lithuania, whereas Björn assumes the speaker to be from the south-eastern part of Europe or perhaps Turkey and Russia, and Atli locates the American speaker in either Russia, Kazakhstan, or Ukraine.

These results show that the speaker is always placed in countries in which European languages are the majority and/or official languages. Three specific aspects are noticeable in connection with this placement task. First of all, more than one-third of participants place the guise in English-speaking countries. Second, more than one-third perceive the American speaker as originating from the Nordic countries, which are both geographically and socio-historically close to Iceland. Third, the remaining eleven participants place the guise elsewhere within Europe, which – considering the vastness of geographical and linguistic regions – is remarkable in itself.

5.2.3 Voice-placing task: Danish guise

Of the 30 valid maps provided, six participants (Tómas, Emil, Hugrún, Dagbjört, Sunna, and Vigdís) correctly identify the L1 speaker of Danish as being from Denmark, with a further four participants (Íris, Klara, Björn, and Ágúst) drawing a circle around Denmark together with other countries, i.e., either with Norway and Sweden or with Germany.

Seven participants (Guðmundur, María, Soffía, Steinar, Emma, Dagur, Sigrún, and Berglind) locate the speaker within the Nordic countries excluding Denmark. María, Steinar, and Emma place the guise in Norway; Guðmundur and Soffía place her in either Norway or Sweden; and Dagur and Sigrún draw a circle around the Faroe Islands.

Kári, Ingimar, and Anton place the guise in Germany. Steinþór and Margrét locate her in the Netherlands. One participant each places the guise in Spain or Portugal (Páll), Poland (Ásta), the Czech Republic (Jón), the Baltic countries (Hanna), and Russia, Belarus, or Ukraine (Atli). The remaining participant, Kolfinna, finds this speaker to be from an

English-speaking country (Canada, US, UK, Australia, New Zealand) and, at the same time, excludes South America, Asia, and Africa by drawing a cross across these continents.

Similar to the American guise, the Danish guise is strictly located in either European or English-speaking countries. A slight majority of participants (17) connect the Danish speaker either directly with Denmark or with the Nordic countries, thereby providing the second-highest score for correct identification of the L2 guises.

5.2.4 Voice-placing task: Filipina guise

Thirty-one valid maps were generated for the Filipina audio recording, with circles being drawn on five continents (excluding Australia/Oceania and, for obvious reasons, Antarctica). Kári and Anton connect the speaker directly with the Philippines, while Klara, Páll, and Ásta place her in a part of south-eastern Asia that includes the Philippines. Three participants locate the speaker in Asia. Íris assumes her to be from Syria; Sigurður identifies the speaker as coming from a region within central Asia comprising India, China, Afghanistan, and Pakistan; and Atli assigns the Middle Eastern countries of Turkey, Iraq, and Iran as possible origins for this speaker.

Seventeen participants locate the Filipina speaker within Europe, with five specifically locating her in the southern part of the continent. Emil and Margrét place the speaker in Italy, Jón locates her in Spain, Sunna places her in either Spain or Portugal, and Björn draws a larger circle around southern Europe including Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece.

Steinar and Kolfinna assume the speaker to come from the northern or central part of Europe, whereas Ágúst, Dagur, and Berglind explicitly mark Germany as the country of origin for this speaker.

South-eastern Europe is identified as the speaker's origin by two participants. Freyja limits her area of choice to the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary; and Steinþór demarcates the countries formerly comprising Yugoslavia.

Ingimar, Edda, and Hanna place the guise in Poland, with Ingimar and Edda including the Baltic countries in their circles.

Of the two remaining participants, Tómas assumes the speaker's origin to be in the western part of Europe (including the UK, Ireland, France, Portugal, and Spain), and Soffía limits her assumption to the UK and Ireland.

Concerning other continents marked with circles for the Filipina speaker, Guðmundur and Hugrún locate the guise in Brazil, while Dagbjört assumes her to come

from Canada. The remaining three participants place the Filipina speaker in Africa. Two of these, Emma and Sigrún, place her in the southern part of Africa, and Vigdís specifically assumes Namibia to be the speaker's origin.

5.2.5 Voice-placing task: Lithuanian guise

None of the 31 participants providing valid answers correctly identifies the country of origin of the Lithuanian speaker. However, two of them (Páll and Björn) limit their choice to the Baltic countries, with Björn drawing a larger circle that also includes Poland, Belarus, and Russia; a further participant, Jón, assumes her to come from Poland.

Seventeen participants place the speaker within Europe, although in different parts. Seven of these assume her to come from the south of Europe, including Italy, Spain, and/or Portugal. Another seven place the guise elsewhere in the continent, with circles of different sizes and shapes: some limit their circles to individual countries, such as France or Germany; others draw larger circles including the Netherlands and Belgium, or Switzerland and Austria; whereas yet others include Denmark, the UK, Poland, and the Czech Republic. Two participants, Atli and Berglind, suspect her to be from south-eastern Europe, including Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, and Albania. The remaining participant, Dagur, places the speaker in the north of Europe and Sweden explicitly.

Eight other participants assume the Lithuanian speaker to originate from Asia, with four of them suspecting her to come from the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, and/or Malaysia. The other four locate the speaker in other parts of the continent, with two of them, Kári and Dagbjört, positioning her in China. As evident from the interview material, Dagbjört unintentionally places the speaker in China because of difficulties finding Thailand on the map provided. Soffía assumes the speaker to come from the area around the southwestern part of Russia between Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Turkey, whereas Emma locates her in either Turkey or Iraq.

Two of the three remaining participants, Ásta and Emil, place the speaker in the north of Africa (including Libya, Algeria, and Niger), whereas Sigrún assumes her to come from Central or South America, stretching from Mexico to Brazil.

5.2.6 Voice-placing task: Polish guise

For the Polish guise, ten of the 31 participants providing valid answers correctly identify Poland as the speaker's country of origin, with a further seven drawing a circle of different sizes around eastern parts of Europe including Poland.

Nine participants place the guise in other parts of Europe. Three of these (Sigurður, Hanna, and Steinar) assume her origin to be in the north of the continent, i.e., Norway, Sweden, and/or Finland; and four (Kári, Soffía, Hugrún, and Emma) place her in the south, including Spain and/or Italy. Hugrún explicitly limits her circle to Greece, whereas Emma does the same for Italy. The remaining two participants who connect the speaker with Europe, Dagbjört and Edda, locate her in France on the one hand and in Germany, Austria, or the Czech Republic on the other hand.

Three of the 31 participants locate the speaker outside Europe, with two of them, Björn and Jón, assigning her a South American background. Björn explicitly draws two circles around Mexico and Brazil, respectively. The remaining participant, Berglind, assumes the speaker's country of origin to be Canada.

5.2.7 Summary of the voice-placing task

This section is concerned with gaining first insights into voice-placing. This quantitative portion of the study solicited participants' ad hoc placement decisions to obtain information about familiarity of certain accents within Icelandic society and perceptions of geographical distance or proximity of speakers.

Results indicate that participants place the L1 speaker of Icelandic with great certainty. In the case of the L2 speakers, it appears that participants tend to place some guises with more security than others. Regarding the Danish and the American speakers, a large number of participants either place the speakers directly in their countries of origin, or with relative geographical or linguistic proximity to those origins. To review, three participants locate the American guise directly in the United States, and a further eight assume the speaker to come from an English-speaking country. As for the Danish guise, ten participants place the speaker either directly in Denmark or in an area including Denmark. Participants choose to place these two guises within Europe or in English-speaking countries exclusively.

In contrast, participants place the Filipina and Lithuanian speakers all around the globe. Only five of the 31 participants submitting valid maps place the Filipina speaker in the Philippines, and six place her on other continents outside Europe. Similarly, only two participants place the Lithuanian speaker in the Baltic countries including Lithuania. One-half of participants place her in Europe excluding the Baltic countries, whereas roughly one-fourth place her in Asia. The remaining three participants choose to locate the Lithuanian speaker either in Central or South America or in Africa. These results are

indicative of participants having greater difficulty deciding on the placement of these two guises. As we will see, participants give different reasons for locating these two speakers all around the world (see section 5.3).

In the case of the Polish guise, one-third of participants place the speaker directly in Poland, with about another fourth placing her in the eastern part of Europe including Poland. Roughly one-third of participants locate the speaker in Europe excluding Poland, and three place her outside Europe, namely, in either South America or Canada. All in all, these results imply that Icelanders are more familiar with a Polish accent than with other foreign accents.

Apart from participants' great security in distinguishing the L1 speaker from the L2 speakers, two aspects require further comment. Firstly, there are some indications that participants locate certain speakers directly in, or close to, geographical areas associated with one or more distinct languages; this suggests greater familiarity with those speaker accents or speakers' L1. In the case of the Danish, American, and Polish guises, relatively high percentages of participants locate the speakers either directly in their countries of origin or in geographically or linguistically adjacent areas. Secondly, there appear to be differences between guises in terms of how widely distributed their possible origins are thought to be. Aside from differences in the percentage of participants who agree about speaker placement in general, participants locate the Filipina and Lithuanian speakers in more diverse geographical areas that are also geographically and linguistically farther away. The opposite appears to be the case for the Danish, American, and Polish guises. Similar to the results on voice-placing in my study on covert attitudes towards foreign accents (cf. Bade 2018, 2019:66 and section 3.3.2.2), participants in focus groups show great security in locating the Polish guise. Once again, this could indicate a higher degree of familiarity with a Polish accent amongst Icelanders. It is, however, necessary to note that Poland was the most popular choice by participants in the covert study in response to all guises – with the exception of the L1 Icelandic guise, which was correctly located by 90% of participants. As has already been discussed (see section 3.3.2.2), for that study, it was therefore assumed that perception of an L2 accent triggers participants' prior knowledge of Polish nationals as the largest immigrant group in Iceland, thus leading them to choose Poland as the country of origin. However, this pattern is not confirmed in this study by the map data (see Table 5) of L2 guises other than the Polish one (see also discussion of voice-placing strategies in section 5.3 below). In addition, there is no indication that participants resort to placing an L2 speaker in Poland

when listening to the first guise (see Table 4). In other words, the first guise participants hear is not associated with Poland more often than with other places.

All in all, analysis of map data indicates that some accents are more familiar to participants than others, as participants both show different degrees of security in their placement and locate some accents in closer proximity to Icelandic than others. This difference in familiarity could be dependent either on the individual listeners' background or on input via other channels in society. As previously discussed, Danish (cf. section 3.2.2) and English (cf. section 3.2.3) each have a somewhat special status in the Icelandic speech community. Icelanders are exposed to these two languages to a greater extent via the educational system and the media, so they can generally be assumed to be more familiar with these languages (and their formal features) than with others. However, this alleged greater familiarity did not translate into correct placement in the study on covert attitudes, since only 3% of participants chose the US as the country of origin for the American guise and only 8% selected Denmark for the Danish guise (Bade 2019). However, in this study, a greater proportion of participants locate those guises in their countries of origin and geographically or linguistically adjacent areas.

Participants' reasons for their placement decisions and emic themes connected with voice-placing decisions are presented in the following section.

5.3 Focus group discussions: Voice-placing and methods of identification

As discussed in detail in section 4.1, research questions 2a and 2b aim to gain insight into the voice-placing strategies of non-linguists and why members of the Icelandic speech community place voices the way they do. Uncovering reasons and themes driving voice-placing of L1 and L2 speech is expected to shed light on the current socio-linguistic circumstances in the context of recent demographic changes in Iceland. Again, the research questions underlying the analysis for this section are:

> 2a What voice-placing strategies do "the folk" have?
> 2b What emic themes are connected with voice-placing strategies?
> 2c What do voice-placing strategies emerging from folk accounts indicate about the current linguistic climate in Iceland?

In almost all cases, participants report relative security in identifying a speaker as either an L1 or an L2 speaker of Icelandic. Only three place the L1 speaker outside of Iceland, whereas all participants correctly identify L2 speakers by locating them outside of

the country. In this way, participants' individual accounts agree with the results from their map data discussed in 5.2 and Table 5.

There are, however, some cases in which participants place the L1 speaker guise elsewhere. One possible explanation for such a decision is the study's research design, i.e., that participants expected to listen to speakers with a foreign accent and, therefore, showed insecurity about the L1 speaker of Icelandic. Another explanation draws on stereotypical attributes of certain L2 speakers, as discussed in section 5.4.2.

As with identifying the L1 speaker of Icelandic, participants generally show great security in determining an L2 speaker[71] (see also Table 5), but they often express difficulties in placing speakers. Perception of guises as L2 speakers and voice-placing do not seem to be straightforward, but rather dependent on certain individual and sociolinguistic factors.

Overall, voice-placing, as executed by the study's participants, can be considered in terms of four main categories. These are: i) familiarity with an accent (see 5.3.1), ii) ideas about foreign languages/accents (see 5.3.2), iii) perceived phonological features in L2 speech (see 5.3.3), and iv) significance of visual cues (see 5.3.4). These four identification methods seldom appear in isolation but are instead combined to some extent, sometimes with two or three of them in varying combinations. Each of the four main categories can be further divided into themes, which are discussed in the sections below.

5.3.1 Voice-placing and familiarity with accent

In attempting to place a speaker, the majority of participants across focus groups rely heavily on trying to determine whether they are familiar with the accent, and if so, whether they can pinpoint what kind of foreign accent they just listened to. Map data (cf. Table 5) and comments in the focus group discussions suggest that two of the five foreign accents played to participants seem to be more familiar to them than the other three. The Danish and Polish guises are often located in the countries the speakers are from or, at least, in the geographical areas surrounding those countries and where languages within the same language family are spoken.

In some instances, participants are very secure in their voice-placing judgments and often argue for their choice by referring to personal experience or encounters with speakers of the accent in question. A closer look at their comments on perceived familiarity with the

[71] There were very few cases in which individual participants expressed that an L2 speaker could have been mistaken for an L1 speaker during a distinct sequence in the audio recordings. However, this impression never lasted for an entire audio recording by an L2 speaker.

respective accent reveals that this is the aspect on which participants mostly base their choices. Perceived familiarity can be organized into three sub-themes: i) general familiarity (section 5.3.1.1), ii) personal familiarity (e.g., family, friends, colleagues) (section 5.3.1.2), and iii) familiarity with public figures (section 5.3.1.3).

5.3.1.1 General familiarity

In some cases, participants report perceiving the foreign accent played to them as familiar without being able to specify this perception. Emma from the fourth focus group connects general familiarity with the perceived accent, i.e., the American guise, with her decision to locate the speaker in Poland. She says, "Yes, I said Poland. I thought that I have somehow heard so much of this kind of Icelandic. This was somehow so familiar. I found this so normal" (Excerpt 19).

Similarly, Vigdís from the fifth focus group relies on her impression that she is familiar with a Filipino accent because it can be heard in Icelandic society. She reports, "I found this to be rather familiar because I can, I vaguely remember this accent" (Excerpt 20). Interestingly enough, both Emma and Vigdís place the American and Filipina in Poland, based on alleged familiarity. We remember that Polish nationals are the most populous immigrant group in the country, potentially comprising the largest group of L2 speakers.

In Excerpt 21, participants illustrate that lack of actual contact with L2 speakers can lead to resorting to what is regarded as common and largely perceivable in society:

> Emil: I marked Poland. […]
> Ásta: Yes, we were headed in that direction.
> Kristín: Why would you say that she is from Poland?
> Emil: Of course, I don't know that exactly. Once in a while, I hear Poles speak something.
> Kristín: Yes, do you find this familiar or something?[72]
> Emil: No, not necessarily. I haven't really had much contact with foreigners.
> Jón: Well, you just compare with what you know. (Excerpt 21)

While elaborating on the perception of the Polish guise, a conversation that unfolds in the fifth focus group discussion (Excerpt 22) illustrates how general familiarity can impact voice-placing decisions. As already touched upon in the introductory remarks to this section, the three main categories proposed as underlying voice-placing decisions –

[72] Here, the interviewer accidently introduces the concept of familiarity to the participants. This happens on two occasions in the same focus group.

familiarity with accent, cultural/linguistic stereotype, and perceived formal features in L1 and L2 speech – do not exist in isolation. Vigdís and Kolfinna from the fifth focus group emphasize in Excerpt 22 their general familiarity with a Polish accent and connect it with distinct phonological features (see also section 5.4.3):

> Vigdís: I thought she was Polish.
> Sunna: I thought so too.
> Kolfinna: I also think that I've heard this before. I marked Poland and around there.
> Vigdís: 'glúgga' [kluk:a] and 'obna' [ɔpna][73]
> Kolfinna: Mmh, I thought I recognized that, which I didn't do with the first two [i.e., the Lithuanian and American guises].
> Atli: Yes.
> Vigdís: There are a lot of Poles here in Iceland, who have learned Icelandic. They just speak exactly
> Sunna: like this.
> Vigdís: Yes, I found this to be very similar to them […]. Of course, we think that it's Poland because there are so many Poles here. And this accent is somewhat similar to it, their accent. (Excerpt 22)

Although it is not clear which circumstances exactly allow for a Polish accent to be heard in this case, the general nature of the participants' utterances deserves some attention, since they could imply that a Polish accent is more widely heard than other foreign accents. Moreover, there appears to be a certain awareness of demographic circumstances in Icelandic society regarding the country of origin of immigrant populations, considering Vigdís's remark on the tendency of L1 speakers to resort to placing L2 speakers in Poland.

5.3.1.2 Personal familiarity

Turning to the second sub-theme of personal familiarity with an accent, there are yet other sub-themes that emerge from the data. The excerpts presented in this section include perceived familiarity via family and friends, work relations, and personal experience, i.e., traveling or living abroad.

[73] Vigdís refers to her perception of distinct phonological features in L2 Icelandic that she traces to L1 speakers of Polish. According to her, the vowel /u/ – which is a rounded high-mid front vowel in L1 Icelandic [ʏ] – is typically pronounced as a rounded high back vowel [u] by L1 Poles (and some other foreigners). Similarly, /p/ is perceived as unaspirated in the speech of the Polish guise [p], while the consonant is typically realized as preaspirated [hp] in L1 Icelandic. The phonological analysis of the Polish speaker confirms deviation from L1 speech in the words mentioned by participants (cf. Appendix E, Table 10).

In connection with the Polish guise, Dagbjört from the third focus group says, “My sister-in-law is married to a Frenchman, and he speaks a little Icelandic and this reminded me a tiny bit of his intonation. That’s why I said France” (Excerpt 23). Similarly, Kári and Jón from the second focus group express their ideas on the placement of the American guise (Excerpt 24), with both excerpts exemplifying perceived familiarity with an accent based on family relations:

> Kári: Although I have never lived in Norway, I have a son who has lived there for 21 years and I visit him quite often and I thought that this could have been, you know, their intonation, their pronunciation. […]
> Jón: I think you could be right, although I marked Sweden. I know Swedes better and they speak Icelandic very well, just like this one spoke really well. But, the melody, the intonation reminded me of Swedish. (Excerpt 24)

Both Dagbjört (Excerpt 23) and Kári (Excerpt 24) resort to family relations when attempting to place the guises. They connect them with certain phonological features, here intonation, that they deem typical for certain languages/accents they claim to have some familiarity with. Jón supports Kári’s voice-placing decision and adds an evaluational dimension by describing the guise’s performance – as well as that of the reference group, i.e., the Swedes he is familiar with – as good. By adding this evaluational dimension, Kári and Jón indicate that they hold distinct views towards the groups they describe, i.e., Norwegians and Swedes, and their language competence in Icelandic (see also section 5.3.2 for voice-placing in connection with ideas about languages and accents).

The two previous excerpts, as well as the next two, indicate that perceived familiarity with accent is a complicated and tricky concept, since none of the participants arguing for placement of guises in those four examples place the speaker correctly. Both Kári and Berglind give insights into voice-placing strategies for the Danish guise, and Kári says, “Well, I guessed Scandinavia. But I doubt that this was a Dane because I have known Danes who have lived here for 30–40 years and they can speak neither Danish nor Icelandic” (Excerpt 25). Berglind comments on the Danish guise as follows: “My husband’s sister’s husband is a Dane, and this was not Danish. Except, the person would have lived here in Iceland way longer than him” (Excerpt 26). Whereas Kári does not specify his relationships with the Danes he is familiar with, Berglind clearly states her family connection with a Dane, who functions as a reference for her placement decision. Both participants argue against placing the Danish guise in Denmark by turning to

(stereotypical) ideas and assumptions about Danes, i.e., their language competence in Icelandic and length of stay (see also sections 5.4.3.1). It is worth noting here that Danish nationals residing in Iceland do in fact commonly acquire Icelandic, and they occupy a different status in Icelandic society because of a common Icelandic–Danish history including that of immigration. Spoken Icelandic by Danish nationals has been subject to mockery and imitation, both in terms of accent and grammatical errors.

The excerpts above show us that methods of placement based on personal familiarity with an accent are certainly not always reliable. They do, however, certainly tell us *how* participants approach identifying an L2 speaker of Icelandic, and that folk ideas about accents and foreigners can play a decisive role in decision-making processes.

Another example in which a participant argues for placing the Danish guise elsewhere than Denmark is seen in remarks by Ingimar from the third focus group (Excerpt 27). As in Excerpts 25 and 26, voice-placing is not necessarily done correctly when resorting to personal experience.

> Ingimar: I could, I couldn't have said Denmark because I, as I said before, I grew up with a Danish relative and, and…
> Dagbjört: He didn't talk like that?
> Ingimar: Well, no no no no no no…
> Dagbjört: It can be so different though. (Excerpt 27)

Two aspects of this excerpt deserve some attention. Firstly, as already indicated, this study in no way serves as a typological organization of foreign accents since there is only one guise per accent. The fact that Ingimar does not place the Danish speaker in Denmark might be because the speaker's Danish-accented Icelandic is coloured by a different Danish dialect than the one he is familiar with, or because of paralinguistic factors such as individual voice quality or other aspects that differ from the male relative the participant refers to. Alternatively, Ingimar simply does not connect the Danish accent he is familiar with through his relative with that of the Danish speaker in the study. Secondly, some participants, such as Dagbjört in Excerpt 27, seem to be aware of dialectal or regional variation both in their own L1 and in foreign languages (see also sections 3.3.2 and 5.1.3 on internal variation).

The three participants discussing placement of the Lithuanian guise in the next excerpt (Excerpt 28) connect their perception of the accent with their work environment –

the second sub-theme connected with personal familiarity with an accent – as well as with ideas about what phonological characteristics they ascribe to that accent.

> Björn: This is some kind of accent from the Ural area. I found this, like, I found this a bit typical for both Poles and Lithuanians who work here a lot in the construction industry.
> Jón: Yes.
> Soffía: Yes. It's those whom I hear speak.
> Jón. Yes, I hear that too.
> Björn: You hear it a lot in how they pronounce vowels, 'kringum' [kʰriŋkʊm],[74] and such strained pronunciation of vowels.
> Soffía: I cannot locate this exactly, but I would have said Eastern Europe immediately. I sell work clothes to craftsmen, and that's why. (Excerpt 28)

Connecting the accent of the Lithuanian guise in her reading performance with a distinct work environment and industrial sector could imply that this accent – as well as a Polish one, as mentioned by Björn – is more widespread and recognizable in those environments.

Listening to the Filipina guise, Vigdís is reminded of a friend. She generalizes the accent she perceives and ascribes it to a whole continent, saying, "But I thought this to be some African accent, a tiny bit. […] Because my friend is from Namibia, you know, and her mom has a similar accent. Various words are noticeable" (Excerpt 29). This example is worth special attention: Vigdís connects and compares (certain unknown) phonological features perceived in the Filipina guise with the L2 accent of a friend from Namibia. Certain questions arise from the participant's remark, given her description of the guise's accent as both an "African accent" and "similar" to the one perceived in her friend's speech. First of all, there is no need to stress the (etic) improbability of a distinct accent spanning an entire continent, let alone one that houses a great variety of different languages from different language families. A generalization of this kind recalls Lindemann's study (2005; cf. section 2.1.2) in which the majority of respondents described the African continent as one single speech area. Assuming such a categorization underlies voice-placing strategies applied by this participant, her connection of an allegedly familiar and "similar" accent with an obscure and geographically distant linguistic area is less surprising.

[74] Björn refers to the same L2 feature Vigdís mentions in Excerpt 22, i.e., the realization of /u/ as [u] or [ʊ] instead of [ʏ]: [kʰriŋkʊm]. The phonological analysis of the Lithuanian speaker (cf. Appendix E, Table 9) confirms some deviation in the word "kringum" with this speaker, including vowel quality.

5.3.1.3 Familiarity with public figures

The third voice-placing strategy deriving from perceived familiarity with an accent is connected with public figures. As discussed in section 3.3.2.2, a foreign accent in Icelandic is not widely perceivable through the media. Some participants in this study appear in their placement decisions to resort to knowledge of a few public figures who speak Icelandic with a distinct foreign accent.

In Excerpts 30 and 31, participants refer to the popular Faroese singers Eivör Pálsdóttir and Jógvan Hansen on the one hand, and Eliza Reid, author and the wife of current Icelandic president Guðni Th. Jóhannesson, on the other hand. In the case of Excerpt 30, Ingimar and Hugrún disagree on placing the American guise in the Faroe Islands. Both, however, use (different) Faroese singers as references for their contemplations on voice-placing.

> Hanna: Could be…
> Ingimar: Have you heard Jógvan speak?
> Hugrún: Eivör
> Ingimar: Eivör and… I thought that this was no way their… (Excerpt 30)

In Excerpt 31, Dagbjört very clearly connects the speech of the Filipina guise with a distinct place, Canada, because she makes her think of the accent of a public figure. Dagbjört's closing remark reveals her insecurity about her decision, but it could also indicate a lack of familiarity with a foreign accent, thus explaining why she resorts to one of the few foreign accents present in the media in Iceland.

> Dagbjört: I thought that this was the president's wife. […] I said Canada because the president's wife is from Canada. That's why I thought of her. I thought that I'd be listening to her. I don't know why, this is surely wrong. (Excerpt 31)

Björn from the second focus group argues for the possibility of placing the Filipina guise in Spain – this participant drew a circle around a portion of southern Europe including Spain on his map (see also 5.2.4) – by connecting phonological features he deems characteristic of L1 speakers of Spanish with the representation of that accent in the popular Icelandic movie *101 Reykjavík*:

> Björn: Wait a minute, now I don't remember how that H in 'hoppar' was, for example. […] In Spain, for example, you would just say 'obbar'. […] Just like in [the movie] 101 Reykjavík, in which Hlynur was called 'linur'. (Excerpt 32)

Excerpts in this section illustrate that participants use accents they perceive in public figures as points of reference in their voice-placing decisions. Occasionally, those decisions are fed by participants' ideas about what a typical foreign accent sounds like, or what phonological features are seen as salient in a distinct accent.

5.3.2 Voice-placing and cultural or linguistic stereotypes

Occasionally, participants argue for placing a guise in certain countries or geographical areas based on distinct ideas about speakers from those countries or areas. Those ideas often revolve around stereotypical ascriptions to speakers of distinct languages, related either to their alleged character traits or to ideas about how their accent sounds. Excerpts in this section can be further divided into two sub-themes. Although all excerpts in this section relate to folk ideas based on stereotypical assumptions about certain nationalities or ethnic groups, some participants refer to a certain learning effort on behalf of the groups at hand, while others' accounts touch upon perceptions of distance or proximity of the speaker in question relative to certain ethnic groups.

As briefly mentioned in section 5.3.1, three participants place the L1 speaker of Icelandic outside of Iceland. Two of those place her in Germany and discuss the ideas underlying their decision as follows. Sigurður says, "This reminded me of Germans who have lived here for quite some time. […] I found it striking how much effort she put into this. And that is very German" (Excerpt 33). Ásta elaborated on her placement and discloses, "I just guessed Germany because I find Germans so damn efficient at learning Icelandic if they want to" (Excerpt 34).

Both Sigurður and Ásta touch upon stereotypical ideas about Germans in connection with the effort they put into doing or learning something properly. The impression that the speaker they listened to had put a lot of effort into her reading performance (Excerpt 33) or that she put a lot of effort and ambition into learning Icelandic (Excerpt 34) is taken as a basis for placing the speaker in Germany. As explained in section 2.2.3, stereotypes are phenomena that build on social categorization and can be positive or negative. Both Sigurður and Ásta draw upon positive stereotypes towards Germans when placing the Icelandic guise. Concerning the research by Giles (1970) and Lindemann (2005) presented in sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3, the tendency to associate Germans with high

superiority appears to be valid in the Icelandic context as well. Of the eight personality traits investigated in the study on covert attitudes towards foreign accents in Icelandic (cf. Bade 2018, 2019), the four status-related traits – ambitious, intelligent, efficient, and independent – scored higher for the German guise than the other four solidarity-related traits, i.e., relaxed, interesting, reliable, and attractive (cf. Bade 2019: 61).

Similar stereotypical ideas appear in connection with the placement of the Lithuanian guise, with Steinar arguing for placing the guise in Finland based on the assumption that Finns put a lot of effort into speaking English:

> Steinar: If she was, if she was from the Nordic countries, she could maybe be Finnish. Or Swedish. […]
> Anton: Did you say that? Did you draw a circle there?
> Steinar: No, I don't know. They, the Finns, they put so much effort into things, like when they speak English. (Excerpt 35)

It is worth noting that the participant argues for voice-placing in connection with his ideas on Finns' L2 performance in English, an idea he transfers to the speaker's performance in Icelandic. Although the participant explicitly confines his presumptions about the speaker's origin to the Nordic countries,[75] it is quite interesting that ideas on accent stem from experience with an L2 accent in English.

Resorting to experience with L1 or L2 accents in English is also discussed amongst Steinþór, Hugrún, and Ingimar (Excerpt 36). According to them, voice-placing would have been an easier task had the guises spoken L1 varieties or foreign-accented English instead of foreign-accented Icelandic:

> Steinþór: I mean, I am surely better at telling where people come from if they speak English.
> Hugrún: I would say the same!
> Ingimar: Yes, yes! Dane, Norwegian, Swede, no problem at all!
> Steinþór: Indian, Australian, Canadian. (Excerpt 36)

[75] According to map data from the voice-placing task (cf. section 5.2), Steinar places the Lithuanian guise in the Philippines. Why he argues for placement of the guise in the Nordic countries when elaborating on his decision is not known, but his answer to Anton's question suggests great insecurity, whether in placing the speaker in the Philippines, placing her in Finland, or not remembering his placement decision. Therefore, it is conceivable that dynamics in the focus group and the tendency to agree with other participants are at work here (cf. social desirability bias, section 4.3.2).

Margrét discusses the placement of the American guise in Excerpt 37, connecting her perception of the speaker's performance with the idea that some L2 speakers are better than others at adopting an L1-like accent in certain foreign languages. In her view, the weak foreign accent she perceives in this speaker justifies placement in the geographical area associated with her presupposition, i.e., the Netherlands. Margrét says, "Maybe she was Dutch because we know that Dutch people have an easy time learning pronunciation. […] Although I haven't written it down, I thought that this was someone who easily learns Icelandic pronunciation" (Excerpt 37).

Unlike participants' accounts in Excerpts 33, 34, and 35 that refer to ideas about speaker effort in L2 learning, Margrét's utterance touches upon beliefs about a certain (inherent) mimicking ability when it comes to producing L1-like phonological features.

In the next excerpt (Excerpt 38), Anton discusses his reasons for placing the Lithuanian guise in France.[76] Apart from assumptions and generalizations on how a (global) French accent typically sounds, two aspects are worthy of closer inspection. Firstly, the participant has distinct ideas about how a French accent sounds, or – to be more precise – what distinct phonological features a French accent comprises. Although we do not know which phonological features those are exactly, the excerpt nevertheless indicates that people might hold specific views on how an accent should sound and hone in on their perception of the phonological features they expect to occur in that accent. Secondly, the participant appears to connect the perception of a French accent (whatever formal features he believes it to comprise) with certain expectations concerning the speaker's performance and/or ability to reach a certain level of language acquisition in an L2 in general or in Icelandic in particular (see also section 5.4.1.3).

> Anton: Well, I, my first reaction was French-speaking, from France, but then she just didn't have those stereotypical French sounds, so I was in doubt and drew a larger circle and I marked France, Switzerland, and Hungary. I was along the lines of Central Europe plus France, the first feeling was France. But, if she is French then she did a very good job. (Excerpt 38)

In sum, participants' accounts in this section have encompassed voice-placing decisions based on ideas about certain nationalities or ethnic groups. Their assumptions about varying degrees of language-learning effort and ability to mimic L1-like

[76] According to map data, Anton locates the Lithuanian guise in France, Austria, and Switzerland (see Table 5), thus extending the possibilities for the speaker's L1.

pronunciation in a foreign language stem from cultural and linguistic stereotypes, be they positive or negative.

5.3.3 Voice-placing and perceived formal features in L1 and L2 speech

Another strategy for voice-placing can be detected from folk comments on perceived phonological features. Participants mention and elaborate on segmental and suprasegmental features, as well as on para- and non-linguistic features, in connection with their voice-placing decisions. Among the features mentioned are preaspiration, t-insertion, devoicing, and intonation; these also constitute prominent phonological features of L1 Icelandic (see also Table 6 in Appendix E). The following excerpts illustrate this connection. First, voice-placing decisions and related themes for the L1 speaker are discussed (section 5.3.3.1), followed by accounts on L2 speakers (section 5.3.3.2). Phonological analyses of L2 speaker guises and deviation from L1 Icelandic is provided in Appendix E.

5.3.3.1 Salience of formal features and placement of the L1 speaker

It has already become apparent that participants are generally very secure in placing the L1 speaker of Icelandic in Iceland.

In Excerpts 39 and 40, participants first and foremost reveal that their placement decisions are based on a general impression that the speaker is an L1 speaker of Icelandic. However, despite this general impression, other factors appear to be decisive in making this assumption.

> Björn: One could not hear any deviations from typical Icelandic.
> Emil: This was […] an Icelander reading.
> Jón: The slight nuances are to be found in intonation.
> Ásta: In the flow, in the flow of the text…
> Jón: Yes, right. How words take over from one another. (Excerpt 39)

> Sunna: Pronunciation, intonation, everything […]
> Atli: I'd say that she just speaks Icelandic like an Icelander speaks Icelandic.
> Berglind: The intonation in how she reads was just like we read ourselves. (Excerpt 40)

In these two excerpts, participants discuss the suprasegmental features of intonation and fluency as influencing their placement decisions. At the same time, they bring attention to their perception that the speaker's performance did not deviate, firstly, from what they characterize as typical Icelandic, and, secondly, from how they themselves would perform.

Here, ideas on standard L1 pronunciation appear to build part of the foundation for judgments of nativeness. It seems only logical that the L1-speaker participants in this study would classify themselves as users and followers of standard L1 pronunciation, thus identifying with such an accent (see also section 5.4.3.2 for evaluations of correctness and L1 standard language ideology). As for intonation, however, it is not clear what participants mean exactly with use of the words *hrynjandi* ("rhythm") or *hljómfall* ("prosody") and what their etic equivalents might be.

In addition to the suprasegmental characteristics described in Excerpts 39 and 40, participants discuss distinct segmental features they deem typical for an L1 Icelandic accent on the one hand and/or difficult for an L2 speaker to produce on the other hand. Ágúst, Hugrún, and Steinþór address segmental features they believe to be characteristic of an L1 accent:

> Ágúst: It was, for example, the sound that comes when you say 'nafn' [napn̥]. 'Nafn', this guttural sound, up here in the nose. This is something that you, only natives can do. […]
> Hugrún: This 'té-ell' sound.[77] And one just hears all of those nuances.
> Ágúst: Yes, those little sounds
> Hugrún: which the others lacked, they were immediately here. Just, right when she started, just by saying 'ég' [jɛx]. This is just […] the ear notices something.
> Steinþór: Exactly that, and especially 'gé' sounds.[78] (Excerpt 41)

While Ágúst points out that he deems pronunciation of /fn/ when following a vowel – realized as [pn] – as typical for L1 Icelandic, Hugrún adds that t-insertion in /ll/, pronounced as [tl], is especially salient in her view. According to Steinþór, the realization of /g/ as in the first-person pronoun *ég* [x] is a unique feature of L1 Icelandic pronunciation. At the same time as those features are salient parts of the phonological repertoire of L1 speakers, deviation from them is seen as an indicator of non-nativeness (see section 5.4.3.2).

Along with noticing and describing phonological features in speaker performance, participants comment on several para- and non-linguistic features when discussing voice-placing. These involve perceptions of speaker confidence as evaluated in regard to aesthetics, understandability, and familiarity.

[77] Hugrún refers here to preaspiration of the consonant cluster /tl/ [tl] and devoicing of /l/ as in "litla" [lɪtl̥a].
[78] /g/ is pronounced differently depending on environment, e.g., [k], [c], [x], [ɣ], [j]. See, e.g., Árnason 2011b: 98–103.

Participants in different focus groups express their perception of the L1 speaker as self-confident in terms of her speech performance (Excerpts 42, 43, and 44).

> Steinþór: It was also, she just let go.
> Hanna: Confident […]
> Dagbjört: She was just full of confidence. (Excerpt 42)

Whereas Steinþór, Hanna, and Dagbjört agree on their general impression that the L1 speaker of Icelandic appeared to be self-confident, in Excerpt 43 Björn, Emil, Ásta, and Jón elaborate on a similar perception by mentioning some connected themes:

> Björn: Yes, maybe we also see this in how they read. One […] hears that maybe those who are foreigners, they, they kind of hold back, talk more shyly. This was, you know, read in a forward way, one can say.
> Emil: [She] read this well and loud and clearly and fast. […] And very understandably. […]
> Ásta: She just spoke brilliant Icelandic (laughs).
> Björn: and […] spoke with confidence. […] I had the feeling that she beamed with confidence in every sentence and I know, say exactly
> Ásta: No problem with this.
> Jón: What one hears behind this […], you know, is that one knows the Icelandic character. Because one knows, that there is always some personality behind the voice and the melody. One knows that as being Icelandic. (Excerpt 43)

In his initial remark, Björn distinguishes between L1 and L2 speaker performance based on confidence. Emil provides more details, characterizing the performance as understandable, clear, and fast. Jón adds the dimension of familiarity in what he describes as an "Icelandic character". Research on the connection between formal aspects of language on the one hand and associated accent perception and ratings on the other hand indicate that lexical stress, slow speech rate/and or pausing, and reduced pitch range are among the most prominent features of a perceived accent (cf. section 2.2.4). Unnatural pauses, a slower speech rate, and deviances in stress could well be indicators of a lack of confidence, as participants report.

> Emma: I just thought that I found this confidence. Somehow just, just right away, the rhythm and everything is just completely in … such a flow.
> Anton: Splendidly read.
> Dagur: She would not have achieved this by just putting an effort into it. (Excerpt 44)

In Excerpt 44, Anton agrees with Emil's evaluation of the L1 speaker having "read well" (Excerpt 43) by characterizing the speaker's performance as "splendid". Emma (Excerpt 44) and Jón (Excerpt 43) indicate that suprasegmental features such as intonation and fluency contribute to their perception of speaker confidence. According to Dagur (Excerpt 44), the speaker's performance could not have been replicated by an L2 speaker. He does not specify, however, which factors contribute to this perception.

Along with quite a distinct folk assessment regarding the perception of formal characteristics distinguishing L1 from L2 speech, participants also comment on internal language variation in connection with voice-placing. In the following excerpt (Excerpt 45), Freyja, Páll, and Íris comment on their perception of the L1 Icelandic speaker. Freyja reveals that her placement method builds on the perceived absence of L2 features in the speaker's performance, thus placing her in Iceland by process of elimination. Páll and Íris pinpoint the guise as specific to Reykjavík, with Íris elaborating on this decision by commenting on her perception of the speech as characteristic of so-called Southern Icelandic.

> Freyja: I was so sure that we were listening to foreigners, and I was trying to find something that might indicate that she was not Icelandic. But I didn't find anything.
> Páll: I think that she is from Reykjavík.
> Íris: So southern. (Excerpt 45)

Unlike the participants in Excerpt 45, Kári perceives the speaker as showing characteristics of hard speech: "She even uses hard speech rather than soft speech" (Excerpt 46). This discrepancy in statements by Íris and Kári deserve special attention, as they refer to internal accent variation in Icelandic, i.e., phonological varieties referred to as *harðmæli* and *linmæli* (see Árnason 2011a: 28 and section 3.3.2.1). To summarize, *harðmæli* is traditionally associated with speakers from the north of the country and *linmæli* with speakers from the south, especially the capital region around Reykjavík. For this reason, the varieties are often referred to as *norðlenska* and *sunnlenska*, or Northern and Southern Icelandic respectively, although *linmæli* is the dominant variety throughout the country. As Excerpts 45 and 46 show, these variants appear to play a role (for some) when evaluating whether an accent is an L1 accent or not. However, Íris refers to a location, i.e., Reykjavík, without explaining what formal features or ideas she associates with it, whereas Kári mentions linguistic form without connecting it to a certain speech area.

Favouring the placement of the L1 speaker in Reykjavík, another evaluative aspect emerges from an exchange between Ingimar and Hanna:

> Ingimar: Well, I'd say that she is definitely not from the North. Not from the North and not from the West. Just…
> Hanna: A normal Icelander.
> Ingimar: This is just, as the Canadians say, whom I talk to a lot, this is from 'Rehklavikk'. (Excerpt 47)

Whereas Ingimar excludes northern and western Iceland as geographical areas and places her in Reykjavík in the southern part of the country, Hanna describes her speech as belonging to a common Icelander. This evaluation implies that the Southern variety serves in Hanna's view as standard, as opposed to the Northern one (see also section 5.5.3.2).

5.3.3.2 Salience of formal features and placement of L2 speakers

Turning to the L2 speaker guises, there is a range of segmental and suprasegmental features that participants of this study discuss amongst themselves as reasons for the placement of the various guises.

In general, participants appear to distinguish between an L1 and an L2 accent either by confirming the perception of L1 or L1-like formal features (see section 5.4.3.1) or by commenting on a perceived lack or deviant realization of those features.

Concerning the salience of L1 features, Freyja examines deviations from them in the Lithuanian guise, referring to preaspiraion and t-insertion, "No, I think that maybe a little noticeable with foreigners is exactly this, PP and LL and NN and some kind of blow [*blástur*]" (Excerpt 48). Similar considerations concerning general impressions and t-insertion can be observed amongst participants of the first focus group when they discuss the Polish guise:

> María: We have, we have many special sounds that foreigners find difficult to…
> Íris: And this, two N's, vænn köttur [vaitn k^{h}œhtʏr]. You know, hún er vænn, I noticed that that was not entirely […][79]
> María: For example, two L's are very difficult, to know when one needs to say 'etl' [ɛtl̥] and when 'llll' [əlː].
> Freyja: 'Halló' [halːou] or 'halló' [hatlou]. (Excerpt 49)

[79] The phonological analysis of the Polish speaker (cf. Appendix E, Table 10) discloses the lack of t-insertion in the word "vænn" as mentioned by Íris.

Whereas t-insertion has already been revealed as salient for L1 speech (Excerpt 41), and deviation from it as characteristic of L2 realization (Excerpts 48 and 49), Freyja describes the lack of preaspiration as a characteristic of L2 speech. Freyja's comments in Excerpts 48 and 49 summarize quite well that the segmental features of preaspiration and t-insertion appear to be the most salient for L1 speech, as several participants' accounts mention these features. However, their L1 or L1-like realization in contrast to deviation from such a realization does not appear to influence voice-placing decisions, but merely affirms a speaker's non-nativeness. The same is valid for non-linguistic ascriptions such as confidence (cf. section 5.4.3.1 for confidence as a measure of nativeness). Even though several participants comment on their perception that some L2 speakers' lack of confidence contributes to exposing them as such, this impression does not seem to provide cues for voice-placing.

There are, however, distinct segmental and suprasegmental features that lead to controversy amongst participants in terms of placing a speaker. The following excerpts present participants' depictions of five segmental features and their different realizations: 1) velar fricative [x], 2) dental and alveolar fricatives [s] and [þ]/[θ] or [ð], 3) realization of trill /r/, 4) labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v], and 5) central-mid rounded vowel /ö/. Intonation as a suprasegmental feature will also be presented.

In the next two excerpts, participants depict the same phonological feature, i.e., the voiceless velar fricative [x], in the speech of the American guise on the one hand (Excerpt 50) and in that of the Polish guise on the other hand (Excerpt 51). In both instances, participants from the first and second focus groups draw on their ideas about a certain idiosyncrasy of this phonological feature for (different regional varieties) of Spanish.

> Sigurður: I returned a blank sheet. But as I listened to her I thought, that Latin languages are not only spoken in southern Europe. They are also spoken in North America, South America, and Mexico, you know. I mostly thought of those areas but I thought that it would be too much to draw a circle from the Mediterranean to Mexico.
> Klara: It's possible to […] two places.
> Íris: It doesn't matter. It's the same except…
> Klara: Spanish except in Brazil.
> Freyja: She actually said [xun], like in [mɛxikou], something like [x].
> Páll: I agree with you in that I found this Spanish, coming from Spanish. (Excerpt 50)[80]

[80] The phonological analysis of the American speaker (cf. Appendix E, Table 11) does not confirm participants' perceptions of her pronouncing /h/ as [x] in the word "hún", but it does reveal deviations in the vowel of the same word.

> Jón: I cannot decide whether this is Spanish-speaking or Slavic, or, or Polish or something like that.
> Ásta: Exactly. That is the same as I thought.
> Jón: I thought both were possible, but all those H's were very [xha], [xha] and I found this indicative of Spanish-speaking regions…
> Soffía: I thought this was southern Europe.
> Jón: …but many other things indicative of Eastern Europe.
> Björn: They are not used to pronouncing H. But they have this [xh] sound in their language. (Excerpt 51)[81]

A similar sound, some kind of voiceless uvular fricative, is discussed by participants of the second focus group in connection with the placement of the American guise (Excerpt 52). In contrast to conclusions drawn by participants in Excerpts 50 and 51, Björn establishes measurements along with parameters of proximity/distance based on the perceived feature:

> Björn: I felt like, I felt that the [xh] sound with the H was a little characteristic, '[hɔːxhpa]'… And I, and yes actually Iraq and Iran are there in my circle too… But I know that this was not very scientific at all. It was, I actually thought that this was maybe, this [xh] sound with the H. I found that it kind of made it sound quite far away from our immediate neighbours here. (Excerpt 52)[82]

In the following two excerpts, participants discuss the placement of guises based on their perception of trills and/or ideas about the realization of trills by speakers of different backgrounds. Sunna indicates that there might be certain phonological features typically associated with speakers from a certain language background by saying in connection with placing the American speaker, "I can't get over this ʻerr'. This was certainly not an Asian" (Excerpt 53).[83]

Similar to Sunna, María uses this phonological feature, i.e., a certain variant of /r/, as a means of placement by exclusion when attempting to locate the Danish guise. She comments

[81] Considering preaspiration, the Polish guise (cf. Appendix E, Table 10) shows various deviations, reaching from a lack of or little preaspiration to overemphasis, resulting in an unvoiced uvular fricative [χ] instead of [^{h}] in the word "hátt". This deviation might explain participants' perceptions of [x] as described in Excerpt 51.
[82] Phonological analysis of the American speaker (cf. Appendix, Table 10) reveals that she both shows deviation in vowel length and quality for /o/ in "hoppar" and short preaspiration. However, this is not consistent with participants' perceptions as described in Excerpt 52.
[83] Conspicuous features in the pronunciation of /r/ by the American guise (cf. Appendix E, Table 11) were hardly noticeable or only slightly different from L1 Icelandic pronunciation; it does not sound "American", often realized as a clear trill rather than as an approximate.

that the Danish speaker is "Not from Denmark anyway. It was that kind of R" (Excerpt 54). To her, the perceived trill is atypical for a Danish accent, thus excluding Denmark as a placement possibility. She does, in fact, place the Danish guise in Norway (see Table 5 in section 5.2).[84]

Participants in the following three excerpts discuss the placement of speakers based on the perception of the fricatives [s] and [þ/θ] or [ð] (unvoiced/voiced). Participants in the third focus group (Excerpt 55) and in the fifth focus group (Excerpt 56) exchange their ideas on the placement of the Lithuanian speaker:

> Steinþór: She has problems with the ð. […]
> Hanna: Yes, and also this, this 'sma' (makes some kind of þ sound and moves her hands from her mouth)
> Dagbjört: I found her to be Asian.
> Hanna: I would guess Spanish somehow…
> Hugrún: Yes, I said Spain.
> Ágúst: Yes I, Spain, South America.
> Steinþór: Don't Spaniards use a lot of þ [θ] sounds?
> Hann: She was a lot like þþþ. Initially, I thought that she had a lisp.
> Steinþór: There was no Spanish influence.
> Hugrún: Yes, well, I didn't think that this was South American because they speak with a different accent than Spaniards do. Spaniards talk more in the throat and like þþþ. […]
> Ingimar: No, I couldn't decide between Spanish and Portuguese, I […]. Yes, I somehow found this sound very much to be like that. […]
> Hanna: The one with the lisp.
> Ingimar: Yes, I somehow found this to be, does one say, does one say lisp. Is that having a lisp with the Spaniards?
> Hanna: Yes, I find them to have a lisp! (laughs)
> Ingimar: OK! (laughs) (Excerpt 55)

In both Excerpt 55 and 56, participants connect perception of dental and alveolar fricatives with phonological features typically associated with Spanish. Moreover, participants in both excerpts attempt to analyse those phonological features in contrast to L1 standard pronunciation, connecting them with features they might be familiar with from foreign languages. Hanna's comment (Excerpt 53) on her perception of the Lithuanian speaker as having a lisp is supported by phonological analysis of the Lithuanian guise's realization of /s/ as non-strident (cf. Appendix E, Table 9).

[84] According to the phonological analysis (cf. Appendix E, Table 7), there are a few minor variations in the pronunciation of /r/ in the Danish guise's performance, e.g., lack of devoicing of final /r/ in the deviant pronunciation of the word "kringum".

Whereas participants in both excerpts discuss placement of the Lithuanian guise in Spanish-speaking countries based on the speaker's realization of /s/, Kolfinna, Margrét, and Sigrún add /r/ as indicative of the speaker's language background:

> Margrét: I just put this woman somewhere, you know, in the region around Indonesia. I just don't know why. Just because…
> Kristín (to all participants): Why do you say that? Why do you choose this country?
> Sigrún: Why did I guess that country? It's because of the rrr.
> Kolfinna: Because of the R. And also the Þ [θ].
> Sigrún: Because, you know, I have been quite a bit to Mexico. And they can say R as we do.
> Kolfinna: And Þ. (Excerpt 56)

Similarly, participants from the fifth focus group report on their perception of the Polish speaker's /s/ as salient, placing the speaker in the Spanish-speaking world accordingly:

> Sunna: She said a lot of 'ss ss ss sssh sshss ss'.
> Kolfinna: The S's were very much S's.
> Sunna: Yes, that, that's why I thought Spain, or you know […]. Because I feel that they have really dominant S's. […]
> Vigdís: But isn't that rather like this [θ]?
> Sunna: Depends on where you are. (Excerpt 57)[85]

As can be seen from Excerpts 55, 56, and 57, participants attempt to connect phonological features perceived in the speech of L2 speakers with familiar sounds in other languages, displaying an alleged familiarity with certain formal features. In addition, perception of a L2 /s/ appears to conjure up certain (stereotypical) ideas about speaker origin, without matching the speaker's actual origin. This could be due to limited exposure to foreign-accented speech in Icelandic society.

Participants in the next excerpt (Excerpt 58) base their placement decision on their alleged familiarity with phonological features, as becomes apparent from their discussion on the Filipina speaker. Klara and Páll express perceptions of familiarity with accents via L2 speakers they know. At the same time, Sigurður specifies this familiarity by mentioning the distinct L2 pronunciation of unvoiced labiodental [f] instead of voiced labiodental [v].

[85] One of the deviations in the Polish speaker's reading performance is non-strident /s/ (cf. Appendix E, Table 10).

Klara, Páll, and Sigurður locate the speaker correctly in the Philippines. Íris does not explicitly mention a country of origin in this excerpt – she places the speaker in Syria (see map data and section 5.3) – but indicates that she perceives the speaker as originating from farther away (see also section 5.4.1.4 and perception of distance and proximity based on the perceived degree of accent).

> Klara: Her pronunciation somewhat reminded me of a woman I know from the Philippines.
> Páll: I agree.
> Sigurður: I put her somewhere there, Philippines, Tibet, or there.
> Íris: Yes, the most distant… […]
> Sigurður: Somewhere in that direction. It was as if she had problems with V and mixed it up with F. […] I find that very characteristic for that region. What I've heard of it.
> Klara: She said 'faknar' [fahknaɹ̥]. (Excerpt 58)[86]

Turning now to the Danish guise, participants generally show a comparatively high level of security in placing her either directly in Denmark or in neighbouring countries where North or West Germanic languages are spoken (see also results of the voice-placing task for the Danish guise in section 5.3.3 and Table 5).

According to participants' perceptions, the distinct raised pronunciation of /ö/ (realized as [œ] in L1 Icelandic) tipped the scales in favour of placing the guise in Denmark (cf. Table 7, Appendix E). Excerpts 59 and 60, in which Tómas and Hugrún elaborate on their decision, serve to illustrate folk perceptions of this pronunciation. Tómas says, "I work with a Dane, and he actually, he actually speaks flawless Icelandic, up to a point. Then he always loses that when he says 'glaður', then he always says 'glööö…' (laughs)" (Excerpt 59). In contrast to Tómas, Hugrún does not specify why she is familiar with the formal feature in question, but she states: "I thought Germany to begin with but then she said 'glöð', then I felt it to be Denmark so I wrote Denmark. She said something like 'glö' (imitates a Danish accent)…" (Excerpt 62).[87]

[86] The phonological analysis of the Filippina speaker (cf. Appendix E, Table 8) reveals that she pronounced [f] instead of [v] in the word "vænn" but not in the word "vaknar".
[87] The phonological analysis of the Danish guise's reading performance (cf. Appendix E, Table 7) confirms deviant pronunciation in the word "glöð", with a raised vowel that may be reminiscent of the Danish [ø]. Although Tómas and Hugrún stress that the speaker's pronunciation of this word is uniquely Danish in their view, and although they attempt to mimic the feature and what they believe to be its typical pronunciation, they cannot describe it more accurately.

Both Tómas and Hugrún mention the same salient feature in the Danish guise's accent, indicating that it is an idiosyncratic feature for L1 Danish as well as a Danish accent in Icelandic. Consequently, there appear to be certain stereotypical characteristics of Danish in the minds of Icelanders, and study participants who identify this feature place the guise directly in Denmark. Although we cannot make assumptions on how this folk knowledge has been acquired, the salience of the feature indicates high linguistic awareness amongst those who identify it. It also potentially indicates that some phonological features are more familiar or audible in the Icelandic speech community than others.

Moving on to suprasegmental features, participants in the following three excerpts (Excerpts 61, 62, and 63) negotiate placement based on the perception of L2 features in the intonation of the American speaker. Hugrún from the third focus group says, "At first I thought Swedish, there was a little bit of singsong, but then it vanished. That's why I said Faroe Islands" (Excerpt 61), whereas Vigdís from the fifth focus group makes a similar statement: "It was exactly that, some kind of singsong that is characteristic for Swedes" (Excerpt 62). Despite Kolfinna supporting Klara's and Vigdís's perception of salient characteristics in the American speaker, she delimits her statement to the perception of suprasegmental features only. She discloses, "Nordic regarding the singsong, but then I didn't find it Nordic regarding precision in the sounds. So I just…" (Excerpt 63).[88] Her utterance illustrates how the perception of two phonological features deemed characteristic for different L2 accents have the potential to confuse the listener.

5.3.4 Voice-placing and the significance of visual cues

Participants in different focus groups reflect upon being asked to evaluate speakers with diverging pronunciation in Icelandic based on audio cues only.

After listening to the Lithuanian speaker, Klara states, "There's also a difference between listening, and listening and seeing, you know. […] That is easier" (Excerpt 64). In the de-briefing phase of the same interview, Tómas adds, "But then, as was said earlier, we do not have a face with the voice, and the face also tells us quite a lot" (Excerpt 65). Both Klara and Tómas share their beliefs about that evaluating L2 speech would have been easier if they had been given visual cues about the speaker. What exactly it is that would help them with such cues, however, remains unclear.

[88]Participants in Excerpts 61, 62, and 63 mention perceptions of distinct intonation in the American guise; these perceptions are confirmed by the phonological analysis of that guise (cf. Appendix E, Table 11) insofar as the speaker's performance appears to be somewhat affected.

In the third focus group, participants also consider implications for speech evaluation with the help of visual cues (Excerpt 66). In this excerpt, they contemplate the connection between appearance and accent recognition after having listened to the Filipina speaker:

> Ágúst: But it's a lot of fun to listen because if one doesn't see the person, but only listens to her. That opens up so many more possibilities than if one would see the person, even though she could have facial expressions, or, you know, look like someone from South America, she could be from southern Europe. That would really narrow down [the possibilities] to have her face.
> Hugrún: Then one would even say, 'Yes, she has a typical accent from there.'
> Ágúst: Yes, yes!
> Steinþór: I didn't hear any typical accent in this.
> Hugrún: No, but one would maybe do that if one would see the person. (Excerpt 66)

Whereas Klara and Tómas (Excerpts 64 and 65) express the same opinion as Hugrún that appearance potentially helps in making decisions about how to assess L2 speech as well as how to place a speaker, Ágúst (Excerpt 66) maintains that visual cues would reduce perceptiveness by resulting in presuppositions.

Although participants' assumptions that it is easier to determine a speaker's origin by seeing them is, obviously, misguided, ideas on placing a speaker based on appearance recall experimental studies and etic knowledge gathered within the study of raciolinguistics (cf. section 2.2.3). We remember that (visual) characteristics of a speaker and their assumed group membership can lead to distortions in the interpretation of that speaker's language use. Vice versa, perceptions of certain language use can lead to ascriptions of a speaker's ethnicity.

In the Icelandic context, relations between ascriptions of race based on language use have not yet been systematically investigated. However, anthropological research on Icelanders' (stereotypical) ideas of immigrants in a changed demographic environment in terms of social distancing and ideas on ethnic hierarchies has disclosed some interesting results. There appears to be some conceptual distinction regarding immigrants on the basis of their origin, since the term immigrant seems to be mostly used "to talk about people from Eastern Europe and Asia" (Skaptadóttir & Loftsdóttir 2009: 212), with Eastern Europe being positioned as not fully European (Loftsdóttir 2017). However, there appears to be

some kind of hierarchical scaling involved, i.e. that those from Eastern Europe are seen as closer and more desirable than Asians, by e.g. ascribing them certain characteristics. Also, following relativisation on the distinction of race and culture, individuals who do not look European are thought to be culturally more different (Loftsdóttir 2004; Skaptadóttir & Loftsdóttir 2009: 212). In light of the results of the quantitative study on foreign accents in Icelandic and evaluation categorizations of accents as Western, Eastern European, and Asian (Bade 2019: 67), it is curious that those match preferences for immigrants from those areas. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate how such categorizations align with perceptions of L2 speech, and knowledge of racializing language.

5.3.5 Summary and discussion of voice-placing strategies

The second research theme as outlined in section 5.2 aimed to identify participants' voice-placing strategies and the emic themes connected to them through the voice-placing task on the one hand and through the group discussions on the other hand. Its goal was also to explore possible implications for the linguistic climate in Iceland stemming from those strategies and themes.

The most obvious finding is that participants realize with both great precision and speed whether they hear an L1 or L2 speaker of Icelandic, thus corroborating etic knowledge that people recognize an L1 accent and deviation from it in a very short time (cf. section 2.2.1 and results presented in section 5.2). As to the first question of the second research theme, participants employ several voice-placing strategies, including **familiarity with accent, cultural or linguistic stereotypes,** and **perceived phonological features in L2 speech,** but they often report difficulties in making decisions about placement. To some extent, these three voice-placing strategies do repeatedly appear in combination, and it is often difficult to disentangle them. Furthermore, participants comment on their perceived difficulty in placing a speaker based on the lack of visual cues.

As regards the second question of the second research theme, diverse themes are connected to the voice-placing strategies. Those are perceived speaker effort, assumptions on mimicking ability and L2 competence, as well as perceptions of phonological distance from L1 Icelandic and perceptions of proximity/distance.

Concerning familiarity with an accent, participants rely on three major strategies, i.e., general familiarity, personal familiarity, and familiarity with public figures. On the whole, it appears that resorting to general familiarity is connected with listener input from

exposure in society, whereas personal familiarity depends on the individual listener's experience.

Another important finding is that participants do not automatically resort to placing an L2 speaker guise in Poland, contrary to what results by Bade (2019: 66 and cf. sections 3.3.2.2 and 5.2.7) indicated. In addition, participants report on personal encounters with L1 speakers of Polish in certain work-related environments, possibly translating into increased exposure to Polish or a Polish accent in distinct business sectors.

In section 3.3.2.2 it was assumed that participants would show greater familiarity with the American English accent and the Danish accent than other L2 accents. Results support this assumption, in that more participants locate those two L2 speakers directly in their countries of origin compared to the other L2 speaker guises (cf. sections 5.2.2, 5.2.3, and 5.2.7). Moreover, participants tend to place these two guises in the geographical and linguistic vicinity of Iceland, which is likely related to greater familiarity with those two accents and/or languages (cf. section 3.3.2.2). However, these results must be handled with care, because voice samples were limited to one recording per speaker origin. The speaker guise for American English, for instance, did not show stereotypical features such as approximant /r/, as one might have expected.

Furthermore, the American and Danish guises show less deviation from standard L1 Icelandic than the other L2 guises (cf. Tables 8 and 12, Appendix E). This might have affected their placement by participants if degree of accent translates into placement decisions on how close or distant an accent is evaluated to be (see also emic themes connected with degree of accent in section 5.4.1.4 and discussion of results in section 5.4.4). In this regard, it is interesting to see that the Filipina and Lithuanian speakers both show greater phonological distance (cf. Tables 9 and 10, Appendix E) and are more widely placed across the world according to map data (cf. sections 5.2.4, 4.2.5, and 5.2.7). Studies have shown a connection between familiarity with a foreign accent and/or L1 of an L2 speaker on the one hand and evaluations of degree of accent on the other hand (cf. Adank et al. 2010; Fraser & Kelly 2012; Major 2007; Munro et al. 2006b in section 2.2.5). In light of this, it is difficult to say which weighs heavier: formal deviation measured in phonological distance, or familiarity in the sense of being used to hearing certain deviation. In other words, it is important to differentiate between phonological (formal) distance and social distance as manifest in listeners' perceptions of familiarity.

In contrast to voice-placing strategies based on general familiarity, participants' reports on personal familiarity in the context of placement are highly individualized, as might be expected. It is often unclear how participants have acquired their knowledge of formal features and what drives the connections they make between those features and their placement decisions. This alleged familiarity could stem from many different areas of individual and societal life, or from distinct experiences with foreign languages, e.g., from language-learning classes, holidays, stays abroad, or familiarity with phonological features via friends or family relations (see also discussion below).

Another voice-placing strategy encompasses stereotypical ideas about certain nationalities, in combination with either perceived speaker effort or ideas on mimicking ability in L2 pronunciation. Participants mistaking an L1 speaker for an L2 one (cf. Excerpts 33, 34, and 35 in section 5.3.2) further elaborate on the possibility of the speaker being an L1 or L1-like speaker by referring to specific nationalities and their representatives' stereotypical quality of putting great effort into things in general or acquiring a foreign language in particular. For that reason, speaker effort as an evaluative category (which also emerged from general ideas on L2 speech, cf. sections 5.1.5 and 5.1.6) – with participants resorting to stereotypical ideas about certain nationalities – appears to play a decisive role in voice-placing strategies.

However, comments on voice-placing strategies in which speaker effort is positively correlated with sounding more like an L1 speaker do not tell us whether those strategies are governed by general (societal) or individual stereotypical ideas on nationality and speaker effort. Concerning research on evaluations of foreign accents and stereotypes regarding certain nationalities (cf. Kristiansen 2001 in section 2.2.4), it is conceivable that some accents have acquired an indexical quality with distinct social interpretations, potentially explaining voice placement (of certain accents) in the geographical/linguistic vicinity of the L1 variety.

Likewise, some accounts (e.g., Excerpt 38 in section 5.3.2) indicate a negative correlation between stereotypes about certain nationalities and expectations of L2 competence, specifically, mimicking ability in foreign-language pronunciation (cf. Excerpt 38 in section 5.3.2). All in all, questions remain unanswered as to whether we can find folk ideas in the interrelation of relative similarity to L1-like speech and voice-placing strategies, and whether and how these factors are influenced by stereotypical ideas about speaker effort.

Concerning the third theme emerging from data analysis, i.e., **formal Icelandic features** and the perception and assessment thereof, results indicate that certain features are seen as typically Icelandic, namely, t-insertion, preaspiration, and a recognizable pattern of intonation. Other features include speaker fluency and the perception of speaker confidence. Understandability also comes into the picture. As unique as these phonological features appear to be for L1 Icelandic, they do not seem to aid participants in making voice-placing decisions about L2 speakers.

Other findings regarding formal characteristics in the speech of L2 speakers appear to be less conclusive, although there are some indications that the velar fricative [x] as well as dental [s] and alveolar fricatives [θ]/[ð] are seen by our participants as typical for Spanish (cf. section 5.3.3 and Appendix E, Tables 10 and 11). It is difficult to explain this result, but three possible reasons are worth considering. Firstly, it could stem from connections between these phonological features as typical deviations from L1 speakers of Spanish grounded in the individual experience of Icelanders, e.g., from regular travels to Spanish-speaking areas (Spain, including Tenerife, has been one of the major travel destinations for Icelanders in recent years). Secondly, it could originate from Spanish instruction in secondary education, as Spanish is one of the languages on offer (cf. sections 5.3.5) and is therefore accessible to a larger proportion of society. Thirdly, it might stem from other individual or general sources not (yet) known.

In terms of methods of exclusion, data shows that the trill [r] is deemed atypical for a speaker originating from Asia. However, neither the phonological analysis of the (one) Filipina speaker nor comments made about the Filipina guise included deviations from the L1 pronunciation of [r]. Therefore, this account is not grounded in the data and is difficult to interpret.

Concerning perceptions of proximity and distance, there are indications that some features are seen as having a more distant origin than others. In the case of the Filipina guise (cf. Excerpt 58 in section 5.3.3.2), voiced and unvoiced labiodentals [v] and [f] serve as a basis for individually grounded identification of the speaker as originating from the Philippines. For participants who could not resort to individual experience, this guise, as well as the Lithuanian one, was commonly placed farther away from Iceland than others. However, the question remains unanswered as to whether this lies in a lack of familiarity with these distinct accents in Icelandic and/or with Filipino/Tagalog and Lithuanian, or whether placing decisions were motivated by perceptions of greater phonological distance

(cf. Tables 9 and 10 in Appendix E; Major 2007: 540; sections 2.2.2, 5.4.4, and above). But the case of the unvoiced labiodentals is an intriguing one, considering the study conducted by Bent, Bradlow, and Smith (2007, cf. section 2.2.4) that showed intelligibility is negatively affected by phonemic errors in initial consonants rather than coda consonants.

In addition to the finding that participants communicated rather clear ideas about which formal phonological features are typical for the L1 repertoire, thus indicating some kind of common cognitive template amongst L1 language users, participants also mentioned a range of phonological features they perceived in the L2 speaker guises. At this point, it is worthwhile to compare these findings with Lindemann's study (2005) in which one of the goals was to examine which aspects of language were most salient according to participants (cf. section 2.1.2). Lindemann's findings resulted from a map-drawing task used to uncover underlying categories for language evaluation (cf. Lindemann 2005: 198 and section 2.1.2); one of the three categories, namely, *phonological features*, is worth further consideration. This category included the subcategories of *phones*, *stress/intonation*, *smoothness/fluency*, *speed*, and *clarity/comprehensibility*. Although features identified by participants in the present research reflect the categories from Lindemann's study, as they also roughly span the spectrum of extant phonological categories, the features differ formally because of the two different languages and sociolinguistic contexts investigated. That aside, it is quite interesting to see a match with the category of clarity/comprehensibility, since this theme repeatedly emerges amongst participants – in the case of the current study, in connection with the etic themes of degree of accent and pleasantness. It therefore seems to be an important one, possibly an independent category for the Icelandic speech community in (see discussion on section 5.4.4).

Consistent with results on effortlessness in distinguishing between L1 and L2 speech, participants refer to distinct phonological features when describing typical features of L1 speech: again, these are t-insertion, preaspiration, and distinct intonation and speaker fluency. However, in the Icelandic context, the L1 features are marked, whereas it is the L2 features in English that are marked in Lindemann's study. Distinct phones, intonation, and speaker fluency appear to be part of a cognitive template used for L1 Icelandic; deviations from them function as demarcations of L2 speech, but only in some instances do they appear to aid in voice-placing of various L2 varieties. Again, some phonological features appear to be more salient than others.

Concerning participants' correct placement of the Danish guise by identifying the raising of /ö/ [ø] as a typical formal characteristic (cf. Excerpts 62 and 63 in section 5.3.3.2), there are strong indications that this feature is specifically connected with L1 Danish and, as a result, with a Danish accent in Icelandic. Since all Icelandic residents are obliged to learn Danish as a foreign language in school, they are exposed to formal features of Danish, thus acquiring familiarity with this typical feature (but with very few mastering it). It would be interesting to see whether raising of ö [ø] is interpreted as uniquely Danish by a larger proportion of Icelandic society, and also to investigate its status, especially in light of Lindemann's proposition that people prefer languages and accents spoken by historically powerful groups (cf. Lindemann 2003: 348 and section 2.2.3). This is especially valid for status-related qualities (cf. Lambert et al. 1960 and section 2.2.3). My own previous findings (Bade 2019: 61) may support this hypothesis, because scores for the Danish guise were divided along traits related to status and solidarity so that evaluations for all four status-related traits (intelligent, efficient, ambitious, and independent) were higher than for the solidarity-related traits (relaxed, attractive, reliable, and interesting). However, these findings need to be handled with some caution: all L2 speaker guises scored higher in status-related traits than solidarity-related traits (Bade 2019: 61), although less so than the Danish guise.

Overall, both known foreign languages, i.e., languages people know about without necessarily having any proficiency in them, and known foreign accents appear to play a role in participants' voice-placing strategies when connecting perceived phonological features with speaker origin. Considering the former, it is reasonable to distinguish between those languages which are known through organized instruction in schools and those which are known via exposure through the media. As previously mentioned, English and Danish respectively are the first and second foreign languages children learn in primary schools in Iceland (cf. sections 3.2.2, 3.2.3, and 3.3.2.2). Both languages are mandatory. Those continuing to secondary school education can choose to learn a third foreign language, with the most common among them being Spanish, German, and French (cf. discussion above on features associated with Spanish). Therefore, it is likely that some people are familiar with phonological features typical of those languages, but not of other languages. As for known foreign accents, English and Danish also have a special status because of Icelanders' exposure to these languages via television, the media, and social media channels. As assumed in section 4.1.2, this special status involves the increased spread of and exposure

to phonological features of the two languages, potentially resulting in increased familiarity with salient features amongst the Icelandic public. With English as lingua franca and its continuous permeation of more and more domains of everyday life in Iceland, especially in regard to the digital world (cf. section 3.2.3) and the indispensability of English as a utility language (cf. section 3.2.4), this language has further obtained a different status than that of Danish.

In terms of known foreign accents, exposure to distinct phonological features of L2 speakers, e.g., speakers of Lithuanian and Filipino/Tagalog, appears to be largely limited to individual contacts. In the case of Polish and a Polish accent in Icelandic, it seems advisable to observe exposure and status (cf. discussion above and see section 6.4).

The last category emerging from respondents' comments in Lindemann's study was grammar/lexicon. Despite the fact that this category was excluded from this study's design in order to explore folk ideas on phonological characteristics alone (cf. section 4.3.3.2), it is an important one in evaluations of L2 speech, as the analysis of participants' accounts shows (cf. discussion in sections 5.1.6 and 5.4.4).

One interesting finding is the mention of visual cues as important for the assessment of L2 Icelandic. Participants' belief that visual cues about speakers can aid with voice-placing decisions supports the idea that people resort to stereotypes and racial categorizations when evaluating L2 accents. In the case of this study, a possible explanation for this could also lie in L1 speakers' insecurity towards and unfamiliarity with L2 speech in Icelandic; this is also reflected in the lack of salience of the issue (cf. sections 5.1.4 and 6.1).

Some participants assumed that voice-placing based on L2 accent would be easier with voice samples of L2 English rather than Icelandic. This raises the question of whether exposure to English varieties and L2 English has increased to such an extent that L1 speakers believe they are better at identifying those accents in terms of origin than they are at identifying accents in L2 Icelandic. As such, this finding might have important implications for folk ideas in a speech community that until recently has been monolingual and monoethnic. Further research is urgent on this issue.

All in all, participants employ varying voice-placing strategies dependent on familiarity with accent, cultural or linguistic stereotypes, and perceived formal features. Examination of perceived familiarity with accent indicates that some L2 accents – and thus their perception – are more common in Icelandic society than others, and that perceptions

of familiarity stem from individual or societal input as well as a certain awareness of current demographic circumstances (cf. Excerpts 19 and 21 and voice-placing of the Polish speaker).

With reference to the third question of the second research theme, participants' accounts mainly substantiate general etic knowledge on existing connections between familiarity with an accent, cultural/linguistic stereotypes, and phonological features in L2 speech, as well as folk ideas on the interrelation of visible ethnic/racial background and accent placement, without fully explaining the nature of these connections. Concerning a linkage between foreign accents, geographical location in a distinct speech community (cf. Preston 2005: 143 and section 2.1.2), and consequences for the linguistic climate, analysis of the data implies that exposure to foreign languages and to foreign accents is significantly governed by transmission through general channels in the case of English, Danish, and to some extent Polish, and through individual experience in terms of Lithuanian and Filipino/Tagalog. In that respect, the role of English in today's society is emphasized by participants' comments on an assumed ease of locating foreign accents in English compared to distinguishing accents in Icelandic (cf. Excerpt 36 in section 5.3.2).

5.4 Focus group discussions: Etic concepts of *degree of accent, pleasantness,* and *correctness,* and emic themes

Whereas voice-placing seeks to identify strategies for placement, the etic concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness are presented to the study's participants to uncover connected emic themes provided by representatives of the Icelandic speech community.

Participants' statements on the perceived degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness are presented in combination with other themes generated by the participants themselves. Again, the following research questions underlie the presentation of these results (cf. also section 4.1.3):

> 3a What emic themes do "the folk" connect with evaluations of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness?
> 3b What do the emic themes emerging from folk accounts indicate about the current linguistic climate in Iceland?

5.4.1 Degree of accent

As discussed in section 2.2.2, the overall degree of an individual's accent comprises the frequency and degree of deviations from a (L1) standard variety. However, as this study is a qualitative one, measurements are not yielded through absolute scales but appear in non-standardized evaluations. Participant evaluations on the perceived degree of accent are deductively obtained. However, the themes emerging from participants' accounts on speaker accent in general and the perceived degree of accent specifically are inherently inductive. Participants negotiate their evaluations of perceived degree of accent amongst themselves, which, at times, proves to be a task that invokes participants' own definitions of the problem and invites methodological reconsiderations.

Similar to distinctions of intelligibility and comparability (see Chapter 2 and Derwing & Munro 2015), the concept of degree of accent can be divided into an objective expert analysis of (in our case) phonological form and subjective listener perceptions of those forms. Since the degree of accent is – in deductive/etic terms – the "extent to which a foreign accent differs from the target native variety" (Thomson 2018: 16; see also section 2.2.1), all comments on perceived deviation from the standard L1 variety can be categorized as comments on the degree of accent.

Five different inductive themes emerge in connection with the etically implied concept of perceived degree of accent. These are listener effort (section 5.4.2.1), speaker effort (section 5.4.2.2), L2 competence (section 5.4.2.3), proximity/distance (section 5.4.2.4), and personal encounter (section 5.4.1.5). A sixth theme is also discussed in this section (section 5.4.2.6), but it is composed of the two deductively introduced concepts of degree of accent and pleasantness.

5.4.1.1 Degree of accent and listener effort

Several participants connect a speaker's accent with listener effort (comprehensibility) as defined by Derwing and Munro (2015 :5): "The ease or difficulty a listener experiences in understanding the utterance.". The following utterances (Excerpts 67, 68, and 69) show a connection between perceptions of the degree of accent and listener effort amongst participants across focus groups.

Commenting on his perception of the Polish guise, Jón says, "Yes, it takes a lot of concentration to get the context with so much deviation" (Excerpt 67). Emma and Kolfinna both express similar ideas about the Filipina speaker in their respective focus groups. Emma says, "Yes, not as clearly. You needed to, needed to listen carefully, more carefully than

with the recording before [i.e., the American speaker]" (Excerpt 68), while Kolfinna states, "Yes, this takes quite some work. You have to listen carefully" (Excerpt 69).

All three of these participants refer to an increased listener effort, i.e., increased need for concentration to follow the respective speaker's reading performance, despite the fact that all participants are familiar with the text and therefore the context (cf. discussions on the importance of ratings of comprehensibility and familiarity with a topic in sections 2.2.5 and 4.3.3.2). In contrast, comments on the L1 Icelandic speaker generally stress an effortlessness to listen to (and identify) her (see also section 5.3.3.1).

5.4.1.2 Degree of accent and speaker effort

The concept of speaker effort has already been touched upon in terms of cultural stereotypes and voice-placing (see Excerpt 17 in section 5.3.2). In connection with perceptions of the degree of accent, two sub-themes relating to speaker effort emerge.

Firstly, participants refer to speaker effort as the extent to which a speaker is perceived as having tried to learn Icelandic. Secondly, participants contemplate a speaker's attitude towards Icelandic or learning Icelandic based on their reading performance.

After hearing the L1 speaker of Icelandic, Ásta says, "I do think though that this is someone who has just learned Icelandic that well, she just made an effort" (Excerpt 70). In contrast, Ásta states the following in connection with the Lithuanian speaker: "No, I actually, mostly find this to be someone who has a hard time speaking Icelandic. […] She needs to put a lot of effort into expressing herself" (Excerpt 71).

Anton comments on his perception of the Filipina speaker and touches on both themes connected with speaker effort. At first he says, "She, she, she at least, it was obvious that she was very willing and had, has obviously done a lot to learn the language, no matter where she is from" (Excerpt 72). While Anton acknowledges the effort the speaker put into learning Icelandic in this excerpt, he declares the following of the same speaker a little later in the discussion:

> Anton: Well, I admit, what I was trying to describe earlier is that it is more the attitude that bothers me, the attitude of people that you can see in such demeanour, rather than the immediate sounds, or you know, the outcome […]. I mean, when you see that people are not interested in having command [of the language], and then they show that with other behaviour. But, one has respect for people who really try but will never necessarily be able to, because of their origin. (Excerpt 73)

These two accounts provided by Anton reveal contradictory perceptions of speaker effort. Whereas he first attests that the speaker has worked hard to learn Icelandic based on her reading performance (Excerpt 72), he then depicts her as lacking a positive attitude towards learning Icelandic; according to his impression, this has a negative influence on her reading performance (Excerpt 73). Finally, he ascribes difficulties in language acquisition to speaker origin, i.e., geographical/linguistic distance from Iceland/Icelandic.

Returning to Ásta's impression that the L1 Icelandic speaker is a L2 speaker who has mastered the language by putting effort into learning it (Excerpt 70), a comment by Dagur illustrates that beliefs about the nature of speaker effort can differ (see Excerpt 44, shown again here):

> Emma: I just thought that I found this confidence. Somehow just, just right away, the rhythm and everything is just completely in … such a flow.
> Anton: Splendidly read.
> Dagur: She would not have achieved this by just putting an effort into it. (Excerpt 44)

5.4.1.3 Degree of accent, L2 competence, and mimicking ability

Above, we have seen examples of participants' perceptions of speaker effort, i.e., how much work a speaker has put into her command of Icelandic on the one hand, and what kind of attitude she has towards learning Icelandic on the other hand. In the following excerpts, participants' accounts indicate a connection between perceived degree of accent and assumptions about, firstly, speaker competence in L2 Icelandic and, secondly, mimicking ability. Although impressions of speaker effort can surely provide cues about perceived L2 competence, the themes illustrated here refer to folk reasoning behind perceptions of competence, i.e., acquired mastery of an L2, and ability, i.e., intrinsic prerequisites of learning a distinct L2.

Kári and Jón discuss the Filipina speaker and draw conclusions about her level of L2 competence in Icelandic. Kári states, "[This is] someone who has a way to go in learning Icelandic. It's, I think it's as simple as that" (Excerpt 74). Later in the conversation, another participant, Jón, makes the following comment about the same speaker:

> Jón: Just ‘ég’ [jɛːɣ], this soft G[89] (points at his throat). There are very few who manage that unless they pay special attention to it. When we say ‘svarta’ [svaɹ̥ta], we don’t have a voiced R. Most foreigners would try to say ‘svarta’ [svarta] (says the word with a voiced r). And ‘litla’ [lɪhtl̥a], as I said before. This is also difficult. And […] she showed all signs of either not having studied [Icelandic] for a long time or not having a good teacher. (Excerpt 75)

Whereas Kári (Excerpt 74) simply states his assumption that the Filipina speaker has not yet acquired a certain competence in Icelandic, Jón (Excerpt 75) bases his similar assumption on his perception of L2 phonological features in the speaker’s performance. In his evaluation, Jón resorts to his ideas on what phonological features are unique/salient (cf. section 5.3.3.1).

Moreover, the extent to which an L2 speaker can imitate those salient phonological features appears to influence judgments of the L2 competence of the respective speaker. In this case, the assumption that the speaker lacks competence is seen as causing the insufficient realization of salient phonological features in Icelandic, accompanied by conclusions on the perceived incapability of the Icelandic teacher in question to instruct the L2 speaker on L1 pronunciation.

Another excerpt from the fourth focus group discussion, in which participants comment on the Filipina guise, takes a slightly different direction by making assumptions about her competence in other linguistic subsystems (Excerpt 76). By assuming that the speaker would have performed poorly in grammatical inflection when speaking freely, Dagur implies that conclusions can be drawn on L2 speaker performance in other linguistic subfields based on (degree of) foreign accent alone. In the light of the excerpt at hand, one may wonder whether issues to do with grammatical inflection weigh heavier than deviations from L1 standard Icelandic pronunciation (see section 5.4.3.3).

> Dagur: She would have had problems, had she not had this text in front of her.
> Kristín: Yes, why do you say that?
> Dagur: I think that she wouldn’t have entirely understood this. She would have had great problems with inflections and other such things. Hasn’t come as far as she appeared. In the language. (Excerpt 76)

[89] Jón refers to the L1 pronunciation of voiced fricative /g/ [ɣ] without final devoicing in words such as *ég*, normally pronounced [jɛx] (the first-person pronoun “I”).

Drawing on similar assumptions about free-speech performance, participants from the first focus group discuss their perception of the Lithuanian speaker:

> Páll: I don't know, I, she is reading a text that is in front of her. I don't know how she would have managed in a conversation, because she sounds very foreign to my ears. […]
> Sigurður: [I] don't doubt that she understood this text, there is just some degree of difference between what people can see in front of them and what they need to manage on their own. As far as I know. (Excerpt 77)

Whereas Páll clearly bases his reflections about the speaker's possible free-speech performance on his perception of her accent as strong, Sigurður emphasizes that reading a text and speaking freely in a foreign language require different levels of competence and understanding. Páll's statement is also worth further comment: language-attitude research indicates that listeners often downgrade speakers with the least L1-like accents, i.e. very strong accents, on dimensions related to status and (to a lesser degree) solidarity as well as in language-related categories (cf. section 2.2.4). Findings from attitudes towards language-related categories and perceived speaker competence (cf., e.g., Cargile & Giles 1997; Ryan et al. 1977; Lindemann 2003) suggest that downgrading of speakers with a strong accent can lead to negative assumptions about those speakers' employment suitability.

The following two excerpts, 78 and 79, illustrate certain folk beliefs about some innateness of L2 competence based on prerequisites for sound formation in Icelandic and the speaker's L1. In both excerpts, Anton expresses this relationship by referring to two L2 speaker guises, the Filipina guise (Excerpt 78) and the Lithuanian guise (Excerpt 79) respectively.

> Anton: Yes, she has a hard time with the V's[90] for example, certain sounds that she has trouble with because of her mother language, her mother tongue. And she has probably lived here for a shorter time, although that's not for sure. There are many examples of people who never master the sounds. (Excerpt 78)

> Anton: I think that this individual certainly will never master Icelandic pronunciation, or you know, because of her mother tongue. And that will always be like that, will always have that influence. (Excerpt 79)

[90] In this excerpt, Anton refers to the Filipina speaker's L2 realization of /v/ as [f] instead of [v] (cf. also Appendix E).

5.4.1.4 Degree of accent and proximity/distance

In keeping with folk beliefs about differences in the ability to learn Icelandic as an L2 (see Anton's account in Excerpt 78 and section 5.4.1.3), participants also make assumptions about the geographic/linguistic proximity or distance of speakers.

Tómas from the first focus group says of the Filipina speaker, "I thought this was just like some Western European. Speaking Icelandic flawlessly" (Excerpt 80). While Tómas makes a connection between "flawless" Icelandic and the assumed origin of the speaker as close to Icelandic, Dagur establishes a comparable connection when evaluating the Danish speaker:

> Dagur: She has either been studying extremely hard, or comes from a language area that is very similar to ours so she hasn't needed to put a lot of effort into it. Just, as I said earlier, everybody can learn if they make enough effort. Maybe that is right, maybe we see that here. I don't know, but it's either that or that the language area is closely related to ours. (Excerpt 81)

Both Tómas and Dagur disclose certain folk ideas about speaker origin and assumed ability to produce Icelandic in an L1 or L1-like way. According to them, speakers closer to Iceland geographically or speakers with a related L1 have more linguistic prerequisites than those with more distant origins. Interestingly enough, Dagur suggests that a high level of competence in Icelandic can be dependent on either having a similar language to Icelandic as a mother tongue or having the mere determination to learn, another folk idea about prerequisites to producing Icelandic in an L1-like manner (cf. evaluations of speaker effort in section 5.4.1.2).

Vigdís shares yet another belief on the perception of speaker proximity when saying the following about the American guise: "I think this was a Nordic accent. Sweden or…yes, something that is close to us. She was very, very good. […] At speaking Icelandic" (Excerpt 82). Again, Vigdís mentions her perception of the speaker having a weak accent, i.e., evaluating her performance as "very, very good", and this is connected with the assumption that her language background is close to Icelandic.

In the next excerpt (Excerpt 83), participants of the second focus group discuss their perception of the Lithuanian speaker, with both segmental and suprasegmental phonological features playing a role in assumptions that she is from farther away.

> Ásta: I just think that Icelandic is a world away from this person. Somehow. Or she just started, I don't know. I can't really define that.
> Björn: …lies a lot in the melody and the flow, you know. And in, especially in, in the vowels. […]
> Jón: Both vowels and consonants. […] Very different from what we […] know, and this flow that some of the other readers showed,
> Ásta: stiff
> Jón: This was stiff, yes. This is someone from a very different language area. (Excerpt 83)

Björn and Jón refer to the degree of accent as measurable in deviations from L1 standard Icelandic. Comments from Tómas, Dagur, and Vigdís on their assumptions about proximity/distance of speaker origin in relation to perceptions of degree of accent are similar to those from Ásta, Björn, and Jón (Excerpt 83), and they result in placing the speaker farther away.

Further folk ideas connected with assumptions about proximity/distance, which are intertwined with L2 competence based on deviations from the L1 accent, are directed specifically at speakers originally from Asia. Participants' accounts thus reveal folk beliefs about the relative ability to acquire Icelandic as being dependent on origin or mother tongue respectively, and a difference in their demands of L2 competence in Icelandic based on origin as well as cultural stereotypes (Excerpts 84, 85, and 86).

> Dagur: Maybe it's more difficult when dealing with something like Mandarin, some Chinese person or Asian. Then all of this is somehow much farther away. But with those who speak, Europeans or with their background there, I think that they should somehow acquire this perfectly if they spend long enough time on it. This is what I believe. But whether it's fair to expect that…
> Steinar: Well somehow, I don't know whether it's right, but when people have become adults, then it's very difficult for them to acquire, but children I think acquire perfect pronunciation. (Excerpt 84)

Dagur and Steinar share their ideas on L2 speakers' different predispositions for learning a language, thereby touching upon concepts of origin and age of onset/age of learning in terms of L1 accent production (cf. factors influencing the degree of L2 accent and accent perception in section 2.2.2 and Flege et al. 1995; Piske et al. 2001). Dagur's comment aligns with other participants' views that L2 speakers from Asia generally face greater problems with learning Icelandic than other foreigners (Excerpts 85 and 86). Íris states, "Learning Icelandic is, I think, is going worse, and they say that too, for those from

Asia, Vietnam, and the Philippines" (Excerpt 85). Kári confirms Íris's general impression that it is harder for Asians to learn Icelandic than for other foreign nationals, and he elaborates on the perceived deviations in the speech of the Filipina speaker (Excerpt 86), whom he correctly places in the Philippines (cf. Table 5 in section 5.2):

> Kári: I think that it's normal if we consider East Asians, then I think that's very normal. As far as I know, there are not very many East Asians who come here as adults and achieve this completely. But they really try, because they are generally conscientious, and they try and go through a lot to try to talk. (Excerpt 86)

In keeping with Dagur's and Íris's comments in Excerpts 84 and 85, Kári suggests there is an intrinsic difference in predisposition or an intrinsic disadvantage for L2 acquisition – eventually resulting in divergent L2 competence – especially for L2 speakers from Asia. By evaluating the poor L2 speech of East Asians as "very normal" (Excerpt 86), he suggests that the Icelandic speech of some L2 speakers can be expected to sound less L1-like than that of others. Furthermore, there appears to be some scaling of expectations of L2 competence based on perceptions of origin.

All in all, excerpts in this section indicate a connection between assumptions about distance/proximity of an L2 speaker and beliefs about their L2 competence or proficiency based on the perceived degree of accent.

5.4.1.5 Degree of accent and personal encounter

Participants in two different focus groups share their ideas on the importance of personal contact when it comes to an L2 individual and making or changing evaluations of that speaker and their accent. Soffía and Jón discuss perceptions of L2 speakers in general after hearing the Lithuanian speaker:

> Soffía: We don't immediately identify her as an Icelander (laughs).
> Jón: No, not if we consider this exactly, but…
> Soffía: No (laughing).
> Jón: But then personal encounters are important. (Excerpt 87)

Both participants appear to agree that the speaker is easily identified as an L2 speaker – in this case, and many more, through ascriptions of nationality rather than mother tongue. Jón adds the perspective of personal encounter as an evaluative means, although he does not elaborate on the effect such encounters can have on L2 speaker evaluation.

Similarly, the importance of personal encounters for evaluation (or reconsideration of an evaluation) emerges from an exchange of views in the fourth focus group in connection with the Filipina guise:

> Emma: If I would work with her and she would just sit here in the next, if we would share an office, there is so much character coming through when you get to know one another. And then, I believe that such an accent wouldn't bother me as much. You know, well, this is just Sigga and how she is, you know. Then that's just that. And I believe, we don't have all that speech, you know, physical, when you just listen. And I think that would really weigh against that.
> Dagur: Yes, the character/personality is much more important.
> Emma: Yes.
> Dagur: Just being an attractive person. That is much more important than…
> Anton: That's right. Absolutely. (Excerpt 88)

Both excerpts provide evidence of the importance of individual non-linguistic aspects for L2 speaker evaluation. Personal encounters and acquaintance with an L2 speaker would then appear to contribute to speaker evaluation, with individual character and likability being substantial factors.

5.4.1.6 Degree of accent and pleasantness

Across focus groups, participants appear to connect the perceived degree of accent in speaker performances with diverging levels of pleasantness (for inductive themes connected with the concept of pleasantness, see section 5.4.2). Both concepts discussed here, degree of accent and pleasantness, are deductively introduced to participants in the focus groups by asking about their opinions on the concepts (cf. Appendix D). Therefore, this section does not address themes emerging inductively from participants' accounts, but rather attempts to shed light on the nature of possible connections between the two concepts as expressed by participants, as well as contributing themes.

Guðmundur evaluates the Danish speaker's accent as rather weak, saying the following about why he experiences her accent as pleasant: "Because, in my opinion, she speaks Icelandic the way I want to hear it. I want to hear Icelandic spoken as well as I do. It quite irritates me to listen to foreigners speak broken Icelandic" (Excerpt 89). Guðmundur's account implies that he assesses the Danish speaker's accent as pleasant because it resembles his own use of Icelandic.

Vigdís makes a similar statement about the weakness of accent, commenting on how good the American speaker is at speaking Icelandic. She says, "Yes, she was actually so good that one wasn't sure whether she had an accent or not" (Excerpt 90). In contrast, Vigdís and Atli exchange views on their perception of the Filipina speaker in terms of degree of accent and pleasantness:

> Vigdís: If there was one of those accents that was unpleasant, it was this one.
> Atli: Yes, maybe most deviation from…
> Vigdís: Yes.
> Atli: From what we are used to. (Excerpt 91)

These three excerpts imply a connection between listener perception of degree of accent and pleasantness: the weaker an accent, the more pleasant it is, and vice versa. However, as Atli says (Excerpt 91), perception of degree of accent alone does not appear to be the only factor contributing to harsher evaluations of pleasantness; familiarity of accent or adaptation to accent seem to play a role as well.

5.4.2 Pleasantness

Within the general concept of pleasantness, three different inductive themes emerged, and these are discussed in the following sections. These themes stem from accounts that address familiarity with accent (section 5.4.2.1), listener effort (section 5.4.2.2), and speaker effort (section 5.4.2.3).

5.4.2.1 Pleasantness and familiarity with accent

Several participants comment on their perception of guises as pleasant based on their familiarity with the accent in question, or because it resembles an L1 Icelandic accent with a weak or no foreign accent (cf. also Excerpt 81 in section 5.4.1.5). Asked to comment on why she found it pleasant to listen to the L1 speaker of Icelandic (without knowing her to be an L1speaker), Edda says, "Because it's the same compared with us" (Excerpt 92). After hearing the Danish guise, a conversation unfolds amongst participants of the third focus group on why the listening experience is evaluated as *þægilegt*, which can be translated as 'pleasant' but also as 'comfortable' or effortless:

> Dagbjört: Just very pleasant ['*þægilegt*']. And something I have often heard before.
> Kristín: Why is it pleasant?

Dagbjört: Because I think that it is Nordic […]
Edda: Relatively similar to Icelandic. (Excerpt 93)

Whereas Edda evaluates the Icelandic speaker as pleasant or comfortable to speak with because she speaks in the same way she herself does as an L1 speaker, her evaluation of the Danish guise as pleasant is based on the perception of the speaker's performance as similar to her L1 variety. Dagbjört also mentions a perceived closeness of the Danish speaker's performance to the way L1 users of Icelandic speak, raising questions as to whether perceptions of pleasantness are linked to perceptions of linguistic proximity and distance of the L1 in question and, therefore, to perceptions of geographical proximity and distance (cf. section 5.4.1.4).

Hanna touches upon another aspect connected with familiarity when she comments on her evaluation of the Lithuanian guise. She states, "I think that this also has to do with how accustomed we are to people speaking Icelandic with different stress than we use" (Excerpt 94). Dagur comments on the Danish guise in a similar manner: "Yes, she just spoke Icelandic like an Icelander, almost. It is, you know, if you measure comfort according to how similar something is, that you don't need to learn something new or get accustomed to something new, then that was pleasant" (Excerpt 95). Both Hanna and Dagur touch upon an understanding of pleasantness or *þægindi* ("comfort", "ease") that is determined by how familiar a listener is with a certain phonological variety. Moreover, Dagur sees this familiarity as accommodating comprehensibility. This might be a good example of linguistic relativity and questions of how to translate pleasant into Icelandic and vice versa.

5.4.2.2 Pleasantness and listener effort

As Dagur's statement on the Danish guise indicates (Excerpt 95 in section 5.4.2.1), perceived listener effort appears to influence evaluations of pleasantness. The following conversation amongst participants of the third focus group supports this supposition:

Kristín: Why is it pleasant?
Edda: Because it's the same as with us.
Hanna: (laughs) Yes.
Ágúst: It was so natural to listen to this.
Ingimar: It was no trouble to listen.
Hugrún: It was just the words that one needed to listen to.
Ingimar: One only needed to take in the words. (Excerpt 96)

Margrét's perception of the American speaker's performance is comparable to those expressed by participants in Excerpt 96; she compares experiences of pleasantness across guises. She says, "I found it to be no effort to listen to this one. I just found it very pleasant. More pleasant than, I didn't need to think at all…" (Excerpt 97).

Whereas Margrét's comment indicates a relationship between the positive evaluation of pleasantness and minimal listener effort, Vigdís's impression of the Polish speaker's performance implies an opposite relationship with increased listener effort. Vigdís claims, "This wasn't exactly unpleasant [*'óþægilegt'*] but more, you know, one needed to concentrate" (Excerpt 98).

Participants make connections between perceived pleasantness and different degrees of listener effort. It must be noted that the Icelandic word *þægilegt* can be translated as "pleasant", but also as "comfortable" or "easy". Therefore, for this theme, we cannot be sure whether participants interpreted the concept of pleasantness as meaning "easy to understand". However, it is obvious from other themes that this is not the only interpretation participants apply to the concept.

5.4.2.3 Pleasantness and speaker effort

Another theme emerging from participants' accounts in connection with perceptions of pleasantness is that of speaker effort, i.e., listener perceptions of how much work a speaker put into their speech performance.

Asked to comment on his perception of pleasantness while listening to the Lithuanian speaker, Sigurður answers, "I find this okay. I think that this shows an effort to use Icelandic, and that effort is just pretty successful. And that's enough" (Excerpt 99). Klara from the same focus group refers to Sigurður's comment in her reaction to the Filipina speaker: "I need to agree with him, what he [Sigurður] said earlier, the effort is agreeable (*þægileg*). It's just whether they make it" (Excerpt 100).

Dagbjört from the third focus group and Kolfinna from the fifth group provide comparable accounts of pleasantness when asked to elaborate on their impression of the Filipina speaker. Dagbjört says, "Because she made an effort" (Excerpt 101). Similarly, Kolfinna states, "I just admire her for how much effort she put into this" (Excerpt 102).

There appears to be a certain connection between evaluations of pleasantness of L2 speech and speaker effort: speech performance is evaluated as more pleasant or easier when listeners have the impression that the speaker has tried hard. Both Dagbjört and Kolfinna seem to emphasize the speaker's personal qualities, whereas participants

tend to stress an ease of communication in other instances, e.g., when connecting pleasantness with listener effort (cf. section 5.4.2.2). Again, this could stem from participants' different understanding of the word *þægilegt* according to the emic/etic distinction.

5.4.3 Correctness

The following three sections are dedicated to inductive themes encompassing connections between judgements about perceived correctness of accent. These are intelligibility (section 5.4.3.1), L1 standard ideology (section 5.4.3.2), and evaluation of other linguistic aspects (section 5.4.3.3).

5.4.3.1 Correctness and intelligibility

One of the recurrent themes mentioned by participants in the discussion groups is listener effort. As with previous deductive concepts (sections 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.2.2), participants also report on perceptions of listener effort in connection with evaluations of correctness. Several participants express their views on this theme in response to different speakers.

Steinar from the fourth focus group says about the Filipina guise, "I managed to understand her. That's why I consider it [her Icelandic] to be right" (Excerpt 103). Asked why he assesses the American speaker's performance as *rétt* ("right", "correct"), Atli replies, "Because I understood everything that she said without any effort" (Excerpt 104). He thus touches upon differences between intelligibility and comprehensibility, i.e., listener effort. Interestingly enough, Steinar's comments on the Filipina guise (Excerpt 103) are similar to his comments on the L1 speaker: "I, uh, I think it [Icelandic] is right (*rétt*) when you can understand it" (Excerpt 105).

Freyja comments on her perception of the American guise as follows:

> Freyja: Well, you hear something, so you don't find it entirely right. But not a huge difference so, you know, if you understand this and understand it well, then I feel that (short silence), nothing, I don't know, this is a difference in degree. Nothing terribly wrong (*rangt*), you see. (Excerpt 106)

The excerpts displayed above indicate a certain consensus amongst participants when it comes to assessments of correctness according to understandability/intelligibility. For Freyja (Excerpt 106), however, assessment of this kind does not rely on dichotomous categorization – intelligible/right or unintelligible/wrong – but appears to span a certain

spectrum of the level of perceived intelligibility that governs evaluations of correctness. Furthermore, Freyja describes a speaker's accent as not "terribly wrong", which might relate to her perception that deviation from an L1 accent in Icelandic does not conjure up the same associations made with typical *málvillur*, e.g., shift in oblique case. How perceptions of correctness and intelligibility are connected with pleasantness, that is, ease of conversation, remains unclear but interesting.

5.4.3.2 Correctness and L1 standard ideology

In the following two excerpts, Margrét (Excerpt 107) and Jón (Excerpt 108) share their ideas on how correct they deem the Lithuanian speaker's Icelandic. Margrét says, "Then, of course, this pronunciation was not like the one we learn. But that does not mean that she did something wrong, but it wasn't the same" (Excerpt 107). Jón, on the other hand, replies as follows to the question of why he perceives the speaker's Icelandic as being correct: "Yes because, there is nothing grammatically wrong with this Icelandic, but whether the language, whether the accent is right (*réttur*) or wrong (*rangur*). It's just not equally good. It's different from Icelandic" (Excerpt 108).

Here, Margrét and Jón rely on different aspects when evaluating correctness. Margrét measures the correctness of the foreign accent perceived in the Lithuanian speaker based on what she herself learned, i.e., an L1 accent in Icelandic as the correct or normative form. In contrast, Jón ponders the possibility that other linguistic subsystems might weigh heavier in assessing L2 speech than in pronunciation (cf. Excerpt 76 in section 5.4.1.3 and section 5.4.3.3). He also implies there is some kind of scale of degree of accent, with L1 Icelandic pronunciation as the point of departure.

Similar to Margrét's statement on the correctness of the L1 accent, participants in the fifth focus group contemplate the concept of correctness and its validity for L2 accents after listening to the L1 speaker of Icelandic:

> Berglind: Because this is the language that we learned, were born into.
> Margrét: It is right (*rétt*), if it's possible to speak of correct in this context, because it resembled and worked like the language that
> Sunna: We're talking about
> Margrét: is like our mother tongue. (Excerpt 109)

Later in the discussion, Margrét elaborates on her understanding of the concept of correctness in connection with the Lithuanian speaker (Excerpt 110), with Kolfinna and Atli joining the conversation.

> Margrét: If you say correct or incorrect, one heard of course that it was, uh, there are certain emphases, that we aren't taught. When we learn Icelandic, that, you heard it. Whether one wants to call it wrong or right, there are at least not the same emphases, how she pronounced 'mjálmar', she pronounced it differently from how we learned Icelandic.
> Kolfinna: Yes. The question is: 'Is the accent wrong?' ('*Er hreimur rangur*?')
> Atli: Yes, exactly. […]
> Margrét: Then, of course, this pronunciation was not like the one we learned. But that doesn't mean that she did anything wrong, but it wasn't the same. (Excerpt 110)

Whereas Margrét, first and foremost, argues for evaluations of correctness as dependent on norms set by L1 standard language usage, she underlines a different aspect at another point when discussing correctness in evaluating the Polish speaker:

> Margrét: What you ask, I interpret in such a way that, you know, you ask if something is right or wrong, then it must be, or I think you are just aiming at how we learned our mother tongue. And if I have learned my mother tongue in the way I learned it, then this is not right. Based on that.
> Berglind: Exactly, if that's the frame of reference.
> Margrét: However, if you are asking me if this is right or wrong, then I just say: This is not wrong, this is quite right. She reads it as it is, even though her pronunciation is different from mine, from my mother tongue… (Excerpt 111)

Here, Margrét refers to methods of evaluating speakers reading a grammatically sound text. Again, questions as to the importance of other linguistic aspects arise (cf. Excerpt 76 in section 5.4.1.3 and section 5.4.3.3).

Another factor in the assessment of L1 and L2 accent emerges in a conversation amongst participants of the first focus group after listening to the Lithuanian speaker:

> María: I just found this to be correct Icelandic. Is Icelandic spoken in Reykjavík more correct than Northern Icelandic? Is Northern Icelandic more correct than that spoken in the West [of Iceland]? What is correct?
> Páll: […] it's Icelandic.

> Freyja: Yes. I agree.
> Klara: I agree with this. I found her to speak Icelandic correctly, but not with the accent we are used to. (Excerpt 112)

Participants' considerations focus on evaluations of correctness in the light of underlying language ideology in terms of L1 Icelandic. Although they contemplate distinctions along the lines of formal and functional characteristics ascribed to so-called Northern and Southern Icelandic, those do not seem to have consequences for the evaluation of L2 speech (see section 5.1.3).

Ágúst employs his folk understanding of particular formal features in *harðmæli*, i.e., aspiration of plosives, when assessing the correctness of the Filipina guise's reading performance:

> Ágúst: Well, it [her Icelandic] is correct in the sense, you know, that she has all syllables and everything like that. But there is, occasionally, a pronunciation that, that we know, there is even among native Icelanders. Like those that say, you know, that they have a '[svarta]' (*black*) (slightly voiced r) cat. They don't say '[svaɽ̥ta]' cat. Or, or, or 'Skobba' [skɔpːa]. 'Skoppa' [skɔhpa]. They don't say the P's as hard as we do maybe in the North (looks at Steinþór), or something like that. […]
> Steinþór: An Icelander would have seemed too artificial. This is actually too consistent.
> Hanna: But, as you mention (points at Ágúst), I think it can also affect what we think, whichever part of the country we come from. (Excerpt 113)

This excerpt is quite interesting considering discussions of etic folk knowledge on phonological variation in L1 Icelandic (cf. section 3.3.2.1) and emic accounts from participants of this study (cf. section 5.1.3). Ágúst and Steinþór evaluate the correctness of the L2 speaker based on their own regional accent by referring to perceived differences in devoicing and preaspiration in L1 Icelandic. Although evaluations of Northern Icelandic (cf. *harðmæli*) and Southern Icelandic (cf. *linmæli*) have thus far only indicated a distinction based on attractiveness (cf. section 3.3.2.1 and Guðmundsdóttir 2022; Hlynsdóttir 2016), these two participants use their folk conceptions of Northern Icelandic as a starting point for judgments of correctness of this L2 speaker (cf. also Excerpt 9). We see here that participants believe individual listener background, including upbringing in a certain linguistic environment, can influence evaluations of foreign accents, but there is no evidence they use the same scales that are valid for L1 speech when assessing L2

speakers. When comparing the comments in Excerpts 112 and 113, some participants appear to question the common understanding that Northern and Southern Icelandic are on equal footing when it comes to evaluations of correctness (cf. also section 3.3.2.1).

As has become apparent from accounts on perceptions of correctness so far, participants in all focus group discussions have difficulties in pinpointing what correctness (*réttleiki* 'correctness', *nákvæmni* 'exactitude', *samræmi við reglur* 'compliance with rules') comprises and how L2 speaker performances can be evaluated along the dimension of correctness (see also section 5.4.3.3). Ágúst (Excerpt 113) provides yet another example of this insecurity while at the same time affording insights into an awareness of some of the phonological variation typical for "hard speech" and "soft speech": he identifies the lack of aspiration of /p/ in the speech of the Filipina speaker and compares it with phonological variation in L1 Icelandic pronunciation. Interestingly enough, Ágúst's comment appears to be limited to judgements of "hard speech" and "soft speech", rather than implying a negative evaluation of the L2 speaker.

Yet another subtheme emerging from participants' considerations of the concept of correctness and L1 standard language ideology can be observed in an exchange between Sigrún and Kolfinna:

> Sigrún: Maybe, maybe, I was thinking when you said this now again, right or wrong, if it had been, said in English, then one wouldn't find it so hard somehow, I think…
> Kolfinna: What? (says in English:) Right or wrong? (laughs)
> Sigrún: Yes, but I just feel, right or wrong, that's somehow a lot stricter.
> Kolfinna: Yes, we are naturally so accustomed to this fascism, language fascism. (Excerpt 114)

Sigrún and Kolfinna share their beliefs that evaluation of speaker correctness would not have been as strict had the guises spoken foreign-accented English. According to their view, this so-called fascism (or lack of tolerance) towards the incorrect language use of others is directed at L1 speakers speaking Icelandic (cf. also *málótti* 'fear of speaking' in section 3.2.5).

5.4.3.3 Correctness and evaluation of other linguistic aspects

Evaluations of correctness are limited here to perceptions of phonological features in L1 and L2 speaker performance. Therefore, these perceptions do not encompass all linguistic aspects deemed important for speaker evaluation. Several participants provide clues

indicating that other linguistic aspects besides phonological characteristics could be relevant when evaluating L2 speech.

Participants in the third focus group discuss the issue in connection with evaluations of correctness:

> Hanna: Are we saying that we have a different kind of tolerance (*tolerans*), sorry that I use a *sletta*, towards foreigners who speak Icelandic than Icelanders?
> Ingimar: Yeeeesss!
> Steinþór: Yes, quite clearly. Absolutely!
> Ágúst: They have a certain handicap.
> Ingimar: I am just going to admit to those prejudices.
> Ágúst: They have some flexibility to have different emphases and different pronunciations of words. […]
> Hugrún: I also think that we are more tolerant towards accents. It, it doesn't mean, doesn't say that you speak bad Icelandic. And we are more tolerant towards intonation, that's not wrong. But inflection and other stuff, there we evaluate right or wrong. Because that's the system.
> Steinþór: Then you can also be misunderstood.
> Hanna: Yes, yes, yes.
> Edda: And also inflection. I find inflection, not, not that one would find that bad somehow.
> Hugrún: You think so, yes.
> Ágúst: No.
> Hugrún: Yes, I think we would, at least I would rather want to distinguish between right and wrong language. But the accent is not wrong, it's just different. (Excerpt 115)

Looking at Hugrún's last comment on the matter, she appears to confirm the importance of distinguishing between the etic concepts of correctness and degree of accent as comprising a degree of otherness, as proposed by Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 77ff. and cf. section 2.1.2), in order to convey which concept is appropriate when assessing L2 accent or other formal characteristics in L2 speech. However, a note of caution is due here, because we do not fully know how participants interpret the concept of correctness. Again, we might be dealing with a case of linguistic relativity, in which we cannot be sure how emic intrepretations of the concept and related to etic ones. By definition, it can refer to conceptions of common rules about what is correct (*rétt, í samræmi við reglur*), e.g., in comparison to the L1 standard variety; it could be built on ideas of what is right aesthetically (*gott, við hæfi*); or it might be based on perceptions of formal accuracy in

imitating the L1 variety (*nákvæmni*), which, in the case of accent, could be measured by phonological distance from the reference variety or degree of accent.

Dagur from the third focus group contemplates the concept of correctness through a more holistic approach:

> Dagur: This is a bit of a matter of definition, what you're asking. When you talk about correct Icelandic, like I mean, inflections and everything, that's the big deal. Some, some accents, when pronunciation, that is, when inflections and everything are correct, the grammar, then it's actually such a little detail. If someone has become so fluent that they just speak themselves, without having a sheet of paper, then they would be really good in Icelandic. Per se. The only thing left would be some deviation in pronunciation, which would be really great, in fact, for a foreigner who has learned Icelandic. […] So if we are going to just focus, as I think we are doing here, just focus on their pronunciation, judging that on its own, then we are only talking about a small part of the overall experience compared to if she would speak freely. And if we're going to judge that, even if half of it would be missing, then we are talking about some fifteen percent or, you know what I mean. […] This is good Icelandic indeed. The big deal in Icelandic is of course all the inflections and cases and all that stuff… (Excerpt 116)

Both Excerpts 115 and 116 illustrate participants' beliefs that linguistic aspects besides deviations from L1 standard pronunciation are more important in assessing correctness (cf. also Excerpt 100 in section 5.4.3.2).

Throughout the course of the focus group discussions, some participants appear to be concerned, and others seem to be irritated, about being asked to provide evaluations of correctness. Although those emotional responses could be indicative of an unwillingness to disclose sensitive ideas on foreign-accented Icelandic, they could also mean an awareness amongst participants that they lack the distinct linguistic information needed to assess correctness.

Jón responds similarly to Dagur (cf. Excerpt 116) by saying, "But this question is surely a little strange, because there is nothing wrong with the language because she reads a written text and she does that all right. She just has a strong accent. And there is nothing wrong with that. It's just different than ours" (Excerpt 117). Again, both Dagur's and Jón's statements imply that foreign accent alone might not be sufficient for fully evaluating the correctness of the speakers' Icelandic. Their accounts do, though,

imply that their understanding of "accent" (*hreimur*) comprises phonological features only – in contrast to some (etic) definitions of accents that include morphosyntactical features.

5.4.4 Summary and discussion of emic themes connected with degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness

The third research theme sought, on the one hand, to collect and analyse emic folk accounts connected to evaluations of the etic themes of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness, and on the other hand, to evaluate outcomes considering Iceland's current linguistic climate. To review, according to folk linguistics, degree of accent – originally conceived as the degree of dialect difference (cf. Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 77ff. and section 2.1.2) – measures perceived otherness from a reference variety, in this case, L1 standard Icelandic. For evaluations of foreign accent, perceived differences in the degree of accent are detached from the concepts of pleasantness and correctness, as similar ratings for degree of accent stemming from speakers' different mother tongues can result in different ratings of pleasantness and correctness. As we have seen from examples on pleasantness, we must distinguish between ideas about personal pleasantness versus pleasantness of the linguistic forms (cf. section 5.4.2); we must also take into account that the Icelandic word *þægilegt* can have different meanings ("pleasant", "comfortable", "easy"). To be clear, the goal of this study is to elicit meaningful themes connected to the three etic concepts, not to analyse and measure interrelations between those three concepts.

Concerning the first question of the third research theme, twelve emic themes emerged from data analysis, with some of them appearing in more than one of the etically introduced categories. All in all, six themes emerged in connection with the concept of degree of accent:

- listener effort
- speaker effort
- perceptions of proximity/distance
- perceptions of L2 speaker competence
- the significance of personal encounter
- pleasantness

These superordinate categories were often influenced by subordinate ones. Three themes stem from discussions on pleasantness:

- familiarity with accent
- listener effort
- speaker effort

In terms of correctness, data analysis produced three themes emerging from participants' accounts:

- intelligibility
- L1 standard ideology
- evaluations of other linguistic aspects besides formal L2 features in L2 accents

One major finding of this study was the emergence of listener effort (also called comprehensibility, cf. section 2.2.4) as a meaningful emic theme from analysis of all three etic concepts. This strongly supports the idea that this concept plays an important role in the assessment of L2 speakers' use of Icelandic. Again, listener effort encompasses listeners' perceptions of how easily they understand an utterance, i.e., how little or how much work it takes to grasp the meaning of what they hear, whereas intelligibility describes the extent to which listeners understand an utterance (cf. Kennedy & Trofimovich 2008: 461 and section 2.2.4).

As regards degree of accent, participants tend to mention an increased listener effort as a function of (greater) deviation from L1 speech (cf. Excerpts 67, 68, and 69 in section 5.4.1.1). This finding is in line with previous results on the relationship between comprehensibility and degree of accent, which suggests that greater degrees of accent are more likely to affect comprehensibility of speech (cf. Munro & Derwing 1995b; Thomson 2018: 21 and section 2.2.4). In addition, research has found that evaluations of degrees of foreign accent by non-expert raters (i.e., folk raters) are similar to those by experts (cf. Brennan et al. 1975 and section 2.2.2). Considering this in light of the fact that, e.g., the Filipina guise showed greater deviation from standard Icelandic than the other guises in strictly phonological terms (cf. Tables 9, Appendix E), and given participants' accounts of this guise and her perceived greater degree of accent (cf. Excerpts 68 and 69 in section 5.4.1.1), it is well worth considering whether this is the case here (see section 6.4).

Results on listener effort based on questions about pleasantness showed both a straightforward relationship between the two concepts – i.e., the more minimal the

listener effort, the more pleasant the perceptions of L2 speech (cf. section 5.4.2.2) – and the theme's entanglement with the concept of familiarity (cf. Excerpt 96 in section 5.4.2.2). As has been shown regarding the second research theme on voice-placing strategies and emic themes connected to them, perceived familiarity with accent is a meaningful theme (cf. section 5.3.1). Familiarity also emerged as an important theme from data analysis of accounts of pleasantness. Within that frame, familiarity and listener effort appear to overlap in affecting evaluations at times, but the themes are not necessarily always interrelated.

In terms of understanding, i.e., intelligibility and comprehensibility/listener effort, studies show that a familiar accent is more easily understood than an unfamiliar one based on different levels of linguistic experience (cf. Carey et al. 2010: 202 and section 2.2.5). This is especially valid for accents that are commonly heard in a given society (cf. Flowerdew 1994 and section 2.2.5). In light of participants' accounts on perceptions of, e.g., the Polish guise on the one hand (cf. Excerpts 21 and 22 in section 5.3.1.1) versus, e.g., the Filipina guise on the other hand (cf. Excerpt 29 in section 5.3.1.2), there are strong indications that this assumption applies to the Icelandic context as well. Continuing on the interrelations between familiarity and comprehensibility/speaker effort, it is worthwhile to contemplate how the four-category model by Gass and Varonis (1984) might apply to this study. According to their model (cf. section 2.2.5), the two concepts mentioned above are interdependent within the categories of familiarity with the topic, familiarity with L2 speech in general, familiarity with a particular L2 accent, and familiarity with a particular L2 speaker.

In this study, all participants in the focus group discussions were familiar with the topic, as they had the opportunity to read the speakers' text before the first guise was played (cf. section 4.3.3.2). The salience of listener effort as a recurring theme across focus groups was therefore somewhat unexpected. As has been discussed in section 5.3.5 in terms of the second category – i.e., familiarity with L2 speech in general – the data implies that the speech community is more familiar with some accents than with others, and that this has consequences for evaluations of degree of accent, pleasantness, and voice-placing relative to proximity/distance. Considering that the four categories as proposed by Gass and Varonis (1984, cf. section 2.2.5) explore interrelations between comprehensibility and familiarity without examining other influencing factors, some questions on the interrelatedness of themes still remain unanswered.

In contrast to the second category, which concerns familiarity on a societal level, the fourth category, i.e., familiarity with a particular L2 speaker, is limited to individual listener experience. Some excerpts (cf. Excerpt 29 in section 5.3.1.2) illustrate this relationship. The third category, i.e., familiarity with a particular L2 accent, appears to lie somewhere between the second and fourth categories. Since some participants mention that a Polish accent is perceivable in certain work environments (cf. Excerpt 28 in section 5.1.3.2), this could mean that exposure to this accent is no longer restricted to individual encounters but is more likely to occur in certain environments in Icelandic society.

Another striking result is that speaker effort, i.e., participants' perception regarding the (degree of) effort a speaker put into their reading performance, is a theme that is widely and regularly discussed across all five focus groups, even though participants were at no point informed that speakers were learners of Icelandic (cf. section 4.3.3.2). As the theme of speaker effort emerges in connection with degree of accent and pleasantness (and in terms of general ideas, cf. also discussion on speaker effort in 5.1.6), there are strong indications that increased value is attached to the concept and that it interacts with perceptions of accent strength and pleasantness. In the context of degree of accent, participants' accounts reveal that the theme can be subdivided into perceptions of speaker effort in learning Icelandic on the one hand, and speakers' attitudes towards Icelandic or learning Icelandic on the other hand. Views were divided amongst participants on whether speaker effort alone can influence accent elimination and L1-like speech performance.

Following accounts on perceptions of speaker effort, participants commented on the evaluation of speaker competence in Icelandic, summarized in the theme of L2 competence. Participants' accounts suggest that certain phonological features in addition to assumed speaker origin, i.e., assumed speaker L1, influence folk assessment of speaker competence as well as expectations about L2 competence.

Consistent with perceptions of L2 competence and speaker origin, participants appear to make assumptions about speakers' backgrounds based on their perceived geographical/linguistic proximity. Participants' accounts indicate an underlying classification of L2 speakers as being European/speaking a European language or as being Asian. This broad categorization appears to influence listener tolerance such that L2 speakers from farther away are (overtly) judged less harshly than those originally from geographically/linguistically closer areas. Assessment of high degrees of speaker effort appears to amplify this effect. Additionally, participants disclosed beliefs about intrinsic

predispositions for learning a language on the one hand and performing to a L1-like extent on the other hand; these capacities are seen as functions of speaker origin and, thus, speaker proximity to or distance from the L2 in question. Again, participants especially referred to Asians in this context.

This entanglement of participants' ideas on speaker effort, L2 competence, and speaker proximity is worth further consideration. Since language evaluation is partly built on distinct listener expectations related to listener attitudes, social stereotypes, and/or beliefs about particular speakers (cf. Kang & Rubin 2009; Lindemann & Subterilu 2013 and section 2.2.3, and results from voice-placing in section 5.3.2), it is no surprise that participants in this study make assumptions about the speakers' effort in learning Icelandic and their L2 competence. What is surprising is that the data indicates the concept plays a significant role in folk ascriptions to L2 speakers of Icelandic based on audio recordings that, firstly, are as short as 18–24 seconds and, secondly, are grammatically and stylistically sound (cf. section 4.3.3.2). Results also show that listener expectations of L2 speakers whose mother tongue is linguistically closer to Icelandic are harsher: there is less room for error for those deemed closer, compared to those assumed to be from farther away and therefore to have a decreased ability to learn Icelandic (cf. Excerpts 80, 84, 85, and 86 in section 5.4.1.4). This lack of trust in those speakers' ability to learn Icelandic to a L1-like level appears to translate into lower expectations of speaker competence, with Asians as a salient stereotype for this group, as has been mentioned above. These results do, though, bear some similarities with outcomes of a study on the interpretation of the linguistic production of Asian Americans as a marker for their foreignness, in which white L1 speakers of American English reproduced common stereotypes of Chinese L2 speakers – as representatives of Asians (cf. also Lindemann 2005: 197 and section 2.1.2) – by framing them "as linguistically incomprehensible [and] as bad speakers of English" (Lo 2016: 107).

Also, when looking at the relationship between perceptions of the degree of accent and ascriptions of speaker ethnicity as investigated by Rubin & Smith, i.e. that L1 raters perceived high accented guises as more Oriental/Asian than low accented guises (Rubin & Smith 1990: 348; cf. section 2.2.3), it is conceivable that perceptions of higher degrees of accent – as perceived in the Filipina and Lithuanian speaker – translate into ideas of the speakers as, at least, stemming from further away. Whether such distinctions build on ideas of the racialization of Asians and (Eastern) Europeans (cf. section 5.3.4 and Loftsdóttir 2017; Skaptadóttir & Loftsdóttir 2009) would be a fruitful area for further work.

According to participants, personal encounters with an L2 speaker can influence speaker perception (cf. section 5.4.1.5). Accounts from this theme provide valuable insights into the power of individual encounters and non-linguistic features. It is therefore interesting to contemplate this matter with two aspects in mind, namely, individual and societal influence, as well as a combination thereof. The first concerns the effect personal encounters can have on evaluations of both L2 speech and the L2 speaker, as well as correlations between the nature of the encounter (along a positive–negative spectrum) and consequences for speaker evaluation. The second aspect of societal influence would investigate whether personal encounter has different or even opposing effects depending on whether the L2 speaker is a representative of a stigmatized group or belongs to a group for which cultural stereotypes exist in the speech community (cf. results on stereotypes and speaker placement in section 5.3.2); and, if so, whether and how the nature of those stereotypes influence evaluations of, e.g., status, solidarity, and dynamism of the L2 speaker based on the linguistic stereotyping (cf. section 2.2.5) of their social group or ethnic background.

Moreover, perceived speaker effort is mentioned as affecting evaluations of pleasantness, in the sense that the harder an L2 speaker is perceived as working in their speech performance, the more pleasant the performance is experienced by the listener. Participants mention the concept of speaker effort exclusively when referring to L2 speaker performance.

Concerning the interrelationship of the deductive concepts of degree of accent and pleasantness, participants' comments indicate that they evaluate an accent as more pleasant when it is perceived as weak, i.e., more less deviant from an L1 accent, and more unpleasant the stronger it sounds. Despite this general impression, other factors besides perceived degree of accent appear to contribute to evaluations of pleasantness, such as those presented in section 5.4.2, i.e., familiarity, listener effort, and speaker effort (cf. discussion above).

On the etic concept of correctness, participants mention three salient themes: intelligibility and listener effort, L1 standard language ideology, and evaluation of other linguistic aspects. Intelligibility as defined by Derwing and Munro (see section 2.2.4) should not have an effect on evaluations of grammatical correctness in this study due to its design – recall that participants were provided with the text read by all guises before listening to the first guise. However, intelligibility and correctness of L2 speech, and ideas about listener effort in particular, are amongst the emerging themes. Even though

participants claim to deem a certain (undefined) degree of intelligibility/listener effort as influencing evaluations of correctness, they indicate that this relation cannot be categorized through the rigid formula of intelligible/little or no listener effort = correct or, alternatively, unintelligible/great speaker effort = incorrect. Instead, their accounts seem to allow for some scaling along a spectrum and the contribution of other factors.

As for the second theme that emerges, findings imply that evaluations for correctness are largely influenced by L1 standard ideology. This is not surprising considering that evaluations of language have long been built on scrutinizing functionality (good/bad), aesthetics (beautiful/ugly) and correctness (right/wrong) within the L1 evaluation system.

Another major outcome of this study is that, concerning L1 standard language ideology, participants suggest that parameters for L1 speech – as learned and propagated throughout participants' lives via educational and language-political authorities and carriers of language ideology (including language users of the Icelandic speech community) – do not apply to foreign accents in L2 speech.

On the contrary, data shows that evaluation decisions for L2 speech are somewhat disconnected from the evaluation system used for L1 Icelandic; they are built on perceptions of intelligibility and comprehensibility limited to deviation from L1 pronunciation. Considering that the few accounts on L1 Icelandic pronunciation in this context are restricted to *óskýrmæli*, or slurring (cf. Excerpt 12 in section 5.1.3), and ideas about regionally bound variation in pronunciation (*harðmæli* vs. *linmæli*), this observation may support the hypothesis that an evaluation system for L2 accents in Icelandic has not yet been fully established (cf. section 3.3.2.2). In other words, an L2 speaker is easily identified by perceivable deviation from an L1 accent. But this study does not explain whether and how evaluations of correctness (or pleasantness and degree of accent) become attached to formal features in L2 speech. In light of this, two other aspects need further discussion.

On the one hand, findings suggest that other linguistic modules, such as grammar and lexicon, are more suitable for evaluations of L2 speech than phonology, thus supporting one of the assumptions guiding this study (cf. section 3.3.2.2). This theme is especially interesting in light of the fact that participants listened to a grammatically sound text. Participants' comments indicate that grammatical correctness – specifically, correct inflection – could outweigh phonology in evaluations of L2 accents. If that is the case,

investigations into folk beliefs on L2 speech concerning grammatical aspects are imperative, as well as investigations into value systems.

Another compelling finding connected to standard language ideology is that participants contemplate the meaning of correctness and its evaluation in terms of how foreign accent fits into evaluation parameters of the L1 standard language and its ideology. By doing so, participants also share their beliefs on a perceived harshness of language-ideological circumstances in light of L1-speaker assessment which, potentially, influences evaluations of L2 speakers as well. Therefore, the question arises as to whether participants would call for more tolerance towards the use of non-standard forms, as has been done in recent years (cf. sections 3.2.5 and 3.3.2.2; Rögnvaldsson 2022; and see section 6.3). Throughout the focus groups, participants explicitly mention their perception of the inappropriateness of needing to make comments on the correctness of L2 speakers.

In terms of the linguistic climate in Iceland, our data implies that evaluations of foreign accents are intertwined with several themes, with the perceived degree of accent and familiarity with accent significantly contributing to evaluations in combination with other subthemes. Familiarity with accent becomes linked with processes of adaptation to L2 accents; these can be dependent on both individual and societal influences (see voice-placing strategies and familiarity, section 5.3.1 and summary in 5.3.5). To some extent, perceived familiarity with accent and assumptions about speaker background are intertwined with judgments of L2 competence, evaluations of speaker effort, and, possibly, overall evaluation of L2 speech.

Perceived speaker effort and assumptions about willingness to learn Icelandic play an important role in speaker judgment. At the same time, assumptions about L2 competence appear to be dependent on assumptions about speaker background according to perceived proximity or distance of origin, linguistically and geographically. However, whether there is a straightforward relationship between degree of accent and perceptions of proximity/distance, such that a weaker accent is associated with the geographical/linguistic proximity of an L2 speaker and vice versa, remains unclear.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Evaluations of L2 accent in the current linguistic climate in Iceland

By applying sociolinguistic theories and drawing on methods established by research on language attitudes and folk linguistics within the framework of language regard, this research was designed to disclose beliefs of linguistic laypeople on the status of Icelandic in general, and foreign accent in Iceland in particular. It also sought to provide insights into meaningful themes connected with language evaluation in Iceland today (cf. research theme four and section 4.1.4).

As far as L1 Icelandic is concerned, it can be suggested that folk ideas and parameters for linguistic evaluation largely reflect etic knowledge on the subject as presented in Chapter 3. In other words, one of the most obvious findings of this study is that the evaluation system applied to L1 Icelandic appears to be well established. Participants resort to deep-rooted categories when referring to their evaluations of good and bad language use. The data indicates that, in terms of formal features, appropriate use of lexicon according to register as well as shibboleths and stereotypical *málvillur* ("linguistic errors", e.g., shift of oblique case) continue to function as main assessment criteria, with the language-political principles of preservation and strengthening as a guiding light. However, these results must be interpreted with caution when it comes to language use, since research shows that ideologically motivated attitudes towards the Icelandic mother tongue, including support for linguistic purism, are not necessarily reflected in actual language use (cf. Kristiansen 2010; Kristinsson 2018: 247 and section 2.1.3). In other words, overtly expressed support for a policy of linguistic purism and mention of well-known linguistically marked forms do not necessarily translate into abiding by these attitudes in practice. The data of this study does show, however, that overt categories governing the assessment of good and bad language use are similar amongst participants, thus implying the continuing existence of a set of shared norms governing evaluation categories amongst L1 speakers of Icelandic (cf. also sections 3.1.1, 3.2.1, 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 5.1.3). The same is valid for the assessment of good and bad regional language use, based on folk ideas on the speech of so-called Northern and Southern Icelanders.

Results of this study show diverging views on, firstly, English and its status in Icelandic society, and secondly, one of the main two pillars guiding language-political efforts, namely, formal stringency in the preservation of the Icelandic language. In light of this, there are indications of relaxation regarding some principles of the speech community's shared norms and the traditional stable relationship between language practices, language beliefs, and language management (cf. Spolsky 2004 and sections 3.2.1, 3.2.3, 3.3.2.1, and 3.4).

Considering possible conclusions for the evaluation system of L2 speech in Icelandic, the analysis of data presented in Chapter 5 suggests that L1 speakers resort to shared categories when evaluating L2 accents in Icelandic, with the most prominent of them being speaker effort and listener effort. However, whether we can speak of a comprehensive evaluation system towards L2 Icelandic is arguable in light of sparse research on the topic, and the circumstance that this study primarily aims at collecting folk ideas on L2 accented Icelandic.

As to theoretical considerations, this study refers to a collection of openly expressed folk ideas and beliefs as suggested by the study of language regard (Preston 2018: xix and section 2.1.3.3) and connects it with recent demographic developments in Iceland and their impact on evaluations of L2 accent. In contrast, we recall that attitudes are regarded as "relatively stable and durable psychological structures in the brain" (Kristiansen 2020: 5 and section 2.1.3.1). Also, most fundamental attitudes are formed in childhood and adolescence, mostly mediated through either people close to an individual or discourse and media impact (cf. section 2.1.3). Exposure to attitudes through individuals on the one hand, and exposure on a societal scale on the other hand, can thus significantly influence attitude formation and personal reactions. Considering this in light of the very recent demographic changes in Icelandic society (cf. section 3.1) and data on the importance and diverse nature of familiarity with accents (cf. section 5.3), it is possible to hypothesize that attitudes towards (some) L2 accents – if we assume such phenomena to be stable and durable – have not yet had the chance to form among adult speakers of L1 Icelandic due to a lack of exposure on a societal scale, e.g., via the educational system, media, and participation of representatives/speakers in open discourse.

However, this study has shown that language use of L2 speakers is judged less harshly than that of L1 speakers. This is possibly because a strict application of established parameters is seen only as applicable to L1 Icelandic and not to L2 Icelandic (cf. section

5.4.3.2). Underlying reasons for this are likely to be found both in the linguistic culture that has characterized and shaped the Icelandic speech community over centuries, and in the sudden and extensive demographic changes arising from immigration (cf. Chapter 3 and section 5.1.6).

Consistent with results presented above, it can be suggested that evaluations of L2 speech depend on several categories, with some weighing heavier than others. The salience of the themes of listener effort and speaker effort suggests the possibility that evaluation decisions about foreign-accented Icelandic speech are substantially influenced by those factors, possibly placing evaluations of L2 accent outside the well-established system for L1 Icelandic. Since data indicates the dependence of other factors on listener and speaker effort, including attribution of competence in Icelandic, ideas about the geographic/linguistic origin of a speaker, and tolerance towards their language use, these findings have important implications for the study of Icelandic society today and should spark further research (see section 6.4).

Taking into account that this study is based on perceptions of and ideas on L2 accent, one important finding of this study is the relevance of other linguistic modules – most prominently, morphology – as a measurement of correctness. To recall, sociolinguistically marked forms are more common regarding lexicon and morphology, as can e.g. be seen in the conception of negative features like English *slettur* and shift in oblique case, which is emically referred to as dative sickness (cf. section 3.3.2.1). In this respect, L1 speakers appear to (overtly) resort to traditional evaluation scales when assessing L2 speech, but with the difference that more tolerance is shown towards L2 speech. As pointed out above, connections likely exist between the level of tolerance and assumptions about speaker origin and L2 competence.

All in all, it should be kept in mind that this study is the first comprehensive study on L1 speakers' ideas on and evaluation of L2 accents in Icelandic. Consistent with the grounded-theoretical approach to data analysis taken in this investigation, it uncovered meaningful and – until now – unknown categories governing the evaluation of L2 accent in Icelandic. Speaker effort and listener effort emerged as relevant categories from selective coding (cf. section 4.4.2), with speaker effort comprising a superordinate and new category. Since this study has indicated that perceived speaker effort enhances tolerance towards linguistic errors made by L2 speakers, this is potentially a factor influencing listener behaviour and attitude, with L1 speakers accommodating L2 speakers based on perceptions

of how hard they work on learning Icelandic and/or how positive or negative foreigners' motivation towards Icelandic is (cf. section 5.1.6). Therefore, this work contributes to existing (etic) knowledge on accent evaluation grounded in the sociolinguistic context of Iceland by integrating emic themes such as the value of Icelandic into the conceptual framework of folk linguistic assessment of language variation. Consequently, employing etic knowledge to elicit emic folk themes with the help of grounded theory has proven to be a valid tool for attaching social meaning to linguistic form as manifest in deviations from the L1 speaker norm.

6.2 Limitations of this study

In my initial words on the study of language regard as an umbrella term for explorations of linguistic variation and attitudes towards it, I stated that the framework offers a large variety of methodological approaches and methods for investigating language attitudes and folk beliefs that can be tailored to the speech community and linguistic climate under analysis (cf. section 2.1.1). The nature of having a large selection of established methods to choose from means that this study could have taken a different direction, thus limiting it in one way or another. Some of its limitations can be traced to research design, others to conduct. This section discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the research design and methodology and explains decisions made in the research process, especially in terms of choice of speakers for the verbal guises, choice of focus groups as a method for collecting data, and conducting the focus group discussions.

This study employed six verbal guises – five L2 speakers of Icelandic and one L1 speaker (cf. section 4.3.3.2) – which were central to gaining insights into voice-placing strategies and meaningful themes connected with the etic concepts. Because the guises were limited to one audio recording per accent, voice-placing of individual guises collected via map data (cf. section 5.2) must be interpreted with care, as one speaker per L1 cannot provide a comprehensive picture of typical deviation from L1 Icelandic. Moreover, the criteria for L2 background and competence of L2 speakers selected for the guises were somewhat vague. Despite these limitations, the study offers valuable insights into voice-placing strategies as a goal of research theme two, as opposed to an inspection of correct speaker placement, which was not one of the goals of this study.

Focus groups were chosen as the method for collecting qualitative data and gaining insights into L1 speakers' ideas on foreign accent and influencing factors. The reasons for this choice, explained in detail in section 4.3.1, are consistent with the folk linguistic

approach of understanding people's thoughts on linguistic variation (cf. Litosseliti 2003: 18, Niedzielski & Preston 2003: 30ff and section 4.3.1). They are also aligned with the grounded-theoretical approach as a tool for collection and treatment of qualitative data and for identifying meaningful themes within the Icelandic speech community (cf. section 4.4.1). As has been stated (cf. section 4.3.1), focus groups lend themselves to collecting a greater quantity of data than would be possible via individual interviews; they are also useful in eliciting consentaneous and conflicting ideas and views, thus in keeping with the grounded-theoretical aim of the constant comparative method (cf. section 4.4.2). However, given the nature of the study's topic and the open and interactive character of its design, it is possible that participants (unwillingly) express ideas and views created through interaction in the focus group situation. Therefore, effects arising from social desirability bias (cf. Garrett 2010: 44–45, sections 4.3.2 and 5.1, and Excerpt 35 in section 5.3.2) cannot be excluded. Despite these shortcomings, asking participants explicitly about their voice-placing decisions (cf. section 4.3.3.3) did have the advantage of uncovering discrepancies between those decisions as marked on the maps and participants' elaboration on their decisions, thus addressing this problem in the design stages of the study, giving consideration to this issue when creating the discussion guide (cf. chapter 4.3.3.3).

Due to the qualitative nature of this study and the restricted number of participants, the generalizability of results is subject to limitations. But although the study is based on accounts from thirty-two folk representatives only, it generated deep insights into evaluations of L2 accent against the background of high awareness of linguistic matters in the mother tongue and its embeddedness in the general sociolinguistic context in Iceland. Unfortunately, background information on the study's participants was limited to distinct variables, i.e., age, gender, and mother tongue (cf. section 4.3.2). Although additional variables, e.g., educational background and residency, could have provided deeper insights into the stratification of evaluations and evaluation patterns based on those variables, this was not the goal of the study and will need to be addressed in another investigation.

As presented in Table 3 (cf. section 4.3.2), the gender of participants was evenly distributed, while the mean age of participants was 60. To review the recruitment process, participants for this study were chosen from a pool of available participants by the Social Science research Institute of the University of Iceland. Potential participants were informed about an ongoing study investigating evaluation of linguistic variation in Icelandic and were given information on the place and time of their interview by the Institute. As this was the

set-up of the study, it was not possible to evenly represent different age groups, which limits the possibility of drawing conclusions on the dissemination of ideas and views according to age groups.

An L1 Icelandic speaker, Kristín Ingibjörg Hlynsdóttir, was employed to conduct the focus group discussions (cf. section 4.3.4). This was needed to prevent distortion of results in light of a possible deference effect (cf. sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.4 and Hennink et al. 2011: 164; cf. also social desirability bias in section 4.3.2), since I am an L2 speaker of Icelandic. It can certainly have several implications for outcomes if focus groups are conducted by an individual other than the researcher who designed the study, regardless of the interviewer's training and professional knowledge of the research field. However, it was essential for the reliability of the study to avoid subjective influences, which potentially could have arisen by an L2 speaker conducting the interviews. Therefore, employing an experienced L1 speaker comprised an eligible and well-thought-out step in the methodological planning of this study. Apart from that, I could pursue my task to play audio recordings, distribute and collect world maps, and take notes, which also guaranteed smooth conduct of interviewing.

The emic/etic distinction underlying this study is crucial to its theoretical and methodological approach, especially in light of the assumption that evaluation of L2 accent in Icelandic and factors affecting such evaluation were unknown (cf. section 3.3.2.2). Therefore, the study was built on evaluation concepts known to significantly influence judgment of linguistic variation, namely, the concepts of degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness (cf. section 4.1.3). However, because elicitation of emic themes was solely based on these etic concepts, we do not know whether other themes would be better suited for establishing evaluation criteria in the Icelandic context.

6.3 Current developments

Since the focus group discussions were conducted in the spring of 2019 (cf. section 4.3.2), there have been interesting developments regarding awareness and exposure in public discourse about protection of the Icelandic language and its status under pressure from English and L2 Icelandic. Understanding these developments can shed light on potential changes in Iceland's linguistic climate and prospects for the future in terms of evaluation patterns.

As mentioned above (cf. sections 3.2.5 and 3.3.2.2), Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson founded the Facebook group Málspjall in 2020, both in response to the prescriptive, negative

discourse sometimes characterizing evaluations of Icelandic and out of awareness that discourse on linguistic matters has shifted away from mass media and towards social media. Rögnvaldsson, who has also become a regular guest on radio and television programs – which, again, verifies the great interest the public takes in language-related matters – pursues several (self-proclaimed) goals with Málspjall, of which he is the sole administrator (cf. Málspjall, 12 April 2022). Firstly, as professor emeritus of Icelandic linguistics, he encourages exchange and discussion on linguistic phenomena in Icelandic; his posts on current and historical usage attempt to answer questions about the language, ranging from specific grammatical phenomena to language use and its evaluation. Secondly, he explicitly encourages an exchange of constructive views on linguistic phenomena and variation, thus setting the tone for more tolerance towards language use and its assessment, breaking away from traditional stringency and attempting to decrease fear of judgment for speaking incorrectly (*málótti*; cf. section 3.2.5). This propagation of tolerance, both towards linguistic variation and evaluation of it, does not translate into neglecting standard Icelandic and the strong ideology supporting it. Rather, it is meant to address internal and external issues concerning assessment of Icelandic, particularly in light of the domain problem and increasing pressure from English.

It is worth reviewing here the interplay of language policy, language use, and language attitudes as proposed by Spolsky (2004 and cf. sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.4) as traditionally forming a reproductive circle in the Icelandic speech community. As the MIN study showed regarding language use and attitudes towards English (cf. section 3.2.4), purist attitudes towards the mother tongue are not necessarily in line with language use in practice. In addition, besides the pressure English usage puts on entire language domains (status-related issues), and to a certain degree on register-bound lexicon (corpus-related issues), the whole thing has increasingly evolved into a prestige-related issue (cf. Guðmundsdóttir et al. 2020; Kristinsson 2017: 108; Kristinsson 2021, 2022 and section 3.2.4). For that reason, Rögnvaldsson thirdly advocates increased use of Icelandic instead of English in public spaces, e.g., advertisements and company names. This stance is in concordance with Icelandic law, which is regularly violated in attempts to appeal to the rising numbers of tourists (cf. section 3.2.3). Recent examples have shown that Rögnvaldsson succeeds in using his somewhat unique position as a scholar and public figure to create (additional) public awareness of language-related matters, bringing other authorities – experts and institutions – on board, and shaping public discourse. As a result,

companies have been pushed to reconsider the language(s) in which they advertise or the order in which they feature them. In autumn 2022, Isavia, the company which operates Iceland's international airport, released a statement saying it will revise signage throughout the airport and prioritize Icelandic (cf. Figure 2 and section 3.2.2).

This increased public awareness and attempts to shift discourse on Icelandic in a positive, more tolerant direction has recently included L2 Icelandic and evaluation of L2 speakers, also sparked by the appearance of the Fjallkona of 2022 (cf. section 3.3.2.2). In addition to extending advocacy of tolerance to L2 as well as L1 speech and engaging with L2 speakers by communicating in Icelandic with them, Rögnvaldsson and others have called for increased funding for the instruction of Icelandic as a second language to aid in protecting and supporting the language (cf. section 3.2.1) and, ultimately, guaranteeing its vitality (cf. section 3.2.2).

Taking all of the above into account, an additional effect of these recent developments in the discourse on L2 speech and instruction of Icelandic as a second language is the increased visibility of L2 speakers in the media. Should this trend continue, it will result in greater exposure on a societal scale to L2 speech comprising different L2 accents (cf. section 6.1).

6.4 Future research

Several questions remain to be answered about evaluation systems for L1 and L2 speech in Icelandic as well as their interplay.

Although results indicate a continuous consensus amongst L1 Icelandic speakers in terms of salient themes in the evaluation of language use, further research could shed light on unknown aspects of the evaluation system for L1 speech. Firstly, future studies might address indications of dwindling support for the language-political efforts of preserving Icelandic and maintaining the linguistic tradition that has enabled Icelanders to read medieval literature up to this day. Results of such studies could provide insights into whether the characteristic reproductive circle of language management, language beliefs, and language use will (further) erode (cf. section 3.3.2.1 and 5.6.1) and, if so, which internal or external factors influence this development. Secondly, concerning the assessment of good and bad language use based on regional origin, i.e., Northern/rural speech and Southern/urban speech, more research is needed on the relationship between formal features characterizing *harðmæli* and *linmæli* and folk ideas on *norðlenska* and *sunnlenska* (cf. also section 6.1). Such research would be valuable in light of results from this and other

studies (cf. sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2, 5.1.3, and 5.1.6) that etic descriptions of *harðmæli* and *linmæli* are strictly limited to phonological variation. Conversely, folk ideas appear to be restricted to awareness of certain features (aspiration in *harðmæli* and its absence in *linmæli*) and their association with clear (*skýr*) versus unclear (*óskýr*) pronunciation. They also seem to mainly draw on ideas about correct language use relating to other linguistic modules, i.e., morphology and lexicon.

One of the main external factors influencing language use, language beliefs, and language policy today – namely, the role of English in Iceland – is worth more exploration, both considering linguistic practices and attitudes towards them. Research is needed on the role of English both in terms of language use and attitudes/beliefs amongst L1 Icelandic speakers and in regard to communication with L2 speakers. Soaring immigration for employment purposes and the widespread use of English in certain business sectors with higher percentages of L2 Icelandic speakers (cf. sections 3.2.2, 3.2.3, 5.1.6, and 5.3.5) raise questions as to which language(s) – Icelandic and/or English – L1 Icelandic speakers turn to when communicating with foreigners, the circumstances in which they do so, and the motivation that lies behind their choice.

In terms of evaluation of L2 speech in Icelandic, considerably more work must be done to determine what mechanisms are involved, how they contribute to an evaluation system for L2 speech, and whether and how that system interacts with the evaluation system for L1 speech. With results of this study suggesting that L2 accent does not comprise a salient theme in considerations of the current status of Icelandic (cf. section 5.1.6), and that linguistic modules besides phonology might be more significant for evaluations of L2 speech (cf. section 6.1), further research employing a covert approach could provide more definite evidence of the function of L2 speech in Icelandic society and which formal features contribute to its evaluation. Therefore, a natural progression of this study would employ voice samples of L2 speakers reflecting more characteristics of L2 speech, e.g., inflections, vocabulary and register choices, and natural intonation/fluency.

Outcomes from voice-placing strategies suggest that familiarity with accent, stereotypes about L2 speakers, phonological features in L2 Icelandic, and visual cues all comprise meaningful themes when attempting to link a foreign accent with speaker origin (cf. section 5.4.4). How exactly those concepts are entangled with one another remains to be elucidated. The concept of familiarity – individual and societal – also needs more attention; this could be addressed through studies on quantity and quality of exposure to

foreign languages and foreign-accented Icelandic, on the one hand, and effects of familiarity on accent ratings on the other hand (cf. section 2.2.5). Such studies might clarify how familiarity with foreign languages or accents are linked with speaker placement and stereotypical assumptions about L2 speakers (cf. section 5.3.5). Furthermore, research is needed to more closely determine the role of the Polish language in Icelandic society. Polish nationals comprise the most populous immigrant group, which can be assumed to mean greater exposure to Polish, Polish-accented Icelandic, and probably Polish-accented English; these, in turn, would suggest greater familiarity with Polish and therefore affect accent ratings.

Perceptions of accent familiarity and assumptions about speaker origin appear to be connected with evaluations of speaker effort and L2 competence, as well as intertwined with how harshly L2 accents are judged (cf. sections 5.3.5 and 6.1). Further overt and covert research could corroborate these connections and clarify their nature.

Further research using more than one verbal guise per accent is needed, both to identify characteristic phonological features in L2 accents stemming from L1 transfer and to determine attitudes towards ans beliefs about accents. This would also aid in establishing connections with familiarity and drawing conclusions on exposure and status of accents in Iceland's linguistic climate. In this context, phonological analysis of accents according to speaker L1 could produce interesting findings on degree of accent and lay raters' perceptions, whether and how these overlap, and whether phonemic errors in, e.g., initial consonants and vowel length influence evaluations of accentedness and intelligibility/comprehensibility (cf. Table 8, Appendix E).

With results suggesting that perceived speaker effort as a new and superordinate category has significant implications for evaluations of L2 speech in Iceland (cf. sections 5.1.6 and 6.1), this category is promising for further research. Further overt and, more importantly, covert investigations are therefore needed to examine the relationship between the perception of speaker effort and tolerance towards linguistic errors, the amplifying effect suggested by the data (i.e., the higher the perceived speaker effort, the higher listener tolerance), and other factors influencing this relationship, e.g., perceived speaker origin.

Further studies could examine the relationship between expectations of L2 competence based on national stereotypes and assumptions about mimicking ability in L2 pronunciation (cf. section 5.3.2). Such studies might uncover whether positive associations with stereotypes are based on evaluations of speaker effort whereas negative associations

are influenced by expected L2 competence, and whether they are directed at certain nationals or L1 backgrounds. Employing map-labelling and map-drawing tasks could be useful to shed light on the matter, especially concerning scaling of voice-placing and degrees of similarity to L1 Icelandic.

As evident from the results of this study, many questions remain unanswered regarding the evaluation of L2 accent, its entanglement with assessment of L2 speech in broader terms, and how an evaluation system for L2 speech is aligned with the deep-rooted one for L1 speech. Broadly based future research is needed that makes use of the different overt and covert approaches compiled under the study of language regard. This research should employ ethnographic methods, e.g., observation of linguistic practices or documentation of encounters between L1 and L2 speakers, as well as methods associated with traditional language-attitude research, e.g., matched- and verbal guises and accent ratings on semantic differentials (cf. section 2.1).

This study has been useful in expanding our understandig of what general categories contribute to evaluations of L2 accent beyond those already known. Therefore, the current study can serve as a prototype for subsequent studies, which aim to investigate aspects that were either beyond the scope of this study or have only been examined cursorily. Focusing on the following aspects could offer more insights into the topic (cf. also section 6.2). Employing more than one speaker sample per language background and adding speakers of different ages and genders could help in understanding evaluations of L2 speakers according to different speaker variables. A greater focus on background variables of listeners could also shed light on potential differences in evaluations of L2 accent, aspects motivating different evaluations, and whether different evaluations are indicative of a rift in consensus amongst language users in their evaluation of L2 speech. Furthermore, individual and focus group interviews might provide insights into other significant aspects determining evaluations of L2 Icelandic besides degree of accent, pleasantness, and correctness.

All things considered, current challenges for Icelandic and its vitality stem from digital language contact and the effects of soaring immigration, with more and more L2 speakers (cf. sections 3.2.3 and 6.3). These challenges make it increasingly important to investigate and map language use of L1 and L2 speakers alike, as well as evaluations of L1 and L2 use of Icelandic and English.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Text

1 Icelandic original

Skoppa litla

Ég á litla svarta kisu sem heitir Skoppa.
Hún fékk þetta nafn af því að hún hoppar alltaf svo glöð í kringum alla sem koma í heimsókn.
Hún er vænn köttur.
Þegar hún vaknar stekkur hún upp í glugga, mjálmar hátt og bíður þangað til ég opna.

2 English translation

Little Skoppa

I have a little black cat called Skoppa.
She got that name because she always jumps so happily around everyone who comes for a visit.
She is a good cat.
When she wakes up, she jumps up to the window, meows loudly, and waits until I open it.

Appendix B: Discussion guide

Questions are indexed with successive numbers in order to facilitate referencing. Successively indexed letters attached to numbers are used for potential probing.

Part I	Introductory questions	Inngangsspurningar
1)	What is your opinion on the current status of the Icelandic language?	Hvað finnst ykkur um stöðu íslensks máls í dag?
2)	Today, there are not only native-born Icelanders in Iceland. How do you feel about foreigners coming to live here?	Nú í dag búa ekki bara innfæddir Íslendingar á Íslandi, hvað finnst ykkur um að útlendingar komi til Íslands til að búa hér?
3)	What do you think about immigrants speaking Icelandic?	Hvað finnst ykkur um að innflytjendur tali íslensku?
3a)	Is it normal or strange to you that immigrants speak Icelandic?	Er eðlilegt eða skrítið að innflytjendur tali íslensku?
3b)	Why?	Af hverju?
3c)	And how?	Hvernig?
4)	In your opinion, is it necessary for immigrants to learn Icelandic?	Er nauðsynlegt fyrir innflytjendur að læra íslensku?
4a)	Why is that?	Af hverju?
5)	How do you feel about Icelandic being spoken a little “differently”?	Hvað finnst þér um íslensku talaða aðeins „öðruvísi“?
6)	What is it that is “different”?	Hvað er það sem er „öðruvísi“?
7)	Do you know any immigrants?	Þekkið þið einhverja innflytjendur?
8)	How do you know immigrants?	Hvernig þekkir þú innflytjendurna?
8a)	How do you know them?	Hvernig þekkir þú þá?
8b)	Through your: Free time? Work or university? Family?	Úr: Frístundum? Vinnu eða skóla? Fjölskyldu?
9)	What language do you use when speaking to immigrants you know?	Á hvaða tungumáli eigiði samskipti við þá innflytjendur sem þið þekkið?

Part II	**Audio recordings, voice-placing, and discussion**	**Upptökur, kortlagning og umræður**
10)	What are your first thoughts on what you just heard?	Hvað er það fyrsta sem ykkur dettur í hug við að hlusta á þessa manneskju tala?
10a)	Why do you say that?	Af hverju er það?
10b)	In what way?	Hvernig þá?
11)	Is there anything especially prominent about the way the person speaks?	Er eitthvað sérstaklega áberandi í því hvernig hún talar?
11a)	What is that exactly? / Can you describe that a bit more?	Hvað nákvæmlega?/ Geturðu lýst því aðeins nánar?
11b)	How do you feel about that?	Hvernig finnst ykkur það?
12)	In your opinion, is there a little, a lot, or no difference between the way you speak and the person you listened to?	Finnst ykkur vera lítill, mikill eða enginn munur á hennar framburði og ykkar eigin?
12a)	What is it exactly that is different?	Í hverju felst þessi munur nákvæmlega?
12b)	Do you have any opinion on that?	Hvað finnst ykkur um það?
12c)	Why is that?	Af hverju?
13)	Do you find it pleasant or unpleasant to listen to this person?	Finnst ykkur þægilegt eða óþægilegt að hlusta á þessa manneskju?
13a)	Can you tell us why you find it pleasant/unpleasant?	Af hverju er það þægilegt/ óþægilegt?
14)	Can you tell us how right or wrong you find this person's Icelandic?	Hversu rétt eða röng finnst ykkur íslenska þess sem talar?
14a)	Why is that?	Af hverju?
14b)	Can you explain that a little more?	Getið þið útskýrt aðeins betur?
15)	Where do you think the person is from?	Hvaðan haldið þið að þessi manneskja sé?
15a)	Why do you think that?	Af hverju?

Part III	**Final questions**	**Lokaspurningar**
16)	What do you think was most remarkable about these recordings?	Hvað finnst ykkur athyglisverðast við þessar upptökur?
17)	Is there anything that you would like to add?	Er eitthvað sem ykkur langar að bæta við?
18)	Do you know what exactly the purpose of this discussion was?	Vitið þið nákvæmlega hvað var verið að kanna í þessu hópviðtali?
18a)	Why do you think that is?	Af hverju haldið þið það?

Appendix C: Informed consent for speakers

HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

dagsetning, tími

Rannsóknarverkefni: Dulin viðhorf. Mat á tali innflytjenda.
Rannsóknin er styrkt af Rannsóknarsjóði Háskóla Íslands
Rannsakandi: Stefanie Bade, doktorsnemi í íslenskri málfræði

Dulin viðhorf. Mat á tali innflytjenda

Upplýst samþykki

Nafn þátttakanda

Tilgangur þessarar rannsóknar er að kanna viðhorf íslenskra málnotenda til erlends hreims og hugsanlegra þátta á bak við skynjun hreimsins. Rannsóknin tengist doktorsrannsókn sem beinist að félagslegum og málfélagslegum þáttum nýs fjölmeningarlegs samfélags með áherslu á mat Íslendinga á malnotkun innflytjenda.

Þetta verkefni og þátttakan er tvíþætt:
(i) Svör við spurningalista (u.þ.b. 5 mínútur),
(ii) Upplestur texta og hljóðritun þess (u.þ.b. 20 mínútur, undirbúningstími meðtalinn).

Þátttakanda ber ekki skylda til þess að taka þátt og er frjálst að hætta hvenær sem er í rannsóknarferlinu án skýringa eða eftirmála. Öll gögn verða eingöngu í höndum rannsakanda og leiðbeinanda hans og geymd hjá þeim. Rannsakandi lofar þagnarskyldu og nafnleynd ef viðmælandi kýs það.

Mér hefur verið kynntur tilgangur þessarar rannsóknar og í hverju þátttaka mín er fólgin. Ég er samþykk(ur) þátttöku.

Reykjavík, dagsetning _____

Undirskrift þátttakandans

HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

date, time

Research project: Dulin viðhorf. Mat á tali innflytjenda.
Project funded by Rannsóknarsjóður Háskóla Íslands
Researcher: Stefanie Bade, Ph.D. candidate in Icelandic Linguistics

Dulin viðhorf. Mat á tali innflytjenda

Informed consent

Participant's name

This research project aims to investigate Icelanders' attitudes towards foreign-accented speech and potential social factors connected with the perception of foreign accents. The research is part of Ph.D. research on social and sociolinguistic issues in a newly emergent multicultural society in Iceland, with a focus on Icelanders' evaluation of immigrants' language use.

The research consists of two parts: (i) Completing a questionnaire (ca. 5 minutes),
(ii) Reading a text aloud incl. recording (ca. 20 minutes, incl. preparation time).

The participant is not obliged to participate in this research and is entitled to cancel participation at any stage of the process without having to give reasons for doing so and without repercussions. All data will exclusively be treated and stored by the researcher and her supervisor. Anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed by the researcher.

I have been informed about the content and aim of this research project as well as the terms and conditions of my participation. I agree to participate.

Reykjavík, date _____

Participant's signature

Appendix D: Excerpts in Icelandic and their English translations

Excerpts in Icelandic (original)	Translation in English
Excerpt 1 Emil: Já hún [staða íslenskunnar] er svona, aðeins að gefa eftir út af öllum þessum tækjum hérna, og, tölvupóstarnir og öllu, mikið, allt á útlensku og svo, facebook og svona dótarí. Þannig að, aðeins að gefa eftir held ég. Krakkarnir eru mikið í enskunni.	Excerpt 1 Emil: Yeah, it [Icelandic] is, retreating because of all this tech uhm, and email and all that, everything is in a foreign language and then, Facebook and that stuff. So, giving way a little bit I think. Kids are using English a lot.
Excerpt 2 Hanna: Ég held við þurfum virkilega að vera vakandi og standa vörð. Uh, já, mér finnst, uh, ungmenni, nota mjög mikið slangur. Blanda saman tungumálum. Litlu börnin. […] Ég hef áhyggjur af því. Ingimar: Ég, uh, hins vegar, er ekki sammála þessu, ég hef nefnilega ekki áhyggjur af íslenskunni. Ég, þetta er svo skrítið, ég hef, frá því að ég fékk boð um að taka þátt í þessu, þá fór maður náttúrulega að hugsa, hvernig var maður sjálfur sem krakki og unglingur? Maður var nú ekki að tala alltaf rétt mál.	Excerpt 2 Hanna: I think we really need to be alert and on guard. Uh, yeah, I think, uh, adolescents use slang a whole lot. Mixing languages. The little kids […] I'm worried about that. Ingimar: I, uh, however, disagree, I don't worry about [the survival of] Icelandic. I, this is so weird, I have, since I was invited to take part in this, I naturally started thinking, how was I as a kid and teenager? I wasn't always using correct speech.
Excerpt 3 Ágúst: [É]g held að krakkar séu í miklum meirihluta í dag orðin sko, að minnsta kosti tvítyngd, eh svona bara í grunninn. Það er að segja þau náttúrulega sko, læra ensku voða mikið af þessum tölvu-samskiptum sem þau byrja í bara, strax í barnæsku. Og það verður svona náttúru-legt fyrir þeim að tala það og maður heyrir á máli þeirra þegar þeir eru bara í svona, netleikjum svona, yfir netið, og þeir tala, þó þeir séu jafnvel meirihluti spilaranna séu Íslendingar, þá tala þeir ensku sín á milli, í leiknum, af því að þar er allt á ensku á skjánum sem kemur fram.	Excerpt 3 Ágúst: I think that the large majority of kids are basically at least bilingual. By that, I mean that they naturally acquire a lot of English via those computer interactions that they engage in, right in childhood. And that's why it is so natural for them to speak it, and one hears from them speaking that they are in some kind of online games, you know on the internet, and they speak, although most of the gamers are Icelanders, they speak English among themselves, in those games, because everything on the screen is in English.
Excerpt 4 Dagur: [É]g held að, fyrir íslenskuna, og bara, fyrir bara skynsamlega nálgun á þetta, þá þurfum við náttúrulega að geta skipt á milli tungumálanna. Það að læra ensku þýðir það ekki að þú þurfir að blanda henni inn í alla íslenskuna.	Excerpt 4 Dagur: I think that, for Icelandic, and just, for a sensible approach to this, then we naturally have to be able to switch between the languages. Learning English doesn't mean that you have to mix and match it with all your Icelandic.

Excerpt 5 María: Tölvumál er á íslensku, við það er ritmál á íslensku, það er talmál á íslensku, ég held við þurfum ekki að vera svona rosalega svartsýn.	Excerpt 5 María: The computer language is in Icelandic, and the written language is also in Icelandic, there is spoken language in Icelandic, and I think we don't need to be so terribly pessimistic.
Excerpt 6 Ásta: [É]g held það sé bara eðlilegt að talið þróist og breytist, talmál gerir það. Það er ekki hægt annað í mannlegum samskiptum og tækninni eins og hún er í dag, við getum ekki verið svo þröngsýn að við viljum að ekkert breytist, að við tölum alltaf gullaldarmál, það gengur ekki.	Excerpt 6 Ásta: I think it's just normal that speech evolves and changes, spoken language does that. It is unavoidable in human communication and technology like it is today, we cannot be so narrow-minded that we want nothing to change, that we always speak golden age-language; that won't do.
Excerpt 7 Ásta: [É]g held við eigum bara ekki að vera hrædd við í raun og veru að leyfa íslenskunni að þróast, halda áfram að finna ný orð og íslenska orð, innan gæsalappa, sem, nýyrði og svona sem koma.	Excerpt 7 Ásta: I think we just shouldn't be really afraid to let Icelandic evolve. And we should continue to find new words and 'Icelandicize' words, as neologisms and stuff.
Excerpt 8 Steinþór: Ég tek mann sem er með þágufallssýki, og ég kalla það sýki, ég tek þann mann ekki eins alvarlega. Það, veit, það er svo furðulegt, ég bara tek hann ekki eins alvarlega. […] Og, eins er þegar, þegar lærðir menn eru að tala um, í sjónvarpinu í viðtölum og svona, og geta ekki, hafa ekki íslensk hugtök sem hver heilbrigður maður […] með heilbrigða skynsemi á að hafa, þeir eru svo í sínum heimi, geta ekki skipt yfir í íslensku. Málið er að það er að blandast saman. […] En að vera að hræra saman mörgum tungumálum, það finnst mér vera bara, það er bara, það er ekki hafragrautur. Það er bara einhver vitleysa sko.	Excerpt 8 Steinþór: I take a man with dative disease, and I mean disease, I don't take that man as seriously. It, I know, it's so bizarre, I just don't take him as seriously. […] And, also when, when educated men are talking about, on TV in interviews and whatever, and cannot, don't have Icelandic terms that every healthy man […] with healthy reasonability should have, they are so much in their own world, can't switch over to Icelandic. The thing is that [Icelandic] is mixing. The language is, it is mixing. […] But stirring together many languages, that I think is just, it's just, it is not some kind of porridge. It's nonsense, you know.
Excerpt 9 Ásta: Ég ætla ekkert að ræða það frekar því það [þ.e. þágufallshneigð] er gúterað hérna fyrir sunnan. Ég er nefnilega að norðan, að við erum harðari kannski á því, ég veit ekki. En mér finnst kannski íslenskan vera á töluverðu undanhaldi og það er helst hvað er mikið af enskuslettum. […] ég held að sum, að það sé ákaflega erfitt að dæma um það hvað sé alveg	Excerpt 9 Ásta: I'm not going to discuss this in any more detail because this [i.e., dative tendency] gets accepted here in the South. But I am from the North, and we are probably stricter with this, I don't know. But I think that Icelandic is giving way considerably, which is most obvious from all of the Anglicisms (*slettur*) […]. I think that some, and it is immensely difficult to

kórrétt, hver getur það, og þetta er líka við hvað maður er vaninn og hvaða uppeldi maður fær, hvernig er talað við mann og bara, á bernskuárum og svona. Ég get nú bara sagt mína sögu, ég er Akureyringur og ég er gift Keflvíking, við erum gjörsamlega alveg sitt á hvað í tungunni. […] Sagði að þú hefðir sagt þeim vantar, en sko, ég er eiginlega hætt að heyra þetta en mér fannst þetta rosalegt þegar ég kom hérna fyrst suður. Þá fannst mér þágufallssýkin hræðileg.	judge what is completely correct, who can say that, and it is also dependent on what one is used to and what kind of upbringing one has, how one is talked to, and you know, in childhood and so on. I can only tell my own story, I am from Akureyri and my partner is from Keflavík, and we are completely at odds when it comes to language. […] You said that you had said 'þeim vantar' [stigmatized form of oblique case commonly referred to as dative sickness], and well, I don't hear that anymore, but I found it terrible when I first came to the South. Then I really found the dative sickness horrible.
Excerpt 10 Vigdís: En, en hún [jafnaldra vinkonan] skildi bara ekkert hvað ég var að tala um sko. En, þá fer það líka bara rosa mikið eftir uppeldinu held ég. Ég var alin upp á Akureyri, þannig að. Og, fjölskylda mín, foreldrar voru svona úr sveit pínu…	Excerpt 10 But, um, she [a female friend of same age] didn't understand at all what I was talking about, yeah. But, then it really depends on the upbringing I think. I was raised in Akureyri, so, yeah. And my family, my parents were from the countryside, kind of…
Excerpt 11 Tómas: Strákurinn minn er 8 ára og hann er með kennara frá Akureyri og hann talar […] eiginlega betra mál en ég.	Excerpt 11 My boy is 8 years old and one of his teachers is from Akureyri and he speaks […] almost better Icelandic than I do.
Excerpt 12 Freyja: Já, og mér finnst líka meira að segja sko, framburður ekki góður. Mér finnst, stundum skil ég ekki yngra fólk. Það hefur eitthvað með eitthvað, […] eitthvað svona 'klang' í röddinni og það verður svona óskýrara, og blandast saman við líklega eitthvert tölvumál sem ég þekki ekki. Sigurður: […] Ég get líka tekið undir það sem þú segir og ég skil stundum bara ekki hvað fólk er að segja sko […] Ég segi, ég heyri bara <u>alls</u> ekki hvað krakkagreyin eru að segja. Íris: […] Ég er alveg sammála, maður kannski heyrir oft mjög óskýran framburð og, og slettur en ég held að það sé í lagi þannig. […].	Excerpt 12 Freyja: Yes, I even find pronunciation not to be that good. I sometimes have the feeling that I don't understand young people. They have, they have […] some kind of 'tone' in their voice and everything becomes less clear. And then it probably gets mixed with some computer language that I don't know. Sigurður: […] I can also relate to what you're saying and I sometimes don't understand what people say. […] I mean, I just don't understand those poor kids <u>at all.</u> Íris: I completely agree. One does often hear very unclear pronunciation, and *slettur*, but I think that's okay.
Excerpt 13 Björn: Það er bara orðið mjög venjulegt að fólk talar íslensku með ýmiss konar hreim.	Excerpt 13 Björn: It has become very common that people speak Icelandic with all kinds of accents.

Excerpt 14 Freyja: Sko af útlendingi, þá finnst mér það allt í lagi því að íslenskan er erfitt mál að læra. Þá finnst mér það allt í lagi að, bara að fólk þori að tala þó það sé eitthvað bjagað, en af Íslendingi þá finnst mér það ekki í lagi.	Excerpt 14 Freyja: Well, I find it okay when coming from a foreigner because Icelandic is a hard language to learn. There, I find it okay, if people just dare to speak although it's somehow broken. But coming from an Icelander, that's not okay.
Excerpt 15 Atli: Ég til dæmis væri talsvert þolinmóðari að tala við útlending sem hefði lært íslensku sem talar vitlaust á móti Íslendingi.	Excerpt 15 Atli: I would, for example, be much more patient when speaking with a foreigner who has learned Icelandic but speaks wrong than with an Icelander.
Excerpt 16 Hanna: Mér finnst það allt í lagi og eins og ég segi, ég hef meiri þolinmæði gagnvart því, gagnvart fólki sem er að tileinka sér íslenskuna heldur en "bornum og barnfæddum" (gerir gæsalappir með höndunum) Íslendingum sem kunna ekki að beygja og nota þágufall og eitthvað.	Excerpt 16 Hanna: I find it okay, and as I said, I am much more patient towards people who learn Icelandic than native Icelanders who can't inflect and use dative case or something.
Excerpt 17 Klara: Mér finnst mjög gaman að heyra útlendinga tala íslensku, jafnvel þótt það sé bjöguð íslenska, mér finnst aftur á móti leiðinlegt að heyra Íslendinga tala lélega íslensku. Það finnst mér verra.	Excerpt 17 Klara: I really enjoy listening to foreigners speak Icelandic, even when it's broken Icelandic. But I find it bad to hear Icelanders speak poor Icelandic. That's worse.
Excerpt 18 Steinar: Ég, mér finnst, ég held að, ef maður færi í annað land og, færi að læra nýtt tungumál, að maður mundi ekki geta náð því eins vel og innfæddir. […] Ég tel það sé, ehh, ég sé ekki heldur að það sé nein hætta í sambandi, í sambandi við þetta, í, sko málinu stafar ekki endilega hætta af þessu. Það er allt annað til dæmis eins og þessi stóru og sterku áhrif sem enskan hefur á málið í dag með öllum þeim, uh, fjölmiðlatækjum eða, og, og, græjum sem eru í notkun og aukast alltaf.	Excerpt 18 Steinar: I, I think, if one would go to another country and learn a new language, one would not learn it as well as the natives. […] I also believe, I think that there is no danger in connection, in connection with this, you know, there is no danger for the language from this. This is something completely different than this big and strong influence that English has on the language today, with all those media devices and, gadgets that are used. And that always increases.
Excerpt 19 Emma: Já. Ég sagði Pólland. Mér fannst ég einhvern veginn bara heyrt svo mikið af svona íslensku. Var einhvern veginn svo kunnuglegt. Fannst þetta svo eðlilegt.	Excerpt 19 Emma: Yes, I said Poland. I thought that I have somehow heard so much of this kind of Icelandic. This was somehow so familiar. I found this so normal.
Excerpt 20 Vigdís: Mér fannst þetta heldur kunnuglegt bara af því að, ég kann, mig rámar í þennan hreim sko.	Excerpt 20 Vigdís: I found this to be rather familiar because I can, I vaguely remember this accent.

Excerpt 21 Emil: Ég setti þetta hérna nú á, Pólland. […] Ásta: Já, við vorum með annan fótinn þar. Kristín: Af hverju myndirðu segja að hún væri frá Póllandi? Emil: Ég náttúrulega veit það ekkert nákvæmlega, ég heyri einstaka sinnum Pólverja eitthvað tala. Kristín: Já, finnst þér þetta kunnuglegt, eða þannig? Emil: Nei, ekkert endilega. Ég hef ekki verið mikið innan um útlendinga sko. Jón: Maður miðar bara við þá sem maður þekkir sko.	Excerpt 21 Emil: I marked Poland. […] Ásta: Yes, we were headed in that direction. Kristín: Why would you say that she is from Poland? Emil: Of course, I don't know that exactly. Once in a while, I hear Poles speak something. Kristín: Yes, do you find this familiar or something? Emil: No, not necessarily. I haven't really had much contact with foreigners. Jón: Well, you just compare with what you know.
Excerpt 22 Vigdís: Mér fannst hún vera pólsk. Sunna: Já, mér líka. Kolfinna: Mér finnst ég hafa heyrt þetta líka, já. Merkti þarna í kringum Pólland og þar. Vigdís: 'glúgga' og hérna… 'obna' Kolfinna: Mhm. Mér fannst ég kannast við það, það, sem mér fannst ekki með fyrstu tvö. Atli: Já. Vigdís: Mikið af Pólverjum hérna á Íslandi sem eru, einmitt, búnir að læra íslensku. Tala nákvæmlega bara... Sunna: svona. Vigdís: Já, mér fannst þetta vera bara mjög líkt þeirra […] Við höldum auðvitað Pólland af því að það eru svo margir Pólverjar hér. Og þessi hreimur er dáldið líkur honum, þeim hreim.	Excerpt 22 Vigdís: I thought she was Polish. Sunna: I thought so too. Kolfinna: I also think that I've heard this before. I marked Poland and around there. Vigdís: 'glúgga' [kluk:a] and 'obna' [ɔpna] Kolfinna: Mmh, I thought I recognized that, which I didn't do with the first two [i.e., the Lithuanian and American guises]. Atli: Yes. Vigdís: There are a lot of Poles here in Iceland, who have learned Icelandic. They just speak exactly… Sunna: like this. Vigdís: Yes, I found this to be very similar to them […]. Of course, we think that it's Poland because there are so many Poles here. And this accent is somewhat similar to it, their accent.
Excerpt 23 Dagbjört: Mágkona mín er gift Frakka, og hann talar smá íslensku og þetta minnti mig pínulítið á hrynjandann hans, þess vegna sagði ég Frakkland.	Excerpt 23 Dagbjört: My sister-in-law is married to a Frenchman, and he speaks a little Icelandic and this reminded me a tiny bit of his intonation. That's why I said France.
Excerpt 24 Kári: Ég reyndar sko, svo sem hef aldrei búið í Noregi en ég á son sem er búinn að búa þar í 21 ár og fer þarna býsna oft þannig að mér fannst þetta geta verið svona hljómfallið þeirra í þeirra framburð. […] Jón: Ég held þetta geti verið rétt hjá þér, ég reyndar merkti við Svíþjóð. Ég þekki	Excerpt 24 Kári: Although I have never lived in Norway, I have a son who has lived there for 21 years and I visit him quite often and I thought that this could have been, you know, their intonation, their pronunciation. […] Jón: I think you could be right, although I marked Sweden. I know Swedes better

meira Svía sem tala mjög góða íslensku eins og þessi talaði mjög vel. En, en melódían, hljómfallið var, minnti mig á sænsku.	and they speak Icelandic very well, just like this one spoke really well. But, the melody, the intonation reminded me of Swedish.
Excerpt 25 Kári: Ég giskaði á Skandinavíu sko. Jafnvel. Mér finnst það hæpið að þetta sé allavega Dani því ég hef þekkt Dani sem voru búnir að vera hér í 30-40 ár og þeir kunna hvorki dönsku né íslensku.	Excerpt 25 Kári: Well, I guessed Scandinavia. But I doubt that this was a Dane because I have known Danes who have lived here for 30–40 years and they can speak neither Danish nor Icelandic.
Excerpt 26 Berglind: Svili minn er Dani, þetta var ekki danska. Nema bara, viðkomandi hefði sko bara, já verið miklu lengur hér á Íslandi heldur en hann.	Excerpt 26 Berglind: My husband's sister's husband is a Dane, and this was not Danish. Except, the person would have lived here in Iceland way longer than him.
Excerpt 27 Ingimar: Ég gat, ég hefði ekki getað sagt Danmörk af því að ég, eins og ég sagði áðan, ég ólst upp með dönskum frænda og, og… Dagbjört: Hann talaði ekki svona? Ingimar: Það sko, nei nei nei nei nei nei. Dagbjört: Það er svo misjafnt samt.	Excerpt 27 Ingimar: I could, I couldn't have said Denmark because I, as I said before, I grew up with a Danish relative and, and… Dagbjört: He didn't talk like that? Ingimar: Well, no no no no no no… Dagbjört: It can be so different though.
Excerpt 28 Björn: Þetta er svona, einhver úral-hreimur af þessu svona. Mér fannst þetta svona, mér fannst þetta dáltið dæmigert fyrir svona ýmist Pólverjana og Litháana sem eru mikið hérna í byggingabransanum. Jón: Já Soffía: Já. Það eru þeir sem ég heyri í. Jón: Já. Ég heyri það líka. Björn: Kemur mikið fram í sérhljóða-framburðinum, 'kringum', og svona áreynslukenndur sérhljóðaframburður sko. Soffía: Ég get ekki staðsett það alveg en þetta er Austur-Evrópa, hefði ég sagt strax. Ég sel iðnaðarmönnum vinnuföt, þannig að…	Excerpt 28 Björn: This is some kind of accent from the Ural area. I found this, like, I found this a bit typical for both Poles and Lithuanians who work here a lot in the construction industry. Jón: Yes. Soffía: Yes. It's those whom I hear speak. Jón. Yes, I hear that too. Björn: You hear it a lot in how they pronounce vowels, 'kringum' [kʰriŋkʊm], and such strained pronunciation of vowels. Soffía: I cannot locate this exactly, but I would have said Eastern Europe immediately. I sell work clothes to craftsmen, and that's why…
Excerpt 29 Vigdís: En mér fannst þetta vera dáltið, eitthvað, Afríku-hreimur, pínu. […] Af því að vinkona mín er frá Namibíu, náttúrlega, og mamma hennar hún er með svipaðan hreim. Það eru svona, ýmis orð sem að, kviknar á dáltið.	Excerpt 29 Vigdís: But I thought this to be some African accent, a tiny bit. […] Because my friend is from Namibia, you know, and her mom has a similar accent. Various words are noticeable.
Excerpt 30 Hanna: Gæti verið þess vegna…	Excerpt 30 Hanna: Could be…

Ingimar: Þið hafið nú heyrt, Jógvan tala og… Hugrún: Eivör Ingimar: Eivör og… Mér fannst þetta engan veginn vera…	Ingimar: Have you heard Jógvan speak? Hugrún: Eivör Ingimar: Eivör and… I thought that this was no way their…
Excerpt 31 Dagbjört: Mér fannst þetta vera forsetafrúin. […] Ég sagði Kanada af því að forsetafrúin er frá Kanada. [Þess] vegna datt mér hún í hug, mér fannst eins og ég væri að hlusta á hana tala. Ég veit ekkert út af hverju, þetta er ábyggilega vitlaust.	Excerpt 31 Dagbjört: I thought that this was the president's wife. […] I said Canada because the president's wife is from Canada. That's why I thought of her. I thought that I'd be listening to her. I don't know why, this is surely wrong.
Excerpt 32 Björn: Bíddu nú, nú man ég ekki, hvernig var H-hljóðið í 'hoppar' til dæmis. […] Nú er til dæmis, á Spáni, yrði sagt bara 'obbar'. […] Eins og í 101 Reykjavík sko, þegar Hlynur hét 'linur'.	Excerpt 32 Björn: Wait a minute, now I don't remember how that H in 'hoppar' was, for example. […] In Spain, for example, you would just say 'obbar'. […] Just like in [the movie] 101 Reykjavík, in which Hlynur was called 'linur'.
Excerpt 33 Sigurður: Þetta minnti mig nú á Þjóðverja sem hefði búið hér nokkuð lengi. […] Hún vandaði sig mjög áberandi fannst mér. Og það er mjög þýskt.	Excerpt 33 Sigurður: This reminded me of Germans who have lived here for quite some time. […] I found it striking how much effort she put into this. And that is very German.
Excerpt 34 Ásta: Ég bara skaut á Þýskaland af því að mér finnst Þjóðverjar svo andskoti duglegir að læra íslensku ef þeir vilja það.	Excerpt 34 Ásta: I just guessed Germany because I find Germans so damn efficient at learning Icelandic if they want to.
Excerpt 35 Steinar: Ef hún væri, ef hún væri frá Norðurlöndunum, þá gæti hún kannski verið finnsk. Eða sænsk. […] Anton: Nefndir þú það? Settir þú hringinn þar? Steinar: Nei, ég veit það ekki. Þeir, Finnarnir, þeir vanda sig svo vel, eins og þegar þeir tala ensku.	Excerpt 35 Steinar: If she was, if she was from the Nordic countries, she could maybe be Finnish. Or Swedish. […] Anton: Did you say that? Did you draw a circle there? Steinar: No, I don't know. They, the Finns, they put so much effort into things, like when they speak English.
Excerpt 36 Steinþór: Ég segi, ég er sennilega betri í að dæma um hvaðan fólk kemur ef það talar ensku. Hugrún: Ég segi það líka! Ingimar: Já, já! Dani, Norðmaður, Svíi, alveg bara, ekki vandamál. Steinþór: Indverji, Ástrali, Kanadamaður.	Excerpt 36 Steinþór: I mean, I am surely better at telling where people come from if they speak English. Hugrún: I would say the same! Ingimar: Yes, yes! Dane, Norwegian, Swede, no problem at all! Steinþór: Indian, Australian, Canadian.
Excerpt 37 Margrét: Kannski var hún hollensk, því við vitum að Hollendingar eiga tiltölulega auðvelt með að læra, eh, framburð. […] Þó	Excerpt 37 Margrét: Maybe she was Dutch because we know that Dutch people have an easy time learning pronunciation. […]

ég hafi ekki skrifað það þá bara, hugsaði ég að þetta væri einhver sem á auðvelt með að læra íslenskan framburð.	Although I haven't written it down, I thought that this was someone who easily learns Icelandic pronunciation.
Excerpt 38 Anton: Ég, sko, ég, fyrstu viðbrögð mín voru frönskumælandi, frá Frakklandi, en, en svo náttúrulega kom hún aldrei með þessa, svona, þessa steríótýpísku frönsku hljóm, þannig að ég varð efins, svo ég setti aðeins víðari, þannig að ég setti Frakkland og Sviss og Ungverjaland svona, ég var svona, var á þeim nótunum, Mið-Evrópa plús Frakkland, fyrsta tilfinning var Frakkland. En, en svo, og með það að ef hún er frönsk þá er hún búin að standa sig mjög vel.	Excerpt 38 Anton: Well, I, my first reaction was French-speaking, from France, but then she just didn't have those stereotypical French sounds, so I was in doubt and drew a larger circle and I marked France, Switzerland, and Hungary. I was along the lines of Central Europe plus France, the first feeling was France. But if she is French then she did a very good job.
Excerpt 39 Björn: Maður gat ekki heyrt nein frávik frá dæmigerðri íslensku. Emil: Þetta var […] Íslendingur að lesa. Jón: Fínustu blæbrigðin liggja í, í sko hljómfallinu. Ásta: Í flæðinu á því, textaflæðinu. Jón: Það, já. Hvernig eitt orð tekur við af öðru.	Excerpt 39 Björn: One could not hear any deviations from typical Icelandic. Emil: This was […] an Icelander reading. Jón: The slight nuances are to be found in intonation. Ásta: In the flow, in the flow of the text. Jón: Yes, right. How words take over from one another.
Excerpt 40 Sunna: Framburð, hrynjandi, allt […] Atli: Myndi segja bara að hún talar íslensku eins og Íslendingur talar íslensku. Berglind: Hrynjandinn í lestrinum bara eins og við lesum sjálf.	Excerpt 40 Sunna: Pronunciation, intonation, everything […] Atli: I'd say that she just speaks Icelandic like an Icelander speaks Icelandic. Berglind: The intonation in how she reads was just like we read ourselves.
Excerpt 41 Ágúst: Það var, til dæmis eins og hljóðið sem kemur þegar þú segir 'nafn'. 'Nafn', þetta kokhljóð, hérna upp í nefið. Það er eitthvað sem að þú, það eru bara innfæddir sem geta gert það. […] Hugrún: Þetta ‚té-ell' hljóð. Og maður heyrir bara öll þessi litlu blæbrigði. Ágúst: Já, þessi smáhljóð sem að, komu. Hugrún: sem vantar í hinum það bara var þarna strax til staðar. Bara, um leið og hún byrjaði, bara að segja 'ég'. Það er bara […] þá nemur eyrað eitthvað. Steinþór: Það er þetta, og sérstaklega ʿgé'-hljóðin.	Excerpt 41 Ágúst: It was, for example, the sound that comes when you say 'nafn' [napn̥]. 'Nafn', this guttural sound, up here in the nose. This is something that you, only natives can do. […] Hugrún: This ʿté-ell' sound. And one just hears all of those nuances. Ágúst: Yes, those little sounds Hugrún: which the others lacked, they were immediately here. Just, right when she started, just by saying 'ég' [jɛx]. This is just […] the ear notices something. Steinþór: Exactly that, and especially ʿgé' sounds.
Excerpt 42 Steinþór: Það var líka, hún lét bara vaða sko. Hanna: Örugg […]	Excerpt 42 Steinþór: It was also, she just let go. Hanna: Confident […]

Dagbjört: Hún var bara örugg í fasi.	Dagbjört: She was just full of confidence.
Excerpt 43 Björn: Já. Kannski líka, í svona andanum í lestrinum. Maður […] heyrir það, kannski þeir sem eru útlendingar, þeir, þeir svona halda meira aftur af sér, tala svona feimnislega sko. Þetta var svona, ff, ff, frakkur lestur, getur maður sagt eða, eða hægt að segja það. Emil: las þetta vel og hátt og skýrt og hratt. […] Og vel skiljanlega. […] Ásta: Hún talaði bara ljómandi íslensku. (hlær) […] Björn: og […] talaði svona af öryggi. […] Mér finnst alveg geisla öryggi af hverri setningu og vissi og, segja nákvæmlega… Ásta: Í engum vandræðum með þetta. […] Jón: Það sem maður heyrir bak við svona […] er hérna, maður þekkir íslenska karakterinn. Af því að maður þekkir, það er alltaf einhver persónuleiki sem býr á bak við röddina og hljómfallið. Maður þekkir það. Sem íslenskt.	Excerpt 43 Björn: Yes, maybe we also see this in some kind of character while they read. One […] hears that maybe those who are foreigners, they, they kind of hold back, talk more shyly. This was, you know, read in a forward way, one can say. Emil: [She] read this well and loud and clearly and fast. […] And very understandably. […] Ásta: She just spoke brilliant Icelandic (laughs). Björn: and […] spoke with confidence. […] I had the feeling that she beamed with confidence in every sentence and I know, say exactly… Ásta: No problem with this. Jón: What one hears behind this […], you know, is that one knows the Icelandic character. Because one knows, that there is always some personality behind the voice and the melody. One knows that as being Icelandic.
Excerpt 44 Emma: [M]ér fannst ég finna bara þetta öryggi. Einhvern veginn bara, fer bara beint í þetta, hrynjandinn og allt er bara alveg, í… svona flæði. Anton: Glæsilegur upplestur. Dagur: Hún hefði ekki náð þessu alveg ef hún hefði bara vandað sig.	Excerpt 44 Emma: I just thought that I found this confidence. Somehow just, just right away, the rhythm and everything is just completely in … such a flow. Anton: Splendidly read. Dagur: She would not have achieved this by just putting an effort into it.
Excerpt 45 Freyja: Ég var svo viss um að við værum að hlusta á útlendinga og ég var að reyna að finna eitthvað sem gæti bent til þess að hún væri ekki íslensk. En ég fann það ekki. Páll: Ég held hún sé úr Reykjavík. Íris: Svona sunnlenska.	Excerpt 45 Freyja: I was so sure that we were listening to foreigners, and I was trying to find something that might indicate that she was not Icelandic. But I didn't find anything. Páll: I think that she is from Reykjavík. Íris: So southern.
Excerpt 46 Kári: Hún er meira að segja frekar harðmælt heldur en linmælt.	Excerpt 46 Kári: She even uses hard speech rather than soft speech.
Excerpt 47 Ingimar: Ja ég ætla allavega ekki að segja fyrir norðan. Ekki fyrir norðan og ekki að vestan. Bara… Hanna: Venjulegur Íslendingur.	Excerpt 47 Ingimar: Well, I'd say that she is definitely not from the North. Not from the North and not from the West. Just… Hanna: A normal Icelander.

Ingimar: Þetta er bara, eins og Kanadamenn sem ég tala mikið við, þetta er frá “Rehklavikk”.	Ingimar: This is just, as the Canadians say, whom I talk to a lot, this is from ‘Rehklavikk’.
Excerpt 48 Freyja: Nei, mér finnst kannski svolítið áberandi með útlendinga að það er einmitt þetta, PP og LL og NN og svona einhver blástur.	Excerpt 48 Freyja: No, I think that maybe a little noticeable with foreigners is exactly this, PP and LL and NN and some kind of blow.
Excerpt 49 María: Við eigum, við erum með mörg sérstök hljóð sem að útlendingar eiga erfitt með að… Íris: Og þetta, tvö enn, vænn köttur. Þú veist, hún er vænn, þú veist, tók ég eftir að það væri ekki alveg […] María: Til dæmis tvö ell eru mjög erfið, vita hvenær maður á að segja ‘etl’ [ɛtl̥] og hvenær ‘llll’ [əlː] Freyja: ‘Halló’ [halːou] eða ‘halló’ [hatlou].	Excerpt 49 María: We have, we have many special sounds that foreigners find difficult to… Íris: And this, two N’s, vænn köttur [vaitn k^{h}öhtʏr]. You know, hún er vænn, I noticed that that was not entirely […] María: For example, two L’s are very difficult, to know when one needs to say ‘etl’ [ɛtl̥] and when ‘llll’ [əlː]. Freyja: Halló [halːou] or halló [hatlou].
Excerpt 50 Sigurður: Ég skilaði auðu í þessu. En ég hugsaði á meðan ég hlustaði á hana, að latnesk tungumál eru nú ekki bara töluð í Suður-Evrópu. Það er vestanhafs líka, Suður-Ameríka og Mexíkó, sko, mér datt nú helst í hug þau landsvæði en mér fannst nú dáltið langt að draga hring frá Miðjarðarhafi og til Mexíkó. Klara: Það er hægt að […] tvo staði. Íris: Það skiptir ekki þetta er það sama nema svona… Klara: Spænska nema þarna í Brasilíu. Freyja: Hún sagði reyndar [xun], eins og [mɛxikou], eitthvað svona [x]. Páll: Sammála þér í því að mér fannst þetta spænska, ættað.	Excerpt 50 Sigurður: I returned a blank sheet. But as I listened to her I thought, that Latin languages are not only spoken in southern Europe. They are also spoken in North America, South America, and Mexico, you know. I mostly thought of those areas but I thought that it would be too much to draw a circle from the Mediterranean to Mexico. Klara: It’s possible to […] two places. Íris: It doesn’t matter. It’s the same except… Klara: Spanish except in Brazil. Freyja: She actually said [xun], like in [mɛxikou], something like [x]. Páll: I agree with you in that I found this Spanish, coming from Spanish.
Excerpt 51 Jón: Ég get ekki gert upp á milli hvort þetta er spænskumælandi eða slavneskt, eða, eða pólska eða eitthvað slíkt. Ásta: Akkúrat. Nákvæmlega það sama og mér datt í hug. Jón: Mér fannst hvoru tveggja koma til greina en þó öll H-in voru mjög [xha], [xha], mér fannst það benda til spænskumælandi svæðis.	Excerpt 51 Jón: I cannot decide whether this is Spanish-speaking or Slavic, or, or Polish or something like that. Ásta: Exactly. That is the same as I thought. Jón: I thought both were possible, but all those H’s were very [xha], [xha] and I found this indicative of Spanish-speaking regions.

Soffía: Mér finnst þetta, Suður-Evrópa. Jón: En margt annað til Austur-Evrópu. Björn: Þau eru ekki vön að bera fram H-ið sko. En eru með þetta [xh] hljóð í málinu sko.	Soffía: I thought this was southern Europe. Jón: …but many other things indicative of Eastern Europe. Björn: They are not used to pronouncing H. But they have this [xh] sound in their language.
Excerpt 52 Björn: Mér fannst eins og, mér fannst svoltið einkennandi [xh] hljóð með H-inu… '[hɔːxhpa]'…Og ég, og já reyndar Írak Íran er þarna innan hringsins hjá mér líka…En ég veit hins vegar að þetta var ekki mjög vísindalegt neitt sko. Þetta var nú, mér fannst eiginlega þetta kannski svona, hérna, þetta, hérna, þetta [xh] hljóð með H-inu sem mér fannst hérna, gera þetta svona dáltið fjarlægt þessum, sko, þessum nær, nærlöndum hérna sko.	Excerpt 52 Björn: I felt like, I felt that the [xh] sound with the H was a little characteristic, '[hɔːxhpa]'… And I, and yes actually Iraq and Iran are there in my circle too… But I know that this was not very scientific at all. It was, I actually thought that this was maybe, this [xh] sound with the H. I found that it kind of made it sound quite far away from our immediate neighbours here.
Excerpt 53 Sunna: Ég kemst ekki yfir þetta ‚err'. Þetta var greinilega ekki Asíubúi.	Excerpt 53 Sunna: I can't get over this 'err'. This was certainly not an Asian.
Excerpt 54 María: Allavega ekki frá Danmörku. R-ið var þannig.	Excerpt 54 María: Not from Denmark anyway. It was that kind of R.
Excerpt 55 Steinþór: Hún á í erfiðleikum með eðið. […] Hanna: Já og líka svona þetta, þetta 'sma' (gerir einhvers konar þ-hljóð og handa-hreyfingu út frá munni með). Dagbjört: Mér fannst hún vera asísk. Hanna: Ég myndi, eltast við, spænsku einhvern veginn… Hugrún: Já, ég sagði Spánn. Ágúst: Já ég, Spánn, Suður-Ameríka. Steinþór: Er ekki Spánverjinn á þonn hljóðunum Hanna: Hún var svo mikið hérna, þþþ. Mér fannst hún vera svo smámælt í upphafi. Steinþór: Þetta, þetta voru ekki spænsk áhrif. Hugrún: Já sko, mér fannst þetta nefnilega ekki vera suðuramerískа, því að þeir tala með öðrum hreim heldur en Spánverjar, Spánverjar fá meiri kok og svona þþþ. […] Ingimar: Nei ég gat ekki gert upp á milli spænsku eða portúgölsku, ég […] Já, mér	Excerpt 55 Steinþór: She has problems with the ð. […] Hanna: Yes, and also this, this 'sma' (makes some kind of þ sound and moves her hands from her mouth) Dagbjört: I found her to be Asian. Hanna: I would guess Spanish somehow… Hugrún: Yes, I said Spain. Ágúst: Yes I, Spain, South America. Steinþór: Don't Spaniards use a lot of þ [θ] sounds? Hann: She was a lot like þþþ. Initially, I thought that she had a lisp. Steinþór: There was no Spanish influence. Hugrún: Yes, well, I didn't think that this was South American because they speak with a different accent than Spaniards do. Spaniards talk more in the throat and like þþþ. […] Ingimar: No, I couldn't decide between Spanish and Portuguese, I […]. Yes, I

fannst þetta, hljóðið einhvern veginn, fannst þetta þesslegt. […] Hanna: Þessi smámælti. Ingimar: Já mér fannst þetta vera einhvern veginn, er þetta, segir maður ein, segir maður smá, ekki þykir það vera smámælishreimur hjá Spán… Hanna: Já mér finnst þeir bara smámæltir! (hlær) Ingimar: Okei! (hlær)	somehow found this sound very much to be like that. […] Hanna: The one with the lisp. Ingimar: Yes, I somehow found this to be, does one say, does one say lisp. Is that having a lisp with the Spaniards? Hanna: Yes, I find them to have a lisp! (laughs) Ingimar: OK! (laughs)
Excerpt 56 Margrét: Ég setti þessa konu bara einhvers staðar bara, hérna, á Indónesíusvæðinu. Ég bara, veit það ekki af hverju. Bara af því að… Kristín: Af hverju segiði það, af hverju veljiði þetta land? Sigrún: Af hverju giskaði ég á þetta? Það er útaf rrr. Kolfinna: Út af err-inu. Og þorn-inu líka. Sigrún: Af því að, hérna, mmm, ég hef verið dáltið mikið í Mexíkó sko. Og, þeir geta sagt err eins og við. Kolfinna: Og þorn.	Excerpt 56 Margrét: I just put this woman somewhere, you know, in the region around Indonesia. I just don't know why. Just because… Kristín (to all participants): Why do you say that? Why do you choose this country? Sigrún: Why did I guess that country? It's because of the rrr. Kolfinna: Because of the R. And also the Þ [θ]. Sigrún: Because, you know, I have been quite a bit to Mexico. And they can say R as we do. Kolfinna: And Þ.
Excerpt 57 Sunna: Hún sagði voða mikið svona 'ss ss ss ssshs sshss ss'. Kolfinna: Ess-in voru ess, mjög ess-leg. Sunna: Já, það, það, þess vegna hugsaði ég Spánn, eða sem sagt, […] Af því þau eru með ofsa ríkjandi ess finnst mér. […] Vigdís: Er það samt ekki svona [θ]? Sunna: Það fer eftir hvar þú ert.	Excerpt 57 Sunna: She said a lot of 'ss ss ss sssh sshss ss'. Kolfinna: The S's were very much S's. Sunna: Yes, that, that's why I thought Spain, or you know […]. Because I feel that they have really dominant S's. […] Vigdís: But isn't that rather like this [θ]? Sunna: Depends on where you are.
Excerpt 58 Klara: Mér fannst framburðurinn hennar vera svolítið eins og hjá konu sem ég þekki frá Filippseyjum. Páll: Ég er sammála því. Sigurður: Ég setti hana einhvers staðar í þann hóp, Filippseyjar, Tíbet eða þar. Íris: Já fjarlægustu… […] Sigurður: Einhvers staðar úr þeirri átt. Eins og hún átti erfitt með V og ruglaðist á því og F. […] Mjög einkennandi finnst mér fyrir það svæði. Það sem ég hef heyrt af því. Klara: Hún sagði 'faknar'.	Excerpt 58 Klara: Her pronunciation somewhat reminded me of a woman I know from the Philippines. Páll: I agree. Sigurður: I put her somewhere there, Philippines, Tibet, or there. Íris: Yes, the most distant… […] Sigurður: Somewhere in that direction. It was as if she had problems with V and mixed it up with F. […] I find that very characteristic for that region. What I've heard of it. Klara: She said 'faknar' [fahknaɽ̥].

Excerpt 59 Tómas: Ég er að vinna með Dana sem, hann talar eiginlega voðale, hann talar eiginlega lýtalausa íslensku, svona upp að vissu marki, missir svo alltaf þegar hann segir 'glaður', þá kemur alltaf 'glööö…' (hlær).	Excerpt 59 Tómas: I work with a Dane, and he actually, he actually speaks flawless Icelandic, up to a point. Then he always loses that when he says 'glaður', then he always says 'glööö…' (laughs).
Excerpt 60 Hugrún: Mér datt Þýskaland í hug til að byrja með en svo þegar hún sagði 'glöð' þá fannst mér það vera Danmörk og ég skrifaði Danmörk. Hún sagði svona 'glö' (hermir eftir dönskum framburði)…	Excerpt 60 Hugrún: I thought Germany to begin with but then she said 'glöð', then I felt it to be Denmark, so I wrote Denmark. She said something like 'glö' (imitates a Danish accent)…
Excerpt 61 Hugrún: Mér fannst sænskan fyrst, það var smá söngl fyrst en svo var það ekki. Þess vegna sagði ég Færeyjar.	Excerpt 61 Hugrún: At first I thought Swedish, there was a little bit of singsong, but then it vanished. That's why I said Faroe Islands.
Excerpt 62 Vigdís: Það var einmitt þetta, svona, söngl, sem Svíar einkenna sig með.	Excerpt 62 Vigdís: It was exactly that, some kind of singsong that is characteristic for Swedes.
Excerpt 63 Kolfinna: [N]orrænt í sambandi við sönglið, en svo fannst mér það ekki svo norrænt í sambandi við nákvæmni í, í hljóðum. Þannig að ég bara…	Excerpt 63 Kolfinna: [N]ordic regarding the singsong, but then I didn't find it Nordic regarding precision in the sounds. So I just…
Excerpt 64 Klara: Það er líka annað að hlusta en að, en að hlusta og sjá sko. […] Það er auðveldara.	Excerpt 64 Klara: There's also a difference between listening, and listening and seeing, you know. […] That is easier.
Excerpt 65 Tómas: En svo er svolítið, eins og var sagt áðan, við höfum ekki andlit með röddinni, andlitið segir okkur líka alveg rosalega mikið.	Excerpt 65 Tómas: But then, as was said earlier, we do not have a face with the voice, and the face also tells us quite a lot.
Excerpt 66 Ágúst: En þetta er rosalega gaman, að hlusta, vegna þess að, ef maður, sko, þegar maður sér ekki manneskjuna, heyrir bara að, það opnar svo miklu miklu meiri möguleika, en ef maður sæi manneskjuna, þó svo að hún gæti haft svipbrigði, eða sem sagt, útlit Suður-Ameríku, gæti hún líka verið frá Suður-Evrópu, þá, það myndi þrengja rosa mikið að hafa útlitið. Hugrún: Þá jafnvel myndi maður hugsa, 'já hún er með týpískan hreim þaðan'. Ágúst: Já, já! Steinþór: Ég heyrði engan týpískan hreim í þessu.	Excerpt 66 Ágúst: But it's a lot of fun to listen because if one doesn't see the person, but only listens to her. That opens up so many more possibilities than if one would see the person, even though she could have facial expressions, or, you know, look like someone from South America, she could be from southern Europe. That would really narrow down [the possibilities] to have her face. Hugrún: Then one would even say, 'Yes, she has a typical accent from there.' Ágúst: Yes, yes! Steinþór: I didn't hear any typical accent in this.

Hugrún: Nei, en maður myndi kannski gera það ef maður sæi manneskjuna.	Hugrún: No, but one would maybe do that if one would see the person.
Excerpt 67 Jón: Já það tekur töluverða einbeitingu að, að ná samhenginu þegar eru svona mikil frávik.	Excerpt 67 Jón: Yes, it takes a lot of concentration to get the context with so much deviation.
Excerpt 68 Emma: Já, ekki alveg eins skýrt, maður svona þurfti aðeins að, aðeins að leggja sig fram um að hlusta betur, en í fyrri upptökunni.	Excerpt 68 Emma: Yes, not as clearly. You needed to, needed to listen carefully, more carefully than with the recording before [i.e., the American speaker].
Excerpt 69 Kolfinna: Ja, það er vinna sko, maður þarf að hlusta vel.	Excerpt 69 Kolfinna: Yes, this takes quite some work. You have to listen carefully.
Excerpt 70 Ásta: Ég held þetta samt manneskja sem hefur bara lært svona góða íslensku, hún hefur bara lagt sig fram um það.	Excerpt 70 Ásta: I do think though that this is someone who has just learned Icelandic that well, she just made an effort.
Excerpt 71 Ásta: Nei, mér fannst þetta eiginlega, aðallega vera einhver sem á erfitt með að tala íslensku. […] Þarf að leggja sig fram við að koma því frá sér.	Excerpt 71 Ásta: No, I actually, mostly find this to be someone who has a hard time speaking Icelandic. […] She needs to put a lot of effort into expressing herself.
Excerpt 72 Anton: Hún, hún, hún allavega, það var augljóst að hún, hún var öll af vilja gerð og hafði, hefur greinilega gert mikið til þess að læra tungumálið, hvaðan sem hún er.	Excerpt 72 Anton: She, she, she at least, it was obvious that she was very willing and had, has obviously done a lot to learn the language, no matter where she is from.
Excerpt 73 Anton: Ja, ég viðurkenni, það sem ég var að reyna að lýsa áðan er, að það truflar mig meira viðhorfið, viðhorf fólks sem maður greinir í svona háttum, heldur en beinlínis eins og hljómurinn eða, það er að segja afurðin, hérna […] Það er að segja þegar maður sér að fólk hefur ekki áhuga á að ná tökum, eða svona sýnir það svoltið svona augljóslega með bara öðrum töktum. En það, maður getur svo, maður, hefur, ber virðingu fyrir fólki sem er, reynir virkilega en mun kannski ekkert endilega geta það, af því að það er bara, af því að uppruninn er þess eðlis, ég…	Excerpt 73 Anton: Well, I admit, what I was trying to describe earlier is that it is more the attitude that bothers me, the attitude of people that you can see in such demeanour, rather than the immediate sounds, or you know, the outcome […]. I mean, when you see that people are not interested in having command [of the language], and then they show that with other behaviour. But, one has respect for people who really try but will never necessarily be able to, because of their origin.
Excerpt 74 Kári: [M]anneskja sem er ekki komin lengra en þetta í íslensku, það er, mér finnst það bara ekkert flóknara.	Excerpt 74 Kári: "[This is] someone who has a way to go in learning Icelandic. It's, I think it's as simple as that.

Excerpt 75 Jón: Bara ‘ég’, þetta, þetta mjúka G (bendir á hálsinn á sér), það eru mjög fáir sem ná því nema leggja sig sérstaklega eftir því, og við segjum ‘svarta’ [svaɾ̥ta] með, við röddum ekki R-ið, flestir útlendingar myndu reyna að segja ‘svarta’[svaɾ̥ta] (segir það með röddduðu R-i). Og ‘litla’ [lɪhtl̥a], eins og ég sagði áðan, þetta er líka erfitt. Og það kem… hún ber öll merki um að, annaðhvort hefur ekki lært lengi eða hefur ekki góðan kennara.	Excerpt 75 Jón: Just ‘ég’ [jɛːɣ], this soft G (points at his throat). There are very few who manage that unless they pay special attention to it. When we say ‘svarta’ [svaɾ̥ta], we don’t have a voiced R. Most foreigners would try to say ‘svarta’ [svaɾ̥ta] (says the word with a voiced r). And ‘litla’ [lɪhtl̥a], as I said before. This is also difficult. And […] she showed all signs of either not having studied [Icelandic] for a long time or not having a good teacher.
Excerpt 76 Dagur: Hún hefði verið í vandræðum ef hún hefði ekki haft texta fyrir framan sig. Kristín: Já, af hverju segirðu það? Dagur: Ég held hún hefði ekki skilað þessu svona réttu, hún hefði verið í meiri vandræðum með beygingar og annað slíkt sko, ekki komin eins langt eins og hún virtist vera. Í tungumálinu.	Excerpt 76 Dagur: She would have had problems, had she not had this text in front of her. Kristín: Yes, why do you say that? Dagur: I think that she wouldn’t have entirely understood this. She would have had great problems with inflections and other such things. Hasn’t come as far as she appeared. In the language.
Excerpt 77 Páll: Ég veit það ekki, mér, sko hún er að lesa texta sem hún hefur fyrir framan sig, ég veit ekki hvernig hún hefði klárað sig í samtal, því að hún, hún er mjög áberandi, útlensk í mínu eyra. […] Sigurður: [É]g efast ekkert um að hún hafi skilið þennan texta en bara sko, það er bara stigsmunur á því sem fólk hefur fyrir framan sig og því sem það þarf að leggja til sjálft. Að mínu viti sko.	Excerpt 77 Páll: I don’t know, I, she is reading a text that is in front of her. I don’t know how she would have managed in a conversation because she sounds very foreign to my ears. […] Sigurður: [I] don’t doubt that she understood this text, there is just some degree of difference between what people can see in front of them and what they need to manage on their own. As far as I know.
Excerpt 78 Anton: Já, hún á erfitt með vöffin til dæmis og hún er, ákveðnir hljómar sem hún á erfitt með vegna hennar tungumáls sem, hennar móðurmáls, og sennilega búið skemur hérna en þó alls ekki víst eins og mörg, dæmi, geta verið um, að menn ná aldrei tökum á hljómum.	Excerpt 78 Anton: Yes, she has a hard time with the V’s for example, certain sounds that she has trouble with because of her mother language, her mother tongue. And she has probably lived here for a shorter time, although that’s not for sure. There are many examples of people who never master the sounds.
Excerpt 79 Anton: Ég held að þessi einstaklingur muni aldrei ná íslenskum framburði náttlega, eða semsagt, vegna, móðurmáls síns. Muni alltaf verða, hafa slík áhrif.	Excerpt 79 Anton: I think that this individual certainly will never master Icelandic pronunciation, or you know, because of her mother tongue. And that will always be like that, will always have that influence.

Excerpt 80 Tómas: Mér fannst þetta vera bara eins og einhver Vestur-Evrópubúi. Að tala íslensku lýtalausa.	Excerpt 80 Tómas: I thought this was just like some Western European. Speaking Icelandic flawlessly.
Excerpt 81 Dagur: Annaðhvort búin að læra áberandi mikið eða er af málsvæði sem er áberandi líkt okkur þannig að hún hefur mjög lítið þurft að hafa fyrir því, bara, þetta sem ég var að segja áðan, að það geti allir lært þetta ef þeir leggja sig nógu mikið fram, kannski er það rétt, kannski sannast það þarna, ég veit það ekki en, það er allaveganna, það er annaðhvort það eða að málsvæðið er svona rosalega skylt.	Excerpt 81 Dagur: She has either been studying extremely hard, or comes from a language area that is very similar to ours so she hasn't needed to put a lot of effort into it. Just, as I said earlier, everybody can learn if they make enough effort. Maybe that is right, maybe we see that here. I don't know, but it's either that or that the language area is closely related to ours.
Excerpt 82 Vigdís: Mér fannst þetta mjög svona, norrænn hreimur…já, eitthvað sem er nálægt okkur. Hún var mjög, mjög góð. […] Í að tala íslensku.	Excerpt 82 Vigdís: I think this was a Nordic accent. Sweden or…yes, something that is close to us. She was very, very good. […] At speaking Icelandic.
Excerpt 83 Ásta: Mér finnst bara að íslenskan liggi víðsfjarri þessari manneskju. Einhvern veginn. Eða að hún er nýbyrjuð, ég veit það ekki. Ég bara get ekki alveg skilgreint það. Björn: …liggur mikið í hljómfallinu og svona flæðinu sko. Og í, og sérstaklega einmitt sko í, í sérhljóðunum. […] Jón: Reyndar bæði sérhljóðunum og samhljóðunum. […]. Mjög ólíkir því sem við […] þekkjum og þetta flæði sem sumir aðrir lesarar hafa haft, Ásta: stirt Jón: Þetta var stirt já. Þetta er manneskja frá mjög ólíku málsvæði, já.	Excerpt 83 Ásta: I just think that Icelandic is a world away from this person. Somehow. Or she just started, I don't know. I can't really define that. Björn: …lies a lot in the melody and the flow, you know. And in, especially in, in the vowels. […] Jón: Both vowels and consonants. […] Very different from what we […] know, and this flow that some of the other readers showed, Ásta: stiff Jón: This was stiff, yes. This is someone from a very different language area.
Excerpt 84 Dagur: […] kannski erfiðara þegar þú ert kominn í eitthvað svona mandarín, einhvern Kínverja eða Asíubúi, það er orðið allt einhvern veginn mikið fjær. En, fyrir þá sem eru að tala, Evrópubúa eða með þann uppruna þá, finnst mér að þeir ættu að geta náð þessu nokkurn veginn pörfekt sko, ef þeir bara eyða í það nógu löngum tíma. Það er mín trú. En, hvort það er hægt að ætlast til þess, það er svona… Steinar: Ja, ég, ég er einhvern veginn alveg, ja, ég, ég veit ekkert hvort það er	Excerpt 84 Dagur: […] maybe it's more difficult when dealing with something like Mandarin, some Chinese person or Asian. Then all of this is somehow much farther away. But with those who speak, Europeans or with their background there, I think that they should somehow acquire this perfectly if they spend long enough time on it. This is what I believe. But whether it's fair to expect that… Steinar: Well somehow, I don't know whether it's right, but when people have

rétt en, það er, þegar fólk er komið, ja, þegar fólk er orðið fullorðið þá eigi það mjög erfitt með að ná uh, ná breytingum, en, en börn, held ég, ná alveg pörfekt framburði.	become adults, then it's very difficult for them to acquire, but children I think acquire perfect pronunciation.
Excerpt 85 Íris: [Þ]að gengur verr fyrir þau finnst mér, að, þau segja það líka, þessar sem eru frá Asíu sko, Víetnam og Filippseyjum, að tala íslenskuna.	Excerpt 85 Íris: Learning Icelandic is, I think, is going worse, and they say that too, for those from Asia, Vietnam, and the Philippines.
Excerpt 86 Kári: [É]g held þetta sé mjög eðlilegt, svona ef miðað er við Austur-Asíubúa þá held ég að þetta sé mjög eðlilegt. Það sem ég þekki af svona Austur-Asíubúum þá eru þeir ekki mjög margir sem koma hingað fullorðnir sem ná þessu til hlítar en þeir reyna mjög mikið, því þeir eru yfirleitt samviskusamir, og þeir reyna og leggja mikið á sig til þess að reyna að, að tala.	Excerpt 86 Kári: I think that it's normal if we consider East Asians, then I think that's very normal. As far as I know, there are not very many East Asians who come here as adults and achieve this completely. But they really try, because they are generally conscientious, and they try and go through a lot to try to talk.
Excerpt 87 Soffía: Skilgreinum hana ekki sem Íslending alveg strax. (hlær) Jón: Nei ekki miðað við nákvæmlega þetta en… Soffía: Nei (hlæjandi). Jón: svo eru það persónuleg kynni sem skipta máli.	Excerpt 87 Soffía: We don't immediately identify her as an Icelander (laughs). Jón: No, not if we consider this exactly, but… Soffía: No (laughing). Jón: But then personal encounters are important.
Excerpt 88 Emma: [E]f ég væri að vinna með henni og hún sæti bara hérna í næsta, við værum að deila saman skrifstofu, þá kemur svo mikill karakter þegar maður fer að kynnast, að þá held ég að svona hreimur myndi trufla minna, æj þá er þetta bara svona, æj svona er Sigga, einhvern veginn. Þá er þetta bara. Og ég held að svona, þá, manni vantar allt þetta tal, svona líkamlega, þegar maður bara er að hlusta. En það held ég myndi vega alveg á móti sko. Dagur: Já, karakterinn skiptir miklu meira máli sko. Emma: já. Dagur: Bara að vera aðlaðandi manneskja. Það skiptir miklu meira máli heldur en… Anton: Það er rétt. Absalút.	Excerpt 88 Emma: If I would work with her and she would just sit here in the next, if we would share an office, there is so much character coming through when you get to know one another. And then, I believe that such an accent wouldn't bother me as much. You know, well, this is just Sigga and how she is, you know. Then that's just that. And I believe, we don't have all that speech, you know, physical, when you just listen. And I think that would really weigh against that. Dagur: Yes, the character/personality is much more important. Emma: Yes. Dagur: Just being an attractive person. That is much more important than… Anton: That's right. Absolutely.

Excerpt 89 Guðmundur: Af því að, fyrir mig, sko talar hún íslenskuna sem ég vil heyra, ég vil heyra hana, eins góða íslensku og ég tala, og ah. Það pirrar mig svolítið að hlusta sko á útlending tala bjagaða íslensku.	Excerpt 89 Guðmundur: Because, in my opinion, she speaks Icelandic the way I want to hear it. I want to hear Icelandic spoken as well as I do. It quite irritates me to listen to foreigners speak broken Icelandic.
Excerpt 90 Vigdís: Já, hún var eiginlega það góð að maður var eiginlega ekki viss hvort hún væri með hreim eða ekki.	Excerpt 90 Vigdís: Yes, she was actually so good that one wasn't sure whether she had an accent or not.
Excerpt 91 Vigdís: En ef einhver af þessum hreimum ætti að vera óþægilegur, þá var það þessi. […] Atli: Já, kannski svona mesta frávikið frá… Vigdís: Já. Atli: Því sem við erum vön.	Excerpt 91 Vigdís: If there was one of those accents that was unpleasant, it was this one. Atli: Yes, maybe most deviation from... Vigdís: Yes. Atli: From what we are used to.
Excerpt 92 Edda: Af því það er eins hjá okkur.	Excerpt 92 Edda: Because it's the same compared with us.
Excerpt 93 Dagbjört: Bara mjög þægilegt. Og eitthvað sem ég hef oft heyrt áður. Kristín: Af hverju er það þægilegt? Dagbjört: Af því að ég held það sé norrænt […] Edda: Tiltölulega líkt íslenskunni.	Excerpt 93 Dagbjört: Just very pleasant [ˈ*þægilegt*']. And something I have often heard before. Kristín: Why is it pleasant? Dagbjört: Because I think that it is Nordic […] Edda: Relatively similar to Icelandic.
Excerpt 94 Hanna: Þetta held ég að hafi líka með að gera hversu vön því við erum að fólk tali íslenskuna með annars konar áherslum heldur en við.	Excerpt 94 Hanna: I think that this also has to do with how accustomed we are to people speaking Icelandic with different stress than we use.
Excerpt 95 Dagur: Já hún var bara að tala íslensku svona, eins og Íslendingur, nánast. Það er, þannig, ef maður mælir, ef maður mælir þægindin í því að eitthvað sé líkt manni sjálfum, að maður þurfi ekki að læra eitthvað nýtt eða venjast einhverju nýju þá er þetta þægilegt sko.	Excerpt 95 Dagur: Yes, she just spoke Icelandic like an Icelander, almost. It is, you know, if you measure comfort according to how similar something is, that you don't need to learn something new or get accustomed to something new, then that was pleasant.
Excerpt 96 Kristín: Af hverju er það þægilegt? Edda: Af því það er eins hjá okkur. Hanna: (hlær) já. Ágúst: Það var svo náttúrulegt að hlusta á þetta. Ingimar: Það reyndi ekkert á að hlusta. Hugrún: Það reynir bara á að maður hlusti á orðin.	Excerpt 96 Kristín: Why is it pleasant? Edda: Because it's the same as with us. Hanna: (laughs) Yes. Ágúst: It was so natural to listen to this. Ingimar: It was no trouble to listen. Hugrún: It was just the words that one needed to listen to.

Ingimar: Maður þarf bara að taka inn orðin.	Ingimar: One only needed to take in the words.
Excerpt 97 Margrét: Mér fannst ég ekkert hafa fyrir að hlusta á þessa, mér fannst það bara mjög þægilegt. Þægilegra heldur en, ég þurfti ekkert að hugsa neitt…	Excerpt 97 Margrét: I found it to be no effort to listen to this one. I just found it very pleasant. More pleasant than, I didn't need to think at all…
Excerpt 98 Vigdís: Þetta var ekki beint óþægilegt heldur meira svona, já, maður þurfti alveg að einbeita sér.	Excerpt 98 Vigdís: This wasn't exactly unpleasant [*'óþægilegt'*] but more, you know, one needed to concentrate.
Excerpt 99 Sigurður: Mér finnst þetta allt í lagi sko. Mér finnst þetta bara viðleitni til þess að nota íslensku og sú viðleitni bara nokkuð vel lukkuð. Og það er bara nóg.	Excerpt 99 Sigurður: I find this okay. I think that this shows an effort to use Icelandic, and that effort is just pretty successful. And that's enough.
Excerpt 100 Klara: Ég verð bara að vera sammála honum, því sem hann [Sigurður] sagði áðan, viðleitnin er þægileg. Það er bara hvort þær eiga hana.	Excerpt 100 Klara: I need to agree with him, what he [Sigurður] said earlier, the effort is agreeable (*þægileg*). It's just whether they make it.
Excerpt 101 Dagbjört: Af því að hún vandaði sig.	Excerpt 101 Dagbjört: Because she made an effort.
Excerpt 102 Kolfinna: [É]g dáist bara að því hvað hún var að vanda sig.	Excerpt 102 Kolfinna: I just admire her for how much effort she put into this.
Excerpt 103 Steinar: Ég náði að skilja hana, þá bara lít ég á hana sem rétta.	Excerpt 103 Steinar: I managed to understand her. That's why I consider it [her Icelandic] to be right.
Excerpt 104 Atli: Af því að ég skildi allt sem hún sagði án nokkurrar fyrirhafnar.	Excerpt 104 Atli: Because I understood everything that she said without any effort.
Excerpt 105 Steinar: Ég, eh, ég tel hana vera rétta þegar maður getur skilið hana.	Excerpt 105 Steinar: I, uh, I think it [Icelandic] is right (*rétt*) when you can understand it.
Excerpt 106 Freyja: Maður heyrir það sko þannig að þá finnst manni það kannski ekki alveg rétt. En ekkert rosalega mikill munur þannig að, þú veist, ef maður skilur þetta og skilur það vel þá finnst mér (stutt þögn) ekkert, ég veit ekki hvað, þetta er svona stigsmunur. Ekkert rosalega rangt, skilurðu.	Excerpt 106 Freyja: Well, you hear something, so you don't find it entirely right. But not a huge difference so, you know, if you understand this and understand it well, then I feel that (short silence) nothing, I don't know, this is a difference in degree. Nothing terribly wrong (*rangt*), you see.
Excerpt 107 Margrét: Þá er þetta auðvitað, þessi framburður var ekki eins og sá sem við	Excerpt 107 Margrét: Then, of course, this pronunciation was not like the one we

lærum. En það þýðir ekki það að hún hafi gert eitthvað rangt, en hann var ekki eins.	learn. But that does not mean that she did something wrong, but it wasn't the same.
Excerpt 108 Jón: Já vegna þess að, það er ekkert að íslenskunni málfræðilega, en hvort mál, hvort að hreimur er réttur eða rangur, hann er bara mis góður. Hann er mis nálægt íslensku.	Excerpt 108 Jón: Yes because, there is nothing grammatically wrong with this Icelandic, but whether the language, whether the accent is right (*réttur*) or wrong (*rangur*). It's just not equally good. It's different from Icelandic.
Excerpt 109 Berglind: Af því að þetta er tungumálið sem við lærðum, fæddumst í. Margrét: Hún er rétt ef að hægt er að tala um rétt í þessu samhengi af því að þetta líktist og virkaði eins og það tungumál sem að Sunna: Við erum að tala um Margrét: er, líkast móðurmáli okkar.	Excerpt 109 Berglind: Because this is the language that we learned, were born into. Margrét: It is right (*rétt*), if it's possible to speak of correct in this context, because it resembled and worked like the language that Sunna: We're talking about Margrét: is like our mother tongue.
Excerpt 110 Margrét: Ef þú segir rétt eða rangt, maður heyrði auðvitað að það var, uh, það voru ákveðnar áherslur sem eru, sem okkur eru ekki kenndar. Þegar við lærum íslensku, það, maður heyrði það. Hvort maður vill kalla það rangt eða rétt, það er allavega ekki sömu, áherslur, á hvernig hún bar fram eins og "mjálmar", hún bar það fram öðruvísi heldur en við lærum íslensku. Kolfinna: Já. Það nefnilega 'er hreimur rangur' er spurningin. Atli: Já, einmitt. […] Margrét: Þá er þetta auðvitað, þessi framburður var ekki eins og sá sem við lærum. En það þýðir ekki það að hún hafi gert eitthvað rangt, en hann var ekki eins.	Excerpt 110 Margrét: If you say correct or incorrect, one heard of course that it was, uh, there were certain emphases that are, that we aren't taught. When we learn Icelandic, that, you heard it. Whether one wants to call it wrong or right, there are at least not the same emphases, how she pronounced 'mjálmar', she pronounced it differently from how we learned Icelandic. Kolfinna: Yes. The question is: 'Is the accent wrong?' ('*Er hreimur rangur?*') Atli: Yes, exactly. […] Margrét: Then, of course, this pronunciation was not like the one we learned. But that doesn't mean that she did anything wrong, but it wasn't the same.
Excerpt 111 Margrét: Ég túlka það sem þú spyrð um á þann hátt að, að hérna, þú spyrð hvort eitthvað sé rétt eða rangt, þá hlýtur það að vera, eða ég held að þú sért að bara miða við það hvernig við lærðum okkar móðurmál og ef að ég hef lært móðurmálið mitt á þann hátt sem ég lærði þá er þetta allaveganna ekki rétt. Miðað við það. Berglind: Einmitt, ef að það er viðmiðið. Margrét: Hins vegar ef þú ætlar að spyrja mig er þetta rétt eða rangt, þá segi ég bara: Þetta er ekkert rangt, þetta er bara rétt, hún	Excerpt 111 Margrét: What you ask, I interpret in such a way that, you know, you ask if something is right or wrong, then it must be, or I think you are just aiming at how we learned our mother tongue. And if I have learned my mother tongue in the way I learned it, then this is not right. Based on that. Berglind: Exactly, if that's the frame of reference. Margrét: However, if you are asking me if this is right or wrong, then I just say: This is not wrong, this is quite right. She reads

les þetta eins og þetta kemur fyrir, þó að framburður hennar sé öðruvísi heldur en minn, sem að er frá mínu móðurmáli…	it as it is, even though her pronunciation is different from mine, from my mother tongue…
Excerpt 112 María: Mér finnst bara, rétt íslenska. Er reykvísk íslenska réttari en norðlensk, er norðlensk íslenska réttari en vestfirsk, hvað er rétt? Páll: […] er íslenska. Freyja: Já. Ég er sammála. Klara: Ég er sammála þessu, mér fannst hún tala rétta íslensku en ekki með þeim hreim sem við eigum að venjast.	Excerpt 112 María: I just found this to be correct Icelandic. Is Icelandic spoken in Reykjavík more correct than Northern Icelandic? Is Northern Icelandic more correct than that spoken in the West [of Iceland]? What is correct? Páll: […] it's Icelandic. Freyja: Yes. I agree. Klara: I agree with this. I found her to speak Icelandic correctly, but not with the accent we are used to.
Excerpt 113 Ágúst: Sko hún er rétt að því leyti skilurðu, að hún er með öll atkvæðin og allt svoleiðis skilurðu, en það er einstaka, framburður, sem að, sem að, við vitum að eru jafnvel skilurðu til staðar hjá hérna, innfæddum Íslendingum sko. Sem að tala bara um að hérna einhver á '[svarta]' (svolítið raddað r) kisu. Segir ekki '[svaɻta]' kisu. Eða, eða, eða 'Skobba' [skɔpːa]. 'Skoppa' [skɔhpa]. Segir ekki péin hart eins og, eins og við að norðan gerum kannski (horfir á Steinþór), eða svoleiðis. […] Steinþór: Íslendingur hefði þótt tilgerðarlegur. Þetta er eiginlega of jafnt. Hanna: En það er, eins og þú (bendir á Ágúst) kemur inn á, ég held að það geti líka haft áhrif á það hvað okkur finnst, hvaðan við erum af landinu.	Excerpt 113 Ágúst: Well, it [her Icelandic] is correct in the sense, you know, that she has all syllables and everything like that. But there is, occasionally, a pronunciation that, that we know, there is even among native Icelanders. Like those that say, you know, that they have a '[svarta]' (*black*) (slightly voiced r) cat. They don't say '[svaɻta]' cat. Or, or, or 'Skobba' [skɔpːa]. 'Skoppa' [skɔhpa]. They don't say the P's as hard as we do maybe in the North (looks at Steinþór), or something like that. […] Steinþór: An Icelander would have seemed too artificial. This is actually too consistent. Hanna: But, as you mention (points at Ágúst), I think it can also affect what we think, whichever part of the country we come from.
Excerpt 114 Sigrún: Kannski, kannski að, ég var að hugsa þegar þú sagðir þetta núna, aftur, rétt eða rangt, ef þetta væri, sagt á ensku, þá fyndist manni þetta ekki svona hart einhvern veginn, mér finnst… Kolfinna: hvað, right and wrong? (hlær) Sigrún: já, en mér finnst þegar hún segir sko, rétt eða rangt, það er einhvern veginn miklu strangara. Kolfinna: Ja við erum náttúrlega svo vön þessum fasisma sko, málfasisma sko.	Excerpt 114 Sigrún: Maybe, maybe, I was thinking when you said this now again, right or wrong, if it had been, said in English, then one wouldn't find it so hard somehow, I think… Kolfinna: What? (says in English:) Right or wrong? (laughs) Sigrún: Yes, but I just feel, right or wrong, that's somehow a lot stricter. Kolfinna: Yes, we are naturally so accustomed to this fascism, language fascism.

Excerpt 115 Hanna: Erum við þá að segja að við höfum öðruvísi tolerans, fyrirgefiði að ég sletti, gagnvart erlendu fólki sem er að tala íslensku heldur en Íslendingum? Ingimar: Jaá! Steinþór: Já, alveg klárlega. Alveg skilyrðislaust. Ágúst: Hafa ákveðna forgjöf. Ingimar: Ég skal alveg viðurkenna þá fordóma hjá mér. Ágúst: Það hefur svigrúm til þess að vera með öðruvísi áherslur og annan framburð á orðum. […] Hugrún: Ég held líka að við séum umburðarlyndari gagnvart hreim, hann, hann, túlkar, táknar ekki að þú sért að tala ranga íslensku, og við erum umburðarlyndari gagnvart hrynjanda, það er ekki rangt, en beygingar og annað, þá erum við komin í að meta rétt og rangt. Af því það er kerfið. Steinþór: Þá ertu kominn yfir í það að geta jafnvel misskilist. Hanna: Já, já, já. Edda: Og líka beygingarnar. Mér finnst beygingarnar, ekkert, að manni myndi finnast það eitthvað, slæmt. Hugrún: Finnst þér, já. Ágúst: Nei. Hugrún: já, ég held við mundum, alla vega fyrir mig, þá vil ég frekar greina það í, tungumálið er rétt, tungumálið er rangt, en með hreim þá er það ekki rangt, það er bara öðruvísi.	Excerpt 115 Hanna: Are we saying that we have a different kind of tolerance (*tolerans*), sorry that I use a *sletta*, towards foreigners who speak Icelandic than Icelanders? Ingimar: Yeeeesss! Steinþór: Yes, quite clearly. Absolutely! Ágúst: They have a certain handicap. Ingimar: I am just going to admit to those prejudices. Ágúst: They have some flexibility to have different emphases and different pronunciations of words. […] Hugrún: I also think that we are more tolerant towards accents. It, it doesn't mean, doesn't say that you speak bad Icelandic. And we are more tolerant towards intonation, that's not wrong. But inflection and other stuff, there we evaluate right or wrong. Because that's the system. Steinþór: Then you can also be misunderstood. Hanna: Yes, yes, yes. Edda: And also inflection. I find inflection, not, not that one would find that bad somehow. Hugrún: You think so, yes. Ágúst: No. Hugrún: Yes, I think we would, at least I would rather want to distinguish between right and wrong language. But the accent is not wrong, it's just different.
Excerpt 116 Dagur: Þetta er svolítið skilgreiningar-atriði, sem þú spyrð okkur um. Þegar þú talar um rétta íslensku, eins og ég segi, beygingarnar og allt, það er stóra málið. Einhver, einhver hreimur í þegar framburðurinn, sem sagt beygingarnar og allt er rétt, málfræðin, það er náttúrulega svo lítið aukaatriði í sjálfu sér ef að einhver er orðið svona vel talandi að hann væri að tala bara upp úr sjálfum sér, án þess að hafa blað, þá væri hann orðinn rosalega góður í íslensku. Í sjálfu sér. Það eina sem sæti eftir væri einhver svona	Excerpt 116 Dagur: This is a bit of a matter of definition, what you're asking. When you talk about correct Icelandic, like I mean, inflections and everything, that's the big deal. Some, some accents, when pronunciation, that is, when inflections and everything are correct, the grammar, then it's actually such a little detail. If someone has become so fluent that they just speak themselves, without having a sheet of paper, then they would be really good in Icelandic. Per se. The only thing left would be some deviation in

framburðarfrávik, sem væri þá fyrir útlending, sem væri búinn að læra íslensku, alveg frábært að vera þar, í rauninni. […] Þannig að ef við ætlum að bara einblína, eins og ég held við séum að gera hér, bara á framburðinn, hjá þeim, dæma það bara eitt og sér, þá erum við að tala um bara lítinn hluta af heildarupplifuninni ef hún væri að tala sko. Og ef við ætlum að fara að dæma það þó það vanti helming upp á, þá erum við að tala um einhver fimmtán prósent eða, þið vitið hvað ég á við. […] Þetta er í rauninni rosalega flott íslenska. Kúnstin í íslenskunni er náttúrulega beygingarnar og föllin og allt þetta dót sko…	pronunciation, which would be really great, in fact, for a foreigner who has learned Icelandic. […] So if we are going to just focus, as I think we are doing here, just focus on their pronunciation, judging that on its own, then we are only talking about a small part of the overall experience compared to if she would speak freely. And if we're going to judge that, even if half of it would be missing, then we are talking about some fifteen percent or, you know what I mean. […] This is good Icelandic indeed. The big deal in Icelandic is of course all the inflections and cases and all that stuff…
Excerpt 117 Jón: En þessi spurning er náttúrulega samt pínu skrítin því, það er ekkert rangt við málið vegna þess að hún er að lesa skrifaðan texta og hún gerir þetta allt rétt, hún er bara með sterkan hreim. Það er ekkert rangt við það. En, það er bara öðruvísi en okkar.	Excerpt 117 Jón: But this question is surely a little strange, because there is nothing wrong with the language because she reads a written text and she does that all right. She just has a strong accent. And there is nothing wrong with that. It's just different than ours.

Appendix E: Analysis of phonological features in L2 speaker verbal guises

The following definitions of degree of accent are based on the frequency and degree of deviation from a standard L1 Icelandic accent (cf. also section 2.2.1). The descriptions of deviation from L1 speech are based on an auditory analysis of deviation from phonological characteristics of an L1 Icelandic accent. A list of the ten most typical features in L1 Icelandic and corresponding examples from the text read by the six speakers are provided in Table 6. For ease of comparison, the passage read by the speakers is shown again, followed by a list of the ten features.

Text: Skoppa litla

Ég á litla svarta kisu sem heitir Skoppa.
Hún fékk þetta nafn af því að hún hoppar alltaf svo glöð í kringum alla sem koma í heimsókn. Hún er vænn köttur.
Þegar hún vaknar stekkur hún upp í glugga, mjálmar hátt og bíður þangað til ég opna.

Table 6: *Prominent phonological features in Icelandic with examples from the text read by speaker guises. The phonological characteristics are referred to in commonly used terms, sometimes with (metaphorical) reference to phonological rules or processes, e.g. insertion of /t/ before nasals and liquids. (For detail see e.g Árnason 2005:121-312, 2011:144-170, 215-228, 250-265.)*

Phonological feature	**Examples from the text**
Preaspiration of /pp/, /kk/, /tt/, /tl/, /kn/, /pn/	litla, Skoppa, fékk, þetta, hoppar, heimsókn, köttur, vaknar, stekkur, upp, hátt, opna
t-insertion and devoicing [tn̥]	vænn [vaitn̥]
Devoicing [r]	svarta [svar̥ta]
Devoicing [l]	litla, alltaf [lɪtl̥a], [al̥taf]
Devoicing [n]	nafn [napn̥]
Palatalization of /k/	kisu [c^h] vs. köttur [k^h]
Assimilation	af því [aθˑvi]
t-insertion [tl]	alla [atla]
Devoicing of /r/ in final position [r̥]	þegar, vaknar [θɛɣar̥], [vahknar̥]
Pronunciation of /kr/	kringum [k^hriŋkʏm] / [kr̥iŋkʏm]

With regard to other formal features, word stress in Icelandic is on the first syllable, and sentence stress is on the last word. Intonation is normally falling. Fluency can be different in L2 speech (cf. also sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.2), and therefore attention has been paid to unnatural pausing or hesitation.

Two experts in Icelandic phonology evaluated the guises and established a system for measuring quality and degree of deviation. The system consists of five degrees of difference, with 0 representing the least deviation and 4 the greatest deviation.

0 vaguely different from L1 Icelandic pronunciation
1 slightly different from L1 Icelandic pronunciation
2 different from L1 Icelandic pronunciation
3 very different from L1 Icelandic pronunciation
4 unintelligibly different from L1 Icelandic pronunciation

Deviations from L1 speech are presented for each guise individually in Tables 8–12. The words in question are displayed with the individual pronunciation by the speaker, the type(s) of deviation from L1 speech noted, and an evaluation made based on the system described above. Each table is followed by a summary that includes the total number of instances of deviation and an overall score for deviation, i.e., frequency and degree of difference according to the evaluation system. As a result, each guise is ascribed two scores, one quantitative and another qualitative. Cases in which the degree of deviation was so slight as to be hardly noticeable were counted as instances of deviation but not described qualitatively and assigned a mark of 0, thus not contributing to the overall deviation score.

Table 7: *Danish guise and evaluation of L2 speaker features*

Word(s)	**Pronunciation**	**Deviation**	**Evaluation**
Ég	[jɛ̟]	/ɛ/ slightly raised	1
litla	[lɪtl̥a]	no aspiration	1
svarta	[svarta]	/r/ slightly voiced	0
kisu	[cʰɪːsʏ]	slight raising of /ɪ/	1
Skoppa	[skɔʰpːa]	weak aspiration	1
fékk	[fˈɛʰx]	weak j-glide	1
þetta	[θɛʰtːa]		0
nafn	[naˀpˌn]	glottalization audible	0
hoppar	[hɔ̟ˑʰpar]	[ɔ̟] slightly raised, vowel long and weak preaspiration	2
alltaf	[a̰ltav]	half-voiced [l̰]	1
svo glöð	[sɔ̟kløˑð]	/œ/ raised	2
kringum	[kʁɪŋkʏm]	/r/ uvular or velarized, not very distinct	1
alla	[aˑtla]	[aˑtla] vowel slightly longer, /tl/ a bit apical	2
koma	[kʰɔ̟ːma]	/o/ slightly raised	2
heimsókn	[heimsɔkn]	no preaspiration ou > ɔ	2
vænn	[vait]	no /n/	1
köttur	[kʰøˑtʏɽ̥]	weak preaspiration slightly raised and longer vowel	1 1
Þegar hún	[θeˑɣaɽ̥un]	raised vowel	2
vaknar	[vaʰkna]	no final /r/	1
stekkur hún	[stɛhkərun]		0
upp í glugga	[ʏpikəl.kaː]	no preaspiration, [l] syllabic	2
mjálmar	[mjaulmar]		0
hátt	[hauʍʰt]	normal	0
opna	[ɔpna]	no preaspiration	1

As evident from Table 7, 25 instances of deviation from L1 Icelandic pronunciation were counted for the Danish guise. The overall degree of deviation amounts to 26. In twelve

cases, deviations were given a mark of 1 for slightly different pronunciation, and seven cases were assigned 2. Marks 3 and 4 were not assigned. Six cases were hardly noticeable and were therefore assigned a mark of 0.

As the descriptions in Table 7 indicate, most instances of deviation in the Danish guise can be categorized as common L2 speaker deviation from the standard pronunciation given in Table 6. These features include lack of or little preaspiration, voicing of final /r/, and L2 production of /nn/ (i.e., not [tn]) in the word "vænn". Aside from these, raising of vowels (cf., e.g., in the words "ég", "kisu", "hoppar", "glöð", and "koma") is the most prominent feature in the Danish guise's reading performance. The guise's reading style was fairly L1-sounding in terms of intonation and phrasing.

Table 8: *Filipina guise and evaluation of L2 speaker features*

Word(s)	**Pronunciation**	**Deviation**	**Evaluation**
Ég á	[jɛɣau]		0
litla	[lɪʰtl̥a]	weak preaspiration	2
svarta	[sva˞r̥ta]	long vowel half-voiced /r/	2
kisu	[cɪsˑʏ]	no postaspiration, long consonant and short vowel	3
sem heitir	[s̪ɛmheiːd̥r̥]	lenis /t/ high pitch/dental /s/	1
Skoppa	[skɔʰpa]	high pitch in /s/	1
Hún	[hʊn]		0
fékk	[fᵉɛˑʰk]	weak preaspiration [j/i] missing lengthening of vowel	3
nafn	[naːp(n)]	long vowel weak nasal	3
af því að	[ˌaˑfθiˌaːd̥]	unusual stresses or phrasing stop instead of final [ð]/[θ]	3
hún	[hʊn]		0
alltaf	[ʔaˑl̥taf]	half length on stressed /a/	1
kringum	[kʰriŋkəm]	deviant vowel	1
í kringum alla sem	[iˌkʰriŋkum ˌʔa˞tla]	hesitation after *kringum* half-long vowel after *alla*	2
sem	[səm]		1
koma	[kɔːma]	lenis stop	1
í heimsókn	[iˌheiˑmsouʰkn]	clear articulation, half-long vowel	0
Hún er	[hʊnɛr]		0
vænn	[faiˀnʔ]	/f/ instead of /v/ /n/ (post)glottalized	4
köttur	[kœˑtʏr̥]	no aspiration on initial /k/ no preaspiration half-long vowel	3
Þegar	[θɛˑgar]	stop instead of fricative	2
hún	[hʊn]	slightly centralized vowel	1

vaknar	[vaˑʰknar]	half-long vowel, weak preaspiration	1
stekkur hún			0
glugga	[klʊkˑa]	vowel back	1
mjálmar	[mjalmaɽ̥]	/á/ monophthong	1
hátt	[hauˈt]	no preaspiration	2
bíður	[pɪðʏr]	[ɪ] instead of [i]	2
þangað til ég	[ˈθauŋkaθˈtʰɪljɛ]	two words – stresses	1
opna	[ɔ.pna]	weak or no preaspiration	1

According to Table 8, the Filipina speaker showed deviations from L1 Icelandic pronunciation in 30 instances. In six of these, deviation was negligible, indicated by the mark of 0. A mark of 1 was given twelve times for slightly different pronunciation; in six instances she was assigned 2, and in five instances 3. A mark of 4 was given in one instance for the L2 pronunciation of the word "vænn"; this is the only 4 given for all L2 speaker guises. In this instance of "vænn", the Filipina speaker uses the unvoiced pronunciation [f] instead of voiced [v] at the beginning of the word and realizes neither t-insertion nor devoicing in the cluster /nn/.

Apart from this feature, four other common features from Table 6 were found in the guise's reading performance, i.e., weak or no preaspiration, voicing of /r/, unusual assimilation, and devoicing of /n/ in the cluster /fn/. In some instances, the Filipina speaker shows some deviation in vowel quantity (cf., e.g., "svarta", "fékk", and "vaknar"). The overall score for deviation for the Filipina guise was 43. The guise read the text slowly and carefully, showing a clear utterance style.

Table 9: *Lithuanian guise and evaluation of L2 speaker features*

Word(s)	**Pronunciation**	**Deviation**	**Evaluation**
Ég á	[jɛxˈʔau]	deviant stress	1
litla	[lɪtla]	no preaspiration	2
svarta	[θvaˌ̥ta]	/s/ non-strident	1
kisu	[cʰɪθʏ]	/s/ non-strident	1
sem heitir	[θɛmheiti(r)]	/s/ non-strident	1
Skoppa	[θkɔhpa]	/s/ non-strident	1
Hún fékk þetta nafn	[hʊnˈfexθɛʰtaˈnap.n]	unclear stress on *fékk* /u/ lax /jɛ/ > [ɛ] (no [j] /hk/ > [x] some release between /p/ and /n/, devoicing not clear	1 1 1 2 1
af því	[aˈθvi]	stress on *því*	0
hún	[hun]	short consonant	1
hoppar	[hɔʰpar]		0
alltaf	[altɐf]	no devoicing	3
glöð	[klʉːð]	/œ/ [ʉ], raised and centralized	2
í kringum alla	[ɪˈkrʏŋˑkʊmˈˤaˑt.la]	/ɪ/ > rounded, quite short or indistinct /ŋ/ half long /um/ > [ʊm] /atla/ > [at.la] syllabic boundary	2 2
koma	[kʰɔma]	weak aspiration of initial /k/	1
heimsókn	[heimsɔk.n]	ou/ > [ɔ] /hkn/ [k.n] – weak preaspiration /k.n/ syllable boundary, no final devoicing	1 1 1
Hún	[hun]	short vowel	1
vænn	[vaiˑt]	/n/ not pronounced	2
köttur	[kʰœtˈʏr̥]	no or weak preaspiration	1

Þegar hún vaknar	[ˌθɛ̟ːɣahunˈvaʰxᵈnaᵟ/ʳ]	weak articulation of /k/ weak intrusive d/t final /r/ weak, hardly a flap	1 1 1
stekkur hún	[ˈθtɛʰxʏrᵘhun]	intrusive vowel non-strident /s/	1 1
upp	[up]	deviant vowel no preaspiration /ʏ/ > [u]	2
í glugga	[iˌɣlʊˑga]	/k/ > [ɣ] fricative /ʏ/ > [ʊ] back, not short /kː/ > [g] not voiceless	3 1
mjálmar	[miauˑmar]	initial /m/ and /l/ not prominent vowel longer	3
hátt	[hauxt] / [hauʷt]	preaspiration labialized	1
bíður	[piːðʏɾʲ]	/r/ whistling /sibilance (high frequency)	1
þangað	[θauˑŋgaθ]	/ŋk/ > voiced stop	1
til	[tɪl]	no aspiration	
ég	[jɛᵡ]	/ɣ/ > [χ], rather weak	0
ofna	[θɔʰp.na]	/pn/ > [ʰp.n] weak preaspiration; release on [p] / syllable boundary between stop and nasal	1

The Lithuanian guise is somewhat special compared to the other L2 speaker guises: not only does she have the most instances of deviation (quantitatively), but these instances are also different from those of the other guises. The number of deviations from L1 Icelandic counted for the guise totalled 38 (see Table 9), with marks ranging from 0 to 3. The overall score for degree of accent was 49. In two instances deviation was hardly noticeable, indicated with the mark of 0. Twenty-six instances were assigned a mark of 1, and seven were marked with 2. A mark of 3 was given in three cases.

Although the Lithuanian speaker shows deviation typical for L2 speech in Icelandic, e.g., in respect to preaspiration before certain consonant clusters, t-insertion and devoicing

in words such as “vænn”, and devoicing of final /n/ in “nafn”, the deviation is of a different nature than heard in the other guises. For example, there is no preaspiration in the words “litla” and “upp”, weak preaspiration in the words “heimsókn” and “sofna”, but labialized preaspiration in the word “hátt”.

Apart from single words and phrases in which several instances of deviation appear alongside each other (cf., e.g., “í kringum alla”, “heimsókn”, and “í glugga”), the speaker appears to have difficulties with syllabic boundaries. This results in perceptions of unusual hesitation (cf., e.g., “í kringum alla”, “heimsókn”, and “ofna”), even though differences in intonation and phrasing are otherwise fairly inconspicuous. One of the most prominent features in the Lithuanian speaker guise is the “lisp” or non-strident /s/ [θ], often occurring in word initial position (cf. “svarta”, “sem”, “Skoppa”, and “stekkur”), but also in medial position (cf. “kisu”). In addition, there are instances of issues with vowel quantity (cf. “hún” and “glugga”) as well as vowel quality (cf. “glöð”, “heimsókn”, and “glugga”).

Table 10: *Polish guise and evaluation of L2 speaker features*

Word(s)	**Pronunciation**	**Deviation**	**Evaluation**
Ég á	[jɛhau] [jɛ.hau]	perhaps a slip of the tongue	1
litla	[lɪˑtla]	no preaspiration – long vowel	2
svarta	[θvarta]	no devoicing of /r/ “lisp”	1 1
kisu	[cʰɪˑθə]	high vowel “lisp”	1 1
sem heitir Skoppa	[θɛmˌheiˑtɪrˈθkɔʰpa]	*sem* > [θɛm] *Skoppa* > [θkɔʰpa]	1 1
Hún	[hun]	short vowel	0
fékk	[fiɛˑk]	no preaspiration – long vowel	2
þetta	[θɛxta]	deviant (velarized?) preaspiration	1
af því	[abˈθviː]	/f/ > [b/β]?	1
að hún	[atʰhun]	/ð/ > plosive	1
hoppar	[hɔʰpˑar]	weak preaspiration	1
alltaf	[altaf]	no devoicing of /l/	2
svo glöð	[θᵊkløœːð]	vowel slightly open centralized	1
í kringum alla	[iˌkriŋkʊmˌʔatla]	*kringum* [kriŋkʊm] ending vowel back	1
Sem	[θɛ̨m]	*sem* > θɛ̨m	1
koma	[kʰɔma]	short vowel	1
heimsókn	[heimθɔ̨k.n]	“lisp”	1
vænn	[vaiːn]	long vowel, no stop	3
köttur	[kʰɔˣtʏr̥]	deviant vowel – preaspiration	2
Þegar	[θɛgar]	weak/voiced stop	1
vaknar	[vaˀknar̥]	glottalization (no preaspiration)	2
stekkur	[θɛ̨tɛʰkʊr]	no preaspiration /s/ > [θ]	2 1
Upp	[uhp]	deviant vowel	2
glugga	[klʊʷka]	back vowel, slight preaspiration	2
mjálmar	[mjalmar]	deviant vowel	2

Hátt	[haχt]	diphthong > monophthong deviation in preaspiration	3
þangað	[θaŋka]	diphthong > monophthong	1
opna	[ɔp.na]	weak preaspiration	1

Table 10 lists the 33 instances of deviation in the Polish guise's performance. A mark of 0 was assigned in one instance, 1 in twenty-one instances, and 2 in nine. Two instances were marked 3, with a total deviation score of 45.

As with other L2 speaker guises, the Polish guise exhibited several features deemed typical for L2 speech in Icelandic, most prominently the lack of or deviant preaspiration (cf., e.g., "litla", "fékk", "köttur", and "hátt"). Other common features detectable in the Polish guise's speech are lack of devoicing of /r/ in "svarta", no devoicing of /l/ in "alltaf", and lack of t-insertion in "vænn". In addition, there is some deviation in vowel quality concerning /u/ in the words "glugga" and "upp", as well as non-strident /s/ in word initial (cf. "svarta", "sem", "Skoppa", and "stekkur") and medial position (cf. "kisu" and "heimsókn") that is perceived as some kind of lisp. Overall differences in intonation and phrasing were fairly inconspicuous.

Table 11: *American guise and evaluation of L2 speaker features*

Word(s)	**Pronunciation**	**Deviation**	**Evaluation**
Ég á litla svarta kisu	[je(ɣ̩)auˈlɪʰt̲lasvart̲aˈcʰɪːsʏ]	/ɛ/ raised weak ɣ (normal?), perhaps palatalized /t/,/r/ alveolar	2 1
sem heitir Skoppa	[s̪ɛmˈheiːtɪˈskɒhpa]	/s̪/ interdental little rounding on ɔ	1
hún	[hʊ̟ːn]	/u/ lax and slightly fronted	1
hoppar	[hɑˑʰpar]	/ɔ/ long and open [ɒ] preaspiration short	2
kringum	[kʰɾ̥ɪŋkʏm]	/r/ postalveolar	1
alla	[aˑtla]	long /a/	2
heimsókn	[heimsoukn̥]	no preaspiration /k/	1
Hún	[hʊ̟ˑn]	/u/ slightly fronted	1
Hún er vænn köttur	[hʊ̟ːnerˈvaiˑtˈkʰœhtʊrˑ]	/u/ fronted /ai/ longer /n/ missing /ʏ/ in ending not clear final /r/ voiced and rather long	1 2 1 1 1
hún	[hʊ̟ˑn]	/u/ lax and fronted	1
vaknar	[vahknar]	final /r/ voiced	0
stekkur hún upp	[ˈst̲ɛhkə̹ɾ̥hʉnˈʏʰp]	/t/ alveolar /u/ fronted /ʏ/ in ending not clear /r/ postalveolar	0 2 0 0
mjálmar	[mjauˑlmar]	/au/ half long	0
hátt	[hauˑʰt]	/au/ half long	1

For the American guise, 22 instances of deviation were counted, with qualitative evaluation of degree of difference yielding a score of 22 (see Table 11). In five instances, deviations were hardly perceivable, as indicated with a mark of 0. A mark of 1 was given in twelve instances and 2 in five.

Among typical deviations (cf. Table 6) were voicing of final /r/, deviation in pronunciation of /r/ as in the word “kringum”, lack of preaspiration, and a missing /n/ in the cluster /nn/ in the word “vænn”. In addition to these features, the American guise

showed some deviation in vowel quality (c.f., e.g., “Skoppa”, “hoppar”, and “hún”) and vowel quantity (c.f., e.g., “hoppar”, “alla”, “mjálmar”, and “hátt”). Differences in intonation and phrasing were inconspicuous, but reading style and voice quality were perceived as somewhat affected.